

## Words and Varieties



Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia  
Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne  
\* 269 \*

Håkan Rydving

# Words and Varieties

## Lexical Variation in Saami

Société Finno-Ougrienne  
Helsinki 2013

Håkan Rydving:  
*Words and Varieties. Lexical Variation in Saami*  
Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia 269  
Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne

Copyright © 2013 Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura —  
Société Finno-Ougrienne — Finno-Ugrian Society  
& the author

ISBN 978-952-5667-49-3 (print)  
ISBN 978-952-56-67-50-9 (online)  
ISSN 0355-0230

Vammalan Kirjapaino Oy  
Sastamala 2013

Orders — Tilaukset

Tiedekirja  
Kirkkokatu 14  
FI-00170 Helsinki  
[www.tiedekirja.fi](http://www.tiedekirja.fi)  
[tiedekirja@tsv.fi](mailto:tiedekirja@tsv.fi)  
FAX +358 9 635 017

MÉMOIRES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ FINNO-UGRIENNE  
SUOMALAIIS-UGRILAISEN SEURAN TOIMITUKSIA

*Editor-in-chief* Riho Grünthal (Helsinki)

*Editorial board*

Marianne Bakró-Nagy (Szeged),  
Márta Csepregi (Budapest),  
Ulla-Maija Forsberg (Helsinki),  
Kaisa Häkkinen (Turku),  
Gerson Klumpp (Tartu),  
Johanna Laakso (Wien),  
Lars-Gunnar Larsson (Uppsala),  
Matti Miestamo (Stockholm),  
Sirikka Saarinen (Turku),  
Elena Skribnik (München),  
Trond Trosterud (Tromsø),  
Berhard Wälchli (Stockholm),  
Jussi Ylikoski (Kautokeino)

*In memory of  
my mother and father,  
Maja & Tore Rydving,  
both teachers*



# Contents

List of figures, maps, tables, and dialect overviews.....	9
Note on orthographies, place names, and quotations .....	15
Preface .....	17
1. Lexical Variation in Saami?.....	19
1.1. Communication, lexicon, and linguistic variation .....	19
1.2. The Saami language today .....	21
2. The History of Research into Saami Dialect Differentiation .....	27
2.1. Beginnings (the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries) .....	28
2.2. Foundations (1880s – c. 1980) .....	38
2.2.1. Parts of the language area .....	38
2.2.2. The language area as a whole.....	48
2.3. Revisions and clarifications (since c. 1980) .....	61
2.3.1. Parts of the language area .....	62
2.3.2. The language area as a whole.....	68
2.4. Concluding remarks .....	80
3. The Scope of the Present Study.....	83
4. Problems of Terminology .....	85
5. Material .....	93
5.1. The ALE material .....	94
5.1.1. Network of localities .....	94
5.1.2. Questionnaire .....	97
5.1.3. Collecting and editing .....	98
5.1.4. Limitations of the material .....	101
5.2. The ALE material used in the present study .....	102
5.3. Representativity and source criticism .....	102
6. Words Exemplified .....	109
6.1. Word geography as approach .....	109
6.2. Verbs of communication (‘talk’, ‘say’, ‘tell’, ‘ask’, ‘beg’) .....	110
6.3. ‘Thunder’, ‘lightning’, and ‘rainbow’ .....	117
6.4. The days of the week .....	122
6.5. Concluding remarks .....	130

7. Dialect Relations .....	131
7.1. Dialectometry as practice .....	132
7.2. Gåebri .....	139
7.3. Suorssá .....	141
7.4. Girjes / Girjjis .....	145
7.5. Gárasavvon .....	151
7.6. Guovdageaidnu .....	154
7.7. Návuotna .....	157
7.8. Aanaar .....	161
7.9. A´kkel .....	166
7.10. Luujaavv´r .....	169
7.11. Comparing the nine points of inquiry .....	173
7.12. Concluding remarks .....	182
8. Conclusions .....	183
Epilogue .....	187
Sánit ja suopmanat (Čoahkkáigeassu davvisámegillii / North Saami summary) .....	189
Abbreviations .....	191
References .....	195
List of place names .....	213

# List of figures, maps, tables, and dialect overviews

## Figures

Fig. 2.1	Hasselbrink's division of South Saami into three dialects compared with four earlier proposals to divide South Saami into two dialects with sub-dialects.....	63
Fig. 4.1	The terminology used for language varieties on six levels, exemplified with Guovdageaidnu Saami.....	89
Fig. 5.1	The dialectal distribution of the SaaALE I localities according to the editorial staff of Atlas Linguarum Europae .....	96
Fig. 5.2	The filled in SaaALE I form for q. 533, 'Monday' .....	100
Fig. 5.3	The numeric structure of the SaaALE I corpus in comparison with three other corpora.....	106
Fig. 7.1	The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Gåebrie (l. 35).....	140
Fig. 7.2	The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Suorssá (l. 48).....	145
Fig. 7.3	The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Girjes / Girjjis (l. 43).....	151
Fig. 7.4	The relative equality values of the ten SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Gárasavvon (l. 42).....	154
Fig. 7.5	Two examples of how Guovdageaidnu Saami has been classified ....	155
Fig. 7.6	The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Guovdageaidnu (l. 28) .....	158
Fig. 7.7	The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Návuotna (l. 27) .....	160
Fig. 7.8	The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Aanaar (l. 04) .....	165
Fig. 7.9	The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with A'kkel (l. 85).....	169
Fig. 7.10	The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Luujaavv'r (l. 82).....	172

Fig. 7.11	A comparison of the span of the relative equality values of the nine points of inquiry .....	173
-----------	--	-----

## Maps

Map 1.1	The main dialects of Saami (preliminary reference map).....	20
Map 2.1	The approximate areas covered by the Saami dictionaries and grammars published before 1880.....	37
Map 2.2	Ruong's dialect map of Pite (Arjeplog) Saami.....	41
Map 2.3	Dialect boundaries in Čohkkiras Saami discussed in Collinder 1949 .....	43
Map 2.4	The Skolt and Kola Saami communities during the late 19th century .....	48
Map 2.5	Qvigstad's dialect map .....	51
Map 2.6	Hasselbrink's dialect map.....	57
Map 2.7	Déscy's dialect map .....	58
Map 2.8	M. Korhonen's dialect map .....	59
Map 2.9	The approximate areas covered by the most important Saami dictionaries and grammars published between 1880 and 1980 .....	61
Map 2.10	Larsson's dialect map of Ume Saami .....	64
Map 2.11	Lehtiranta's dialect map of Arjeplog Saami.....	65
Map 2.12	Jernsletten and Sammallahti's dialect map.....	68
Map 2.13	O. Korhonen's dialect map .....	70
Map 2.14	Sammallahti's dialect map.....	76
Map 2.15	Kert's dialect map.....	77
Map 2.16	The approximate areas covered by some of the most important printed Saami dictionaries and grammars published since 1980.....	78
Map 2.17	The main scholars of Saami dialect differentiation from the 1880s onwards and their approximate areas of interest .....	79
Map 2.18	The distribution of North, Inari, and Skolt Saami settlements in northern Finland about 1950.....	80
Map 2.19	North and Skolt Saami migration waves since 1852 .....	81
Map 5.1	The network of the Saami localities of Atlas Linguarum Europae (ALE) I.....	95
Map 5.2	The traditional Skolt, Akkala, Kildin, and Ter Saami varieties represented in the SaaALE I material.....	97
Map 6.1	The spatial distribution of the Saami words for 'talk' in the SaaALE I material .....	111

Map 6.2	The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘say’ in the SaaALE I material .....	112
Map 6.3	The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘tell’ in the SaaALE I material .....	113
Map 6.4	The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘ask’ in the SaaALE I material .....	115
Map 6.5	The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘beg’ in the SaaALE I material .....	116
Map 6.6	The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘thunder’ in the SaaALE I material .....	117
Map 6.7	The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘lightning’ in the SaaALE I material .....	119
Map 6.8	The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘bow’ in ‘rainbow’ in the SaaALE I material .....	120
Map 6.9	The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘Monday’ in the SaaALE I material .....	123
Map 6.10	The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘Tuesday’ in the SaaALE I material .....	124
Map 6.11	The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘Wednesday’ in the SaaALE I material.....	125
Map 6.12	The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘Thursday’ in the SaaALE I material .....	126
Map 6.13	The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘Friday’ in the SaaALE I material .....	127
Map 6.14	The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘Saturday’ in the SaaALE I material .....	128
Map 6.15	The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘Sunday’ in the SaaALE I material .....	129
Map 7.1	The nine points of inquiry.....	131
Map 7.2	The lexical relations between Gåebrie (l. 35) and the other SaaALE I localities .....	139
Map 7.3	The lexical relations between Suorssá (l. 48) and the other SaaALE I localities .....	142
Map 7.4	Pehr Högström’s map of the parish of Gällivare .....	147
Map 7.5	The lexical relations between Girjes / Girjjis (l. 43) and the other SaaALE I localities .....	150
Map 7.6	The lexical relations between Gárasavvon (l. 42) and the other SaaALE I localities .....	153

Map 7.7	The lexical relations between Guovdageaidnu (l. 28) and the other SaaALE I localities.....	157
Map 7.8	The lexical relations between Návuotna (l. 27) and the other SaaALE I localities .....	160
Map 7.9	The lexical relations between Aanaar (l. 04) and the other SaaALE I localities .....	165
Map 7.10	The lexical relations between A'kkel (l. 85) and the other SaaALE I localities .....	168
Map 7.11	The lexical relations between Luujaavv'r (l. 82) and the other SaaALE I localities .....	171
Map 7.12: a-i.	The localities with at least 78 as relative equality value in relation to the nine points of inquiry.....	176 f.
Map 7.13: a-i.	The localities with at least 66 as relative equality value in relation to the nine points of inquiry.....	178 f.
Map 7.14: a-i.	The localities with at least 54 as relative equality value in relation to the nine points of inquiry.....	180 f.

## Tables

Table 2.1	The relation of Čohkkiras Saami to the adjacent varieties according to Collinder .....	44
Table 2.2	The number of features in Moskavuotna Saami common to the adjacent varieties according to Nesheim .....	45
Table 5.1	Missing data in SaaALE I.....	103
Table 5.2	The numeric structure of the SaaALE I corpus .....	107
Table 7.1	Extract from the matrix of nominal data .....	134
Table 7.2	Extract from the matrix of comparison for Aanaar (l. 04).....	135
Table 7.3	The lexical relations between Gâebrie (l. 35) and the other SaaALE I localities.....	138
Table 7.4	The lexical relations between Suorssá (l. 48) and the other SaaALE I localities.....	143
Table 7.5	The lexical relations between Girjes / Girjjis (l. 43) and the other SaaALE I localities.....	149
Table 7.6	The lexical relations between Gárasavvon (l. 42) and the other SaaALE I localities.....	152
Table 7.7	The lexical relations between Guovdageaidnu (l. 28) and the other SaaALE I localities.....	156

Table 7.8	The lexical relations between Návuoŋna (l. 27) and the other SaaALE I localities.....	159
Table 7.9	The questions of SaaALE I where the word reported from Aanaar (l. 04) differs from the word(s) reported from North Saami and/or Skolt Saami.....	162 f.
Table 7.10	The percentage distribution of words reported from Aanaar (l. 04) where the word(s) reported from there differ(s) from those reported from North Saami and/or Skolt Saami.....	163
Table 7.11	The lexical relations between Aanaar (l. 04) and the other SaaALE I localities.....	164
Table 7.12	The lexical relations between A'kkel (l. 85) and the other SaaALE I localities.....	167
Table 7.13	The lexical relations between Luujaavv'r (l. 82) and the other SaaALE I localities.....	170
Table 7.14	Differences between minimum and mean, mean and maximum, and minimum and maximum, of the relative equality values in relation to the nine points of inquiry.....	174

## Dialect overviews

D[ialect] O[verview] 1	Schefferus (1673) 1674.....	29
DO 2	Rangius [1716] 1970.....	30
DO 3	Rask [1819] 1932–33.....	33
DO 4	Fellman [1820s] 1906.....	34
DO 5	Fellman [1820s] 1906.....	34
DO 6	Lönnrot 1856.....	35
DO 7	Friis 1851.....	36
DO 8	Friis 1856.....	36 f.
DO 9	Halász 1891a.....	39
DO 10	Hasselbrink 1944.....	39 f.
DO 11	Bergsland 1949.....	40
DO 12	Ruong 1943.....	42
DO 13	Wiklund (1901) 1915.....	42
DO 14	Grundström 1946–54.....	42
DO 15	Hansegård 1965.....	44 f.
DO 16	Äimä 1914.....	46
DO 17	Genetz 1891.....	46
DO 18	T.I. Itkonen 1958.....	47

DO 19	Endyukovskiy 1937 .....	47
DO 20	Kert 1961 .....	47
DO 21	Setälä 1888.....	49
DO 22	Friis 1887 .....	49
DO 23	Wiklund 1896 .....	50
DO 24	Qvigstad 1893 .....	50
DO 25	Qvigstad 1925 .....	51 f.
DO 26	Collinder 1953 .....	53
DO 27	Sköld 1961 .....	54
DO 28	M. Korhonen 1964.....	55
DO 29	M. Korhonen 1981 .....	55 f.
DO 30	Hasselbrink 1962 .....	57 f.
DO 31	Déscy 1965 .....	58 f.
DO 32	Hasselbrink 1981–85 .....	62 f.
DO 33	Larsson 2012.....	64
DO 34	Lehtiranta 1992 .....	65 f.
DO 35	Sammallahti 1998b .....	66
DO 36	Jernsletten & Sammallahti 1985 .....	68
DO 37	M. Korhonen 1988.....	69
DO 38	Bergsland (1982) 1994.....	69 f.
DO 39	Sammallahti 1985 .....	71
DO 40	Sammallahti 1998b .....	71 f.
DO 41	Sammallahti 1998a .....	72 f.
DO 42	Sammallahti 1998b .....	73 ff.

# Note on orthographies, place names, and quotations

1. Saami words are spelled according to the orthographies of the respective regional literary language, or, if there is no official orthography, according to the information below. The orthographies are codified in the following dictionaries (D), grammars (G) and tables of inflection (TI):

- South Saami (SaaS.): D: Bergsland & L.M. Magga 1993; G: Bergsland (1982) 1994; O.H. Magga & L.M. Magga 2012. Reference forms: SaaS. Snåase, Nor. Snåsa.
- Ume Saami (SaaU.): for individual words, I use Schlachter 1958, since no D or G of the official orthography have yet been published; place names are written according to the SaaU. forms in Svenskt ortnamnslexikon 2003 and with the help of O. Korhonen.
- Arjeplog Saami: no official orthography; here written according to the Lule Saami orthography.
- Lule Saami (SaaL.): D: Spiik 1994; G: Spiik 1977. Reference forms: northern SaaL. Jåhkâmâhkke, Swe. Jokkmokk = SaaL. Sirges, Swe. Sirkas.
- North Saami (SaaN.): D: Sammallahti 1989; Kåven et al. 1995; Sammallahti & Nickel 2006; Svonni 2013; G: Nickel (1990) 1994; Nickel & Sammallahti 2011. Reference forms: SaaN. Guovdageaidnu, Nor. Kautokeino.
- Inari Saami (SaaI.): D & TI: Sammallahti & Morottaja 1983; G: Morottaja 2007. Reference forms: SaaI. Aanaar, Fin. Inari.
- Skolt Saami (SaaSk.): D: Mosnikoff & Sammallahti 1988; D & TI: Sammallahti & Mosnikoff 1991. Reference forms: SaaSk. Če'vetjäu'rr, Fin. Sevettijärvi.
- Akkala Saami: no official orthography; individual words are written in square brackets according to the transcription system of ALE, place names according to Sammallahti 1998b.
- Kildin Saami (SaaKld.): D & G: Kuruč 1985; transliterated into Latin letters according to the phonemic index (Kuruč 1985: 435–528). Reference forms: SaaKld. Luu-jaavv'r, Rus. Lovozero.
- Ter Saami: no official orthography; individual words are written in square brackets according to the transcription system of ALE, place names according to Sammallahti 1998b.

2. Saami place names are (with a few exceptions) written in their Saami form(s) with their Finnish (Fin.), Norwegian (Nor.), Russian (Rus.) or Swedish (Swe.) form given in parenthesis the first time they occur in the first five chapters. However, the traditional names of the main dialects are maintained, as, for example, Lule and Kildin Saami, not Julevu and Kiillt Saami. Place names along the river Upmejen-

jeanoe / Ubmejeiednuo (Umeälven) are given both in SaaS. and SaaU., in northern Jiellevárre / Jiellivárri (Gällivare) both in SaaL. and SaaN. All the names are found in the List of place names.

For the place names, I have been helped by Israelsson (2009) 2010; Israelsson & Nejne [2007]: 262–265; Porsanger 2007: 410–418; Sammallahti 1993: 570–586; 1998b; Sára 1996; Sortelius (2007) 2012; Svenskt ortnamnslexikon 2003; the English, Finnish, North Saami, Norwegian (bokmål), Russian and Swedish Wikipedia; the Internet Place Names Register (Swe. *Ortnamnsregistret*) at the Swedish Institute for Language and Folklore (SOFI); and information from Prof. Olavi Korhonen.

3. Quotations from texts in other languages than English have been translated into English by me.

# Preface

*Habent sua fata libelli!* This investigation was first begun nearly thirty years ago, when I worked as a research fellow for the UNESCO sponsored project Atlas Linguarum Europae (ALE). As a student of Saami interested in linguistic variation, I soon realised what a mine of information the Saami material of the Atlas could be for the linguistic geography of Saami and began to prepare a monograph based on it. The book was intended to be a by-product of the ALE work. However, once the editing of the Saami material for the Atlas had been completed, I had to give priority to other obligations. It required parts of two sabbaticals from my current position at the University of Bergen, Norway, and intensive work during a few summers, before I was at last able to bring the work to a close. During all these years, many individuals have been of great help as sources of inspiration. Even so, it goes without saying that none of them can be held responsible for this final version of the book.

In particular, I owe thanks to Professor Lars-Gunnar Larsson. The ALE work was done in close collaboration with him. He not only collected most of the Saami material for the Swedish network of ALE I, and edited questions 1–250, but has also given invaluable support and inspiration during every stage of the work. His clear-sighted comments on the manuscript have been fundamental. *Eatnat giitu!*

Among the other persons I would like to thank, four, sadly, can no longer be reached, though their inspiration and friendship were very encouraging. The late Professor Bo Wickman was my principal teacher of Saami. His pedagogical skills and support were crucial to my choice of field of research. The late Professor Israel Ruong ungrudgingly answered my many questions on Arjeplog Saami when I was working on the editing of the ALE material, and he encouraged me as a non-Saami to continue studying the language. The late Professor Nils-Erik Hansegård was always willing to discuss interpretations and problems of theory and terminology. I had the opportunity to discuss everything between language politics and lexicon with the late Dr. Susanna Angéus Kuoljok, my inspiring teacher of Lule Saami. All four of them followed the early phases of the project with great interest. I remember them with gratitude.

My thanks are also due to my other colleagues at the then Department of Finno-Ugric Languages (now the Department of Modern Languages) at Uppsala University who have helped me—be it only by casual remarks—to formulate my ideas, to Professor Emeritus Olavi Korhonen, University of Umeå, for help with the Ume Saami place names, and to the two anonymous reviewers of the Finno-Ugrian Society for very valuable comments on the manuscript.

I have had opportunities to present preliminary versions of parts of some chapters at graduate seminars at the former Department of Finno-Ugric languages at Uppsala University, the former Department of Linguistics at the University of Bergen, the Giellagas Institute for Saami Studies at the University of Oulu, and the Department of Modern Languages at Uppsala University. These opportunities have been of great value.

If Peter Cripps had not checked my English and Britt Rajala the North Saami of the summary, there would have been more linguistic errors in the text than remain. I am very grateful for their careful perusal and correcting of the manuscript.

I owe my thanks to the Nordic Cultural Fund and the former Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences for financing the editing of the Saami material of ALE I, to the former Department of Classics, Russian and the History of Religions at the University of Bergen for travel allowances for study tours to Cambridge and Helsinki, to the Norwegian Research Council for a grant towards the final language check, and to Professor Riho Grünthal and the Council of the Finno-Ugrian Society for accepting the book in the series *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*.

Finally, I would like to thank all the informants throughout Sápmi who made this investigation possible, the scholars who collected the greater part of the material during the late 1970s, my colleagues in the ALE work throughout Europe, and, not least, my students of Saami, who through their enthusiasm, love for the language and tireless curiosity have taught me most of all.

Bergen, July 2013,  
H.R.

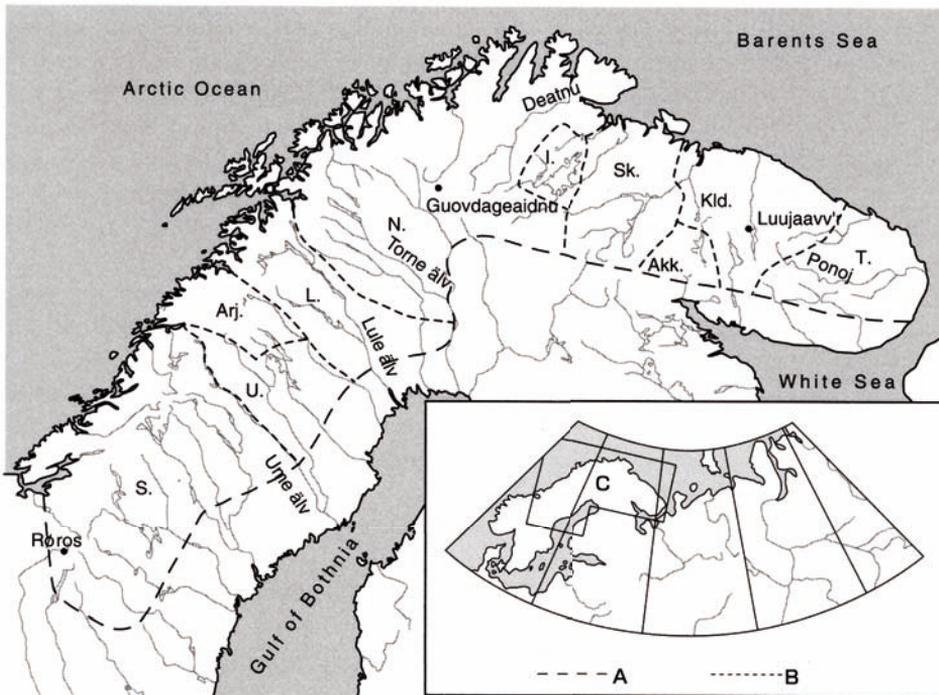
# 1. Lexical Variation in Saami?

## 1.1. Communication, lexicon, and linguistic variation

Saami is a Uralic language spoken by perhaps 35,000 people in Sápmi, the traditional Saami settlement area in the central and northern parts of Norway and Sweden, the northern parts of Finland, and on the Kola Peninsula in Russia. Although the Saami-speaking area is continuous, the Saami people constitute, to quote Nils Jernsletten (1997: 957), ‘a highly heterogeneous population’, while the Saami language is characterised by such immense variation that many scholars use the plural and talk of nine or ten Saami languages or main dialects: South, Ume, Arjeplog (or Pite), Lule, North, Inari, Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami (cf. map 1.1). With very few exceptions, however, it is possible for a Saami-speaker to communicate with speakers of the nearest language varieties, although chances of understanding decrease with distance.

It is well established that native speakers of a language perceive differences in vocabulary as distinguishing marks, and this also applies to Saami. To give three examples from earlier research, Just Qvigstad (1925: 2) noted that the Saami who commented on dialectal differences laid ‘more stress on vocabulary than on grammar’, Kjell Kemi (1984: 83), in his examination of the language boundary between Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) and Kárášjohka (Karasjok), established that intonation and choice of words were much more important to the people he interviewed than phonological and morphological differences, and Inger Marie Gaup Eira (2003: 92) observed that her informants in Gáivuotna (Kåfjord) emphasised lexical differences when comparing dialects.

However, Saami manifests what are usually called stronger and weaker language differences. The language is fairly homogeneous in some areas, while in others it is characterised by extensive variation. The reasons for this are most often extra-linguistic, such as different migration routes of the reindeer nomads, administrative borders, different religions and economies (O.H. Magga 1997: 143 f.). When it comes to lexicon, the aspect of language that is in focus in this study, the spread of loanwords from the various majority languages (Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and Russian) has been an important factor in creating language differences (cf. already Rheen [1671] 1897: 52; Fellman [1820s] 1906: 601 f.). One would imagine national



*Map 1.1.* The main dialects of Saami (preliminary reference map). A = extent of the traditional Saami area of settlement (as depicted in most modern surveys, despite the fact that the South Saami language area, for example, extends to the Gulf of Bothnia); B = approximate borders of the main dialects (one of several possibilities; see below); C = the area on the main map; S. = South Saami; U. = Ume (Umeje) Saami; Arj. = Arjeplog (Árjepluovve) Saami; L. = Lule (Julevu) Saami; N. = North Saami; I. = Inari (Aanaar) Saami; Sk. = Skolt Saami; Akk. = Akkala (A'kkel) Saami; Kld. = Kildin (Kiillt) Saami; T. = Ter (Tá'rtjj) Saami (Rydving 2004: 358; cf. Morén-Duoljjá 2010).

borders to produce linguistic differences due to the availability of different potential loanwords on either side of them, but interestingly, this was not the case in the past (see, for example, O. Korhonen 1976: 52; O.H. Magga 1997: 144). Nils Erik Hansegård (1988: 74) and myself (Rydving 1986a: 200 ff.) have noted, however, that national borders are starting to become dialect borders, with the Saami on both sides expanding their lexicon with loanwords (quotation loans, calques) from the respective majority languages. The role of new loanwords in creating language differences is of course less important when the majority languages on either side of the border are closely related (as in the case of Norwegian and Swedish) than when they are not (as in the case of Finnish and Russian).

Despite palpable lexical differences between different areas, the study of linguistic variation in Saami has so far concentrated almost exclusively on phono-

logical, morphological and syntactical aspects of the language, with lexicon being discussed to a much lesser degree.<sup>1</sup> Phonological and morphological aspects might be essential when analysing the historical development of a language, but this is not the case when the focus is on mutual intelligibility between different language varieties. In the latter case, the advantage of lexicon is obvious. Since every word has its own distribution, the analysis of many words (i.e. many features) will help us understand *how* the varieties gradually merge with one another much better than the traditional type of analysis, based on a few phonological and morphological criteria. This is even more true given the claim by K.B. Wiklund (1924: 197), that lexical differences are larger than grammatical differences ‘everywhere in the Lappish-speaking area’.

However, although the ‘most conspicuous [...] dialect differences are naturally to be found in lexicon’ (Bergsland 1995b: 14 f.), they are also the least systematic, and this is a problem for anyone wishing to base an analysis of linguistic variation on lexicon. The problem, can, however, be overcome if one follows the advice of Karl-Hampus Dahlstedt (1972: 27 f.)—who stressed the use of lexicon at the expense of phonology in linguistic geography—to use ‘a sufficiently extensive and representative word material’. Since there exists such an ‘extensive and representative’ Saami word material, it is possible to base an analysis of linguistic variation in Saami on lexical material. The material in question is the body of information collected for the *Atlas Linguarum Europae* (ALE) I during the 1970s and edited during the 1980s. It is this material that will be analysed in this study.

In order to place the investigation in the context of Saami dialectology, it is necessary by way of introduction to present the history of the Saami dialect classifications that have been developed since the first such classification was proposed in 1673. This will be the subject of Chapter 2. But before embarking on that survey, I will offer some basic facts about the Saami language.

## 1.2. The Saami language today

Due to widespread immigration from the south and long assimilation with the majority population, the Saami are today in the minority throughout most of Sápmi, an area nearly as large as Italy, Switzerland, and Austria put together. In this area, the Saami population of perhaps 71,000 is sparsely dispersed among a total population of nearly three million.

---

<sup>1</sup> This is true for other indigenous minority languages, as well. See, for example, the multi-author work *Variation in Indigenous Minority Languages* 2009, where Part I is devoted to ‘phonetics and phonology’, and Part II to ‘syntax, morphology, and morphophonology’, but lexicon is neglected.

Unfortunately, there is no reliable information about either the current number of Saami or the number of Saami speakers. Since there has been no census, except in the former Soviet Union, and it is difficult to define who is a Saami, the available information is—to quote Michael Krauss’s remark about statistics relating to northern indigenous peoples in general—‘estimates, even—frankly—guesses and guesses about guesses’ (Krauss 1997: 2; regarding the status and problems of Saami demography, see Pettersen 2008).

Estimates have gone up and down over the past decades, especially in Norway, where the majority of Saami live. In his analysis of the Norwegian census of 1970, the statistician Vilhelm Aubert concluded that there were at that time ‘at least 40,000 persons whose living conditions in one way or another are somewhat characterised by having an element of the Saami in their background’ (Aubert 1978: 113). In a handbook about the Saami, published by the Saami Institute in Guovdageaidnu two decades later (Samene: en håndbok 1990: 13), the number of Saami in Norway was estimated at between 50,000 and 52,000, while in the Saami edition of the same book, published in 1993 (Sápmelaččat 1993: 10), the total number had been reduced to 35,000. These numbers can be compared to Krauss’ (1997: 24) estimates that there were between 31,600 and 43,000 Saami in Norway around the middle of the 1990s.

In an investigation made in the 1970s, the number of Saami in Sweden was estimated at about 17,000 (Johansson 1975a: 14; 1975b: 240), whereas Krauss (1997: 24) put the number at somewhere between 17,600 and 20,000. In Finland, the estimated numbers vary between 5,300 (Sammallahti 1997: 1016) and 6,000 Saami (Krauss 1997: 24), whereas the number of Saami in the Russian Federation is usually—in accordance with the Soviet census of 1989—stated to be 1,900 (Krauss 1997: 24).<sup>2</sup>

Taking the figures given by Krauss (1997: 24), and depending on which numbers are chosen for Norway and Sweden, the total number of Saami is between 57,100 and 70,900. On the basis of the lower number, 55% of the Saami live in Norway, 31% in Sweden, 11% in Finland, and 3% in the Russian Federation. If, on the other hand, we choose the higher numbers for Norway and Sweden, then 61% of the Saami live in Norway, 28% in Sweden, 8% in Finland, and 3% in the Russian Federation.

If it is problematic to give a reasonably correct figure for the Saami population, the difficulties are not fewer when it comes to the number of Saami speakers, since there are no reliable estimates of how many Saami can speak the language. Further-

---

<sup>2</sup> Saami immigrants in other parts of Europe, in the USA, and in other countries are not included in these numbers.

more, it is an intricate problem to decide how to define a Saami ‘speaker’ (cf. E. Helander 1993: 34; O.H. Magga 1997: 137; Svonni 1998: 27). Estimates therefore vary considerably. For example, in 1990 Pekka Sammallahti calculated a total of 35,000 Saami speakers (Sammallahti 1990b: 439), but the figure he presented in 1998 was considerably lower, ‘probably somewhat more than 20,000’ (Sammallahti 1998b: 2).

According to Michael Krauss (1997: 24), the number of Saami speakers in Norway is between 15,800 and 19,000, in Sweden between 5,900 and 6,000, in Finland 2,700 and in Russia 700, i.e. between 25,100 and 28,400 in all. Compared to his estimates for the total Saami population (between 57,100 and 70,900), this would mean that between 35% and 50% of the Saami speak some form of Saami.

According to Tapani Salminen (1994–2012), the latest estimates for the number of speakers of the ten main dialects of Saami (cf. map 1.1) are as follows: South Saami has about (?) 500 speakers, Ume and Arjeplog (Pite) Saami about (?) 20 each, Lule Saami about (?) 2,000, North Saami 30,000, Inari Saami 400, Skolt Saami 300, Kildin Saami 800 and Ter Saami 10 speakers, whereas the last active speaker of Akkala Saami passed away in 2003. These numbers allow a total estimate of more than 34,000 Saami speakers, a number that is clearly higher than the one Krauss presented in 1997. However, since none of the numbers are certain (being based only on qualified guesses) the difference does not necessarily imply that the number of Saami speakers really has increased. The two important things that the numbers indicate are the relative strength of the various main dialects and the fact that there at present is no active speaker of Akkala Saami.<sup>3</sup>

The various forms of Saami earlier formed an unbroken chain, but today several varieties are hardly used at all and are mastered by only a few individuals. All the Saami varieties—except for North Saami in the area where it is the language of the majority—are mainly used in informal domains such as within the family, among friends and during reindeer herding, hunting and fishing. For example, the only formal domains in which Lule Saami is used are some of the gatherings of the Laestadian revivalist movement in Norway and services and ceremonies of the Church of Sweden. Furthermore, Swedish and Norwegian are today often used within the family (Angéus Kuoljok 1997: 21 f.). This is the case in many North Saami areas, too. Except in the few municipalities where Saami is the language of the majority, ‘the work place and mass media, all types of service in society, and

---

<sup>3</sup> The last speaker of Akkala Saami, Mariya Prokop’evna Sergina, passed away in 2003 (Rantala & Sergina 2009: 67; cf. Scheller 2011: 90 f.). It should be noted, though, that there are still, according to Scheller (2011: 90), ‘at least two people, both aged 70, with some knowledge of Akkala Sámi.’ It is therefore an exaggeration to call Akkala Saami ‘extinct’, as Salminen (1994–2012) does. ‘As long as a language is documented and someone identifies with it’, Jon Todal (2008:129) has emphasised, ‘it has neither disappeared nor is it dead.’

public activities and administration' (Svonni 1998: 29) are all dominated by Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish or Russian.

In recent decades, the use of Saami has been affected in two opposing directions. On the one hand, there has been a shift towards the use of majority languages, in consequence of which the number of Saami speakers has fallen dramatically in some areas. On the other, comprehensive initiatives have been taken to preserve and develop the language, something which has resulted in a renaissance in the use of Saami in other areas (cf. Rydving 2004). Dictionaries, grammars and textbooks have been published, the status of Saami has been enhanced and North Saami has developed into a Saami standard language. 'In the course of a couple of decades,' Pekka Sammallahti (1990b: 455) summarises, 'several thousands new words have found their way into the language, and most of these are in everyday use in the mass media and other non-traditional texts.' Sammallahti (1990b: 437 f.)—himself one of those who have contributed most to this process—has formulated the change thus: 'The language of pastoralists, hunters and fishermen is fast becoming an all-round language with all the words, phrases and expressions needed in modern technological society.' As a token of this development, which has accelerated over the past decade, several Saami-language master's theses and doctoral dissertations have been written, there is a journal (*Sámi dieđalaš áigečála*) that publishes research articles in Saami, and a Saami academic series (*SÁMI*academica) has been launched.

Today, there are Saami language organisations locally, nationally and for the whole of Sápmi. Central to the development of the language is the Saami Language Committee (SaaN. *Sámi giellalávdegoddi*) established in 1974 as a reorganisation of an earlier committee (founded in 1971), but the practical work is primarily managed by the language councils of the Saami parliaments in Norway, Sweden and Finland.<sup>4</sup>

In Norway, six municipalities—Deatnu (Tana), Guovdageaidnu, Kárášjohka, Porsáŋgu (Porsanger) and Unjárga (Nesseby) in the county (Nor. *fylke*) of Finnmark, and Gáivuotna (Kåfjord) in the county of Troms—have since 1992 been brought together as the so-called Saami language administrative area. In 2006, the municipality Divtasvuodna (Tysfjord) in the county of Nordland, and in 2008 and 2009, respectively, the municipalities Snåase (Snåsa) in the county of Nord-Trøndelag and Loabát (Lavangen) in the county of Troms were added. Any Saami

---

<sup>4</sup> Regarding language rights and the contemporary language situation, cf., for example, Simonsen 1992; Kemi 1993; M. Aikio 1994a: 62–64; Rapport 1994; Hyvärinen 1995; Jernsletten 1997; O. Korhonen 1997a; O.H. Magga 1997: 153 f.; Sammallahti 1997; Svonni 1998: 25 f.; Huss 1999; Hyltenstam & Stroud & Svonni 1999; O.H. Magga 2001; O.H. Magga & Skutnabb-Kangas 2003; I.M.G. Eira 2004; Jansson 2005; Todal 2007; Svonni 2008a; Seurujärvi-Kari 2012.

in this area who approaches the local, regional or state authorities using Saami is entitled to receive an answer in the same language. Furthermore, all announcements by public authorities that are especially directed towards the Saami population are to be framed in both Norwegian and Saami (cf. *Mål og mening* 2007–08, esp. 4.1.3, 4.2, and 10.2; *Handlingsplan for samiske språk* 2009; *Samisk språkundersøkelse* 2012).

In Sweden, Saami has—along with Finnish, Meänkieli (formely: Torne Valley Finnish and Jällivaara [Gällivare] Finnish), Romani Chib, and Yiddish—been officially acknowledged as a minority language since 2000, when a special Saami language law was introduced in the four municipalities Árjepluovve (Arjeplog), Giron (Kiruna), Jáhkámáhkke (Jokkmokk) and Jiellevárre / Jiellevárri (Gällivare), in the county (Swe. *län*) of Norrbotten. In 2009–10, another thirteen municipalities were added, Árviesjávrrie<sup>5</sup> (Arvidsjaur) in the county of Norrbotten, Liksjoe / Likssjuo (Lycksele), Luspie / Lusspie (Storuman), Máláge (Malå), Suorssá (Sorsele), Upmeje / Ubmeje (Umeå) and Vualtjere (Vilhelmina) in the county of Västerbotten, Ååre (Åre), Bjerje (Berg), Hierjedaelie (Härjedalen), Staare (Östersund) and Straejmie (Strömsund) in the county of Jämtland, and Älvdalen in the county of Dalarna. This law gives the Saami a statutory right to use Saami in dealings with the authorities and in court, and a right to child and geriatric care in Saami (cf. *Språklag utfärdad den 28 maj 2009*; *Rättigheter stärks* 2009; *De samiska språken i Sverige* 2012).

In Finland, the three municipalities Aanaar / Anár (Inari), Eanodat (Enontekiö) and Ohcejohka (Utsjoki), along with parts of Soađegillii (Sodankylä), were brought together in 1992 to form the so-called Saami Home Area. In this area, the Saami ‘have the right to use their language before an authority or agency and receive documents and information in the language. Public notices, announcements and proclamations are in the Sami Home Area drafted and issued also in the Sami language.’ (M. Aikio 1994b: 64; cf. *Saamen kielilaki* 15.12.2003/1086)

In the Russian Federation, on the other hand, Saami still lacks any special status, but there is a very active movement for the revitalisation of Kildin Saami in Luujavv’r (Lovozero) (cf. Utvik 1982; Rantala 1996; Scheller 2011).

Having presented these few facts and figures about the conditions of the Saami language today, we can now turn to the main theme of the investigation with a survey of earlier research on Saami dialect differentiation.

---

<sup>5</sup> Interestingly enough, this official Ume Saami name form is a reconstruction of the original Saami name. The traditional spoken language forms would be written Árviehávrrie and Árvehure (O. Korhonen 2001: 8; cf. Rydving 1986b: 85).



## 2. The History of Research into Saami Dialect Differentiation

The Saami language area consists of a continuity of varieties—or, to be more precise, of what used to constitute a continuous series of local dialects (cf. Bergsland 1995b: 9)—stretching from Engerdaelie (Engerdal) in central Norway and Eajra (Idre) in central Sweden to the eastern parts of the Kola Peninsula in Russia. However, since the seventeenth century scholars have divided this continuity into larger and smaller parts (dialect groups, main dialects, dialects, sub-dialects). Sometimes, the interest in linguistic variation has been motivated by the ambition to create literary languages that could be used in larger regions; sometimes, the analysis of local language forms has promoted the awareness of variation. The classifications that have been proposed at different times have been based on a variety of criteria, but only rarely have these criteria been explicitly stated.

Some varieties have received greater attention than others. Another salient feature says something about the enthusiasm of the individual scholar: it is not uncommon for the scholar to judge the variety of Saami with which he or she is most familiar as ‘the best’ in one sense or another. To give a few arbitrary examples, that variety might be presented as ‘the plainest’ (Rangius [1716] 1970: 17; about Arjeplog Saami), ‘the oldest and most original’ (Rask (1836) 1932–33: 325; about Finnmark Saami), ‘the most regular and most developed’ (Stockfleth 1851: 120; about eastern Finnmark Saami), the ‘purest’ (Wiklund (1901) 1915: 3, n. 1; about Lule Saami) or ‘the most genuine’ (Ruong 1943: iii; about the Luokta-Mávas dialect of Arjeplog Saami) of all (or compared with all neighbouring) Saami varieties.

The purpose of this chapter is not to give a general outline of Saami dialect research,<sup>6</sup> but to trace the history of Saami dialect classifications. In order to make it easier to compare the different proposals, I will list the varieties in the same order (from south-west to north-east) irrespective of the order used by the individual authors. Although the orders used by them are of interest to the history of Saami dialect research, they are of no account in this connection, where the focus is on the

---

<sup>6</sup> Regional or general surveys are found in, for example, Qvigstad 1899; Nielsen 1903; Collinder 1956; Wickman 1959; Hasselbrink 1962; Wickman 1975; M. Korhonen 1981: 67 ff., Lakó 1986: 10 ff.; Larsson 1990; 2001b; Palismaa & I.M.G. Eira 2001; Larsson 2012: 41 ff.

classifications alone; the reader who wishes to check the original listing orders can easily do so with the help of the references. In addition, I have changed non-Saami place names to Saami ones where such are not indicated in the original texts, and placed the (present forms of) Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish or Russian place name in parenthesis after the Saami one the first time a name occurs.

## 2.1. Beginnings (the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries)

The first Saami word list was compiled by the English traveller Stephen Borrough (also spelled Burrowe) as early as June 1556. When bad weather forced his ship to take shelter in a bay on the northern shore of the Kola Peninsula near the outlet of the Jofkyj (Yokanga) river, he interrogated some Saami who came to the ship and wrote down a number of words ‘for their use, that hereafter shall have occasion to continue this voyage’ (Borrough in Hakluyt [1589] 1965: 329). The words in Borrough’s list are easily recognisable as Kildin and Ter Saami (cf. Alison Quinn’s index in Hakluyt [1589] 1965: 968). But although Borrough’s list of eastern Saami words was a pioneer work, it was not followed by any attempts to analyse the eastern Saami varieties. Instead, it was in the west that a more systematic interest in the language of the Saami began. The first books in Saami and the first grammars and dictionaries were published in connection with intensified missionary work in Sweden (of that time) and Norway during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

When the first Saami books, a primer and a missal, were published in 1619, they made use of a peculiar mixture of Saami, Finnish and Swedish (Wiklund 1922: 24 ff.). This is usually interpreted as an indication that the publisher, the clergyman Nicolaus Andreae Rehn, had a poor knowledge of Saami, but more careful analysis has shown that, despite its imperfections, the language has clear Ume Saami traits (Bergsland 1984: B 1 ff.; O. Korhonen 2007; cf. Söder 2001). Tryggve Sköld (1986: 15n) has suggested that it might have been some kind of pidgin that was used in business activities. This is by no means impossible, since pidgins were used between the different population groups in other parts of Sápmi, for example the so-called *borgarmålet* (Swe.) in the Lule Saami area (cf. Högström [1747]: 77; Broch & Jahr (1981) 1984: 69–71) and *russenorsk* (Nor.) in the coastal regions of the North Saami area (cf. Broch & Jahr (1981) 1984; Jahr 1996).

Following the publication of Andreae Rehn’s two books, several other religious works were translated into Saami and published during the 1630s and 1640s (cf. Qvigstad & Wiklund 1899; Lindin & Rydving 2007: 211 ff.). Already at this time, publishers were aware of the great linguistic variety and generally tried to handle the difficulty by sticking to one dialect, even if that meant their texts would not be

understood (or would be understood only with difficulty) in areas where that dialect was not spoken. Johannes Tornæus' translation of the Swedish service book was in this respect an exception (Tornæus 1648; cf. Qvigstad 1933; Bergsland 1984: B 10 ff.; Lidberg 2002). Tornæus was the first who tried to create a Saami literary language, which he hoped would be understood by as many Saami as possible. In reality, however, the language of his translations is a strange mixture of different dialects. Nonetheless, Tornæus' book is, to quote Collinder (1956: 25), 'a most remarkable initiative', although it is an overstatement when Collinder claims that 'Tornæus deserves an honourable mention in the history of linguistics as one of the founders of dialect studies' (Collinder 1956: 25). It was not until the 1670s that the study of Saami dialects can be said to start in earnest.

It is true that Michael Olai Wexionius had devoted a chapter in his *Epitome descriptionis Sueciæ, Gothiæ, Fenningiæ, et subjectarum provinciarum* to the Saami language, but he had nothing to say about linguistic variation (Wexionius 1650). It was Johannes Schefferus who first discussed dialect relations in Lapponia, published a little more than two decades later (Schefferus 1673). There he summarised the language situation of the Saami as follows:

this also is observable, that it doth not in all places alike agree with it self, but hath its several different Dialects, and is so various, that those that live in one part of the Country, can scarce understand those of the other.

(Schefferus (1673) 1674: 76 f.)

More interesting in this connection, however, is that he distinguished between three dialects, used, as he writes:

(D[ialect] O[verview] 1)

1. by the *Umenses* and *Pithenses* in the West
2. by the *Luhlenses* in the North
3. by the *Tornenses* and *Kimenses* in the East

(Schefferus (1673) 1674: 77)

Even if this division only includes Saami dialects spoken in Sweden (including the parts that became Finland in 1809), it is interesting as a first attempt to divide Saami up into dialects. When exemplifying the differences between the dialects, Schefferus confines himself to lexical comparisons, and he mentions with appreciation that several of the Saami were bilingual, and that this was 'much esteemed' (Schefferus (1673) 1674: 77).

The missionaries and clergymen who from the second half of the seventeenth century worked among the Saami were aware of the differences between Saami in different areas (see, for instance, Rheen [1671] 1897: 52; Leem 1748: [Fortale til Læseren: b (*verso*)]), between the language of the Lule and the Umeå Saami

(Lundius [late 1670s] 1905: 9), between different Torne Saami sub-dialects (Tornæus [1672] 1772: 7 f.), between the language of the Finnmark Saami and those in Trøndelag, between Sea ‘Finns’ (= Coast Saami) and Mountain ‘Lapps’, between different Coast Saami dialects (Skanke [1730] 1745: 607), between ‘the Finnmark dialect’ and ‘the Torne’ dialect (Hammond 1787: 886), etc. Also, there was an awareness that at least some of the dialectal differences were due to the fact that so many Saami were bilingual, with the result that the Saami language had been influenced by the various second languages spoken across the region—Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish or Russian (cf. Rheen [1671] 1897: 52). A short Saami wordlist including words from what we would today call South and Ume Saami was compiled by the pastor of Jovnevaerie (Offerdal), Zacharias Olai Plantinus, as early as in 1672, although it was not published until 1890 (Plantinus [1672] 1890; Setälä 1890).

The Saami vicar of Silbbajåhkå (Silbojokk), Lars Rangius, who translated the entire New Testament into his own dialect between 1701 and 1713 (cf. Wilson 2003; 2008), mentions three dialects, but his classification is different from Schefferus’, since he classified South Saami as his first group and Pite (or Arjeplog) Saami, not Lule Saami, as the central one:<sup>7</sup>

(DO 2)

1. one southern (Åsele)
2. one central (Pite)
3. one northern (Torne)

(Rangius [1716] 1970: 17)

During the first decades of the eighteenth century, several Saami grammars and word lists were written, among them a short Guovdageaidnu Saami grammar and a Swedish–Saami word list by the local vicar Johan Tornberg (Nordberg 1970: 40–67), and a short Arjeplog Saami word list by the local vicar Johan Laestadius, which is interesting for being arranged not alphabetically, but according to semantic fields (Nordberg 1970: 68–71). None of these texts were published until much later, and some of the manuscripts are not even preserved, but only known through references, like the North Saami grammars written by the missionaries Jens Bloch and R. Rachlew, the vocabulary by the latter (Qvigstad 1899: 14), and a *Vocabularium Latino–Svethico–Lapponicum, cum parallelismo dialectorum* (possibly written by the senior schoolmaster Georg Wallin), which—if one is to believe the title—would have been the first (and still only) Saami dictionary to include a comparison of several varieties (Nordberg 1970: 39).

<sup>7</sup> In this case Pite Saami is probably understood as including Lule Saami; one could compare this with later divisions that regard Arjeplog (Pite) Saami as a sub-dialect of Lule Saami; see below.

The most important contribution, however, was made by Pehr Fjellström from Árjepluovve (Arjeplog), who was schoolmaster at Liksjoe / Likssjuo (Lycksele) from 1718 and became vicar there in 1739. The Saami variety he had learnt as a child was not Arjeplog Saami, but the language of the forest Saami of Árjepluovve, i.e. an Ume Saami local dialect (cf. Sköld 1986: 17). It is natural that it was that variety that he used as the basis for the literary language he created and codified in a dictionary and a grammar (Fjellström 1738a; 1738b). This literary language was revised at two language conferences in 1743 and 1744 (cf. Forsgren 2000: 98–101; Forsgren 2001) and until the 1840s it was called the Lappish book language (Swe. *det lapska bokspråket*). For more than 150 years, it was the dominant Saami literary language.

In Fjellström's grammar there is a special section on dialectal differences. The two dialects he describes, *dialectus australior* and *dialectus borealior*, were the dialects in his own home area, corresponding to Ume Saami and Arjeplog Saami respectively. Fjellström's linguistic work was pioneering in several respects. For example, in contrast to earlier discussions of Saami dialects that had only taken lexical differences into account, Fjellström distinguished between four types of dialectal differences, those that concern (1) vocalism and consonantism (i.e. phonology), (2) the meaning of words (i.e. lexicon), (3) cases and tenses (i.e. morphology), and (4) pronunciation and accentuation (i.e. prosody) (Fjellström 1738b: 9 f.). The grammar published in 1743 by Henricus Ganander, the pastor of Eanodat (Enontekiö), another early work, describes one of the Torne Saami dialects (Ganander 1743).

During the 1740s, Fjellström's former student Pehr Högström, who was one of the missionaries with the best knowledge of languages and the first to publish texts in Lule Saami, argued that the problem of mutual understanding between the different dialects had been exaggerated. Even where different dialects, as he writes, 'have different terms for the same notion, and sometimes different notions [are expressed with] the same term', he had also noted that he had heard words when speaking to local Saami, which 'interpreters as well as clergymen versed in the language' had assured him 'were not in use in this or that *Lappmark*'<sup>8</sup> (Högström [1747]: 66). Högström points out that many of the difficulties were due to the special characteristics of each dialect. He gives several examples of regular morphological and phonological differences, and even asserts that if one knows how the 'letters are changed' in the different dialects, one will understand that there

---

<sup>8</sup> Swe. *Lappmark* denoted an administrative district within the confines of Sweden (of that time) with a Saami population. In the middle of the eighteenth century the *Lappmarks* were (from the south) Jämtland's, Åsele, Ume or Lycksele, Pite, Lule, Torne and Kemi.

are ‘few words in one dialect, that [...] are not found in the remaining’ (Högström [1747] 67). Högström sums up his impressions as follows:

the more insight I have gained into the language, the less I have found the differences between the dialects to be, and I have found that no one has complained more loudly and volubly about their differences and the difficulty of bringing them together, than those who have been the least advanced in the language.

(Högström [1747]: 70)

One should note that this opinion was based on his comprehensive knowledge of the Saami varieties from Ume Saami to eastern North Saami, but did not take other varieties such as South Saami or Skolt Saami into account.

Knud Leem, another of the pioneers of Saami linguistics and the first professor of Saami,<sup>9</sup> had learned Saami while working as a missionary in the districts of Porsáŋgu (Porsanger) and Lágesvuotna (Laksefjord) between 1725 and 1729 (Leem 1748: [Fortale til Læseren: b]; cf. Leem 1756; Hagland 2000; Knud Leem og det samiske 2003). In the grammar he wrote of the Porsáŋgu dialect, he noted a number of differences between the dialects of the Mountain Saami and the Coast Saami in that area. The dialects of different groups of Mountain Saami were, in his view, not as different from one another as the Coast Saami dialects. He explained this difference with the fact that the Mountain Saami travelled more and had fairly extensive communications, whereas the Coast Saami lived in isolated fjords and therefore seldom met (Leem 1748: 386 f.). Leem’s precise and comprehensive dictionary, which, despite the year 1768 on the title-page of the first volume, was published posthumously in two volumes in 1781 (Leem [1768] 1781; Sandberg 1781)—the second of which was compiled by Gerhard Sandberg (cf. Qvigstad 1899: 16 f.; Nielsen 1953: 18; Djärv 2003)—and was based on the Saami dialects of Porsáŋgu, Lágesvuotna and Kárášjohka (Karasjok).<sup>10</sup> The grammar written by his assistant Anders Porsanger, the first Saami to become a clergyman in Norway (cf. Martinussen 1992), was, however, never published. Neither was the grammar and glossary written by the missionary C.F. Hagerup, who worked in the Lule Saami area of Norway (Qvigstad 1899: 18n).

It should also be noted that outside the area traditionally regarded as the Saami settlement area, Saami dialectal material was collected by the teacher and clergyman Petrus Holmberger during the 1770s among the so-called parish Lapps (Swe. *sockenlappar*) in Valbo near Tjarvetje (Gävle) in central Sweden.<sup>11</sup> When the material from this extinct local dialect is published (it is currently being worked up

---

<sup>9</sup> As Supphellen (2003) has shown, Leem’s title of ‘Professor linguæ Lapponicæ’ was personal and honorary, and no successor was therefore appointed after his death.

<sup>10</sup> Concerning Leem as linguist, see O.H. Magga 2003: 31 ff.; cf. Kemi 1994.

<sup>11</sup> Regarding the ‘parish Lapps’, see Svanberg 1986; 1999.

by Lars-Gunnar Larsson; cf. Larsson 2001c; 2005), it will probably oblige us to modify the history of the southern Saami varieties.

During the late eighteenth century, an important contribution to Saami lexicography and dialectology was the dictionary by Eric Lindahl and Johannes Öhrling of the literary language created by Fjellström during the 1730s and further developed in the following decades. This dictionary covers three dialects, not only Fjellström's 'Austral.' (for Ume Saami) and 'Boreal.' (which in the dictionary stands for Lule Saami as it had been developed by Högström, rather than Arjeplog Saami), but also 'Lychs.' (= Lycksele, i.e. probably the northern varieties of South Saami) (Lindahl & Öhrling 1780; cf. Djärv 2003).

Whereas the study of Ume, Pite (Arjeplog) and Lule Saami and the development of a literary language for these Saami groups had dominated linguistic interest during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (with Ganander's grammar and Leem's works as exceptions), the nineteenth century focused a new and deeper attention on North Saami, especially the varieties spoken in northern Norway. In addition, new and more accurate classifications of the Saami dialects were presented, the first by Rasmus Rask, the Danish linguist who would later reform North Saami orthography. As early as 1819, he suggested a division of Saami into three 'kinds of language':

(DO 3)

1. the Swedish or Laplandic
2. the Norwegian or Finn[mark] Lappish
3. the Russian Lappish

(Rask [1819] 1932–33: 257)

In a manuscript he probably wrote in the mid 1820s, he further distinguished between a southern (codified in Fjellström's works) and a north-eastern (as in Ganander's grammar) variety of Laplandic, and he mentions 'a Laplandic kind of language that is used in Inari', i.e. Inari Saami, which, rather oddly, he considers 'insignificant' and hence excludes from his classification. However, he shows awareness of the significant differences between the three types of Saami he mentions and is diffident about whether to describe them as 'kinds of language' (Da. sg. *sprogart*) or languages (Rask (1836) 1932–33: 331). In 1832, Rask's revision of Leem's grammar (Rask 1832) was published, and in the following decades another scholar, the energetic Norwegian clergyman Nils Vibe Stockfleth, published, among other things, a grammar and a dictionary of the Finnmark dialects of North Saami (Stockfleth 1840; 1852), unfortunately of varying quality (cf. Qvigstad 1899: 23 f.). His handling of the linguistic situation of the Saami in

northern Norway is the first investigation of Saami that could be labelled socio-linguistic (Stockfleth 1848: 416 ff; 1851). He was also the first to point out the important fact that the frontier between Norway and Sweden was not a Saami dialect border (Stockfleth 1848: 157), and he regarded the differences between what we today call North Saami and South Saami to be sufficiently large to warrant classifying South Saami as a separate language (Stockfleth 1848: 259). Stockfleth's most important contribution was, however, the creation of a new literary language for North Saami. Among other things, he started to use the letters <č>, <š> and <ž>, which have been used ever since in North Saami orthographies. The use of these letters, borrowed from Czech, had been suggested by Rask, but it was Stockfleth who introduced them in his writings. At a time when the study of Saami was met with resistance in Norway, another of Stockfleth's achievements was, as Qvigstad (1899: 25) has put it, 'that he aroused new interest in the study of the language'.

In Finland, Jacob Fellman presented a classification of the Saami dialects that was essentially the same as Rask's, even if his terminology was different, and which included Inari Saami and the other Saami varieties of northern Finland:

(DO 4)

1. the Liksjoe / Liksjuo dialect
2. the Finnmark dialect
3. the Russian Lappish dialect, including the language used in Aanaar (Inari), Soabbat (Sompio) and Salla (Kuolajärvi until 1936)

(Fellman [1820s] 1906: 601)

Furthermore, Fellman had learnt that the Russian Saami themselves divided their language into three idioms. He could therefore present a new and more detailed classification of these dialects, a classification that in the main corresponds to the later distinction between Skolt, Kildin (incl. Akkala) and Ter Saami:

(DO 5)

1. one spoken in Njauddâm (Neiden), Paaččjokk (Patsojoki), Peäccam (Pečenga) and Mue'tkĕĕ (Muotka), and by all the Tuállâm (Tuloma) Lapps, 'or on the whole by all the Lapps that visit the Peisen [Peäccam (Pečenga)] monastery'
2. one spoken by the Lapps near Oaver (Imandra), in Kiillt (Kil'din), Koarrdögk (Voroninsk), Nyrr't syjtt (Semiostrovsk), or as far as Luujaavv'r (Lovosero)
3. one spoken on the easternmost part of the Kola Peninsula between Rus. Svyatoy Nos, Luujaavv'r and Pyöñne (Ponoy)

(Fellman [1820s] 1906: 601)

This classification was later adopted by Matthias A. Castrén, who assumed incorrectly, however, that the first of these dialects lay 'half-way between mountain Lappish [of North Saami] and the Inari language' (Castrén (1838–44) 1870: 157 f.). Fellman's classification could be compared to the one presented by Elias Lönnrot in

his monograph about Inari Saami. There, he divided the Russian Saami into the same three dialects, although his terminology was more systematic:

(DO 6)

1. the western or *notoserschen*
2. the north-eastern or *semioströvschen*
3. the south-eastern or *terschen*

(Lönnrot 1856: 135n)

He also included several tables with comparisons between North and Inari Saami gradation and conjugation (Lönnrot 1856: 142 f.), and provided one noun and one verb in all forms in South, North and Inari Saami (Lönnrot 1856: 147, 149, 155, 157, 159, 161, 163, 165, 167, 169). Moreover, in his register of words he provided not just the Inari Saami entries and their German translations, but in most cases also South and North Saami as well as Finnish correspondences (Lönnrot 1856: 217 ff.).

According to the linguist and explorer Andreas Johan Sjögren (1828: 252), the Saami dialect of Ohcejohka was much closer to the dialects used in Norwegian Finnmark than to those used in the Swedish parts of Sápmi. Furthermore, he regarded Inari Saami as a dialect that ‘can be said to stand right between’ the dialect in Ohcejohka and those in Russia, and he was the first to present Saami dialectal texts for comparison when he reproduced the Lord’s Prayer in no less than six different varieties, those of (1) Soabbat in Soađegillii, (2) Aanaar, (3) Ohcejohka, (4) Nyrr’t syjtt, (5) Njuđ’ttjäu’rr (Notozero), (6) Mue’tkk̃ and Paaččjokk (Sjögren 1828: 253 ff.).

In addition to Fjellström’s and Stockfleth’s literary languages, based on Ume and Arjeplog Saami, and Finnmark Saami respectively, a third literary language was created around 1840 by the clergyman and botanist Lars Levi Laestadius. In his Lule Saami language, Laestadius published the first truly idiomatic Saami texts so far. He planned to write a grammar as well, but that project was unfortunately never accomplished (Nissen 1958; Rydving 2000).

In order to distinguish Laestadius’ literary language from Fjellström’s, which was still in use, it was labelled ‘the North Lappish book language’ (Swe. *det nordlappska bokspråket*), even though it was Lule Saami, not North Saami (but, it should be noted, neither of these two latter terms was used at the time), and Fjellström’s language was consequently re-named ‘the South Lappish book language’ (Swe. *det sydlapska bokspråket*), even though it was not South Saami (cf. Rydving 2000: 70 f.). This (for later dialectologists) confusing terminology has caused many misunderstandings.

Jens Andreas Friis objected to the grouping of the North Saami varieties into two main dialects, the Mountain Saami and the Coast (or Sea) Saami. Instead, he was of the opinion that it is possible to distinguish between several Mountain Saami dialects, at the same time as the language of the Coast Saami is similar to that of the Mountain Saami in each district (Friis 1851: 99 f.). Regarding the language area as a whole, he divided Saami into three dialects with sub-dialects, or ‘nuances’ as he called them:

(DO 7)

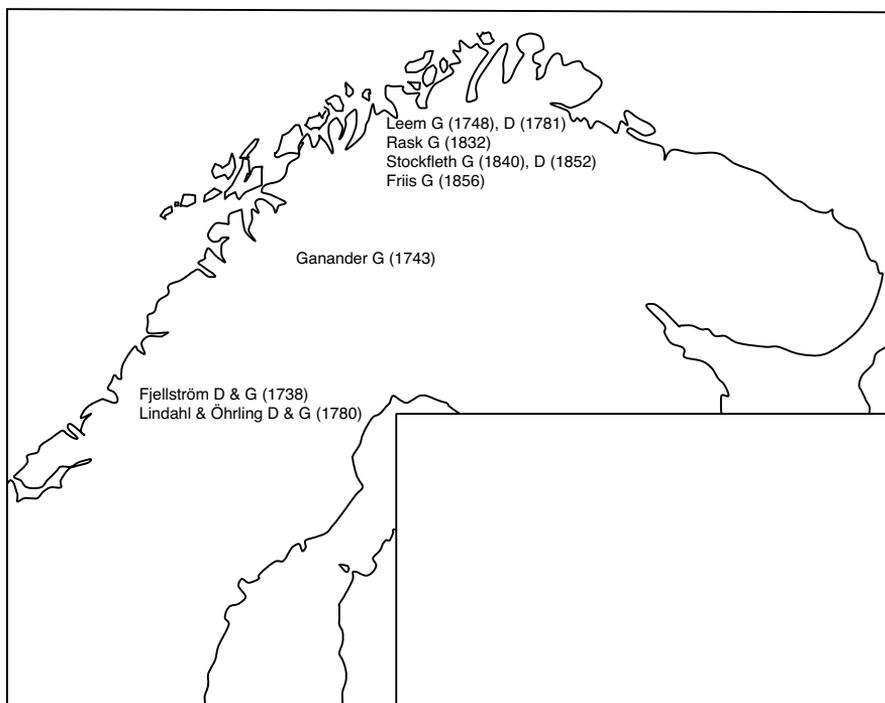
1. (no name)
    - 1.1. Plassje (Røros) to Vaapste (Vefsn), Jáhkámáhkke (Jokkmokk), Jiellvárre / Jiellivárri (Gällivare);
    - 1.2. Divtasvuodna (Tysfjord) to Báhcčavuotna (Balsfjord), Čohkkiras (Jukkasjärvi) and Gárasavvon (Karesuando);
  2. (no name)
    - 2.1. Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino), Hámmárfeasta (Hammerfest), Álaheadju (Alta), Láhppi (Loppa), Skiervá (Skjærvøy), Ivgu (Lyngen) and Gálsa (Karlsøy)
    - 2.2. Kárášjohka, Lágesvuotna, Davvesiida (Lebesby) and Porsáŋgguvuotna (Porsangerfjorden)
    - 2.3. Ohcejohka (Utsjoki), Čáhcesuolu (Vadsø), Várjjat (Varanger), Deatnu (Tana) and western Deatnu to and including Lákkovuotna (Langfjord)
  3. Inari and Skolt or Russian Lappish from Njauddâm to Kuâlök (Kola)
- (Friis 1851: 100)

Furthermore, he noted that the Saami from Guovdageaidnu, Gárasavvon and Báhcčavuotna could understand one another without problem, whereas the language in Aanaar and Divtasvuodna, on the other hand, was ‘as good as incomprehensible’ to the Saami in ‘the districts no. 2’ (Friis 1851: 101).

Although Friis’s grammar (Friis 1856) was not, as Qvigstad (1899: 27) claimed, the first to take the dialects into account, it did so in a more systematic way than Fjellström had done in 1738, insofar as Friis consistently indicated dialect divergences in the notes to each section. Also, in his grammar he presented a new classification of Saami dialects, not of all the dialects this time, but of those spoken in Norway:

(DO 8)

1. the southern main dialect
  - 1.1. the sub-dialect spoken from Plassje to Vaapste
  - 1.2. the sub-dialect spoken from Divtasvuodna to Báhcčavuotna
2. the main dialect of Finnmark
  - 2.1. the sub-dialect of Guovdageaidnu, Hámmárfeasta, Riehppovuotna (Repparfjord), Álaheadju, Láhppi, Skiervá, Gálsa, and Ivgu



Map 2.1. The approximate areas covered by the Saami dictionaries (D) and grammars (G) published before 1880.

2.2. the sub-dialect of Kárášjohka, Lágesvuotna and Porsáŋgguvuotna

2.3. the sub-dialect of Ohcejohka, Deatnu, Várjjat and western Deatnu to and including Lákkovuotna

(Friis 1856: III)

M.A. Castrén, who back in 1839 had defended a dissertation about declination in Finnish, Estonian and Saami (Castrén 1839), published in 1845 an article about the aspect of stress in Saami (Castrén 1845), still today one of very few studies of Saami prosody. In his travel diary for the years 1841–44, Castrén emphasised that the different dialects were rather similar, ‘if one’, as he writes, ‘disregards the foreign elements, which each in its own way has taken up from separate languages’ (Castrén [1838–44] 1870: 158).

By the 1870s, a basis had been laid for Saami linguistic geography. There existed grammars and dictionaries in several dialects (cf. map 2.1), texts in even more of them, and three more or less officially recognised literary languages were in use (‘the South Lappish book language’, ‘the North Lappish book language’, and ‘Norwegian Lappish’). However, scientific knowledge about most of the dialects and of

the relations between them was still insufficient, but this would change over the next two decades.

## 2.2. Foundations (1880s – c. 1980)

A period of intensified study of Saami began with the publications by Ignács Halász during the 1880s and 1890s, by J.A. Friis's North Saami dictionary in 1887, by K.B. Wiklund's Lule Saami dictionary and monograph in 1890 and 1891, and the dissertations by Just Qvigstad and Wiklund in 1893 and 1896 respectively. Although these four were linguists, clergymen continued to make important contributions to Saami dialectology, especially as lexicographers. Larsson has called attention to the fact that of the five large dictionaries of Saami dialects we have today, 'one was compiled by a pure linguist [Nielsen 1932–38], two by clergymen [Grundström 1946–54; Hasselbrink 1981–85] and two by clergymen's sons [T.I. Itkonen 1958; E. Itkonen et al. 1986–89]' (Larsson 1997: 113). Even so, from the 1880s onwards, the study of Saami was for the first time in the hands of professional linguists. The investigations of the pioneers, and especially those of Qvigstad and Wiklund, became the foundations for future linguistic analyses of Saami and still exert an influence today, even though this is not always recognised.

### 2.2.1. Parts of the language area

Since the material is extensive and heterogeneous, I have chosen in the following to present first those suggestions that concern only a greater or lesser part of the language area, and then the classifications proposed for relations between all the Saami varieties.

#### **The Saami varieties spoken in Sweden**

In his comprehensive survey of the Saami dialects in Sweden, Halász divided them into a southern, a central and a northern language area. Of the dialects in the northern area, he presented two Torne Saami dialects—Gárasavvon and Ivvárstádit (Ibestad) (= Čohkkiras) (Halász 1891a: 175 ff.)—and the Lule Saami dialect of Jáhkámáhkke (Jokkmokk) (pp. 193 ff.). The dialects in the central area are represented by the Árviesjávrrie (Arvidsjaur) dialect (pp. 213 ff.), and the southern area by Gierkiesovvene / Giärggiesuvvane (Stensele) – Aarborte (Hattfjelldal) (pp. 238 ff.), Åsele *Lappmark*<sup>12</sup> (pp. 243 f.) and Jämtland (pp. 244 ff.), with comparisons

---

<sup>12</sup> See footnote 13.

between the dialects and with Finnmark Saami. His classification and exemplification of the dialects in Sweden and parts of Norway could be summarised thus:

(DO 9)

1. southern area (examples:)
  - 1.1. Jämtland
  - 1.2. Åsele *Lappmark*
  - 1.3. Gierkiesovvene / Giärggiesuvvane – Aarborte
2. central area (example:)
  - 2.1. the Árviesjávrrie dialect
3. northern area (examples:)
  - 3.1. Lule Lappish
    - 3.1.1. southern Jähkâmâhkke; 3.1.2. northern Jähkâmâhkke; 3.1.3. southern Jiellevárre; 3.1.4. northern Jiellevárre
  - 3.2. Ivvárstádit (= Čohkkiras)
  - 3.3. Gárasavvon

(Halász 1891a: 175 ff.)

### South Saami

South Saami was investigated by several scholars during the period, from the pioneers Halász (1886; 1891b) and Wiklund (1893), through the works by Eliel Lagercrantz (1923; 1926b) and Björn Collinder (1942; 1943), to the South Saami specialists Gustav Hasselbrink (1944; 1965) and Knut Bergsland (1946). The latter two wrote the first two (and still the only) doctoral dissertations about South Saami.

It was Hasselbrink who introduced the term Vilhelmina Lappish for ‘the south Lappish dialect that is spoken in the parish of Vilhelmina [SaaS. Vualtjere] in the county of Västerbotten’, but he noted how problematic this type of terminology is, since ‘the administrative or ecclesiastical division of southern Lapland has little or nothing to do with the linguistic or ethnographic grouping of the Lappish people’ (Hasselbrink 1944: 1). He also pointed out that the usual terms for the group of dialects to which ‘Vilhelmina Lappish’ belongs, ‘Västerbotten Lappish’ or ‘Åsele Lappish’ are inappropriate, ‘since the borders for the dialect group coincide with the borders of neither the county of Västerbotten, nor of Åsele *Lappmark*’<sup>13</sup> (Hasselbrink 1944: 3). Nevertheless, he chose to stick to tradition in classifying the South Saami dialects ‘in the widest sense’ as follows:

(DO 10)

1. South Lappish proper
  - 1.1. Jämt Lappish

<sup>13</sup> There are two divisions of Sweden into regions, an older one into provinces (Swe. *landskap*) and a newer one into counties (Swe. *län*). Åsele *Lappmark* is an old designation for the southernmost part of the province of Lapland. The same area is also the southwestern part of the county of Västerbotten.

- 1.1.1. the southern group: Plassje, Hjerjedaelie (Härjedalen), Säähka (Undersåker)
- 1.1.2. the northern group: Jijnjevaerie (Hotagen), Skalstugan, Jovnevaerie (Offerdal), Gaelpie (Kall)
- 1.2. Västerbotten Lappish: Frøstege (Frostviken) (between Jämt Lappish and Västerbotten Lappish, but nearer the latter), Vualtjere, southern Dearná (Tärna), the coastal region Bindal – Dolstad – Mossere (Mosjøen), and Aarborte, Gaala (Grane), Vaapste
- 2. Ume Lappish: northern Deärnná (Tärna), Suorssá (Sorsele), Árviesjávrrie, southern Árjepluovve

(Hasselbrink 1944: 2 f.)

Since at this stage Hasselbrink counted Ume Saami among the South Saami dialects ‘in the widest sense’, he later used the term Central South Lappish (Hasselbrink 1965) instead of ‘Västerbotten Lappish’, but changed this to ‘northern dialects’ in his dictionary, published in the 1980s, when he had abandoned the idea that Ume Saami was a sub-category of South Saami (Hasselbrink 1981–85: 21; see below).

Bergsland also acknowledged that there were many dialectal differences in South Saami, but that the frontier between Norway and Sweden was not a dialectal border, when he classified the South Saami dialects (partly after Wiklund) into:

(DO 11)

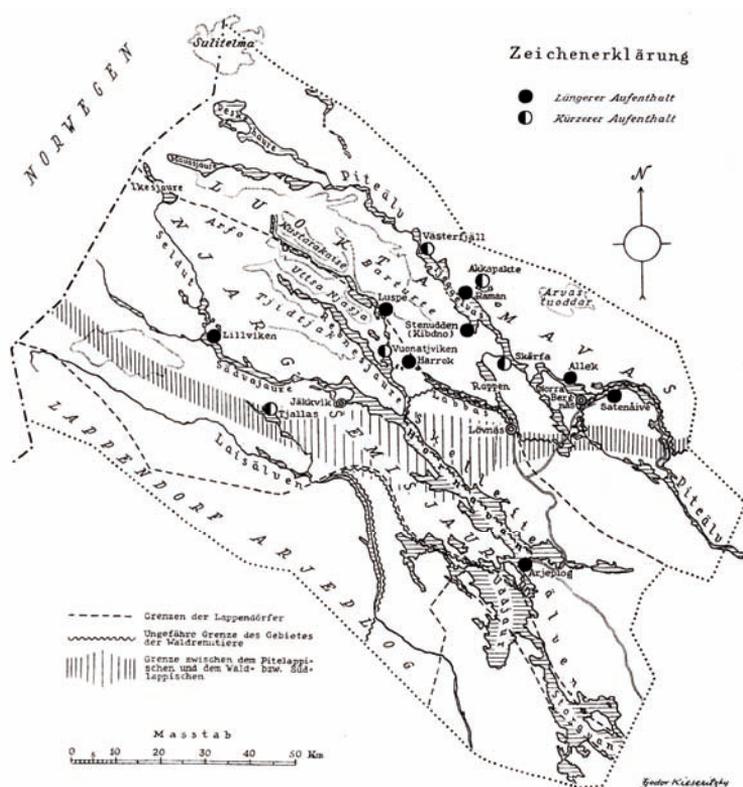
- 1. the Jämtland dialects
  - 1.1. Plassje, Hjerjedaelie
  - 1.2. Säähka
  - 1.3. Saante (Essand), Jovnevaerie, Jijnjevaerie, Gaelpie
  - 1.4. Njaarke (Namdalen), Snåase (Snåsa), Frøstege
- 2. Aarborte, Vaapste, Vualtjere, southern Dearná / Deärnná

(Bergsland 1949: 375)

Both Hasselbrink and Bergsland noted that, even in the 1940s, the linguistic situation in the South Saami area was extremely complex, not least because of the many internal migrations within the area. When Collinder made his recordings in Hjerjedaelie in 1941, no one spoke what he called a ‘correct’ Hjerjedaelie dialect since speakers were influenced by northern dialects (Collinder 1942: v f.), and Bergsland (1949: 376) made similar remarks about the Røros dialect on the Norwegian side.

### Ume Saami

During the years 1917–19 Nils Moosberg, one of Wiklund’s students and later librarian at Uppsala University Library, collected Ume Saami material in Dearná / Deärnná and Suorssá. In the 1920s, another of Wiklund’s students, C.A. Calleberg, collected extensive Saami material (word collections and grammars) from various parts of the Ume Saami area and also compiled a manuscript for an Ume Saami dic-



Map 2.2. Ruong's dialect map of Pite (Arjeplog) Saami. Source: Ruong 1943: iv.

tionary. The collections of both Moosberg and Calleberg are kept in the collections of the Dialect Department at the Institute for Language and Folklore Research (SOFI: DA) in Uppsala and still await publication (references in Rydving 1996: 70 f.). The only dictionary so far is one of the local Ume Saami dialect in Máláge (Malå) by the German linguist Wolfgang Schlachter (1958). As already Wiklund (1924: 197) noted, the dialects in Árviesjávrrie are closely connected to the dialect of the Forest Saami of Máláge.

### Pite Saami

The first dissertation on Pite (Arjeplog) Saami was written by Israel Ruong, who had this dialect as his mother tongue. As in the early work of Hasselbrink, he regarded Ume Saami as the northernmost South Saami dialect. He drew the dialectal border south of his own dialect north of the Lájssojáhká (Laisälven) river in a bow towards the border of the parish of Jähkâmähkke, not towards the province border as earlier had been done (Ruong 1943: iv; cf. map 2.2). Curiously, it was not until the 1990s that this way of drawing the southern border of Pite Saami became

standard on dialect maps (see below). Within Pite Saami, Ruong distinguished between three dialect areas:

(DO 12)

1. southern
2. Luokta-Mávas
3. northern

(Ruong 1943: iii)

### Lule Saami

Wiklund, who had published a Lule Saami dictionary and a survey of the phonology and morphology of the Lule Saami dialects (Wiklund 1890; 1891), divided Lule Saami into no less than six sub-dialects:

(DO 13)

1. southern Jåhkâmåhkke
2. northern Jåhkâmåhkke
3. southern Jiellevárre / Jiellevárri
4. northern Jiellevárre / Jiellevárri
5. the dialect spoken by two Forest Lappish communities (Swe. *lappbyar*) near Storbacken in Jåhkâmåhkke
6. the dialect spoken in the Forest Lappish communities in Jiellevárre

(Wiklund (1901) 1915: 4)

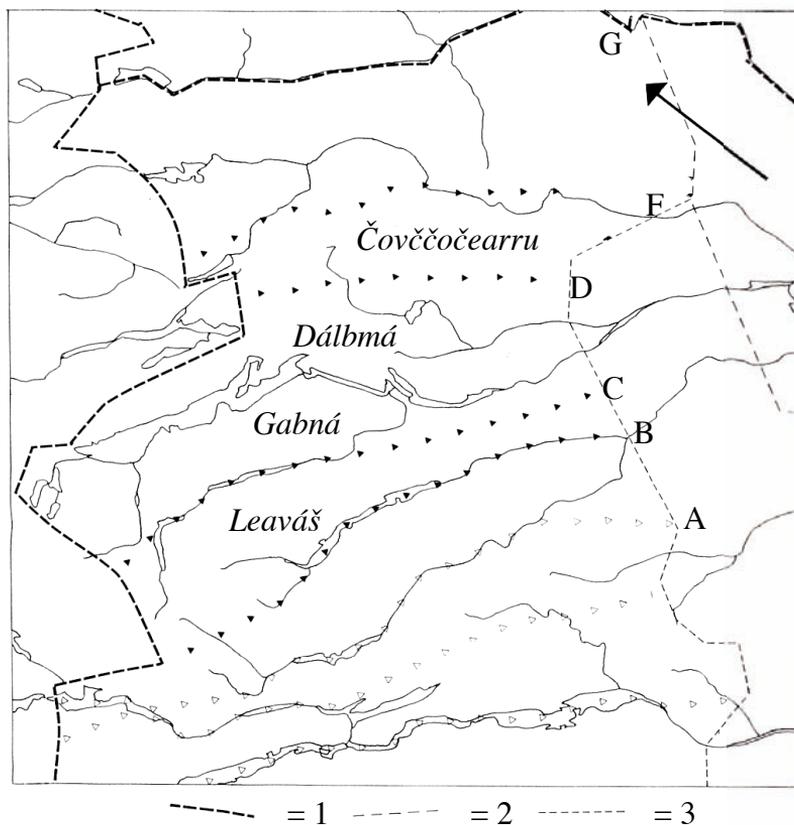
The dialect classification proposed by Harald Grundström (1946–54) in his large dictionary of the Lule Saami dialects in Sweden is even more specific, since he distinguished between seven sub-dialects, adding central dialects in both Jåhkâmåhkke and Jiellevárre / Jiellevárri, however without mentioning the forest Saami communities in Jåhkâmåhkke:

(DO 14)

1. Jåhkâmåhkke
  - 1.1. southern = Duorbun (Tuorpon)
  - 1.2. central = Jåhkågasska (Jåkkåaska)
  - 1.3. northern = Sirges (Sirkas)
2. Jiellevárre / Jiellevárri
  - 2.1. southern = Unna Tjerusj (Sörkaitum)
  - 2.2. central = Basstitjärro (Mellanbyn)
  - 2.3. northern = Girjes / Girjis (Norrkaitum)
3. Sádek (Flakaberg) in Rávnna (Råneå)

(Grundström 1946–54: 1669 ff.)

For Olavi Korhonen, whose Lule Saami–Swedish–Lule Saami dictionary is based on the central dialects in Jåhkâmåhkke in Sweden and on the dialect of Divtasvuodna in Norway, the Lule Saami language area also includes Pite (Arjeplog) Saami. His proposal to regard Pite Saami as the ‘southernmost part of



Map 2.3. Dialect boundaries in Čohkkiras Saami discussed in Collinder 1949. 1 = frontiers; 2 = the Lapland border; 3 = limit of cultivation. The letters marking the dialect boundaries are explained in the text. The names of the Saami communities (Swe. *samebyar*) are the present ones (map: HR).

Lule Saami' (O. Korhonen 1979: 541) is reminiscent of Lagercrantz' (1926a) idea of a West Saami dialectal area, and has been accepted in most recent surveys (see below).

### North Saami

One of the most thorough and interesting discussions of Saami linguistic geography, and one of the few to use quantitative methods, is to be found in Björn Collinder's monograph on Č ohkkiras Saami (Collinder 1949). According to Collinder (1949: 2), the four communities of Leaváš, Gabná, Dálbmá and Čovččočearru (in the 1940s still Kaalasvuoma, Rautasvuoma, Talma and Saarivuoma) showed 'some slight linguistic peculiarities', and in a special section he discusses 84 features (of which he judges 27 to be of lesser importance) in order to evaluate the linguistic importance of seven geographical borders: (A) the river Gájddomädno

*Table 2.1.* The relation of Čohkkiras Saami to the adjacent varieties according to Collinder. Abbreviations: A = Gájddomädno; B = Gáláseatnu; C = the Leaváš–Gabná boundary; D = the Dálbma–Čovččočearru boundary; E = the Č ovččočearru–Sevä boundary; F = the parish boundary between Čohkkiras and Gárasavvon; G = the parish boundary between Gárasavvon and Guovdageaidnu. Source: Collinder 1949: 272 ff.

Boundaries (cf. map 2.3)	Number of isoglosses		Per cent of isoglosses	
	totally	‘important’	totally	‘important’
A	10	9	11	13
B	38	28	40	42
C	4	3	4	4
D	7	5	7	7
E	4	2	4	3
F	21	14	22	21
G	10	6	11	9
Sum	94	67	(99)	(99)

(Kaitumälven) which separates northern from central Jiellevárre / Jiellivárri, (B) the river Gáláseatnu (Kalixälven) which separates Jiellevárre / Jiellivárri from Čohkkiras, (C) the river Rávttaseatnu (Rautasälven) which separates Leaváš from Gabná, (D) the boundary between Dálbma and Čovččočearru, (E) the boundary between the mountain Saami community of Čovččočearru and the forest Saami community of Sevä (not on map 2.3), (F) the boundary between the parishes Čohkkiras and Gárasavvon (Karesuando), and, finally, (G) the boundary between the parishes of Gárasavvon and Guovdageaidnu (cf. map 2.3). Of these, he found that Gáláseatnu river (B) was the most important, followed by the border between Čohkkiras and Gárasavvon (F). Since 51% of the isoglosses (A + B) separated Čohkkiras Saami from what Collinder called ‘central [Lule Lappish]’ (more correctly, however, the dialect of central Gällivare, i.e. Basstijärro), whereas only 30% of the isoglosses (F + G) separated Čohkkiras from Guodageaidnu (Kautokeino) (cf. table 2.1), Collinder drew the conclusion that Čohkkiras Saami ‘is more closely connected with’ North Saami than with Lule Saami (Collinder 1949: 286).

On the basis of Collinder’s and his own studies, Nils Erik Hansegård divided Čohkkiras Saami into four dialects ‘corresponding to the four nomad districts’:

(DO 15)

1. Kaalasvuoma (now: Leaváš)
2. Rautasvuoma (now: Gabná)

Table 2.2. The number of features in Moskavuotna Saami common to the adjacent varieties according to Nesheim. Source: Nesheim 1962: 357 f.

	features in common
Moskavuotna and Gárasavvon	38
Moskavuotna and Ivgu	35
Moskavuotna Čohkkiras	31
Moskavuotna and Guovdageaidnu	14
Moskavuotna and Lule Saami	14
Moskavuotna and Coast Saami	8

3. Talma (now: Dálbmá)

4. Saarivuoma (now: Čovčočearru) and the Forest Saami groups

(Hansegård 1965: 8)

He noted that the Saami area with the strongest influence of Finnish is the Torne Saami area, not Finnish Lapland, and he pointed to the influence of the Laestadian revivalist movement as an important reason for this (Hansegård 1965: 10 f.).

Hansegård gives the term Fjord Saami to the Saami varieties spoken in the southern parts of the county of Troms in Norway (Nor. Sør-Troms) by immigrants that came from Sweden during the eighteenth century, an area that has also been the summer domain of the Čohkkiras Saami (Hansegård 1965: 13, 85; 1978: 158). He compared Fjord Saami with central Čohkkiras Saami and found that the features compared were identical or practically identical in the two varieties. When it came to discrepancies, on the other hand, Fjord Saami was congruent with or ‘very similar to’ Lule Saami (Hansegård 1965: 83 f.).

Asbjørn Nesheim’s (1962) quantitative comparison between the Moskavuotna (Ullsfjord) dialect and some of the adjacent varieties accorded with Qvigstad’s (1925: 14) earlier findings in concluding that the dialect is closer to the Gárasavvon than to the Guovdageaidnu dialect. At the same time, the number of features common to the Moskavuotna dialect and Coast Saami (Nesheim: Sea-Lappish) is, he pointed out, ‘surprisingly small’ (cf. table 2.2). Nesheim’s (1962: 358) conclusion was that the Moskavuotna dialect is ‘a Swedish-Lappish dialect transferred to Norway [that has] almost completely superseded an old Sea-Lappish dialect.’

In his manual of North Saami, based on the dialects of Guovdageaidnu, Káráš-johka and Buolbmát (Polmak), Konrad Nielsen enumerated a number of lexical divergences between dialects, which he sorted into vocabulary, semantics, and morphology. From the point of view of linguistic geography, the first two categories were the most important, since they mapped the border between the western and the eastern Finnmark Saami dialects. In terms of vocabulary the most

important examples are words that are common in Kárášjohka and Buolbmát but are not or only very rarely used in Guovdageaidnu, and *vice versa* (Nielsen 1929: 286 f.). In terms of semantics, where some words have aberrant meanings in one or two of the dialects in addition to the meanings that they share in all three dialects, Guovdageaidnu stands against Kárášjohka and Buolbmát in most cases, although a great many lexemes have no meaning at all common to all three dialects (Nielsen 1929: 287).

### **Inari Saami**

Frans Äimä divided Inari Saami into four dialect areas, but emphasised that they were ‘by no means sharply separated from one another’ (Äimä 1914: xi):

(DO 16)

1. southern
2. western
3. northern
4. eastern = the Páčvei (Paatsjoki) dialect

(Äimä 1914: xi f.)

### **Lule, Coast and Inari Saami**

In her study of the case syntax in Lule, Coast (RB: Sea) and Inari Saami, Raija Bartens drew the conclusion that the most important linguistic boundary is the one between Lule Saami on the one hand and Coast Saami and North Saami (RB: Norwegian Saami, Fin. *norjanlappi*) on the other, and that a less distinct boundary runs between Inari Saami and Coast Saami (Bartens 1972: 161).

### **The Saami dialects spoken in Russia**

The Saami dialects of Russia have been divided into either three or four dialect groups. Arvid Genetz was the first to divide these dialects into four groups:

(DO 17)

1. the Njuõ'ttjäu'rr dialect spoken in the western part of the Kola Peninsula
2. the Akkala dialect spoken south of lake Oaver in the villages A'kkel (Babino) and Ču'kksuâl (Yakostrov)
3. the Kildin dialect spoken to the east and south of the town of Kuâlök
4. the Ter dialect spoken throughout the eastern part of the Kola Peninsula

(Genetz 1891: iv f.; x f.).

The same classification was adopted by T.I. Itkonen more than half a century later, who nevertheless maintained that ‘the difference between the dialects of Kildin and Akkala is hardly larger than the one between the coast and inland dialects of Skolt Lappish’:

## (DO 18)

1. the Skolt dialect
2. the Akkala dialect
3. the Kildin dialect
4. the Ter dialect

(T.I. Itkonen 1958: xxxviii f.)

The classification of the dialects into three groups—following the 19th century scholars Fellman, Castrén, and Lönnrot (see above)—is, however, also common. In his introduction to Saami and to the then new orthography based on Kildin Saami, A.G. Endyukovskiy noted that there are large differences between the dialects of Kola Saami in terms both of lexicon, and of phonology and morphology, and he divided the ‘Kola Saami language’ into three ‘dialects’ with sub-dialects (one could note that the Akkala Saami of Genetz and Itkonen is included among the Tuállâm [= Skolt] Saami dialects as the sub-dialects of A’kkel and Ču’kksuâl):

## (DO 19)

1. the Tuállâm dialect
  - 1.1. the sub-dialects of the Paaččjokk, Peäccam and Suõ’nn’jel (Songel’sk) Saami in Finland (of that time)
  - 1.2. the sub-dialects of Njuõ’ttjäu’rr, Mue’tkķvuõnn (Motovskij), A’kkel in the then Soviet Union
  - 1.3. the sub-dialect of the Ču’kksuâl Saami (between the Tuállâm and the Kildin Saami)
2. the Kildin dialect
 

the sub-dialects of the Kiillt, Koarrdõgk, Puuljaavv’r (Pulozero), Luujaavv’r, Lejjaavv’r (Lyavozero), and Nurr’t syjjet Saami
3. the Jofkyj dialect
 

the sub-dialects of the Kiintuš (Kamensk), Jofkyj, Lyymbes (Lumbovsk), and Sosnyõffke (Sosnovka) Saami

(Endyukovskiy 1937: 126)

Georgiy M. Kert also reckoned with three Saami dialects on the Kola Peninsula (in this classification omitting the Akkala varieties):

## (DO 20)

1. the Njuõ’ttjäu’rr dialect
 

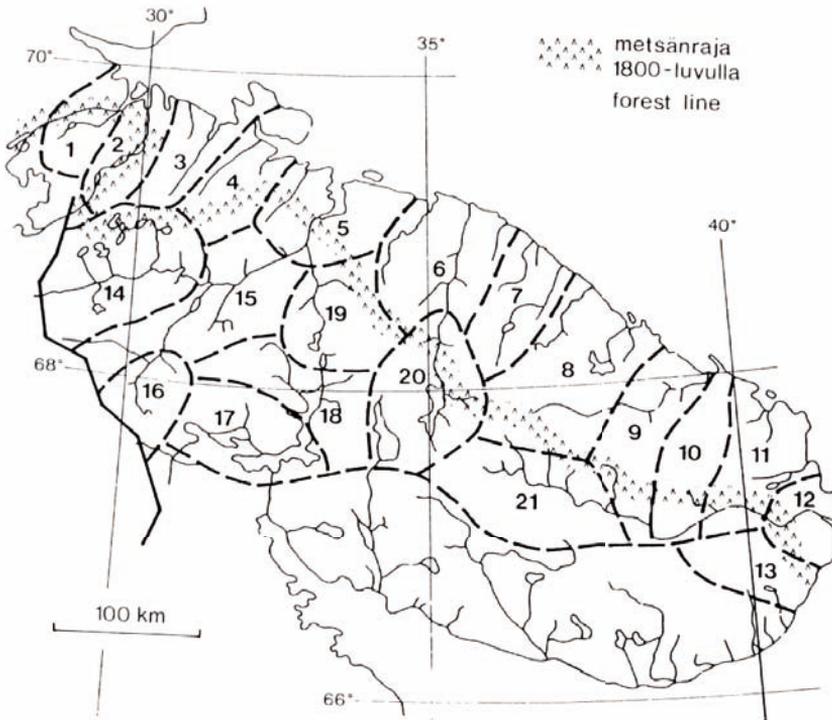
the sub-dialects of Njuõ’ttjäu’rr and Tuállâm
2. the Kildin dialect
 

the sub-dialects of Tyr’byr’ (Teriberka), Koarrdõgk, Puuljaavv’r, Luujaavv’r and Aarsjokk (Varzina)
3. the Jofkyj dialect
 

the sub-dialects of Jofkyj and Čal’mny-Varre (Ivanovka)

(Kert 1961: 111)

He compared the phonology and morphology of the three Kola Saami dialects in two tables, one with six different varieties (Njuõ’ttjäu’rr, Luujaavv’r, Koarrdõgk,



*Map 2.4.* The Skolt and Kola Saami communities during the late 19th century. 1 = Njauddâm; 2 = Paaččjokk; 3 = Peaccam; 4 = Mue'ťkķ; 5 = Kiillt; 6 = Koarrdögk; 7 = Lejjaavv'r; 8 = Aarsjogk; 9 = Kyöddemjaavvre; 10 = Jofkyj; 11 = Lyymbes; 12 = Pyöñne; 13 = Sosnyöffke; 14 = Suöñn'jel; 15 = Njuö'ttjäu'rr; 16 = Sââ'rvesjäu'rr; 17 = A'kkel; 18 = Ču'kksuâl; 19 = Maaziell'k; 20 = Luujaavv'r; 21 = Kiintuš. Sources: Kekarainen 1987: 23 (after Nickul 1970) (for the map); Sammallahti 1998b: 30–34 (for the names).

Aarsjogk, Čal'mny-Varre, and Jofkyj), the other with three (Njuö'ttjäu'rr, Kiillt, Jofkyj), which illustrates both phonological and lexical differences (Kert 1961: 132 ff.). Also, he noted that there are similarities between the Kola Saami dialects as regards both phonetics, grammar and lexicon, although the most important similarities are those in the vocabulary (Kert 1961: 134; cf. map 2.4).

### 2.2.2. The language area as a whole

It was Ignác Halász who during the 1880s, to quote Collinder (1956: 27), 'did the veritable pioneer-work in Lappish dialectology'. Halász published a lot of material, texts, dictionaries and grammars including, for instance, a South Saami dictionary (Halász 1891b), an Arjeplog (IH: Pite) Saami dictionary with material from the southernmost Lule Saami varieties (Halász 1896: 1–177), an Arjeplog (IH: Pite)

Saami grammar (Halász 1896: iv–xli), a Karesuando Saami word list (Halász 1896: 178 ff.), besides a sketch for a grammar of the Saami dialects in Russia (Halász 1883). Halász' publications failed to gain the recognition they deserved, partly because they were written in Hungarian, but above all because of unfair criticism by the young K.B. Wiklund (1893). Although Wiklund's criticism related only to the publications that dealt with South Saami, he simultaneously 'took advantage of the extensive publications' of Halász (Collinder 1956: 27), with the result that the latter took offence and wrote nothing more about Saami. Moreover, as László Keresztes (1996: 356) has pointed out, the 'devastating criticism entailed that Hungarian Finno-Ugristics fundamentally lost its interest in Lappology'. Today, this situation has started to change, but only slowly.

When E.N. Setälä divided Saami into six main dialects, he stated that the differences between them were as large as those between the Fennic languages (in Setälä's terminology: Swe. *samfinskan*):

(DO 21)

1. South Lappish
  2. Central Lappish (= Pite and Lule Saami)
  3. Torne Lappish
  4. Finnmark Lappish
  5. Inari Lappish
  6. Kola Lappish
- 6.1–5. five dialects on the Kola Peninsula

(Setälä 1888: 10 f.).

Jens A. Friis, on the other hand, wrote in the preface to his dictionary that Saami could be divided into at least four main dialects, although it is unclear how he drew the distinction between the first two of them:

(DO 22)

1. the Nordland dialect in Norwegian and Swedish Nordland
2. the Finnmark and Torneå dialect in Norwegian Finnmark and the Swedish *Lappmark*
3. the Inari dialect in northern Finland and Russia west of Lake Oaver
4. the dialect east of Lake Oaver or the Pyöñne (Ponoi) dialect in the eastern part of Russian Lapland

(Friis 1887: xii)

In his grammar and in the dictionary, however, Friis used the traditional grouping of the varieties into Swedish, Norwegian and Russian Lappish and gave the inflection of nouns, numerals, pronouns and verbs in all three dialect groups (Friis 1887: xviii ff.). In the dictionary, words that do not belong to the 'Norwegian dialect' were marked 'Sv' (= *Dialectus Svecica*) or 'R' (= *Dialectus Russica*).

In 1896, Wiklund presented a simple classification of the Saami dialects in seven groups:

(DO 23)

1. South Lappish
2. Malå Lappish
3. Pite [Lappish]
4. Lule Lappish
5. Norwegian Lappish
6. Inari Lappish
7. Russian Lappish

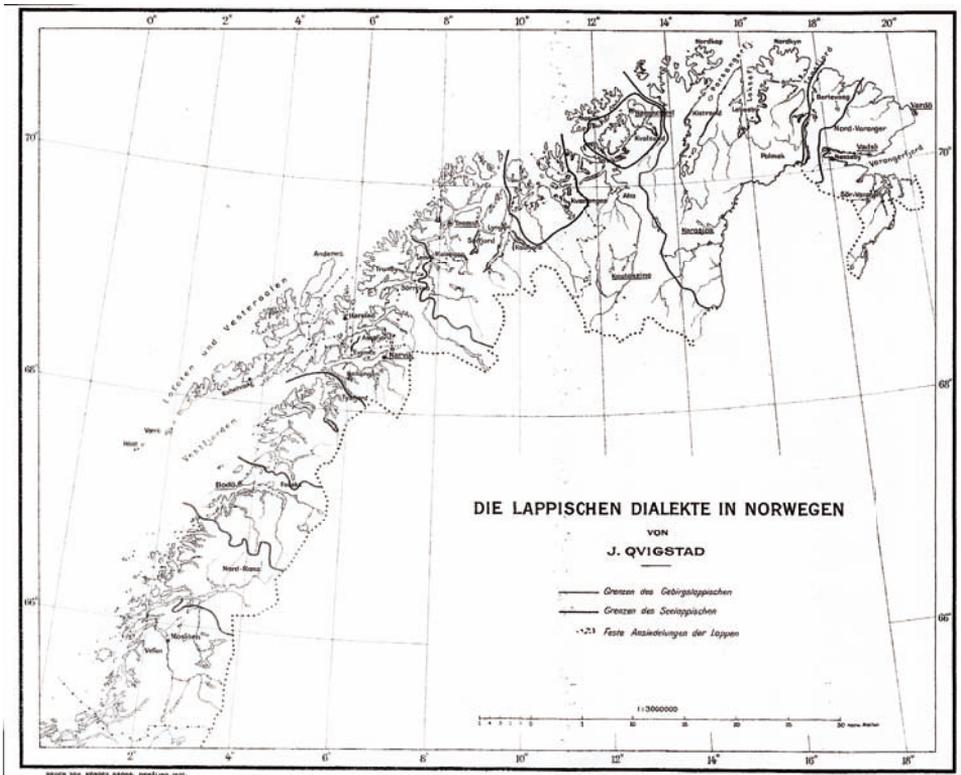
(Wiklund 1896: 153 f.)

In comparison with Selälä's classification one notes that Wiklund has included Malå Saami (i.e. Ume Saami), separated Pite and Lule Saami, but does not regard Torne Saami as a group of its own. As a rough sketch this had its pedagogical merits, but since a far more fine-grained classification had been presented a few years earlier, Wiklund's would fail to gain much influence. Instead, the most important of the dialect classifications of the late nineteenth century is without doubt that proposed by Just Qvigstad in 1893, in which he divided Saami into four main dialects with sub-dialects on two levels:

(DO 24)

1. the Swedish Lappish main dialect
  1. the Jämtland dialect
    - 1.1.1. the dialect in Hierjedaelie and Plassje
    - 1.1.2. the dialect in Säähka, Snåase, Stod and Mearohke (Meråker)
    - 1.1.3. the dialect in Föllinge, Lijre (Lierne) and Overhalla
  - 1.2. the Umeå dialect
    - 1.2.1. the dialect in Dearn / Deärnná and Aarborte
    - 1.2.2. the dialect in Suorssá and southern Raane (Rana)
  - 1.3. the Pite dialect
  - 1.4. the Lule dialect
2. the Finnmark Lappish main dialect
  - 2.1. the dialect in Guovdageaidnu, Álaheadju, Dálbmeluokta (Talvik), Hámmárfeasta, Láhppi, Skiervá, Gálsa, and partly in Ivgu and Gárasavvon
  - 2.2. the dialect in Kárášjohka, Lágesvuotna and Porsángu
  - 2.3. the dialect in Ohcejohka, Deatnu and Várjjat
3. the Inare Lappish main dialect
4. the Russian Lappish main dialect
  - 4.1. the dialects of Paaččjokk, Peäccam and Mue'tkč
  - 4.2. the Njuđ'tjäu'rr dialect
  - 4.3. the A'kkel dialect
  - 4.4. the Kiillt dialect
  - 4.5. Ter Lappish (the Pyöñne dialect)

(Qvigstad 1893: 1 ff.)



Map 2.5. Qvigstad's dialect map. In colour in the original, but here reproduced in black and white. Source: Qvigstad 1925: map.

In an article about the Saami dialects in Norway that Qvigstad published more than thirty years later (and which included the first dialectal map over the Saami varieties spoken in Norway; cf. map 2.5), he presented a new and more detailed classification. This time he divided Saami into six main dialects with some interesting changes in terminology: South, Ume, and Lule Lappish instead of Swedish Lappish, and Norwegian Lappish instead of Finnmark Lappish. In addition, he divided North Saami (JQ: Norwegian Lappish) in a new way into southern, western and eastern dialects:

(DO 25)

1. South Lappish

1.1. the dialects in Jämtland

1.1.1. the Hjerjedaelie-Eajra dialect

1.1.2. the Sáhka dialect

1.1.3. the Jovnevaerie dialect

1.1.4. the Frööstege dialect

1.2. the Vaapste-Aarborte dialect

1.2.1. the southern sub-dialect from Bindal to southern Vaapste and Aarborte

- 1.2.2. the northern sub-dialect in northern Vaapste and Aarborte
- 2. Ume Lappish
- 3. Lule Lappish (including Pite Lappish)
  - 3.1. the dialect of Fuolldá (Folda) and southern Jáhkâmáhkke
  - 3.2. the dialect of Divtasvuodna and northern Jáhkâmáhkke
- 4. Norwegian Lappish
  - 4.1. southern dialects
    - 4.1.1. the Kaalasvuoma (now: Leaváš) dialect
    - 4.1.2. the Rautasvuoma (now: Gabná) dialect
    - 4.1.3. the Talma (now: Dálbmá) dialect
  - 4.2. western dialects
    - 4.2.1. the Gárasavvon dialect
      - 4.2.1.1. the southern sub-dialect
      - 4.2.1.2. the northern sub-dialect
    - 4.2.2. the dialect of Ivgu and Báhcavuotna
      - 4.2.2.1. (the sub-dialect in) Báhcavuotna
      - 4.2.2.2. (the sub-dialect in) Moskavuotna
      - 4.2.2.3. (the sub-dialect in) Omasvuotna (Storfjord) and Ivgu
      - 4.2.2.4. (the sub-dialect in) Gáivuotna and Olmmáivaggi (Manndalen)
    - 4.2.3. the Guovdageaidnu dialect
  - 4.3. eastern dialects
    - 4.3.1. the Kárášjohka dialect
    - 4.3.2. the Vuovdaguoika (Outakoski) dialect
    - 4.3.3. the Ohcejohka dialect
    - 4.3.4. the Buolbmát dialect
    - 4.3.5. the Vuodavuotna (Trollfjorden) dialect in Deatnu
    - 4.3.6. the mountain Lappish dialect in Várjjat
- 5. Inari Lappish
  - 5.1. the southern dialect area
  - 5.2. the western dialect area
  - 5.3. the northern dialect area
  - 5.4. the eastern dialect area
- 6. Russian Lappish
  - 6.1. western dialects
    - 6.1.1. the dialect in Njuõ'ttjäu'rr
    - 6.1.2. the dialect in Suõ'nn'jel
    - 6.2.3. the dialect in Paaččjokk, Peäccam and Mue'tkč
  - 6.2. eastern dialects
    - 6.2.1. the A'kkel dialect
    - 6.2.2. the Kiillt dialect
    - 6.2.3. the Tâ'tjj dialect

(Qvigstad 1925: 3–20)

There are several things to be noted in this classification, for example that Qvigstad regarded Pite Saami as a sub-category of Lule Saami, not as a dialect of its own, that he ignored the varieties of Jiellevárre / Jiellevárri, drew the border between the 'southern' and 'western' dialects of what we now call North Saami between Čohk-

kiras and Gárasavvon, and regarded Akkala Saami as a dialect of its own, more related to Kildin Saami than to Skolt Saami.

### **Two or three groups of dialects?**

Parallel to the work of classifying dialects and sub-dialects under six or more main dialects, a discussion had started about the grouping of the dialects into two or three groups. This debate was initiated as early as 1906 by Frans Äimä, who at that point presented the idea that the Saami language area could be divided into two main parts, one western and one eastern, the border between them following the line between North Saami and Inari Saami (Äimä 1906). Wiklund (1906) was one of the first to criticise the idea, but it was Bergsland (1946: viii) who would oppose it most strongly.

Even the critics have generally viewed the border between North and Inari Saami as ‘sharp’. Bergsland, for example, never denied that there was a ‘rather clear-cut border between the dialect of Inari and the modern dialects further west’, but he assumed that it was ‘apparently due to the fact that the intermediate [Kemi Saami] dialects have become extinct’ (Bergsland 1967: 35).

Another suggestion was to group the dialects into not two but three groups. This idea was put forward by Collinder (1953: 59), according to whom one could talk of three Lappish languages: one southern, one central and one eastern. He applied the term Central Lappish to the dialects from Pite (Arjeplog) Saami to North Saami. In his view, in the large area stretching from northern Árjepluovve to Ohcejohka, ‘the most distinct dividing line’ goes along the river Stuor Julevuädno (Stora Luleälven) and delimits ‘the area where the Lappish language has been subjected to a strong Finnish influence in comparatively recent times’ (Collinder 1953: 60). Collinder took about fifty Saami dialects into account, but added that ‘the division of the three main categories into dialects is fairly arbitrary’ (Collinder 1953: 64).

(DO 26)

1. southern Lappish
  - 1.1. South Lappish
  - 1.2. Ume Lappish
2. central Lappish
  - 2.1. Pite Lappish
  - 2.2. Lule Lappish
  - 2.3. Norwegian Lappish or Finnmark Lappish (incl. Torne Lappish)
3. eastern Lappish
  - 3.1. Inari Lappish
  - 3.2. Skolt Lappish
  - 3.3. Kola Lappish

(Collinder 1953: 64 f.)

This division was later elaborated by Tryggve Sköld (1961: 66 ff.):

(DO 27)

1. south Lappish
  - 1.1. south Lappish proper (Ger. *das eigentliche Südlappisch*)
    - 1.1.1. Plassje, northern Dalecarlia, Hierjedaelie, Sâahka, Skalstugan, Jijnjevaerie, Jovnevaerie, Gaelpie
    - 1.1.2. Lijre, Njaarke, Vaapste, Frööstege, Vuoltjere, southern Dearná
  - 1.2. Ume Lappish: northern Deärnná, Suorssá, Máláge, Árviesjávrrie, southern Árjepluovve
2. central Lappish (Ger. *Mittellappisch*)
  - 2.1. Pite Lappish: northern Árjepluovve, between Rádno (Rana) and Sáltto (Salten)
  - 2.2. Lule Lappish: Jáhkâmáhkke, Jiellevárre, Fuolldá, Hábmmer (Hamarøy), Divtasvuodna
  - 2.3. Norwegian Lappish: Torne *Lappmark*, northernmost Nordland at the Ufuohttä (Ofoten) fiord, Troms, Finnmark, mountain Lappish dialects in Finland
3. eastern Lappish
  - 3.1. Inari Lappish
  - 3.2. Skolt Lappish: Njauddám, Paaččjokk, Mue'tkk̄, Suõ'nn'jel, Njuõ'ttjäu'rr, Sââ'rvesjäu'rr
  - 3.3. Kola Lappish: Akkala, Kildin, Ter

(Sköld 1961: 66 ff.)

During the 1970s, a similar classification was presented by, for example, Nils Erik Hansegård (1974: 32; cf. Hansegård 1967: 10 ff.).

Probably the most important and influential text about Saami dialect distribution during the 1960s and 70s was, however, an article by Mikko Korhonen in which he presented for the first time the classification of Saami dialects that has more or less been adopted as standard ever since (concerning minor adjustments, see below) (M. Korhonen 1964: 50 ff.). Korhonen's article was the first to present clear criteria for the classification of Saami dialects. For example, he discussed some of the criteria used to distinguish between western and eastern Saami dialects (M. Korhonen 1964: 53 ff.) and gave an outline of the most important features in the phonology (M. Korhonen 1964: 57 ff.) and morphology (M. Korhonen 1964: 62 ff.) of the main dialects, as well as some notes on syntax and lexicon (M. Korhonen 1964: 64). He pointed out that the transition from Norwegian Lappish to Inari Lappish is 'rather sharp' (M. Korhonen 1964: 61) and mentioned the three criteria usually adopted for the division between eastern and western dialects: (1) that the correspondences to the 'Proto-Lappish' (Fin. *kantalappi*) consonant combinations \**šk* and \**št* were *-ik-* and *-it-* in the west and *-š̄k-* and *-š̄t-* in the east; (2) that the western dialects, but not the eastern, in some cases have a homorganic stop before the nasals *m*, *n*, *ń* and *ŋ* in a medial position; and (3) that in the eastern dialects there are instances of gradation not found in the west (M. Korhonen 1964: 54 f.).

According to Bergsland, on the other hand, the first of these criteria is the only phonological criterion for the division of Saami into western and eastern regions. However, as he noted, ‘it concerns very few words, some of them relatively late loanwords from Finnish, and there are irregularities as well’ (Bergsland 1995a: 13). Although Korhonen presented criteria for the classification, he later (M. Korhonen 1967: 13 f.) called it ‘traditional’ and claimed that he had adopted it primarily for practical reasons. One notes how detailed this classification is for Skolt Saami compared with the other dialects:

(DO 28)

1. Western dialects
  - 1.1. South Lappish
    - 1.1.1. the Jämtland dialect group
    - 1.1.2. the Sjeltie (Åsele) dialect group
  - 1.2. Ume Lappish
  - 1.3. Pite Lappish
  - 1.4. Lule Lappish
  - 1.5. Norwegian Lappish
    - 1.5.1. the southern dialect area
    - 1.5.2. the western dialect area
    - 1.5.3. the eastern dialect area
    - 1.5.4. the Sea Lappish dialect area
2. Eastern dialects
  - 2.1. Inari Lappish
  - 2.2. Skolt Lappish
    - 2.2.1. the Njauddâm dialect
    - 2.2.2. the Paaččjokk dialect
    - 2.2.3. the Suđ’nn’jel dialect
    - 2.2.4. the Njuđ’ttjäu’rr dialect
    - 2.2.5. the Sââ’rvesjäu’rr (Girvasozero, Hirvasjärvi) dialect
  - 2.3. the Akkala dialect
  - 2.4. Kildin Lappish
  - 2.5. Ter Lappish

(M. Korhonen 1964: 50 ff.)

In a later classification, presented in his monograph on the history of the Saami language (M. Korhonen 1981), it is interesting that Korhonen abandoned the division into western and eastern dialects, and instead divided ‘the Lappish language’ into ten main dialects, a division that has remained the dominant model since its publication:

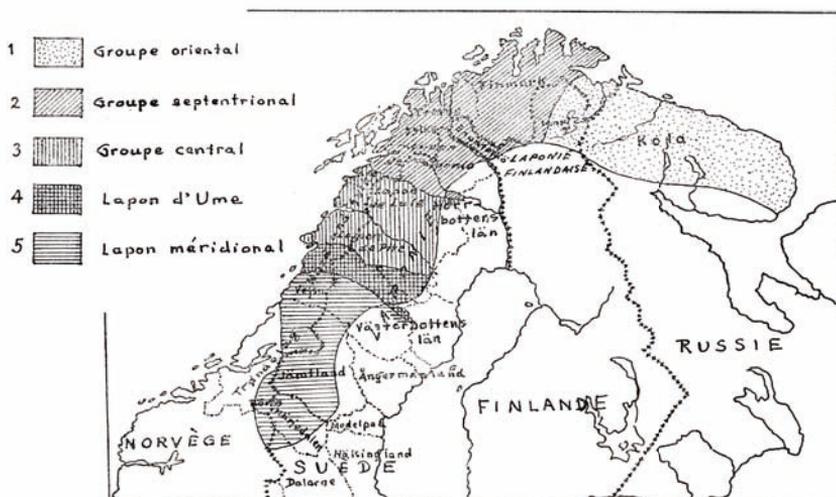
(DO 29)

1. South Lappish
  - 1.1. Jämtland Lappish
    - 1.1.1. the southern group: Neassah (Tännäs), Sâahka, Mihte (Mittådalen), Plassje, Mearohke

- 1.1.2. the northern group: Gaelpie, Jovnevaerie, Jijnjevaerie, Skalstugan
- 1.2. Sjeltie Lappish: Frööstege, Vuoltjere, southern Dearn, Snåase, Njaarke, Lijre, Gaala, Aarborte, Vaapste, Mossere, Dolstad, Bindal
2. Ume Lappish: northern Deärnná, Suorssá, Máláge, southern Árviesjávrrie
3. Pite Lappish: northern Árviesjávrrie, Árjepluovve, between Rádno and Fuosso (Fauske)
4. Lule Lappish: Jáhkámáhkke, Jiellevárre, Fuolldá, Hábmmer, Divtasvuodna
5. Norwegian Lappish or North Lappish
  - 5.1. Torne Lappish: Čohkkiras, Gárasavvon, Ufuohttä, Áhtavuodna (Efjorden), Rivttát (Gratangen), Leaŋgáviika (Lenvik)
  - 5.2. Finnmark Lappish (Fin. *ruijanlappi*)
    - 5.2.1. the western dialect group (northern and eastern Troms County, the western part of Finnmark County, Eanodat, western Ánar, northern Soađegillii
    - 5.2.2. the eastern dialect group: the eastern part of Finnmark: Kárášjohka, Buolbmát, Anár, Ohcejohka
  - 5.3. Coast Lappish (Fin. *merilappi*): Návuotna, the coast area of the Várjjatvuotna (Varangerfjord); before WWII also the coastal regions in Peäccam
6. Inari Lappish
7. Skolt Lappish
  - 7.1. the Njauddám dialect
  - 7.2. the Paaččjokk-Peäccam dialect: Paaččjokk, Ķeeu'ŋes (Borisoglebskiy, Kolttaköngäs), Peäccam, Mue'tkk before WWII; thereafter in Á'vvel (Ivalo) and Njeä'llem (Nellim)
  - 7.3. the Suõ'nn'jel dialect: Suõ'nn'jel and the southern part of Peäccam parish before WWII; thereafter in Nje'žžjäu'rr (Nitsijärvi), Če'vetjäu'rr (Sevettijärvi), Karehášjävri (Kirakkajärvi)
  - 7.4. the Njuõ'ttjäu'rr dialect: the area near the Tuállám river; Njuõ'ttjäu'rr and Sää'rvesjäu'rr
8. Akkala Lappish: A'kkel and Ču'kksuâl near lake Oaver and from Juonn (Jona) westwards on the Kola Peninsula
9. Kildin Lappish: Kiillt, Šoŋguy (Šonguy), Maaziell'k (Masel'ga), Tyrr'byr', Umm'pjaavv'r (Umbozero), Lujaavv'r, Koarrdögk and Arsjokk, earlier also Lejjaavv'r (Ljavozero) on the western part of the Kola Peninsula
10. Ter Lappish: Jofkyj, Kiintuš, Lyymbes, Sosnyöffke and Čal'mny-Varre, earlier also Pyõnne on the eastern part of the Kola Peninsula

(M. Korhonen 1981: 15 f.)

This was the most detailed classification so far. In his presentation of the ten main dialects he mentions that dialects 1–4 are ‘usually’ called Swedish Lappish, 7–10 Russian Lappish, and 8–10 Kola Lappish (M. Korhonen 1981: 17), in addition to which there are the possible classifications into two (main dialects 1–5 / 6–10) or three parts (main dialects 1–2 / 3–5 / 6–10), although neither of these classifications dominates the presentation. The earlier heated debate about ‘division into two’ versus ‘division into three’ had dissolved. Instead, later research (with some exceptions) emphasised continuity between the dialects across the entire Saami language area.



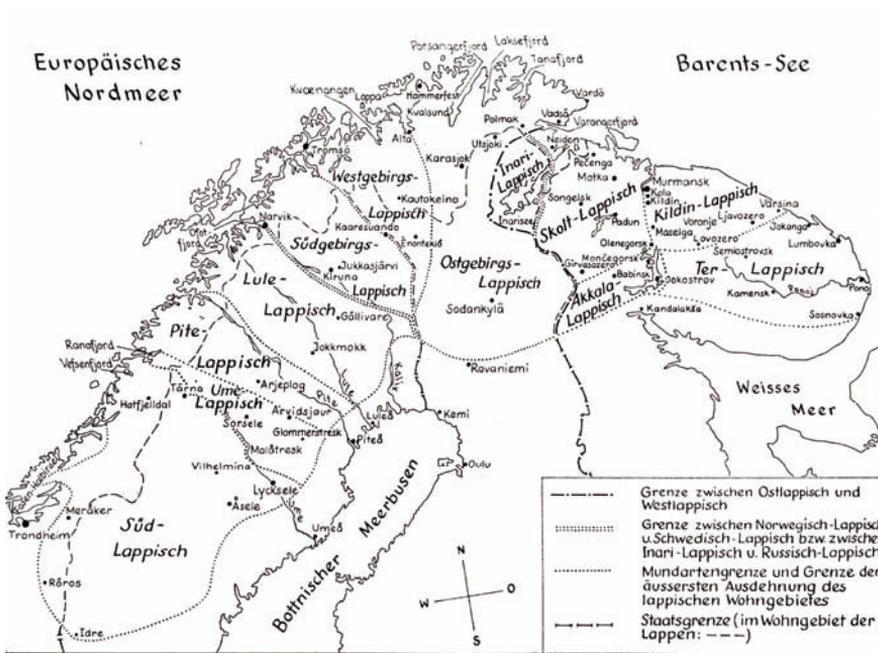
Map 2.6. Hasselbrink's dialect map. Source: Hasselbrink 1962: 373.

### Dialect maps

Except for the maps by Qvigstad and Ruong, which confined themselves to the Saami dialect areas in Norway and to Arjeplog Saami respectively, no Saami dialectal map was published prior to the 1960s, when three maps were presented at short intervals. The first was Hasselbrink's (1962: 373) simple sketch of the areas of the dialect groups (cf. map 2.6) in a paper in which he made several important points, such as the impossibility of settling exactly the geographic distribution of the different dialects. Because of the nomadic life of many of the Saami, 'the same dialect could be represented during winter principally in the forest region of Swedish Lapland, but during summer in the mountains near the Norwegian coast' (Hasselbrink 1962: 369). Hasselbrink divided the Saami language area into five parts:

(DO 30)

1. South Lappish
2. Ume Lappish
3. the central group
  - 3.1. Pite Lappish
  - 3.2. Lule Lappish
4. the northern group
  - 4.1. Tornio Lappish



Map 2.7. Décsy's dialect map. Source: Décsy 1965: 86.

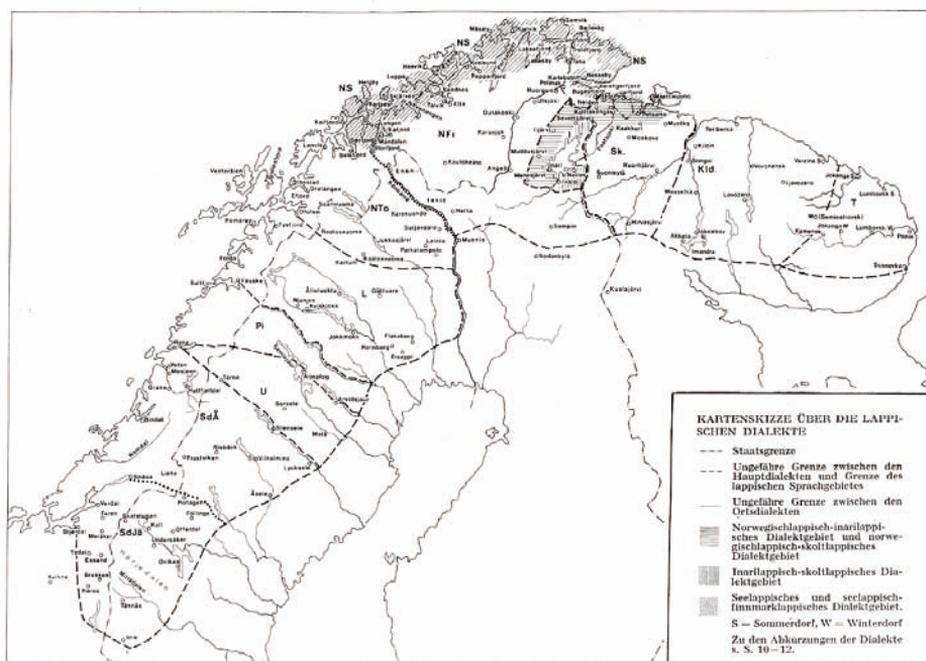
- 4.2. Enontekiö Lappish
- 4.3. Finnmark Lappish
- 5. the eastern group
  - 5.1. Inari Lappish
  - 5.2. Skolt Lappish
  - 5.3. Kola Lappish

(Hasselbrink 1962: 372)

The second dialect map, and the first to be presented as a fair copy, was published by Gyula Décsy in his *Einführung in die finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft* (cf. map 2.7). Despite pointing out that the terms 'Norwegian Lappish', 'Swedish Lappish' and 'Russian Lappish' 'strictly speaking' were not pertinent, he chose to adhere to the traditional designations 'in order', as he writes, 'not to cause any confusion' (Décsy 1965: 85n). Acknowledging the influence of Qvigstad (1925) and T.I. Itkonen (1958), Décsy followed the earlier 'Finnish tradition' in his classification and divided Saami into one western and one eastern (main) dialect:

(DO 31)

- 1. The West Lappish Dialect
  - 1.1. Swedish Lappish
    - 1.1.1. South Lappish
    - 1.1.2. Ume Lappish



Map 2.8. M. Korhonen's dialect map. Source: M. Korhonen 1967: map.

- 1.1.3. Pite Lappish
- 1.1.4. Lule Lappish
- 1.2. Norwegian Lappish
  - 1.2.1. Mountain Lappish
    - 1.2.1.1. southern Mountain Lappish
    - 1.2.1.2. western Mountain Lappish
    - 1.2.1.3. eastern Mountain Lappish
  - 1.2.2. Sea Lappish
- 2. The East Lappish Dialect
  - 2.1. The Inari dialect
  - 2.2. Russian Lappish
    - 2.2.1. Skolt Lappish
    - 2.2.2. Akkala Lappish
    - 2.2.3. Kildin Lappish
    - 2.2.4. Ter Lappish

(Décsy 1965: 85–88)

Most influential, however, was the map published by Mikko Korhonen two years later, which was based on his earlier classification of the dialects (cf. map 2.8). Décsy (1970) reacted sourly to the publication of Korhonen's map, insinuating that it had been taken from him. Erkki Itkonen (1972), however, noted that the implied accusation was unfounded. Itkonen called attention to the fact that Korhonen had discussed the mutual relationships between the Saami dialects as far

back as 1964 (in the article mentioned above), adding that Saami dialect maps are likely to agree for as long as they are all based on Qvigstad's investigations (Qvigstad 1925). Moreover, Itkonen noted that the differences between the two maps—of which Korhonen's according to him was superior—were not without significance. There were for example differences in the terminology employed.

Although M. Korhonen (1967: 14 f.) emphasised that the borders on his map were not absolute but represented certain alternatives among many, the map has been reprinted and reproduced (often simplified) in many versions.

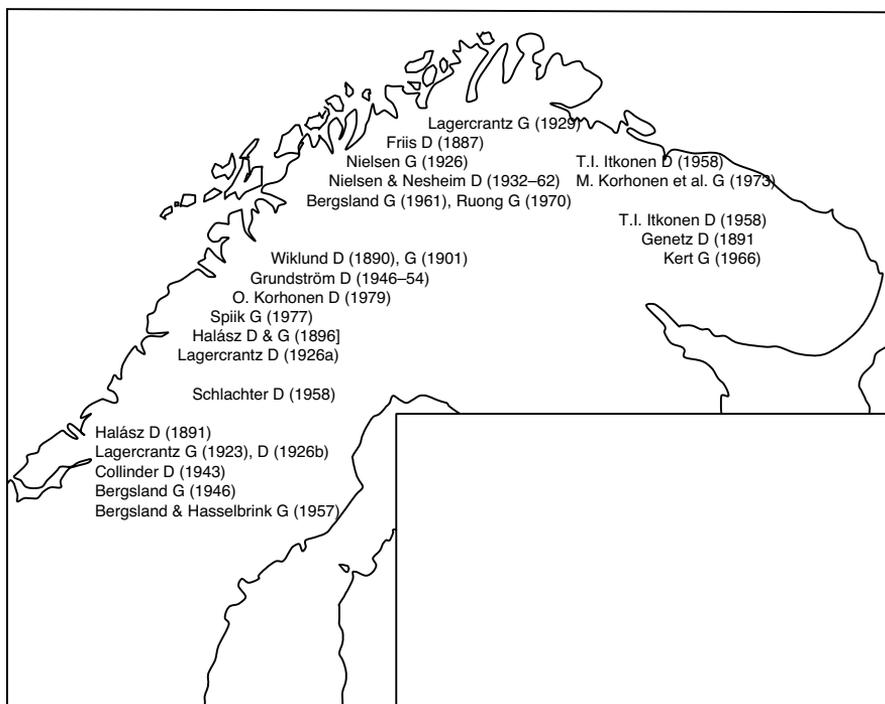
In the century from 1880 to 1980, several important publications appeared. Dialect dictionaries were published of South Saami (Halász 1891b; Lagercrantz 1926b; Collinder 1943; Nilsson-Mankok 1976), the Ume Saami variety of Máláge (Schlachter 1958), Lule Saami (Wiklund 1890; Grundström 1946–54; O. Korhonen 1979), North Saami (Friis 1887; Nielsen 1932–38 and Nielsen & Nesheim 1956–62; O. Korhonen 1973; Frette 1975), Skolt and Kola Saami (T.I. Itkonen 1958), and Kola Saami (Genetz 1891), besides a dictionary containing words from South, West (Arjeplog and Lule), and North Saami plus the Skolt Saami local dialect of Njauddám (Lagercrantz 1939).<sup>14</sup>

There were published grammars and dialect monographs of South Saami (Lagercrantz 1923; Bergsland 1946; Bergsland & Hasselbrink 1957), Arjeplog Saami (Halász 1896), West (Arjeplog and Lule) Saami (Lagercrantz 1926a), Lule Saami (Wiklund (1901) 1915; Spiik 1977), the North Saami dialect of Čohkkiras (Jukkasjärvi) (Collinder 1949), the North Saami dialects of Finnmark (Nielsen 1926), the Coast dialects of North Saami (Lagercrantz 1929), North Saami (Bergsland 1961; Ruong 1970), Skolt Saami (M. Korhonen et al. 1973), and Kildin Saami (Kert 1971) (cf. map 2.9), and many monographs and articles dealt with Saami linguistic themes. Dialectological problems were discussed by Bergsland (1962; 1967), M. Korhonen (1964), and Nesheim (1962), among others.

Whereas the publication, during the 1880s and 1890s, of some important studies of Saami linguistic variation initiated a new phase in the analysis of Saami, it was not until the 1960s that the results of the founding years of Saami dialect research were summarised, in the articles and maps by Bergsland (1962), Hasselbrink (1962), M. Korhonen (1964; 1967), and Déscy (1965).

---

<sup>14</sup> Qvigstad's dictionary of the dialects of Ivvárstádit, Leangáviika and Ufuohttá was not published until 2004 (Qvigstad [1930s?] 2004).



*Map 2.9.* The approximate areas covered by the most important Saami dictionaries (D) and grammars (G) published between 1880 and 1980.

### 2.3. Revisions and clarifications (since c. 1980)

Since the 1980s, when the new North Saami orthography developed into an unofficial Saami standard language and when the other regional literary languages found more regular use, the situation for Saami changed radically. An increasing number of books were published and radio and television programmes were broadcast in Saami, Saami education in schools became standard in the Saami speaking areas, and the use of Saami became more noticeable in society at large, the language gaining in status, both officially and unofficially, during the following decades. As more and more research was carried out by scholars with Saami as mother tongue, new linguistic areas came into focus, such as socio-linguistics and syntax, which had hitherto been neglected. In addition, much work was put into the development of the new regional literary languages, with the publication of

grammars and dictionaries in the orthographies that had been launched during the late 1970s and early 1980s.<sup>15</sup>

All this meant that the study of linguistic variation and dialectology did not progress as fast as in earlier decades. Rather, the period that began around 1980 is characterised more by consolidation, minor revisions and clarifications, than by the presentation of new hypotheses and perspectives.

### 2.3.1. Parts of the language area

One of the main characteristics of the Saami language during the past few decades has been how differently language use has developed in the various areas. Whereas especially North Saami, but also South, Lule, Inari, Skolt, and Kildin Saami, have succeeded in developing literatures and in keeping and even increasing the number of speakers (and the number of scholars specialising in them), three of the other main dialects (Ume, Arjeplog, and Ter Saami) have lost nearly all their speakers to the majority languages, one of them (Akkala Saami) lost the last active speaker in 2003, and, unfortunately, very few scholars take any interest in them. However, as will be evident in the following pages, there are important exceptions to this general trend.

#### **South Saami**

According to Bergsland (1995a: 1) the South Saami dialects ‘in the narrower sense’ can ‘generally’ be divided into two groups, one southern and one northern, but he also notes that strictly speaking this traditional classification was valid a hundred years ago (Bergsland 1995a: 2). Instead of dividing South Saami into dialects, Bergsland (1995b: 9 f.) makes the general point that linguistic features always tend to spread and that the dialectological conditions, therefore, are in constant change. Hasselbrink also underlined the difficulties in dividing South Saami into dialect groups since the different varieties ‘merge into one other’. Nonetheless, he suggested a division into three main groups of dialects (not two, as had been traditional; cf. fig. 2.1):

(DO 32)

1. southern dialects
  - 1.1. in Sweden: Hierjedaelie: Neassah, Sâahka
  - 1.2. in Norway: Plassje
2. central dialects
  - 2.1. in Sweden: Gaelpie, Jovnevaerie, Jijnjevaerie (including one family of people who moved to Eajra [Idre] in the province of Dalecarlia), Skalstugan
  - 2.2. in Norway: Merâker, Skierde (Stjördal), Snåase

<sup>15</sup> For a comparison of the orthographies of the regional literary languages, see Rydving 1995.

	S←				→N			
NORWAY								
	Plassje		Saante	Snåase		Gaala	Vaapste	Aarborte
SWEDEN								
	Neas-		Jijnjevaerie		Fröös-			
	sah	Såahka	vaerie		tege		Vualtjere	
Qvigstad 1925	A1	A2	A3		A4	B1	B2	
Hasselbrink 1944		A1			A2		B	
Bergsland 1949	A1	A2	A3		A4		B	
M. Korhonen 1981		A1	A2			B		
<b>Hasselbrink 1981</b>		<b>A</b>			<b>B</b>	/ / / /	<b>C</b>	

*Fig. 2.1.* Hasselbrink's division of South Saami into three dialects compared with four earlier proposals to divide South Saami into two dialects with sub-dialects. A–C = dialects; 1–4 sub-dialects; S = south; N = north (after Rydving 2006: 43). Corresponding Norwegian / Swedish place names: Aarborte (Hattfjelldal), Fröösstege (Frostviken), Gaala (Grane), Jijnjevaerie (Hotagen), Jovnevaerie (Offerdal), Neassah (Tännäs), Plassje (Røros), Saante (Essand), Såahka (Undersåker), Snåase (Snåsa), Vaapste (Vefsn), Vualtjere (Vilhelmina).

3. northern dialects (the dialect of Fröösstege forms a transition between the central and the northern dialects)

3.1. in Sweden: Vualtjere with Rijsiejohke (Risbäck), southern Dearnna with Gierkiesovvene

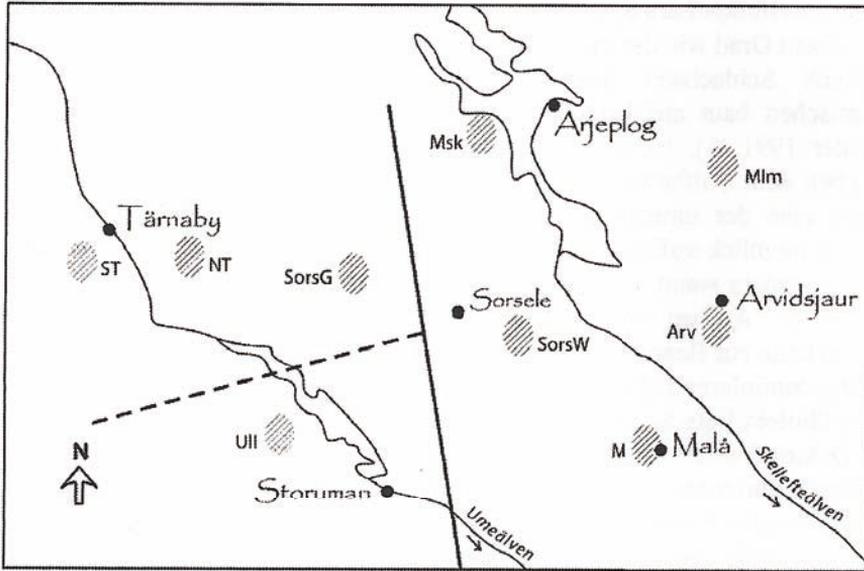
3.2. in Norway: the coastal region Bindal – Dolstad – Mossere and Aarborte, Gaala, Vaapste

(Hasselbrink 1981–85, 1: 21 f.)

This classification was based on phonological and morphological criteria, and, since its publication, has been preferred by students of South Saami (cf. Rydving 2008: 360 f.), although not by generalists, who still adhere to the division into one 'Jämtland' (or southern) and one 'Åsele' (or 'Västerbotten' or northern) group (see below).

### Ume Saami

A new interpretation of the position of Ume Saami was put forward by Hansegård (1988: 71 f.), when he presented it as the southernmost of the Central Saami dialects, a classification that has been followed by Jocelyne Fernandez (1997: 12), among others. Yet another hypothesis, proposed by Larsson, O. Korhonen and Mikael Svonni with various arguments, is to regard the Ume Saami language area as a transition area (Larsson 1986: 117; O. Korhonen 1996: 140; Svonni 2006).



Map 2.10. Larsson's dialect map of Ume Saami. Abbreviations: Arv = Árviesjávrrie; M = Máláge; Mlm = Málmahávrrie; Msk = Måsskávrrie; NT = northern Deärnná; SorsG = the mountain variety of Suorssá; SorsW = the forest variety of Suorssá; ST = southern Deärnná; Ull = Ulliesjávrrie. Source: Larsson 2012: 38.

In the first detailed investigation of variation in Ume Saami, Larsson—in contrast to most of earlier research<sup>16</sup>—includes southern Deärnná and Ulliesjávrrie (Ullisjaure) south of the Ubmejeiednuo river in the Ume Saami language area. He consequently draws the border between South Saami and Ume Saami south of southern Dearn / Deärnná, not north of it.

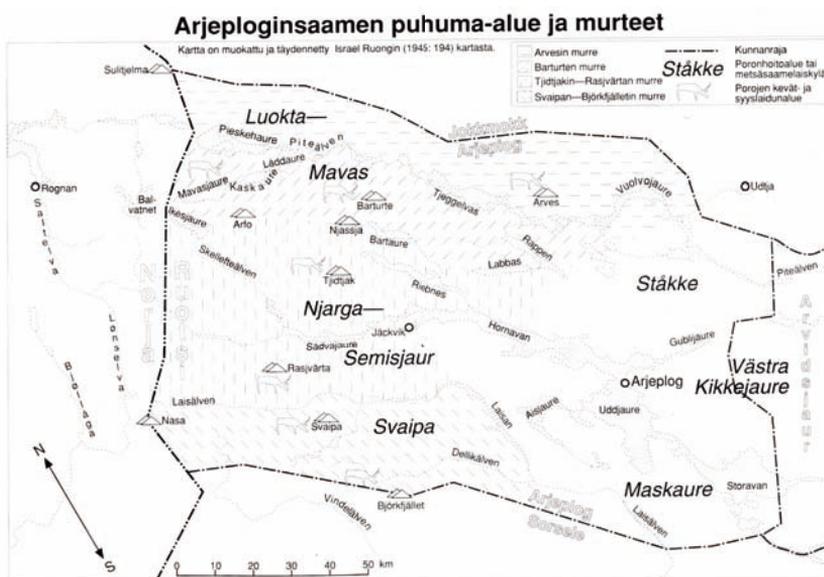
Larsson, who has based his analysis on several types of criteria (phonological, morphological, syntactical, and lexical), suggests that Ume Saami is divided into two dialects ('dialect areas'), one of which is divided into two sub-dialects (Larsson 2012; cf. map 2.10):

(DO 33)

1. the western dialect area
  - 1.1. Ulliesjávrrie
  - 1.2. mountain Saami: southern Deärnná, northern Deärnná, the mountain variety of Suorssá
2. the eastern dialect area ('the forest dialect'): Máláge, the forest variety of Suorssá, Árviesjávrrie, Málmahávrrie (Malmesjaure), Måsskávrrie (Maskaure)

(Larsson 2012: 38, 180 ff.)

<sup>16</sup> Two exceptions are Qvigstad's first overview (cf. DO 24 above) and Jernsletten and Sammallahti's dialect map (see map 2.12 and the comments to DO 36 below).



Map 2.11. Lehtiranta's dialect map of Arjeplog Saami. Source: Lehtiranta 1992: map.

This new study gives us several reasons to question the traditional border between South Saami and Ume Saami, as well as how the internal variation of Ume Saami has been presented. Especially interesting is that the main dividing line goes between a western and an eastern area, not between a southern and a northern one.

### Arjeplog (Pite) Saami

In recent decades, most scholars have started to use the term Arjeplog Saami for the varieties that used to be referred to as Pite Saami. The latter term is regarded as inappropriate in Sweden, since not only these varieties, but also some of the Ume Saami varieties are spoken in the old Pite *Lappmark*.<sup>17</sup> However, it is still used in Norway in the same meaning that Arjeplog Saami has in Sweden. As Larsson (1991: 186) has indicated, there is extensive variation within the Pite *Lappmark*, and Juhani Lehtiranta has accordingly divided Arjeplog Saami into no less than five dialects:

(DO 34)

1. the Svájppá (Svaipa)-Birgguj (Björkfjället) dialect
2. the Tjiddjak-Rasjvarta dialect

<sup>17</sup> Pite *Lappmark* is an old designation for the administrative district consisting of the Saami communities of the Byöhdameiednuo / Bihtámädno (Piteälven) river valley in the province of Lapland in Sweden.

3. the Barturtte (Barturte) dialect
4. a dialect that is a mixture between the Barturtte and the Árves (Arves) dialect
5. the Árves dialect

(Lehtiranta 1992: 4 ff.)

The Árves dialect is spoken north of the Bihtámädno (Piteälven) river (traditionally regarded as the border between Pite and Lule Saami), but although Lehtiranta (1992: 6) judges the dialect to be a ‘transition area’, he classifies it as Arjeplog Saami since it differs slightly less from Arjeplog Saami than from Lule Saami. The forest Saami in Árjepluovve, except for those in the Stáhkke (Stákke) community, speak Ume Saami (Lehtiranta 1992: 4 ff.; cf. map 2.11). Sammallahti for his part has combined Lehtiranta’s dialects 3–5 and, therefore, reckons with three Arjeplog (PS: Pite) Saami dialects:

(DO 35)

1. southern (Svájppá)
2. central (Semisjávr-Njárg)
3. northern (Luokta-Mávas and Stáhkke)

(Sammallahti 1998b: 22)

Except for the traditional classification that combines Arjeplog, Lule and North Saami into a Central Saami group of dialects (Collinder 1953; Sköld 1961, etc.), or, with another terminology, regards it as belonging to the ‘northern group’ of Western Saami (Sammallahti 1998b), Arjeplog Saami is today usually classified as a sub-dialect of Lule Saami ‘in the wider sense’ (cf. Qvigstad 1925; O. Korhonen 1979: 541 f.; Angéus Kuoljok 1997: 19 f.), or, to use another terminology, as forming a ‘western’ or ‘central’ group of dialects together with Lule Saami (Lagercrantz 1926a; Hasselbrink 1962). Another classification is, as mentioned, to regard Ume, Arjeplog and Lule Saami as one dialect group, Central Saami (Hansegård 1988: 71 f.) between South Saami and North Saami. Accordingly, ‘Central Saami’ could have three different meanings, containing either (1) Ume, Arjeplog and Lule Saami, (2) Arjeplog and Lule Saami, or (3) Arjeplog, Lule and North Saami.

### **Northern Gällivare**

On dialect maps and in classifications, the border between Lule and North Saami is drawn in two different ways. Whereas Larsson (1985: 160) and Angéus Kuoljok (1997: 18) agree with Grundström (1946–54) and classify the varieties of Basstijärro and Girjes (Northern Gällivare) as Lule Saami, Sammallahti (1985: 150; 1998b: 19), Hansegård (1988: 72), Helander (1990: 402), and Svonni (1993: 36) regard these varieties (Bastečearru and Girjjis in North Saami) as the southernmost of the North Saami varieties. According to Sammallahti (1998a: 47), ‘[t]he Kaitum dialect has been regarded as a dialect of Lule Saami because of lexical similarities,

but structurally it belongs to North Saami.’ These two classifications will be discussed in relation to lexical criteria in Chapter 7 below.

### **North Saami**

In his analysis of Torne Saami,<sup>18</sup> Hansegård (1988: 204–216, 229–287) compared the Torne Saami varieties among themselves as well as to Lule Saami (to the south) and Finnmark Saami (to the north) in terms of phonology, morphology, word formation and lexicon. Among other things, he found words that were not found in the Finnmark Saami varieties, but in Lule Saami (Hansegård 1988: 214 f.). His general conclusion, however, was that Torne Saami, defined as the Saami varieties spoken in the ‘Norrbotten Finnish’ area, could be regarded as transitional between Lule Saami and Finnmark Saami. Furthermore, he emphasised the linguistic variation within the area. Not only does each Saami community have its own dialect, there is variation within communities as well (Hansegård 1988: 72 ff.). Jernsletten (1994) drew similar conclusions about Sážžá (Senja) Saami, the westernmost of the Torne Saami (or Southern Troms) varieties (cf. Hansegård 1965 and above). Svonni (2012) for his part has concluded that the two southern local dialects of Čohkkiras Saami (those of Leaváš and Gabná) are closer to Lule Saami than to North Saami.

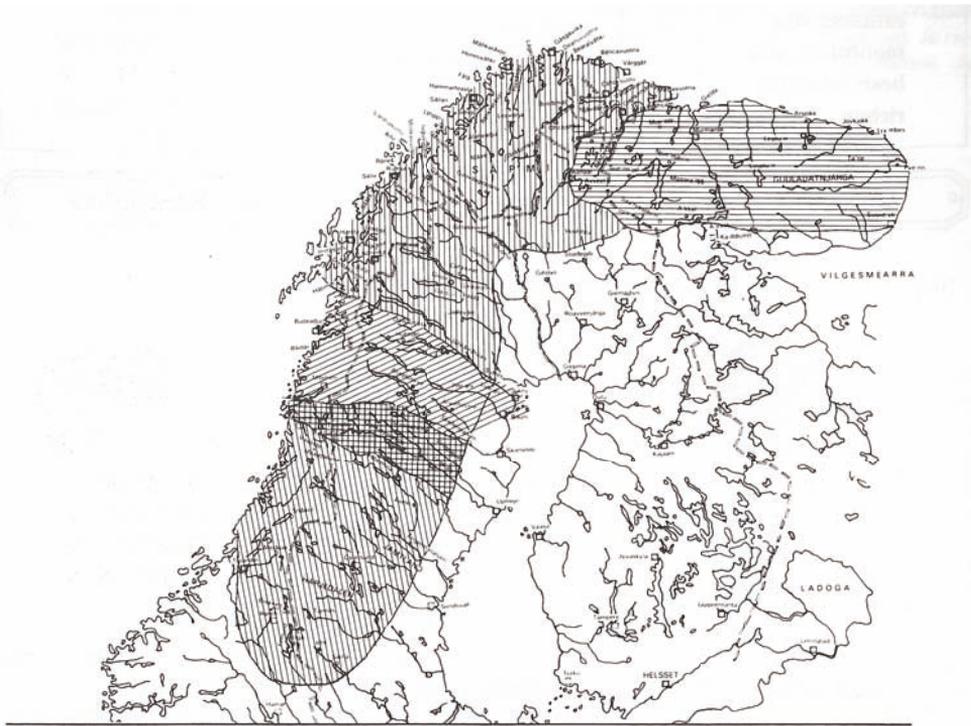
In an interesting local study, Kjell Kemi has investigated linguistic features in Šuoššjávri (Suossjavri), a village that is divided by the territorial border between Guovdageaidnu and Kárášjohka (i.e. linguistically between western and eastern North Saami). He compared the language in the two parts of the village by analysing 18 phonologically and morphologically distinctive dialectal features that are regarded as typical of Guovdageaidnu and Kárášjohka (Kemi 1984: 8 f.). His conclusion was that Šuoššjávri is not a transition area, but that the dialectal border is stable even if language is more varied in the village than it is in the central regions of Guovdageaidnu and Kárášjohka. He also noted that residents on the Kárášjohka side in Šuoššjávri have a less homogeneous language than those on the Guovdageaidnu side, that reindeer herders on both sides have a more homogeneous language than the residents in central Kárášjohka, and that the Guovdageaidnu dialect tends to be stronger and spreading towards the east (Kemi 1984: 79 ff.).

### **Akkala Saami**

Pekka Zaykov regards Akkala Saami as a ‘transition dialect’ between Kildin and Skolt Saami (Zaykov 1996: 141), an opinion that differs from the views both of

---

<sup>18</sup> In Hansegård’s terminology: the varieties of Northern Gällivare, Čohkkiras, Gárasavvon and the adjacent parts of Norway (Hansegård 1988: 72).



Map 2.12. Jernsletten and Sammallahti's dialect map. It divides Saami into five regions (SamN. *guovllut*): (1) South, (2) Ume, (3) Arjeplog and Lule, (4) North, (5) and East Saami. Source: Jernsletten & Sammallahti 1985: 4.

Sammallahti (1998b: 29), who classifies it among the Skolt Saami group of dialects, and M. Korhonen (1988: 41), who counted it among the Kildin Saami dialects.

### 2.3.2. The language area as a whole

In *Sámás* 1, the first of three books aimed at North Saami speakers detailing the written language, Nils Jernsletten and Pekka Sammallahti published a series of maps that show the distribution of certain phonological and morphological features. Other maps show the distribution of dialects, one of them the entire language area (cf. map 2.12). There, Saami is divided into five dialect areas:

(DO 36)

1. South Saami
2. Ume Saami
3. Pite and Lule Saami
4. North Saami
5. Eastern Saami

(Jernsletten & Sammallahti 1985: 4).

One notes that on this map the border between South Saami and Ume Saami is drawn between the Saami communities of northern Vualtjere and southern Dearná / Deärrná, while that between Lule and North Saami is drawn south of the river Stuor Julevuädno (Stora Luleälven), in the middle of the community Sirges. I.e. both borders are placed further south than has usually been the case.

When Mikko Korhonen revised his earlier classification and included Akkala Saami in the Kildin group, his new grouping consisted of ‘nine main dialect groups’:

(DO 37)

1. Southern Lapp
  - 1.1. Jämtland Lapp
  - 1.2. Åsele Lapp
2. Ume Lapp
3. Pite Lapp
4. Lule
5. Norwegian or Northern Lapp
  - 5.1. Torne Lapp
  - 5.2. Finnmark Lapp
    - 5.2.1. western dialect group
    - 5.2.2. eastern dialect group
    - 5.2.3. Sea Lapp
6. Inari Lapp
7. Skolt Lapp
8. Kildin Lapp
9. Ter Lapp

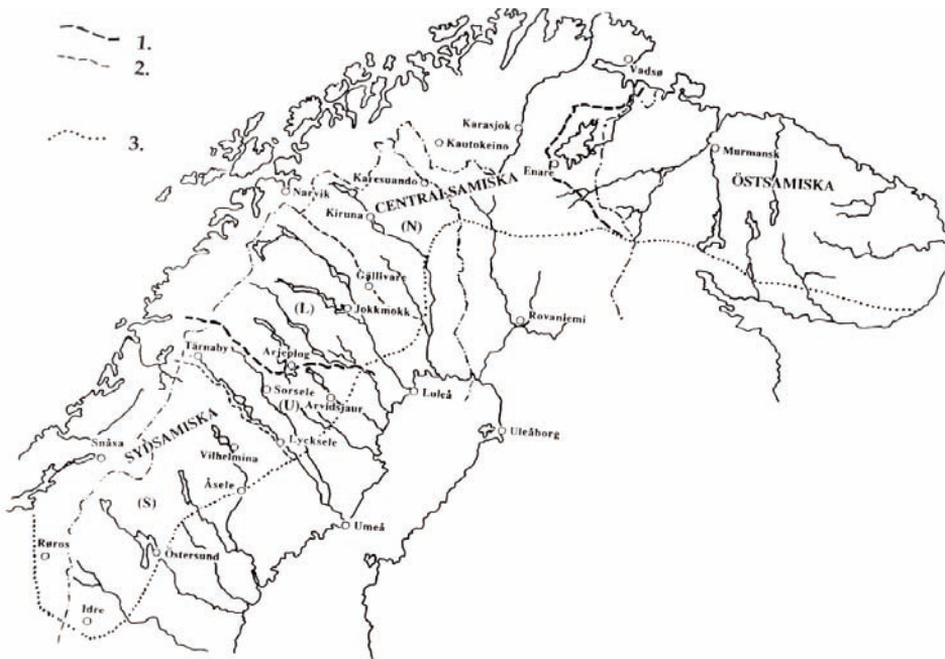
(M. Korhonen 1988: 41 f.)

In a commentary he noted that although the ‘dialects generally change by degrees from one village to the next, [...] there is a marked dialect boundary between Norwegian [Lapp] and Inari Lapp’ (M. Korhonen 1988: 42).

As already mentioned, Bergsland was one of the main critics of the classification of Saami varieties into two or three groups. Nevertheless, in a short presentation in his South Saami grammar, he chooses (probably for pedagogical reasons) to divide Saami into three language areas:

(DO 38)

1. South Saami ‘in the wider sense’
  - 1.1. South Saami ‘in the narrower sense’
  - 1.2. Ume Saami
2. North Saami ‘in the wider sense’
  - 1.1. Pite Saami
  - 1.2. Lule Saami
  - 1.3. North Saami ‘in the narrower sense’



Map 2.13. O. Korhonen's dialect map. Here, Saami is divided into three main parts: South Saami (*sydsamiska*) (in the broader sense) consisting of South Saami (S) (in the narrower sense) and Ume Saami (U), Central Saami (*centralsamiska*) consisting of Lule Saami (L) (in the broader sense including Arjeplog Saami) and North Saami (N), and East Saami (*östsamiska*). 1 = borders between Saami language areas; 2 = borders (in Sweden) between South Saami 'proper' and Ume Saami, and between Lule Saami and North Saami, respectively; 3 = 'approximate outer border of the Saami settlement area'. Source: O. Korhonen 1997b: 59.

- 3. Eastern Saami
  - 3.1. Inari Saami
  - 3.2. Skolt Saami
  - 3.3. Kola Saami

(Bergsland (1982) 1994: 13)

Larsson (1985: 159), O. Korhonen (1997b: 59; cf. map 2.13) and Svonni (2008a: 234) have also divided the Saami language area into three main parts, whereas Sammallahti divided it into two parts (Sammallahti 1998a; 1998b). It seems there has been a revival of the old rivalry between Norwegian and Swedish scholars on the one hand, who prefer to divide Saami varieties into three main groups, and Finnish scholars on the other, who prefer a division into two groups.

When it comes to Sammallahti, it should however be noted that he has revised his classification over the past two decades, making it steadily more precise compared to the first version published in 1985. There, he divided Saami into seven

language forms (Ger. *Sprachformen*) and gave examples of criteria for the divisions (which also served to illustrate problems in the traditional classifications, such as places where morphological isoglosses do not coincide with the dialect borders; Sammallahti 1985: 151 ff.):

(DO 39)

1. Southern Lappish
  - 1.1. South Lappish
    - 1.1.1. the Jämtland group
    - 1.1.2. the Sjeltie (Åsele) group
  - 1.2. Ume Lappish
2. Western Lappish
  - 2.1. Pite Lappish
  - 2.2. Lule Lappish
3. Northern Lappish, North Lappish
  - 3.1. the Bastečearru-Girjjis group
  - 3.2. the Torne group
  - 3.3. the West Finnmark group
  - 3.4. the East Finnmark group
  - 3.5. the Sea Lappish group
4. Inari Lappish
5. Skolt Lappish
  - 5.1. the Njauddâm dialect
  - 5.2. the Paaččjokk dialect
  - 5.3. the Suõ'nn'jel dialect
  - 5.4. the Njuõ'ttjäu'rr dialect
6. Kildin Lappish
  - 6.1. the A'kkel dialect
  - 6.2. the northern group
7. Ter Lappish

(Sammallahti 1985: 149 f.)

Here, one can note that Ume Lappish is presented as a sub-group of Southern Lappish, that Pite and Lule Lappish are brought together as 'Western Lappish', and that the A'kkel dialect is a sub-group of Kildin Lappish, a view Sammallahti would later abandon.

In the revised classification, he reckons first of all with ten Saami languages:

(DO 40)

1. South Saami
2. Ume Saami
3. Pite Saami
4. Lule Saami
5. North Saami
6. Inari Saami
7. Skolt Saami
8. Akkala Saami

9. Kildin Saami

10. Ter Saami

(Sammallahti 1998b: 1; cf. Sammallahti 1998a: 43)

These languages are then grouped into two main groups (1) Western (South, Ume, Pite, Lule, and North Saami) and (2) Eastern Saami languages (Inari, Skolt, Akkala, Kildin, and Ter Saami), the former of which is divided into (1.1) a southern (South and Ume Saami) and (1.2) a northern (Pite, Lule and North Saami) group, while the latter is divided into (2.1) a mainland (Inari, Skolt and Akkala Saami) and (2.2) a peninsular group (Kildin and Ter Saami):

(DO 41)

1. Western Saami (main group)
  - 1.1. the southern group
    - 1.1.1. South Saami (language)
      - 1.1.1.1. the southern (or Jämtland) main dialect
      - 1.1.1.2. the northern (or Sjeltie) main dialect
    - 1.1.2. Ume Saami (language)
  - 1.2. the northern group
    - 1.2.1. western subgroup
      - 1.2.1.1. Pite Saami (language)
        - 1.2.1.1.1. southern dialect: Svájppá
        - 1.2.1.1.2. central dialect: Semisjávr-Njárg
        - 1.2.1.1.3. northern dialect: Luokta-Mávas
      - 1.2.1.2. Lule Saami (language)
        - 1.2.1.2.1. southern dialect: Duorbun
        - 1.2.1.2.2. northern dialect: Jáhkágasska, Sirges, Unna Tjerusj
        - 1.2.1.2.3. forest dialect: Jiellevárre / Jiellevárri and Sierre (Serri)
    - 1.2.2. North Saami (language)
      - 1.2.2.1. Torne Saami (main dialect)
        - 1.2.2.1.1. the Gájddom / Gáidun (Kaitum) dialect
        - 1.2.2.1.2. the Čohkkiras dialect
        - 1.2.2.1.3. the Gárasavvon dialect
        - 1.2.2.1.4. the Finnish Wedge dialect: western Eanodat, etc.
      - 1.2.2.2. Finnmark Saami (main dialect)
        - 1.2.2.2.1. western dialects: Guovdageaidnu, Álaheadju, eastern Eanodat, northern Soađegilli, part of Anár
        - 1.2.2.2.2. eastern dialects: Kárášjohka, Porsáŋgu, Deatnu, Ohcejohka, part of Anár
      - 1.2.2.3. Sea Saami (main dialect)
2. Eastern Saami (main group)
  - 2.1. the mainland group
    - 2.1.1. Inari Saami (language)
    - 2.1.2. the Skolt group
      - 2.1.2.1. Skolt Saami (language)
        - 2.1.2.1.1. northern dialect group
          - 2.1.2.1.1.1. the Njauddâm dialect (extinct)

- 2.1.2.1.1.2. the Paaččjokk dialect
- 2.1.2.1.2. southern dialect group
  - 2.1.2.1.2.1. the Suõ'nn'jel dialect
  - 2.1.2.1.2.2. the Njuõ'ttjäu'rr-Sâá'rvesjäu'rr dialect
- 2.1.2.2. Akkala Saami (language)
- 2.2. the peninsular group
  - 2.2.1. Kildin Saami (language)
  - 2.2.2. Ter Saami (language)

(Sammallahti 1998a: 45 ff.)

This classification was made even more detailed when it was presented in Sammallahti's handbook *The Saami Languages*:

(DO 42)

- 1. the Western Saami languages
  - 1.1. the southern group
    - 1.1.1. South Saami
      - 1.1.1.1. the southern (also called Jämtland) dialect: Jijnjevaerie, Jovnevaerie, Gaelpie, Skalstugan, Sâahka, Hierjedaelie; Merâker and the area between Snåase and Verdal
      - 1.1.1.2 the northern (also called Sjeltie) dialect: Frööstege, Vualtjere, southern Dearná; Njaarke, Bindal, Aarborte, Gaala, Vaapste
    - 1.1.2. Ume Saami: northern Deärnná, Gran and Ran in Suorssá, Máláge, the districts Måsskávrrie, parts of Stáhkke, western and eastern Gihkávrrie (Kikkejaure) in the Árjepluovve and Árviesjávrrie municipalities; formerly also Ráne (Rana) in Norway
  - 1.2. the northern group
    - 1.2.1. the western group
      - 1.2.1.1. Pite Saami
        - 1.2.1.1.1. southern dialect: Svájppá
        - 1.2.1.1.2. central dialect: Semisjávvr-Njág
        - 1.2.1.1.3. northern dialect: Luokta-Mávas and Stáhkke
      - 1.2.1.2. Lule Saami
        - 1.2.1.2.1. southern dialect in Duorbun
        - 1.2.1.2.2. central dialect in Jáhkågasska and Sirges, Divtasvuodna
        - 1.2.1.2.3. forest dialects in Jiellevárre / Jiellevári: Sierre and Udtjá
        - 1.2.1.2.4. northern dialect in Unna Tjerusj
    - 1.2.2. North Saami
      - 1.2.2.1. Torne Saami
        - 1.2.2.1.1. the Girjjis dialect: the districts Basstitjærro / Bastečearru and Girjes / Girjjis
        - 1.2.2.1.2. the Čohkkiras dialect: the districts Čovčočearru, Dálbmá, Gabná, and Leaváš, and the so-called concession districts towards Gáinnas (Kalix) and Háhpárándi (Haparanda) in Sweden, the areas around Váhkvierddas (Vågsfjord) and Ufuohtá in Norway
        - 1.2.2.1.3. the Gárasavvon dialect: Geaggánvuopmi (Könkämävuoma) and Lávdnjitvuopmi (Lainiovuoma) districts and the Forest Saami

villages in the former Gárasavvon municipality in Sweden; Ivgu and Báhccavuotna in Norway

1.2.2.1.4. the Finnish Wedge dialect: western Eanodat municipality and adjacent areas in the north-west between Ivgubađajohka (Skibotnelva) and Ráisa (Nordreisa) in Norway

#### 1.2.2.2. Finnmark Saami

1.2.2.2.1. western dialect group: eastern Eanodat, northern Soadegilli, parts of Anár, Guovdageaidnu, Álaheadju

1.2.2.2.1.1. the Máze (Masi)-Láhpoluoppal dialect in the northern and eastern parts of Guovdageaidnu municipality

1.2.2.2.1.2. the Guovdageaidnu dialect in the centre of the municipality and in the southern and western parts of Guovdageaidnu municipality

1.2.2.2.1.3. the Eastern Eanodat dialect in the Näkkälä reindeer herding district in the eastern part of the Eanodat parish in Finland

1.2.2.2.1.4. the Vuohčču (Vuotso) dialect in the reindeer herding district Sodankylän Lappi around the village Vuohčču in the northern part of Soadegilli municipality

1.2.2.2.2. eastern dialect group: Ohcejohka, parts of Anár, Kárášjohka, Porsángu, Deatnu

1.2.2.2.2.1. the Sieiddá-Bonjákas dialect: Sieiddá (Seida), Bokcá (Boftsa), Bonjákas (Bonakas) and other villages between the Deatnu municipality centre Deanušaldi (Tanabru) and the mouth of the Deatnu river

1.2.2.2.2.2. the Skiippagurra-Buolbmát dialect between Deanušaldi and the Finnish border

1.2.2.2.2.3. the Njuorggán (Nuorgam) - Sirbmá (Sirma) dialect from the Finnish border up to Leavvajohka (Levajok)

1.2.2.2.1.4. the Upper Deatnu dialect, western part of Ohcejohka, Áŋŋel (Angeli) village in Anár municipality in Finland, Kárášjohka and Porsángu municipalities in Norway

1.2.2.2.1.4.1. the Vuovdaguoika subdialect on the Finnish side of the Upper Deatnu river from Badjegeavŋŋis (Yläköngäs, Ailerstrykene) to the Gáregasnjárga (Karigasniemi) area

1.2.2.2.1.4.2. the Anárjohka sub-dialect south from Guolná on the border of the Ohcejohka and Anár municipalities on the Finnish side of the Finnish-Norwegian border

1.2.2.2.1.4.3. the Kárášjohka resident sub-dialect in the Kárášjohka municipality in Norway

1.2.2.2.1.4.4. the Kárášjohka reindeer herder sub-dialect in the Kárášjohka municipality

1.2.2.2.1.4.5. the Porsángu sub-dialect around Porsángguvuotna

#### 1.2.2.3. Sea Saami

1.2.2.3.1. western dialect: Álaheivuotna (Altafjord), Návuotna

1.2.2.3.2. central dialect: Riehppovuotna (Repparfjord) and Fálesnuorri (Kvalsund)

1.2.2.3.3. eastern dialect: from Lágsvuotna and Várjvatvuotna to Giehkirnjárga (Poluostrov Rybačiy, the Fisher Peninsula)

## 2. the Eastern Saami languages

## 2.1. the mainland group

## 2.1.1. Inari Saami: Aanaar municipality

## 2.1.2. the Skolt group

## 2.1.2.1. Skolt Saami

## 2.1.2.1.1. northern dialect group

## 2.1.2.1.1.1. Njauddâm (extinct)

2.1.2.1.1.2. Paaččjokk: Paaččjokk, Peäccam, and Mue'tkk villages in the former Peäccam area; moved over to Njeä'llem, Finland, after World War II

## 2.1.2.1.2. southern dialect group

2.1.2.1.2.1. Suõ'nn'jel dialect in the southern Peäccam area, now in Če'vetjäu'rr

2.1.2.1.2.2. Njuõ'ttjäu'rr dialect: around lake Njuõ'ttjäu'rr and south of it in the former villages Njuõ'ttjäu'rr and Sââr-vesjäu'rr

2.1.2.2. Akkala Saami: the former villages A'kkel and Ču'kksuâl on the Oaver Lake north of Käddluhtt (Kandalakša) by the White Sea

## 2.2. the peninsular group

## 2.2.1. Kildin (the inhabitants transferred mainly to Luujaavv'r)

2.2.1.1. the Šonguj dialect (now probably extinct) in the western inland parts of the Kildin Saami area: the former villages Šonguj and Maaziell'k

2.2.1.2. the Tyr'byr' dialect along the northern coast around the mouth of the Kola fjord: the former Saami villages Kiillt and Tyr'byr'

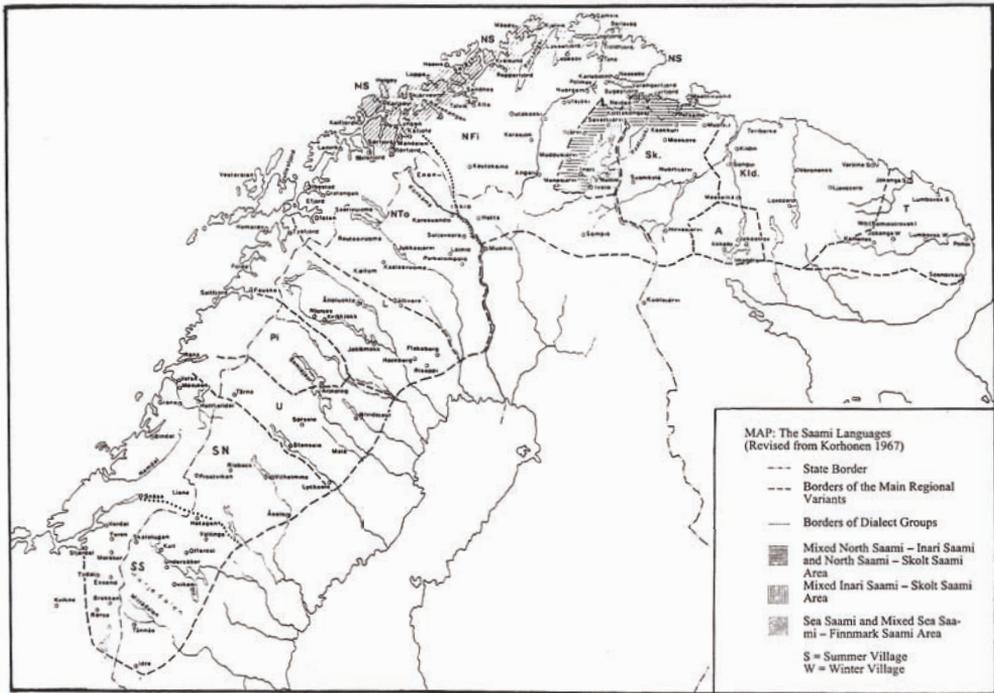
2.2.1.3. the Luujaavv'r dialect in the inland: the former Saami villages Luujaavv'r and Koarrdögk

2.2.1.4. the Aarsjokk dialect in the eastern part of the Kildin Saami area: the former villages Lejjaavv'r and Aarsjokk

2.2.2. Ter: in the former villages Kyõddemjaavvre (Kuropatyovsk), Jofkyj, Lyymbes, Pyõnne, Sosnyõffke and Kiintuš; the speakers now live scattered on the Kola Peninsula

(Sammallahti 1998b: 6–34)

This classification is based on a careful analysis of dialectal features (cf. Sammallahti 1998a: 45 ff.) and it is followed by a dialect map (cf. map 2.14), which, as Sammallahti clearly states ‘represents the situation at the end of the last [i.e. nineteenth] century and the beginning of the present [twentieth] century’ (except for the resettlement of the Skolt Saami after World War II). He goes on to say that a map ‘drawn according to the present situation would be chaotic and unenlightening’ (Sammallahti 1998b: 38; cf. Svonni 2012: 234). Among the many interesting points, one notes, for example, that he divides South Saami into two, not three dialects (as in Hasselbrink 1981–85: 21 f.); that he uses the term Pite Saami, not Arjeplog Saami; that the border between Ume Saami and Pite Saami is drawn in accordance with Ruong's map (map 2.2), not M. Korhonen's (map 2.8); that he

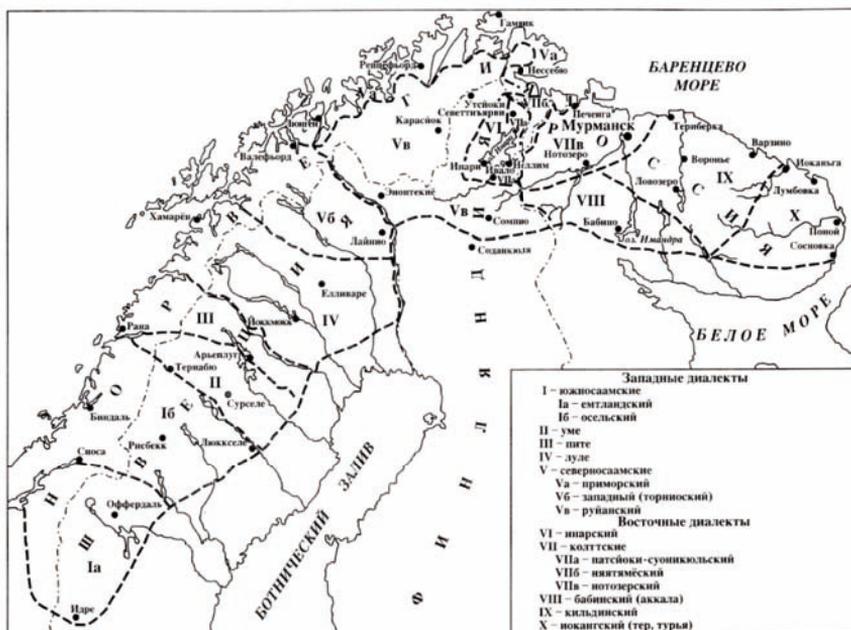


Map 2.14. Sammallahti's dialect map. Source: Sammallahti 1998b: 5.

divides Pite Saami into three dialects, not five (as in Lehtiranta 1992); that the border between Lule and North Saami is drawn south of 'Northern Gällivare', not north of it (as in Grundström 1946–54); that the border between Torne Saami and North Saami is not drawn between Čohkkiras and Gárasavvon (as in Collinder 1949 and on M. Korhonen's map; map 2.8), but north of Gárasavvon; that the classification is much more detailed for North and Skolt Saami (seven levels for North Saami, six for Skolt Saami) than for the other main dialects; that he notes the sociolectal difference between the residents and the reindeer herders of Kárášjohka; that Akkala Saami is classified as a separate language within the 'Skolt group'; etc. Since its publication, this classification has been the point of departure for every discussion of the relation between and grouping of the Saami language varieties.

Kert's dialect map is especially interesting since the Akkala Saami area is much larger than on any of the other maps. However, the borders between the western main dialects are still drawn as on M. Korhonen's map (cf. map 2.15).

In the 1980s two comprehensive dialect dictionaries were published, one South Saami (Hasselbrink 1981–85), the other Inari Saami (E. Itkonen et al. 1986–91).

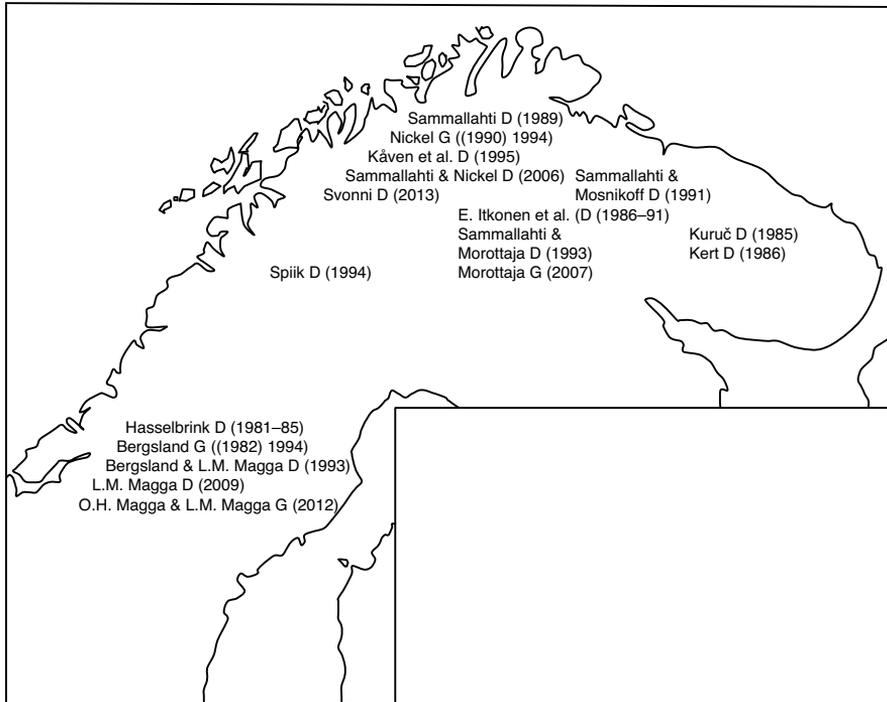


Map 2.15. Kert's dialect map. Here, Saami is divided into two main parts: Western Dialects consisting of (I) South (divided into two subdialects), (II) Ume, (III) Pite, (IV) Lule, and (V) North Saami (divided into three subdialects), and Eastern Dialects consisting of (VI) Inari, (VII) Skolt (divided into three subdialects), (VIII) Akkala, (IX) Kildin, and (X) Ter Saami. Source: Kert 2003: 50.

However, large dialect dictionaries are still missing for Ume Saami (Schlachter's Malå Saami dictionary is limited to only one Ume Saami variety, which in fact is an idiolect, the language of Lars Sjulsson), Arjeplog (Pite) Saami, and the Torne and Coast (Sea) Saami dialects of North Saami.

Except for the large dialect dictionaries, several other extensive dictionaries have been published during the past three decades, such as a South Saami–Norwegian (Bergsland & L.M. Magga 1993), a Norwegian–South Saami (L.M. Magga 2009), a North Saami–Finnish (Sammallahti 1989), also published in a North Saami–Norwegian version (Kåven et al. 1995), a Norwegian–North Saami (Kåven et al. 2000), a North Saami–German (Sammallahti & Nickel 2006), a German–North Saami (Nickel & Sammallahti 2008), a North Saami–English (Parker 2008), and a North Saami–Swedish–North Saami dictionary (Svonni 2013).

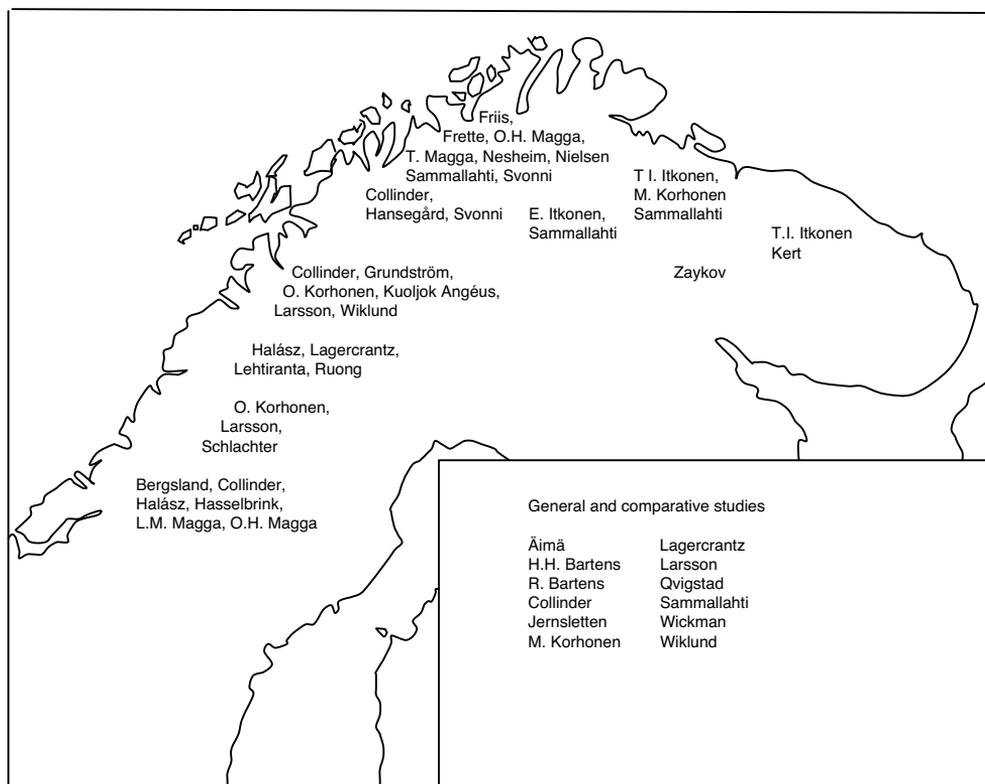
Among the smaller dictionaries, one could mention those in South (Israelsson & Nejne 2007), Lule (Spiik 1994; O. Korhonen 2006, which is a new edition of O. Korhonen 1979, transliterated to the present orthography), North (Jernsletten 1983 and later; Svonni 1990; Sammallahti 1993), Inari (Sammallahti & Morottaja 1983; Sammallahti & Morottaja 1993), Skolt (Mosnikoff & Sammallahti 1988;



Map 2.16. The approximate areas covered by some of the most important printed Saami dictionaries (D) and grammars (G) published since 1980.

Sammallahti & Mosnikoff 1991) and Kildin Saami (Kuruč 1985; with a slightly different orthography: Kert 1986), all of them between the respective Saami literary language and one of the majority languages. The only dictionary between two different Saami main dialects is a small North Saami–Kildin Saami–North Saami one (Sammallahti & Hvorostuhina 1991).

In North Saami, a number of special word-lists and shorter dictionaries have appeared, for instance, four with words from medicine (Utsi 1984; 1986; 1998; Utsi & Jenssen 2006), one with computer words (Sammallahti 1990a), others with words from mathematics (Gaup et al. 1990), literary studies (Gaski & Hirvonen & Näkkäläjärvi 1992), ornithology (S. Aikio 1993), administration (O. Korhonen (1993) 1994), physics and chemistry (Nystad & Valkeapää 1993), linguistics (Berg & Ijäs 1999; Sammallahti 2007a), mechanics (Lund & A. Aikio 1999), pedagogy and psychology (Boyne & Soleng 2006), and soft handicraft (Guttorm & Labba 2008), and one with local words and expressions from the North Saami farming (Nor. *markasamisk*) population in the northern part of the county of Nordland and the southern part of the county of Troms (Skåden 2010). Furthermore, a dictionary of common Saami word stems (Lehtiranta 1989), a dictionary of North Saami

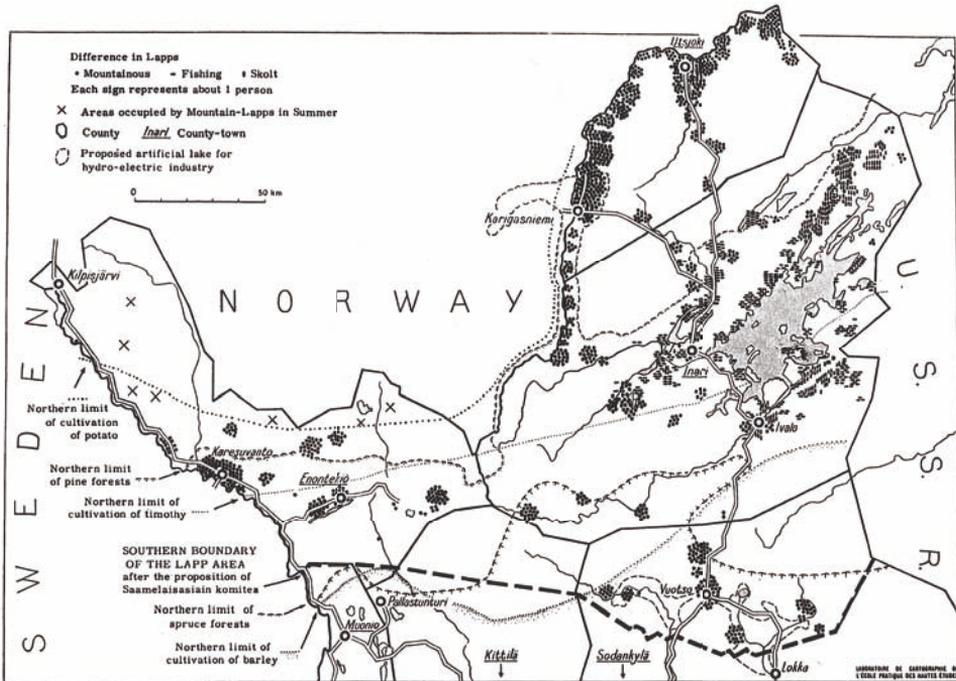


Map 2.17. The main scholars of Saami dialect differentiation from the 1880s onwards and their approximate areas of interest.

synonyms (Vest 1995), a North Saami resource dictionary (Sammallahti 2002), an Inari Saami reverse dictionary (Sammallahti 2007b) and an Inari Saami dictionary of idioms (Idström & Morottaja 2006) have been published.

Various language resources are now also found on the Internet, for example the interactive programs, dictionaries, texts and word-lists produced by the Saami language technology group Giellatekno at the University of Tromsø (cf. Sámi giellatekno; Neahttadigisánit; Kintel 2012a; 2012b). There are also digital versions of printed dictionaries (as, for example, Kåven et al. 1995; 2000; and the first part of Grundström 1946–54), and word-lists of terms used in different types of *duodji*, Saami handicraft, published by the Duodjeinstituhtta (cf. Duodjeinstituhtta 2009).

Among the grammars published during this period, specially worthy of note are the South Saami grammars by Hasselbrink (1981–85, 1: 19–186), Bergsland ((1982) 1994) and O.H. Magga & L.M. Magga (2012), the North Saami grammars by Nickel ((1990) 1994) and Nickel & Sammallahhti (2012, a revised version of Nickel (1990) 1994), the North Saami syntax by Sammallahhti (2005) and the Inari Saami grammar by Morottaja (2007) (cf. map 2.16).



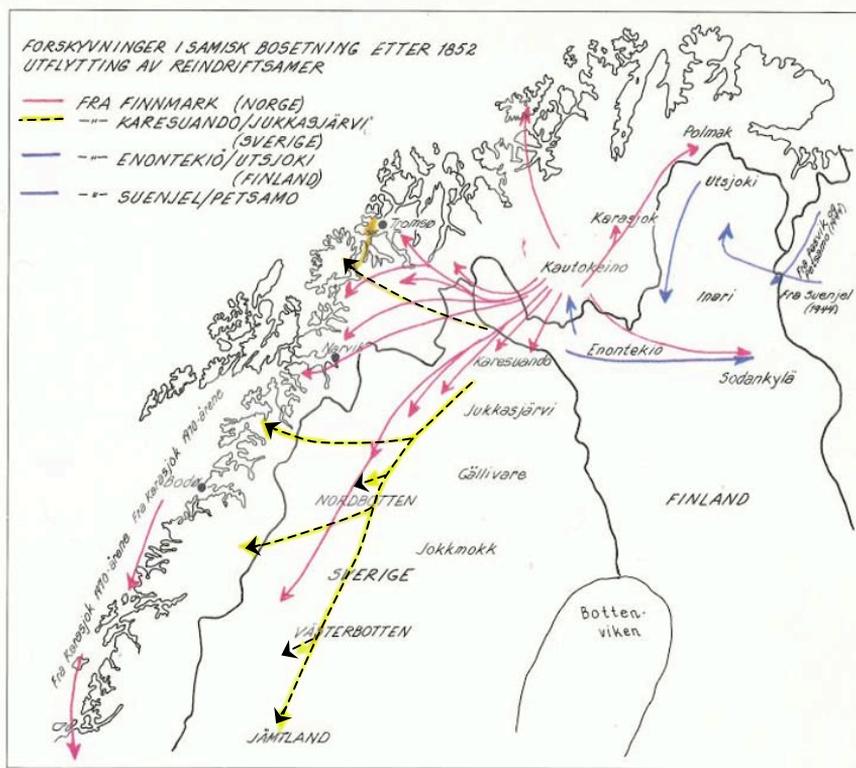
Map 2.18. The distribution of North ('Mountainous'), Inari ('Fishing') and Skolt Saami settlements in northern Finland about 1950. Source: Le département de Laponie 1960: between pp. 140 and 141.

Dialectological problems have been discussed by M. Korhonen (1981: 15–22), Larsson (1985; 1986; 1990; 2000; 2012) and Sammallahti (1985; 1998a; 1998b), among others (as to the main scholars since the 1880s, cf. map 2.17).

## 2.4. Concluding remarks

A methodological problem with the study of language variation is that the maps that are thereby produced tend to mirror the linguistic situation as it was long ago. All too often, one forgets or ignores the fact that, as Larsson (1985: 168) has pointed out, 'a dialect has to be clearly defined not only in space, but in time as well.' The regions where, for example, the different Saami 'main dialects' are spoken are no longer easily demarcated. M. Korhonen, and Sammallahti after him, are the only ones who have mapped this new situation by marking on their dialect maps the areas around Lake Inari where no longer only Inari Saami, but also North Saami and Skolt Saami are spoken (cf. maps 2.8 and 2.14 above, and map 2.18).

The same complicated picture is found in most places nowadays, not only because of individuals who have moved, but also because larger groups of people



Map 2.19. North and Skolt Saami migration waves since 1852. In colour in the original, but here reproduced in black and white. Source: Aarseth 1989: 63 (some lines filled in to increase readability).

have migrated within Sápmi. One of the most extensive of these internal migrations was the forced waves of North Saami migration towards the south during the first half of the twentieth century (cf. map 2.19), which resulted in a spread of North Saami to, for example, Jåhkâmáhkke in the traditional Lule Saami area and Vualtjere in the traditional South Saami area.

I shall briefly return to this problem in the epilogue. In the meantime, however, I will ignore these conditions for the sake of simplicity. The discussion in the following will therefore—as the works of my predecessors—relate to the ‘traditional’ distribution of varieties.

Bergsland’s presentation of a number of features that divide the Saami-speaking area, few of which, however, follow the ‘dialect borders’, shows how complicated the linguistic situation is (Bergsland 1967). Although some criteria (above all, phonological and morphological) have been discussed (see, for example, Bergsland 1962; 1967; M. Korhonen 1981: 18 ff.; Sammallahti 1998b: 6 ff.), there has been no

evaluation of the relative weight of each criterion. As far as I know, there still exists no attempt to classify and group the varieties of the whole Saami-speaking area by means of carefully weighted criteria. Nor does this study try to do that. The purpose is much more limited: to discuss features of one hitherto largely neglected type—lexical—on the basis of a specific material that will be used as sample: the Saami material collected for the Atlas Linguarum Europae (ALE) I.

### 3. The Scope of the Present Study

The overview of earlier research in the previous chapter showed that there are many questions that can be discussed in relation to the linguistic geography of Saami. Since the analysis in this study will be based on lexical material only, it has to be emphasised that I do not mean the picture of the relations between the Saami geographical varieties presented in the following pages to replace the traditional one. Rather, it is to be regarded as a complement. As such it is based on a specific type of material, which is analysed with the help of a clearly specified set of questions and methods.

The purpose is, in the broadest sense, to discuss spatial variation in Saami from the point of view of lexicon. Following the presentation of the terminology in Chapter 4 and the source material in Chapter 5, the next two chapters exemplify two ways of using this material. Chapter 6 addresses word geography with the help of three semantic fields (verbs of communication; words for ‘thunder’, ‘lightning’, and ‘rainbow’; and the names of the days of the week), whereas Chapter 7, which is the main chapter, investigates the lexical relations in the Saami-speaking area by means of dialectometrical methods. The results are presented in tables, figures and maps, and discussed in relation to earlier research.

The simple idea behind the chosen procedure, and especially the analyses presented in Chapters 7, is that mutual intelligibility increases with increased similarity in lexicon between two localities, and decreases when the similarities are fewer. What is discussed, however, is lexical relations on the etymological level, not mutual intelligibility as such. To measure the latter, a broader set of sources and methods would have to be used. In other words, what is to be investigated in this study is not which Saami language varieties are more or less cognate (to use the most common metaphor) from the point of view of the history of language; the principal interest is rather the communicative aspects of relations between varieties, so far as these can be distinguished by means of an analysis of lexical similarities and differences on the etymological level. Thus, the purpose is to map lexical variation in Saami from a few clearly specified perspectives. However, the intricate problems of the causes of the dialectal variation will not be dealt with.

As is evident from the previous chapter, certain areas and language varieties have been more discussed than others, with some having been the focus of considerable attention. The six main problems of Saami linguistic geography one could pose on the basis of the presentation in Chapter 2 could be summarised as follows:

1. Should Ume Saami lexically be classified as South Saami ('in the wider sense') or Central Saami ('in the wider sense')?
2. Should Northern Gällivare (Basstijärro + Girjes / Bastečearru + Girjjis / Mellanbyn + Norrkaitum) lexically be classified as Lule or North Saami?
3. Should the North Saami dialect of Gárasavvon (Karesuando) lexically be classified as Torne Saami (southern North Saami) or Finnmark Saami (northern North Saami)?
4. Should the Coast Saami varieties of North Saami lexically be classified as an independent dialect or as a sub-dialect of Finnmark Saami?
5. Should Inari Saami lexically be classified as eastern or western?
6. Should Akkala Saami lexically be classified as a Skolt Saami dialect, as a main dialect of its own, or as a Kildin Saami dialect?

These are six of the questions I intend to discuss in the following.

## 4. Problems of Terminology

On a systematic level of description, the different varieties spoken in the Saami-speaking area can be said to form a continuum from the southernmost South Saami variety to the easternmost Ter Saami. However, as is evident from the history of research presented in Chapter 2, since the late seventeenth century, smaller or greater numbers of varieties have been grouped together, given names ('South Saami', 'Western Finnmark Saami', 'Eastern Saami', etc.) and arranged hierarchically in, for example, 'dialect groups', which contain 'dialects', many of which in turn contain 'sub-dialects', etc. This process of grouping together, arranging and naming has forced us to recognise certain groups of varieties as independent entities, a fact which amply justifies Larsson's (1985: 163) question as to why we distinguish South, Ume, Pite, Lule, North Saami, etc., but not other varieties. As Hyltenstam and Stroud (1991: 38; after P. Mühlhäusler) have pointed out, one consequence of these 'arbitrary cuts of a linguistic continuum' has been 'that the varieties that had been chosen for description got status as languages, while adjacent varieties were regarded as dialects', or, one could add, as zones of transition. There are many examples of this development in the linguistic analysis of the Saami-speaking area, as well as of the fact that the designations of the dialects as entities (Lule Saami as against Arjeplog Saami, for example) were not based on linguistic analysis, but on administrative borders. But, as already Leonard Bloomfield ([1935] 1973: 341) noticed concerning the distinction between linguistic core and transition areas in general, if the criteria 'were differently selected—say, without regard to the popularity of current provincial classification—we should obtain entirely different cores and entirely different zones of transition.' This observation is valid for Saami, as well.

Like any area in which a language is spoken, the Saami-speaking area is heterogeneous and characterised by variation in types and levels. There is variation between individuals, between families, and between the language of larger or smaller groups of people. In order to create some order in what might seem an immense chaos of linguistic variation, one needs a terminology that can be used as an analytic tool. In order to be understandable, such a terminology has to use the con-

ventional terms, but in order to be usable, the meanings of the terms cannot be taken for granted, but have to be clearly defined.

Unfortunately, until now many of the terms used to describe the Saami language situation have not been clearly defined, and very often several terminologies have been used in parallel, resulting in much confusion. The purpose of this chapter is to formulate a terminology, not—it should be noted—to serve the study of Saami language variation in general, but to meet the analytical requirements of this study. A terminology is an analytical tool, and other terminologies might therefore be more appropriate for other purposes.

The first group of terms I will bring up consists of those that are used to distinguish between levels of language varieties. The main question in this context, and one that has received different answers, is whether one should reckon with one or several Saami languages. This is a question that has been discussed since the beginning of Saami studies. The two main positions are exemplified by Leem (1748: [Fortale til Læseren: b (*verso*)]), who talked about one language with ‘a great many dialects’, and Qvigstad (1925: 2), who felt that the ‘difference between the dialects in sound, inflection and vocabulary [has] become so great, that one could talk of several Lappish languages rather than dialects.’ One thing is that different authors use different terminologies. Some reckon with one Saami language (with dialects, sub-dialects etc.); others with two (the Western and Eastern) or three (the Southern, Central, and Eastern) Saami languages; still others with ten Saami languages (South, Ume, Arjeplog, Lule, North, Inari, Skolt, Akkala, Kildin, and Ter Saami). In other words, the term ‘language’ is applied to different entities, different levels in the hierarchy of varieties. Another thing is that it is not uncommon for one and the same author in one and the same text to use the term ‘language’ for different levels of variety groupings, as when Collinder speaks of both ‘the Lappish language’ and ‘three Lappish languages’ (Collinder 1953: 53 ff., 59).

A common basis for the argumentation is very often the problematic criterion of mutual comprehensibility (cf. Hyltenstam & Stroud 1991: 36 f.), which has, however, been interpreted in two ways. The first of them is exemplified by Sköld’s (1961: 66) statement that one usually talks about Saami dialects, not languages, because ‘the dialects generally merge into one another without sharp borders’ (cf. Hasselbrink 1962: 369), whereas an example of the second is O.H. Magga’s (1990: 436; cf. 1997: 140) idea that even if the dialects are mutually understandable within each main dialect, the main dialects, ‘especially those [that are] geographically apart, are linguistically different languages.’ Another line of argument takes as its point of departure the fact that there are seven regional literary languages today. For this reason, Sammallahti (1998a: 43) maintains that even if the Saami varieties

have been treated as dialects ‘because of the regular correspondences in phonology and the similarity in basic vocabulary and grammar’, since ‘six<sup>19</sup> of the regional variants have independently standardized written forms, it is more justifiable to speak of separate languages.’

It is clear from these examples that the main question when choosing between different terminologies concerns the level in the hierarchy of varieties to which the term ‘language’ should be applied. Since ‘mutual comprehensibility’ is an elastic term, better suited to describing incremental gradations (‘more – less’) than nodal bifurcations (‘either – or’), it is of little use as a main criterion. This is well-known, and since, therefore, it ‘is impossible to find any objective criteria’, because terms like ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ are ‘theoretical and socio-political constructions’ (Hyltenstam & Stroud 1991: 37 f.; cf. Stanford & Preston 2009: 5), one has to use extra-linguistic arguments.

On the basis of the history of research, the choice is between three alternatives: either (1) ‘language’ could be used as the comprehensive term for all varieties (i.e. used on what I will call level 1; see below), or (2) it could be applied to what are regarded as the two or three main groupings of varieties (i.e. used on level 2), or, finally, (3) it could be used for the nine or ten groupings of varieties, seven of which have literary languages (i.e. used on level 3). My reasons for adopting the first of these options in the current study can be formulated as follows. The Saami are one people and the varieties of the Saami language (SaaS. *saemiengiele*, SaaL. *sámegiella*, SaaN. *sámegiella*, SaaI. *sämikielâ*, SaaSk. *sää’ mǰiöll*, and SaaKld. *sām’ kǰll*) spoken in Sápmi (even if mutually incomprehensible) can collectively be regarded as constituting ‘the Saami language’ in the same way as the varieties of Norwegian spoken in Norway (even if mutually incomprehensible) together constitute ‘the Norwegian language’. Although it is a simplification to claim, as John Henrik Eira (1986: 42) has done, that non-Saami scholars tend to talk of different Saami ‘languages’, whereas Saami scholars regard ‘all the Saami dialects as one language’—many South and Lule Saami, for example, prefer to talk about languages instead of main dialects—I think his main point is important. To talk about one Saami people and one Saami language is, as O.H. Magga (1997: 141) has pointed out, a way of expressing Saami fellowship (cf. Greller 1996: 23 f.). For some peoples who speak language varieties that are mutually comprehensible (‘dialects’), but who regard themselves as different ethnic groups (such as, for example, Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs), it is important to emphasise that they speak different languages, rather than different (South Slavic) dialects; inversely, for a people such

---

<sup>19</sup> In 1998, the six regional literary languages were South, Lule, North, Inari, Skolt and Kildin Saami. The Ume Saami orthography was approved by the Saami Language Council (Sámi giellalávdegoddi) in 2010.

as the Saami, among whom certain groups speak varieties that are mutually incomprehensible ('languages'), but who collectively regard themselves as one ethnic group, it can be important to emphasise that they speak one and the same language (cf. Hyltenstam 1999: 28; Hansegård 2000: 138).

However, in addition to using 'the Saami language' to designate the sum of all Saami varieties, but not for various groups of varieties, I will use 'language' in two other senses: firstly, in terms such as 'literary language' or 'regional literary language', in which case it can refer to any of the official written forms of seven 'main dialects', and secondly, of course, in the unspecific general meaning of the word as exemplified in the phrase 'the question is whether the language of the Saami of 'Northern Gällivare' should be regarded as a sub-dialect of Lule Saami or of North Saami'. I do not think either of these uses of the word will cause confusion.

Even if there is no such thing as a homogeneous regional language variety (i.e. 'dialect'), as an analytical tool the word 'dialect' can still be used to designate smaller or larger parts of a linguistic continuum. Of course, each individual scholar could, in principle, draw boundaries in the continuum wherever he or she wants, but in order to be able (1) to relate to earlier research, and (2) to make oneself comprehensible to readers, one should not deviate too far from the traditional way of subdividing the linguistic continuum under scrutiny. It is this kind of pragmatic argument that persuades me to retain terms such as 'Central South Saami', 'Lule Saami', 'Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) Saami' and the like, even if none of these terms designates a uniform language system. It is for similarly pragmatic reasons and for analytical purposes that I have chosen to use a set of terms to describe different levels of the divisions of the continuum: 'local dialect', 'sub-dialect', 'dialect', 'main dialect', and 'dialect group', where each term is used to designate a sub-category of the next.

In the examples above, three levels (in the continuum) of varieties were identified, but in order to be able to speak about smaller groups of varieties, a few more levels are needed. For practical reasons I have for this investigation restricted the number of specified levels to six. Since it is impractical to use terms like 'level 1', 'level 2', etc., I will use the term 'local dialect' for varieties on level 6, 'sub-dialect' for varieties on level 5, 'dialect' for varieties on level 4, 'main dialect' for varieties on level 3, 'dialect group' for varieties on level 2, and, as mentioned, 'language' for level 1. An example: the 'local dialect' of Guovdageaidnu (level 6) belongs to the Western 'sub-dialect' (level 5) of the Finnmark 'dialect' (level 4), which is one of the dialects that constitute the North Saami 'main dialect' (level 3), which belongs to the Central (or Western) Saami 'dialect group' (level 2) of the

level 6	level 5	level 4	level 3	level 2	level 1
local dialect	sub-dialect	dialect	main dialect	dialect group	language
Guovda-geaidnu Saami	Western Finnmark Saami	Finnmark Saami	North Saami	Central Saami	Saami

*Fig. 4.1.* The terminology used for language varieties on six levels, exemplified with Guovdageaidnu Saami.

Saami ‘language’ (level 1; cf. fig. 4.1). Finally, I use ‘variety’ as a general term when the level is not specified or when I prefer to or have to be imprecise.

All these levels are abstractions and are used as theoretical constructions to summarise common traits of a smaller or larger group of speakers. However, although there is variation on all levels, also on the lowest, I must of course ignore individual and other minor differences, since the aim of this study is to give a general overview of lexical variation in Saami. However, as will be clear from the presentation of the material in the next chapter, the basis for the analysis in this investigation will be the language of a group of individuals, with each individual representing one locality. The methodological problems attaching to this approach will be taken up in Chapter 5.

Since I do not intend to discuss dialect borders or propose a new classification of dialects, I will be able to avoid Sammallahti’s (1985: 157 f.) question concerning the type of dialect we want, one that is defined politically, communicatively, or historically, or one that is some kind of compromise between these three. Due to the characteristics of the source material, the focus will be on communicative aspects. Therefore, the type of analysis I will try to pursue focuses on relations between a selection of local varieties, rather than on abstract dialect systems and borders between areas, the main approach in traditional dialect geography.

The second group of terms I shall discuss are terms for groups of varieties. As already mentioned, even though the traditional terminology is confusing since many of its terms carry several meanings, I must use it in order to make myself understood. The network of localities in the whole of Sápmi from where the ALE material was collected provides the basis for the analysis and will be presented in the next chapter. In addition to that network of localities, it is necessary to talk about different groups of varieties. This terminology of regional varieties of Saami will be related to the terms for the different levels already presented. Both these sets of terms should be seen as analytical tools and are, therefore, abstractions. When I use South Saami as opposed to Ume Saami, for example, it is a way of de-

noting ‘the varieties of Saami south of Ume Saami’, but it does not say anything about where the border between the two should be drawn geographically.

The history of the relevant terminology could be the theme for a separate investigation. For example, some terms have received a new meaning, like Central South Saami, which used to denote the northernmost varieties of South Saami in ‘the narrower sense’ (because Ume Saami was regarded as the northernmost variety of South Saami in ‘the broader sense’), but which now denotes the central varieties of South Saami in ‘the narrower sense’. Other terms are ambiguous, like Western Saami that could be a term (on level 2) for either the ‘dialect group’ consisting of the ‘main dialects’ from South Saami to North Saami or the ‘dialect group’ consisting of Arjeplog, Lule and North Saami, or a term (on level 3) for the Arjeplog-Lule Saami ‘main dialect’. A special problem is caused by the fact that many of the terms are based on names of administrative areas. For example, the terms Jämtland Saami, Västerbotten Saami, Ume Saami, Arjeplog (or Pite) Saami, Lule Saami and Torne Saami are all based on administrative names on the Swedish side of the Norwegian-Swedish border even though all the varieties designated by these terms except for Ume Saami are spoken in both Norway and Sweden. When it comes to Jämtland Saami and Västerbotten Saami as designations for two parts of the South Saami language area, the newer terminology that talks about southern and northern South Saami and is therefore neutral is undoubtedly to be preferred. Another solution, namely to create special terms for the varieties on the Norwegian side, has been successful in the case of Southern Troms (Nor. Sør-Troms) Saami, as a designation for the varieties of Torne Saami spoken in Norway, but the suggestion to call the Lule Saami varieties in Norway Divtte Saami and use Divtte-Lule Saami as the comprehensive term (Mikkelsen et al. 1990: 35) has not had any impact yet.

Many of the terms for groups of varieties have both narrower and broader meanings. We have seen that South Saami in ‘the broader sense’ could include Ume Saami, and that Lule Saami in ‘the broader sense’ could include Arjeplog Saami. As Hansegård (1988: 72) has remarked, the same distinction applies to North Saami. In ‘the broader sense’ the term includes Torne Saami and Finnmark Saami, in ‘the narrower sense’ only Finnmark Saami. In order to be able to talk about the groupings of varieties I will try to be as clear as possible as to the intended meaning. However, unless otherwise stated, I will use the terms in ‘the narrower’ sense of the words.

A further terminological problem arises from the fact that terms like South Saami or North Saami could have several meanings in a respect other than the one just mentioned (broader vs. narrower). ‘North Saami’, for example, could have no

less than three different meanings: (1) the Saami varieties between Lule Saami and Inari Saami (= North Saami<sub>1</sub>), (2) the standard language based on some of the North Saami<sub>1</sub> varieties (= North Saami<sub>2</sub>), and (3) the orthography of North Saami<sub>2</sub> (= North Saami<sub>3</sub>). These three meanings are exemplified in the following sentences:

1. It is disputed whether or not the Saami varieties of Northern Gällivare are to be reckoned as North Saami.
2. North Saami is the most important of the seven regional literary languages.
3. The Saami name of the community which in Swedish is called Norrkaitem is written Girjijis in North Saami.

In everyday speech one does not have to distinguish between these three meanings, because it is evident from the context which one is intended, but here it is necessary to be more precise. Therefore, I will use the term ‘North Saami’ only when I refer to a certain group of varieties (North Saami<sub>1</sub>), or in phrases like ‘the North Saami standard language’, when referring to North Saami<sub>2</sub>. When I want to mark that a word is written according to the orthography of the North Saami standard language (North Saami<sub>3</sub>), I will use the abbreviation SaaN. The corresponding distinctions will also be made for the other six main dialects that have literary languages: South (SaaS.), Ume (SaaU.), Lule (SaaL.), Inari (SaaI.), Skolt (SaaSk.) and Kildin (SaaKId.) Saami.

Not only are the terms used for varieties on different levels (main dialects, dialects, sub-dialects) ambiguous. Even the term ‘Saami’ could have different meanings, since it is used not only as a generic term for the sum of all the varieties, but very often to refer exclusively to North Saami. The reason for this is that North Saami is the dominant main dialect. In book titles like *Lapp dictionary* (Nielsen 1932–38), *Samisk grammatikk* (Saami grammar; Nickel (1990) 1994), *Samisk–norsk ordbok* (Saami–Norwegian dictionary; Kåven et al. 1995), etc., Lapp or Saami means ‘North Saami’, not ‘Saami in general’.

As a matter of fact, North Saami dictionaries, grammars, word-lists, textbooks, etc., almost without exception, use ‘Saami’ in the title rather than ‘North Saami’.<sup>20</sup> This use of ‘Saami’ is, however, only associated with North Saami publications, almost never for books about any of the other main dialects, the only exceptions to the best of my knowledge being K.B. Wiklund’s Lule Saami *Lärobok i lapska språket* (Manual of the Lappish language; Wiklund (1901) 1915) and the two Kildin Saami dictionaries from the 1980s (Kuruč 1985; Kert 1986). Instead, the titles of corresponding books for varieties other than North Saami specify which

---

<sup>20</sup> This is starting to change, though; cf. recent publications like Nickel & Sammallahti 2011 and Svonni 2013.

main dialect they deal with, as in *Sydsamisk grammatikk* (South Saami grammar; Bergsland (1982) 1994), *Lulesamisk ordbok* (Lule Saami dictionary; Spiik 1994), or *Suomi–koltansaame sanakirja* (Finnish–Skolt Saami dictionary; Sammallahti & Mosnikoff 1991). In this study, it should be noted, ‘Saami’ is used only as a comprehensive term, never in the sense of ‘North Saami’.

## 5. Material

There are serious methodological problems associated with collecting reliable data for investigations into the lexical geography of Saami. The material that has been published in dialect dictionaries and monographs is uneven, some areas having been studied much more intensively than others, some areas nearly not at all. To collect new material covering the whole of the Saami-speaking area would be impossible for one scholar alone. However, there exists as mentioned a comprehensive material that covers the whole area. Although it was collected not as source material for Saami linguistic geography, but for the *Atlas Linguarum Europae* (ALE) I, it can be used as source material. This is the material that will be used in the present investigation.

The Saami material for ALE I (SaaALE I) was collected during the late 1970s and edited during the first half of the 1980s. It was collected to provide a small part of the source material for a comprehensive linguistic atlas, but will here be used for another, secondary aim: the analysis of lexical variation in Saami, one of the languages covered by the Atlas. Although the material has certain shortcomings, which I will mention in due course, it is the best material available, since it is the only one to have been collected from the entire Saami-speaking area by means of one single questionnaire.

Parts of the SaaALE I material have previously been analysed in articles by Lars-Gunnar Larsson and myself. Larsson has among other things pointed out the northern character of the Ume Saami lexicon (Larsson 1985: 163 f., 169 f.; 1986: 116 ff.), while I have indicated that the Inari Saami lexicon corresponds more closely to the nearest North Saami dialects in the west than to the Skolt Saami dialects in the east, and that national borders are slowly becoming dialect borders (Rydving 1986a: 199–201). Larsson (2000) has also used the material in an article about Saami words for ‘fog’, and I have used it in two articles that discuss aspects of indigenous Saami religion (Rydving 1987; 1992).

## 5.1. The ALE material

The Atlas Linguarum Europae I is devoted to lexicon. As an onomasiological atlas it maps how a selection of concepts (meanings) are represented by lexemes in all the European languages. Until now, seven parts of the Atlas have been published (ALE 1983; 1986; 1988; 1990; 1997; 2002; 2007) and the eighth is in course of publication.<sup>21</sup>

### 5.1.1. Network of localities

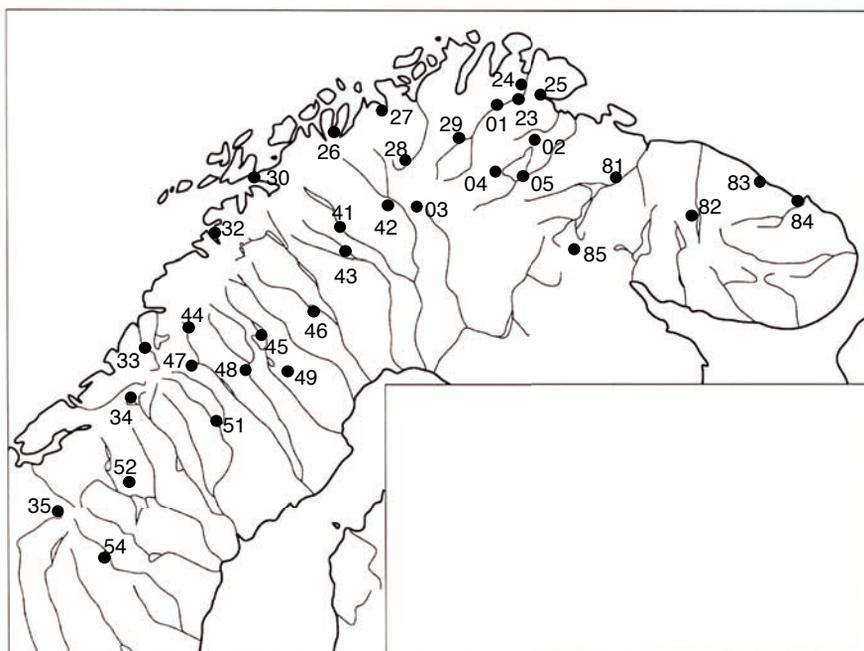
After the exclusion of one Norwegian (l[ocality] 31) and two Swedish (l. 50 and 53) localities from a preliminary list, 34 localities in the Saami-speaking area were left, twelve in Norway (l. 23–30, 32–35), twelve in Sweden (l. 41–49, 51–52, 54), five in Finland (l. 01–05) and five in the then Soviet Union (l. 81–85).<sup>22</sup> The localities were chosen in an attempt to ensure that all the different dialectal areas were represented, but the choice was also influenced by how well documented the different language varieties were. Therefore, the localities were not distributed evenly across the language area. In some regions, which from the point of view of linguistic geography were regarded as especially interesting (such as the Ume Saami region, and the north-eastern part of the North Saami region) the localities are closer to each other than in other areas. Another thing is that in contrast to the ALE localities for other European languages, several of the Saami ‘localities’ corresponded not to permanent settlements, but to the language of (at least traditionally) nomadic groups. In these cases, the point marking the locality on the ALE maps has been placed somewhere within the area where the group in question migrates (cf. map 5.1).

Although most of the material was collected by means of interviews or in terms of collectors’ statements about their own language, this approach was not possible in all the localities. The material therefore combines a variety of sources: new interviews, earlier records preserved in dialectal archives (some of them dating back to the early years of the twentieth century), and dialect dictionaries. This means that the linguistic ‘now’ of the material from the different localities ranges from the 1910s through to the 1970s. This would have been a methodological problem, had ALE I not confined itself to traditional vocabulary (see below).

In this section, the localities will be presented. In contrast to the practice adopted in the ALE publications, which use the majority language versions of

<sup>21</sup> For a general presentation of the ALE project, its method and theoretical perspectives, see ALE 1975; Alinei 1997.

<sup>22</sup> In the ALE publications there is a 9 before all these numbers, but it has been omitted as unnecessary in this context.



Map 5.1. The network of the Saami localities of Atlas Linguarum Europae (ALE) I. **01** = SaaN. Ohcejohka, Fin. Utsjoki; **02** = SaaSk. Če'vetjäu'rr, Fin. Sevettijärvi; **03** = SaaN. Eanodat, Fin. Enontekiö; **04** = SaaI. Aanaar, Fin. Inari; **05** = SaaSk. Njeä'llem, Fin. Nellim; **23** = SaaN. Buolbmát, Nor. Polmak; **24** = SaaN. Deatnu, Nor. Tana; **25** = SaaN. Unjárga, Nor. Nesseby; **26** = SaaN. Olmmáivággi, Nor. Manndalen; **27** = SaaN. Návuotna, Nor. Kvænangen; **28** = SaaN. Guovdageaidnu, Nor. Kautokeino, **29** = SaaN. Kárášjohka, Nor. Karasjok; **30** = SaaN. Skánit, Nor. Skånland; **32** = SaaL. Divtasvuodna, Nor. Tysfjord; **33** = SaaS. Gaala, Nor. Grane; **34** = SaaS. Raavrevijhke, Nor. Røyrvik; **35** = SaaS. Gæbrie, Nor. Riasten, **41** = SaaN. Čohkkiras, Swe. Jukkasjärvi; **42** = SaaN. Gárasavvon, Swe. Karesuando; **43** = SaaL. Girjes, SaaN. Girjjis, Swe. Norrkaitum; **44** = Northern SaaS. Dearnna / SaaU. Deärnná, Swe. Tärna; **45** = SaaL. Árjepluovve, Swe. Arjeplog; **46** = SaaL. Jáhkâmáhkke, Swe. Jokkmokk; **47** = Southern SaaS. Dearnna / SaaU. Deärnná, Swe. Tärna; **48** = SaaU. Suorssá, Swe. Sorsele; **49** = SaaU. Árviesjávrrie, Swe. Arvidsjaur; **51** = SaaS. Vuoltjere, Swe. Vilhelmina; **52** = SaaS. Jovnevaerie, Swe. Offerdal; **54** = SaaS. Ruvhten sijte, Swe. Tännäs; **81** = SaaSk. Njuõ'ttjäu'rr, Rus. Notozero; **82** = SaaKld. Luujaavv'r, Rus. Lovozero; **83** = SaaKld. Aarsjogk, Rus. Varzina; **84** = SaaKld. Jofkyj, Rus. Yokanga; **85** = SaaKld. A'kkel, Rus. Babino.

place names as main forms, I use the Saami place names as main name forms in the text. The forms of the names in the majority languages (often a Saami word rendered in Norwegian, Swedish, etc.) are easily found in the List of place names.

As we saw in Chapter 2, the dialectal distribution of several of the localities has been interpreted in different ways by different scholars. One possible analysis of the SaaALE I localities is the following (cf. fig. 5.1). The localities for *South*

1. South Saami: I. 54 Ruvhten sįjte (Tännäs), 35 Gåebrie (Riasten), 52 Jovnevaerie (Offerdal), 51 Vualtjere (Vilhelmina), 34 Raavrevijhke (Røyrvik), 33 Gaala (Grane), 47 Southern Dearnna / Deärnná (Tärna) (also regarded as Ume Saami; see Ch. 2)
2. Ume Saami: I. 44 Northern Dearnna / Deärnná (Tärna), 48 Suorssá (Sorsole), 49 Árviesjávrrie (Arvidsjaur)
3. Arjeplog Saami: I. 45 Árjepluovve (Arjeplog)
4. Lule Saami: I. 46 Jáhkámáhkke (Jokkmokk), 32 Divtasvuodna (Tysfjord), 43 Girjes / Girjjis (Norrkaitum) (also regarded as North Saami; see Ch. 2)
5. North Saami: I. 41 Čohkkiras (Jukkasjärvi), 30 Skánit (Skåneland), 42 Gárasavvon (Karesuando), 03 Eanodat (Enontekiö), 28 Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino), 29 Kárášjohka (Karasjok), 01 Ohcejohka (Utsjoki), 24 Deatnu (Tana), 23 Buolbmát (Polmak) 26 Olmmáivággi (Manndalen), 27 Návuotna (Kvænangen), 25 Unjárga (Nesseby)
6. Inari Saami: I. 04 Aanaar (Inari)
7. Skolt Saami: I. 05 Njeä́llem (Nellim), 02 Če´vetjäu´rr (Sevettijärvi), 81 Njuõ´ttjäu´rr (Nuortijärvi)
8. Akkala Saami: I. 85 A´kkel (Babino)
9. Kildin Saami: I. 82 Luujaavv´r (Lovozero), I. 83 Aarsjogk (Varzina)
10. Ter Saami: I. 84 Jofkyj (Yokanga)

*Fig. 5.1.* The dialectal distribution of the SaaALE I localities according to the editorial staff of *Atlas Linguarum Europae*. One of several possible groupings of the varieties.

*Saami* are: in the southern dialect area, Gåebrie (Nor. Riasten i Brekken; I. 35) in Norway, and Ruvhten sįjte (Swe. Tännäs; I. 54), one of the Saami communities (Swe. pl. *samebyar*) in the province of Härjedalen, in Sweden; in the central dialect area only Jovnevaerie (Swe. Offerdal; I. 52) in Sweden; in the northern dialect area there are no less than four localities: Raavrevijhke (Nor. Røyrvik; I. 34) and Gaala (Nor. Grane; I. 33) on the Norwegian side, and Vualtjere (Swe. Vilhelmina; I. 51) and Southern Dearnna / Deärnná (Swe. Tärna; I. 47) on the Swedish side of the border.

Three localities were chosen for *Ume Saami*, all of them in Sweden since Ume Saami is no longer spoken in Norway: Northern Dearnna / Deärnná (Swe. Tärna; I. 44), Suorssá (Swe. Sorsole; I. 48), and Árviesjávrrie (Swe. Arvidsjaur; I. 49).

The *Arjeplog Saami* (earlier: Pite Saami) varieties are represented by one point, Árjepluovve (Swe. Arjeplog; I. 45) in Sweden, and the *Lule Saami* varieties by Jáhkámáhkke (Swe. Jokkmokk; I. 46) and Girjes / Girjjis (Swe. Norrkaitum; I. 43) in Sweden, and Divtasvuodna (Nor. Tysfjord; I. 32) in Norway.

Since *North Saami* is the Saami main dialect that is spoken in the largest area, it is represented by the largest number of localities in the ALE survey: the southern

(Torne or Southern Troms Saami) varieties by Čohkkiras (Swe. Jukkasjärvi; l. 41) and Gárasavvon (Swe. Karesuando; l. 42) in Sweden, and Skánit (Nor. Skånland; l. 30) in Norway; the western Finnmark varieties by eastern Eanodat (Fin. Enontekiö; l. 03) in Finland, and Guovdageaidnu (Nor. Kautokeino; l. 28) in Norway; the varieties of eastern Finnmark by Kárášjohka (Nor. Karasjok; l. 29), Buolbmát (Nor. Polmak; l. 23) and Deatnu (Nor. Tana; l. 24) in Norway and Ohcejohka (Fin. Utsjoki; l. 01) in Finland; and the Coast Saami varieties, finally, by Olmmáivággi (Nor. Manndalen; l. 26), Návuotna (Nor. Kvänangen; l. 27) and Unjárga (Nor. Nesseby; l. 25), all in Norway.

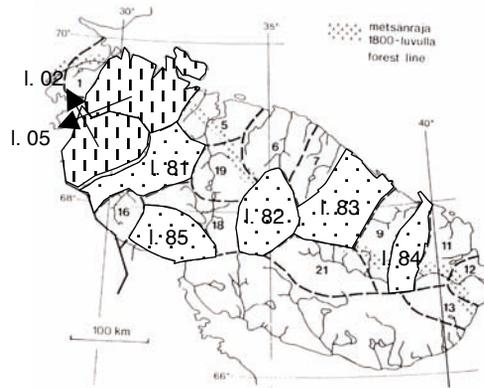
As for Arjeplog Saami, there is only one SaaALE I locality for *Inari Saami*, Aanaar (Fin. Inari; l. 04). In contrast, *Skolt Saami* is served by three localities: Če'vetjäu'rr (Fin. Sevettijärvi; l. 05) in Finland, and Njuđ'ttjäu'rr (Fin. Nuortijärvi, Rus. Notozero; l. 81) in the Russian Federation for the traditional southern (Suõ'nn'jel, Rus. Songel'sk, Fin. Suonikylä) varieties; and Njeä'llem (Fin. Nellim; l. 02) in Finland for the traditional northern (Paaččjokk, Rus. Pazreka, Fin. Paatsjoki) varieties.

On the Kola Peninsula, *Akkala Saami* is represented by one locality, A'kkel (Rus. Babino, Fin. Akkala; l. 85), the inland varieties of *Kildin Saami* by Luujaavv'r (Rus. Lovozero; l. 82), and the eastern varieties by Aarsjokk (Rus. Varzina; l. 83). Finally, *Ter Saami* is represented by Jofkyj (Rus. Yokanga; l. 84) (cf. map 5.2).

### 5.1.2. Questionnaire

The material for ALE I was assembled with the help of a questionnaire. This questionnaire consists of 546 questions, but since three of the questions have two parts, the total number of questions is 549.

The questions were designed to capture, as far as possible, the entire range of the vocabulary of the language under investigation (cf. ALE 1976), although it



Map 5.2. The traditional Skolt, Akkala, Kildin, and Ter Saami varieties represented in the SaaALE I material. Regarding the resettlement of speakers of northern Skolt Sami to Njeä'llem (l. 05) and speakers of the Suõ'nn'jel local dialect to Če'vetjäu'rr (l. 02), see Ingold 1976: 5–10; Lehtola (1994) 2004: 128–145. Base map from Kekarainen 1987: 23. Cf. map 2.4.

should be noted that the questionnaire investigated concepts typical of Central-European ways of life. For example, several of the animals and plants that it asks about do not occur in Sápmi, while the rural terminology contains references to stock-farming, not to reindeer herding. However, for the current investigation this is no problem, since it applies equally to all the SaaALE I localities.

The questions in the questionnaire are arranged in three main groups (A) The Universe, (B) Man, and (C) Man and the Universe, each with subgroups. The questions are formulated in French with the concept looked for exemplified by words in standard French, Russian, English, German and Spanish. For example, question 1, ‘ce corps du ciel qui donne lumière et chaleur pendant le jour’, is exemplified by Fr. *le soleil*, Rus. *солнце*, Eng. *sun*, Ger. *Sonne*, and Sp. *el sol*. Some of the questions are illustrated with pictures in order to simplify identification of the concepts during the interviews with the informants.

### 5.1.3. Collecting and editing

Most of the Saami material for ALE I was collected in 1977–79, i.e. before the regional literary languages had had much unifying impact. Thereafter it was supplemented during the editing process. The collection of material was organised in each country separately and the material was then sent to the then Department of Finno-Ugric Languages at Uppsala University, where the editing of the material for the Atlas was carried out.

Several specialists were responsible for collecting material in Norway. Nils Jernsletten used his mother tongue as source for the words from Buolbmát (l. 23); the words from Deatnu (l. 24) were collected by Nils Ø. Helander with the help of his own language and interviews with Kristina Helander; Unjárga (l. 25) was covered by Tor Magne Berg interrogating his own language; and Olmmáivággi (l. 26) by Nelle Eriksen who supplemented her own language with interviews with Margit Eriksen and Jenny Nilsen. Nils Jernsletten interviewed Johan Josefsen and Karl Nielsen in Návuotna (l. 27); Ole Henrik Magga and Thor Frette used their own language supplemented with information from the main dictionary (Nielsen 1932–38) when collecting words from Guovdageaidnu (l. 28) and Kárášjohka (l. 29), respectively; Nils Jernsletten interviewed Jon Nyheim for Skánit (l. 30) and Sven Roald Niptø for Divtasvuodna (l. 32). Anna Jacobsen used her own language as source in order to answer the questionnaire for Gaala (l. 33), as did Ella Holm Bull for Raavrevijhke (l. 34); the material from Gåebrie (l. 35), finally, was put together by Knut Bergsland who used his own collections at the then Department of Ural-Altai studies at Oslo University.

Due to financial constraints, only a limited amount of field work was done in Sweden. Instead, the questionnaire was answered primarily with the help of excerpts from archival collections and dictionaries. Lars-Gunnar Larsson took principal responsibility for putting together the material concerning all the localities in Sweden, except for one (l. 52). For Čohkkiras (l. 41), he used the collections in the then Institute of Dialect and Folklore Research (ULMA), Uppsala (now the Department of Dialectology at the Institute for Language and Folklore, SOFI: DA) supplemented by Collinder 1949. The answers for Gárasavvon (l. 42) were collected from Lagercrantz 1939, those for Girjes / Girjjis (l. 43) from the material in ULMA supplemented by the large Lule Saami dictionary (Grundström 1946–54) and those for Northern Dearná / Deárná (l. 44) from Nils Moosberg's material in ULMA (informant: A.M. Persdotter). In addition, he used Halász 1896, Lagercrantz 1939, and interviews with Israel Ruong for Árjepluovve (l. 45), Grundström 1946–54 and interviews with Susanna Angéus Kuoljok for Jáhkámáhkke (l. 46), Nils Moosberg's material in ULMA (informant: S. Andersdotter) for Southern Dearná / Deárná (l. 47) and Axel Calleberg's material in ULMA for (the forest variety of) Suorssá (l. 48) and Árviesjávrrie (l. 49), the latter collection supplemented by Schlachter 1958, representing the language of the adjacent parish, Máláge. In contrast to the method used for the other localities in Sweden, the answers for Vualtjere (l. 51) were collected by L.-G. Larsson through interviews with Stina Fjällström, whereas Laila Mattsson, who was responsible for Jovnevaerie (l. 52), used her own language as source. Finally, the answers for Ruvhten sijte (l. 54) were put together by L.-G. Larsson with the help of Lagercrantz 1939 and Collinder 1943. The Saami material from Sweden for ALE qq. 251–546 was later supplemented by me; words from the South Saami localities (l. 47, 51, 52, 54) with the help of Hasselbrink 1981–85, words from Árjepluovve (l. 45) with the help of Israel Ruong, and words from Jáhkámáhkke (l. 46) with the help of Susanna Angéus Kuoljok.

In Finland, Pekka Sammallahti answered for three localities. He interviewed Magga Nuorgam in Ohcejohka (l. 01), Jouni Mosnikoff and others in Če'vetjäu'rr (l. 02) and Heikki Magga and others in Eanodat (l. 03). For Aanaar (l. 04), Erkki Itkonen used his collections at the research archives Suomen suku in Helsinki, supplemented by interviews with Elsa Valle. Terho Itkonen was responsible for Njeä'llem (l. 05) and partly used the main Skolt Saami dictionary (T.I. Itkonen 1958).

In the then Soviet Union, finally, Georgiy M. Kert and his colleagues at the University of Petrozavodsk took down the answers for the localities by means of inter-

## Atlas Linguarum Europae-ALE

premier questionnaire - liste de formes de référence		07.9
		533
pays	07.9 lapon	
quest.	533, lundi lap. vuossar'gâ	
nr.	fdr/fo	codes
1.1.1.	v'uoossar̄ka +^vuoss-^ar'gâ+	901, 902, 904, 905, 923-925, 929, 981, 982 985
1.1.2.	v'uoostaj 'ar̄ka +vuostâš ar'gâ+	903
2.1.1.	m'annuta <sup>h</sup> t +mannodâk+ +empr.scand., cf.sué.måndag+	928, 930, 932, 941, 942, 945, 946, 947
2.1.2.	m'anuta <sup>h</sup> t	926, 927
2.1.3.	m'annutahka +rég. männotahka+	943, 946, 948, 949
2.2.1.	m'oanta +rég. moåndaa+	933-935, 951, 952, 954
2.3.1.	m'anot	944, 947
3.1.1.	n'edelojk +der.rus.nedelja 'la semaine'+	983
4.1.1.	p'etnlnok't	984
3.1.2.	n'ietteläka	984

Fig. 5.2. The filled in SaaALE I form for q. 533, 'Monday' (cf. section 6.4.1 below). The words are written according the special ALE transcription system, if possible with a Saami reference form from one of the main Saami dictionaries as well. Of the code numbers in the left column, the first distinguish etymological, the second morphological, and the third phonological variation.

views with anonymous informants in Njuõ'ttjäu'rr (l. 81), Luujaavv'r (l. 82), Arsjogk (l. 83), Jofkyj (l. 84) and A'kkel (l. 85).

All the collected material was sent to ALE's editorial staff for Saami at the then Department of Finno-Ugric Languages at Uppsala University, directed by Bo Wickman. Lars-Gunnar Larsson edited qq. 1-250 and—on the basis of his preparatory work—I edited qq. 251-546. In the lists of edited material, the words were written in a special ALE orthography, and, where possible, in the orthography of a regional dictionary as reference form. The words reported were distinguished according to etymological, morphological and phonological variation (an example

of a filled in form is reproduced in fig. 5.2). Since this study discusses lexical relations, only the variations on the etymological level have been considered.

The editorial work for SaaALE I was completed in 1983 and the final Saami material was sent to the central editors of ALE in July that year. Thereafter, the material was supplemented, proof-read and partly etymologised. In 1988 copies of the ready-arranged Saami material were sent to the ALE editors in Helsinki and Moscow, with the originals and the answered questionnaires being stored in the SaaALE I archive at the Department of Modern Languages, Uppsala University. In 2012, the material was transferred from there to the Institute for Language and Folklore (SOFI) in Uppsala.

#### 5.1.4. Limitations of the material

Since the ALE questionnaire was, as mentioned, based on a Central European vocabulary, several questions were not answered at all or only received answers at a few of the SaaALE I localities. 71 of the questions in the questionnaire were already excluded during the collecting and editing of the Saami material for the Atlas, and are therefore not included on the ALE maps. These are, for example, words for animals and plants that do not occur (or are rare) in the Saami-speaking area, such as *blackthorn*, *larch*, *oak*, *firefly*, *nightingale* and *stork*, and words that denote distinctions that have no special correspondence in Saami, such as between Fr. *éclair* ‘lightning’ and *foudre* ‘lightning (that strikes)’ or between Ger. *anmachen* ‘to light (fire)’, *anschalten* ‘to light (electric light)’ and *anzünden* ‘to light (candle)’. Also excluded were questions with answers reported only from a few localities and some questions to which the answers were too disparate to serve the Atlas. For example, words for several different types of fireplaces, hearths, ovens and stoves were given as Saami equivalents to Eng. *fireplace*, defined as ‘l’endroit dallé de la cheminée où l’on met (ou mettait autrefois) le feu ouvert dans la maison’ (ALE 1976: 76), and the question had to be left out.

Some kinship terms, such as the words corresponding to Eng. *nephew* and *niece*, were also excluded. These two Eng. words correspond in Saami to six different words that denote different relations, as in North Saami:

<i>eahkit</i>	‘son or daughter of a man’s younger brother’
<i>čeahcit</i>	‘son or daughter of a man’s elder brother’
<i>neahpát</i>	‘son or daughter of a man’s sister’
<i>muottit</i>	‘son or daughter of a woman’s younger sister’
<i>goaskit</i>	‘son or daughter of a woman’s elder sister’
<i>siessal</i>	‘son or daughter of a woman’s brother’

The Saami kinship terminology is very precise and it was not possible to present this structure in the brief survey of ALE I. These terms will however be included in ALE II, where one whole section is devoted to kinship terms (cf. ALE 1979).

## 5.2. The ALE material used in the present study

The Saami material edited for use in ALE I consists of answers to 478 of the 549 questions in the questionnaire, but not even these words provide a good ground for a quantitative analysis of lexical variation. Answers to some of the questions were unevenly and sparsely distributed since answers were lacking for certain localities. I have chosen to exclude questions that are unanswered in more than 16 (i.e. half of the 34) localities, and also questions where the answers are distributed irregularly. Only questions with answers from both southern, central and eastern varieties have been included.

This reduction leaves the answers to 400 questions available for the following analysis, a number that could be compared to the corpora of similar investigations of other languages. When Hans Goebel (1982a: 790) tested how small the material could be for a dialectometrical analysis of the type carried out in Chapter 7 below, he found that even such a small material as 25 maps / questions chosen at random gave a fairly good picture of the general tendencies, although a detailed picture needed between 200 and 300 maps. In other words, a material of 400 maps is more than sufficient, even if gaps in the data still exist, especially in the case of localities for which it was not possible to assemble the material by means of interviews. However, even for the locality with the highest numbers of unanswered questions (l. 44: Northern Dearná / Deärnná), the material is more than sufficient, with no less than 280 questions answered (cf. table 5.1).

## 5.3. Representativity and source criticism

A linguistic material that was collected for the Saami localities of the Atlas Linguarum Europae I, will here be used for another purpose, the analysis of lexical variation on the etymological level in Saami. Unlike Goebel (1989: 165; 1993: 39), who believes that dialectometry should be based exclusively on published dialectal atlases, I will use a material only part of which has been published. This means that I can avoid neither the problem of representativity, nor the source-critical problems connected to the material.

*Table 5.1.* Missing data in SaaALE I. The first line should be read: ‘in the material from l. 01 (Ohcejohka), 8 questions are without answer, which is 2% of all the 400 questions’; etc.

locality	number of questions without answer	% of all the 400 questions
01 Ohcejohka	8	2
02 Če'vetjäu'rr	10	3
03 Eanodat	19	5
04 Aanaar	25	6
05 Njeä'llem	62	16
23 Buolbmát	20	5
24 Deatnu	1	0
25 Unjárga	11	3
26 Olmmáivággi	5	1
27 Návuotna	29	7
28 Guovdageaidnu	13	3
29 Kárašjohka	9	2
30 Skánit	23	6
32 Divtasvuodna	39	10
33 Gaale	41	10
34 Ravrvihke	37	9
35 Gåebrie	77	19
41 Čohkkiras	92	23
42 Gárasavvon	97	24
43 Girjes / Girjjis	90	23
44 Northern Dearn / Deárná	120	30
45 Árjepluovve	19	5
46 Jáhkámáhkke	4	1
47 Southern Dearn / Deárná	113	28
48 Suorssá	100	25
49 Árviesjávrrie	60	15
51 Vuoltjere	25	6
52 Jovnevaerie	37	9
54 Ruvhten sįjte	68	17
81 Njuõ'ttjäu'rr	18	5
82 Luujaavv'r	11	3
83 Aarsjogk	17	4
84 Jofkyj	17	4
85 A'kkel	24	6

---

Werner König (1982) discussed some of the main problems of representativity in an article which, despite being published thirty years ago, is still a good starting point. Since it is not possible in an investigation of linguistic geography to use all the speakers of a language as informants, one has to make a selection, but this selection should be made in such a way that the main varieties of the language are all

represented, as was the case with the SaaALE I material. To use König's (1982: 463) words, it has to be 'representative for the totality of the subject of the investigation'. 'Representativity is', he continues, 'always only given for a specific why, a specific issue' (König 1982: 466). This means, firstly, that the choice of localities for inclusion in the investigation depends on the purpose and, secondly, that the persons chosen to be interviewed should be selected on the basis of their knowledge of the language. In a situation where language change is occurring in many areas, as is the case with Saami, it has therefore been common—and was especially so in the past—to look for 'the linguistic base level' (König 1982: 471), for which reason older persons tend to be preferred as informants. This was to a great extent the case during the collecting of the SaaALE I material, but—as mentioned—for some of the localities, several persons (as well as dialect dictionaries and archival material) were used as sources. Of course, one could follow König (1982: 472) in asking whether it is possible to conclude anything about the language of a place from the language of only one or a few elderly informants; König answers that it is only possible if the dialect of the area under investigation is homogeneous. This is something that used to be taken for granted, but as König correctly notes, such informants 'represent a form of language that might have had such standing in the area at some time in the past' (König 1982: 472).

Another aspect of representativity is that, when material is collected, especially by means of questionnaires, there is always the risk that there will be misunderstandings. Using examples from the *Deutscher Wortatlas* (DWA), König (1982: 477) lists the following types of possible misunderstanding:

1. The question is not understood in its literal sense (as when a question about a barren cow is answered with a word for a cow that does not give milk).
2. The question is understood, but answered on the wrong language level.
3. The question is understood, but not answered correctly, either (3.1.) because the informant, who might know several words, chooses the word that is most different from the word used in the literary language, or (3.2.), when the dialect word is identical with the word in the literary language, the informant gives another word with a similar meaning instead.

In the Saami context, only the first two are relevant, since the SaaALE I material was collected before the present Saami literary languages were being used regularly. It is to be hoped, however, that most cases of such misunderstanding were cleared up at an early stage. Since most of the material was collected via interviews, it was possible to pose control questions in order to reduce the risk of misunderstanding. In the material collected from dialect dictionaries and archival word collections, there are on the other hand no such risks (assuming, that is, that

the material is correct), since the translation were checked by the author or collector.

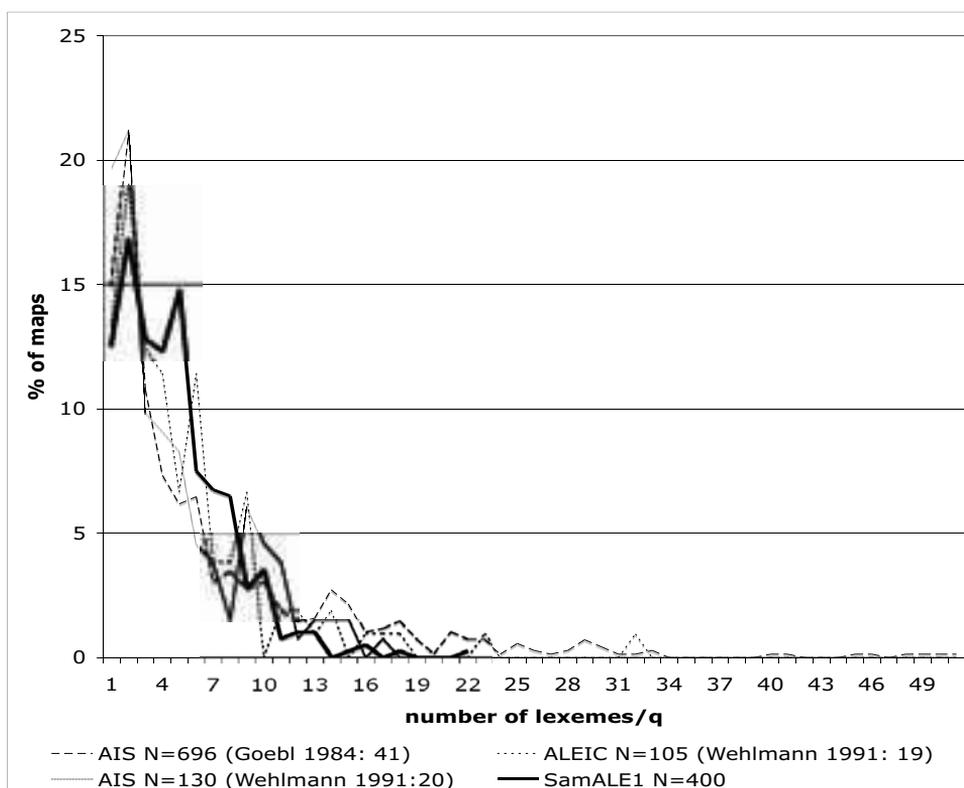
I am well aware that the SaaALE I material has certain limitations, but these limitations have to be handled in such a way that this unique material can be used.

1. The network of localities is loose in space, but considering the number of speakers of Saami, many of the localities are bound to represent only very few speakers. There are, for instance, 34 Saami points of inquiry in an area with perhaps 35,000 Saami speakers (cf. Chapter 1), whereas the corresponding ALE material for Polish uses 38 points of inquiry in the area where Polish is spoken, which is home to nearly 40 million speakers of that language. This means that in relative terms there are far more localities for Saami.

2. In the case of SaaALE I, the problem of missing data (cf. Goebel 1984: 40 f.) is limited to cases where the researchers failed to find answers. However, even for the localities with least material there are more than enough answers.

3. Informants were not selected by means of some kind of sampling method, but rather on the basis of their language abilities, which means they represent what J.K. Chambers and Peter Trudgill (1980: 33 f.) somewhat disdainfully refer to as ‘non-mobile, older, rural males’ (NORMs); it should be noted that the dialectal dictionaries are based on the same type of informants (and, incidentally, some of the Saami informants were nomads, i.e. mobile, and several female). In this case, however, this situation represents not so much a problem as an advantage, for the following reasons: (a) the questions of ALE I are concerned with a traditional vocabulary, not new words, (b) the linguistic ‘now’ is broadly defined, representing the period from the beginning of the twentieth century up until the 1970s, and (c) the analysis focuses on the abstracted traditional language systems. In a population where a relatively small number of older persons are recognised as the masters of their threatened language, their linguistic influence is not as ‘rarefied’ (Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 35) as that of the NORM speakers of, for example, English.

When it comes to the numeric structure, it should be observed that the analysis is based on the etymological level (thus ignoring morphological and phonological differences). For instance, the word for ‘neck’ (q. 162) is etymologically the same throughout the Saami language area even though it appears in different variants, as SaaS. *tjeapah* ~ *tjeapoeh* ~ *tjeapohke*, SaaL. *tjebet* ~ *tjehpe*, SaaN. *čebát* ~ *čeabe* ~ *čebet*, SaaI. *čeve*, SaaSk. *čäppat* and SaaKld. *tš’aapeh*.



*Fig. 5.3.* The numeric structure of the SaaALE I corpus in comparison with three other corpora, two based on the Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz (AIS) and one on the Atlante linguistico-etnografico italiano della Corsica (ALEIC).

A comparison with three other comparable corpora (cf. fig 5.3) shows that the SaaALE I corpus (cf. table 5.2) is rather similar to them, although the other corpora were collected in language areas where the varieties investigated are ‘dialects of the majority language in the area’. Saami, on the other hand, is—except in one part of the North Saami region—a minority language in four countries with three clearly distinguishable language forms, Scandinavian (Norwegian and Swedish), Finnish, and Russian. The reason why so many questions are answered with three or four different lexemes in the SaaALE I corpus is that loanwords from the majority languages are frequently used in the different regions, as will be clearly illustrated by some of the examples in the next chapter.

*Table 5.2.* The numeric structure of the SaaALE I corpus. The first line should be read: ‘out of the 400 questions, 50 or 12.5% have one lexeme (= etymon) as answer’; the second line: ‘out of the 400 questions, 67 or 16.8% have two (etymologically different) lexemes as answer’; etc. (cf. Goebel 1982b: 17).

number of lexemes	number of questions	% of all the questions
1	50	12.5
2	67	16.8
3	51	12.8
4	49	12.3
5	59	14.8
6	30	7.5
7	27	6.75
8	26	6.5
9	11	2.75
10	14	3.5
11	3	0.75
12	4	1.0
13	4	1.0
14	0	0
15	1	0.25
16	2	0.5
17	0	0
18	1	0.25
19	0	0
20	0	0
21	0	0
22	1	0.25
	400	100



## 6. Words Exemplified

The examples of word geography in this chapter are intended to give an impression of the complexity and diversity of the material, whereas Chapter 7 investigates both the lexical relations between a selection of the SaaALE I localities, and resemblances and differences between neighbouring localities.

The purpose of the current chapter is to present the material that forms the basis for the quantitative analysis of the next chapter. One thing the presentation illustrates is the well-known fact that the lexeme distribution seen in nearly every single word geographical map is unique. This explains why copious material is needed before conclusions can be drawn about relations between varieties on the basis of lexicon.

### 6.1. Word geography as approach

In an introduction to the subject that has since become something of a classic, Karl-Hampus Dahlstedt (1972: 52) described ‘word geography’ as ‘deal[ing] with the distribution of individual words and the geographic allocation of synonyms [...]’. In this chapter, I shall map the spatial distribution of a few selected words in the SaaALE I material.

Of the entire material of answers to 400 questions, I shall here include only 15 maps as examples. These represent three semantic fields. The first is made up of five common verbs of communication (‘talk’, ‘say’, ‘tell’, ‘ask’, and ‘beg’), the second of three nouns for natural phenomena, nouns that in most languages mirror old traditional conceptions of the world (‘rainbow’, ‘thunder’, and ‘lightning’), while the third consists of the names of the days of the week, a group of loanwords that reveal the influences in various parts of the Saami-speaking area of the surrounding cultures.

Since the aim of this study is to analyse spatial linguistic relations, I shall discuss neither the history of how the different lexemes have spread nor other problems of word history (as does, for example, Nesheim 1967). Suffice it to note that Saami word history is anything other than an easy undertaking. When it comes to the relation of Saami to Finnish, for example, it is, as Larsson (2001a: 237) has

emphasised, ‘quite difficult to distinguish between inherited forms, borrowed forms, and borrowed, adapted forms.’ For the names of days of the week, however, I shall mention if a word is inherited, a loanword, or a calque. As to my comments on the distributional patterns of certain words, I adduce Dahlstedt’s (1972: 63 f.) observation that, since

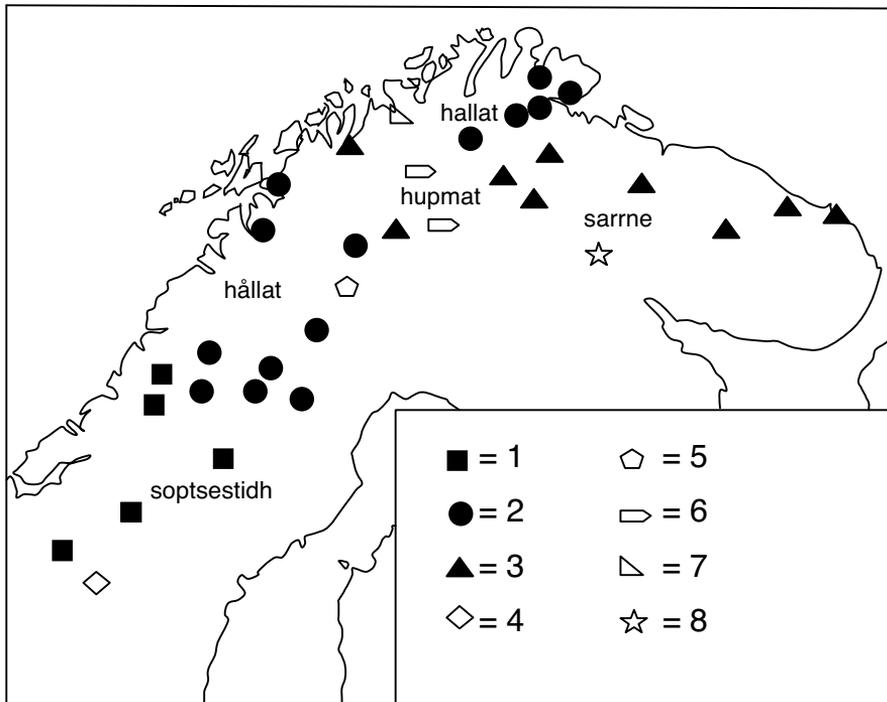
innovations as a rule show distributions that are continuous and closely grouped around a core area, whereas archaisms are pushed aside to form a fragmented distribution and individual enclaves, word geography can establish the temporal sequence between two—or several—synonyms.

This type of relative chronology is apparent when, for instance, a question is answered with one word in the south and the east, and another one in the centre.

Three notes on technicalities: (1) for the sake of clarity, I have not included all the material on the maps in this chapter (although it is, of course, used in the quantitative analysis in Chapter 7). In cases where a question has elicited several answers in a certain locality, I have here marked only the lexeme that is the ‘main form’, while excluding double forms. (2) To facilitate visualisation of the main tendencies, I have used filled signs to represent lexemes that occur in three or more localities, but unfilled signs for lexemes that were reported as main forms in only one or two localities. (3) Finally, I give the verbs in the infinitive rather than the third person singular of the present indicative (as in the SaaALE I publications). This makes it easier to find the verbs in Saami dictionaries, especially for non-Saami speakers.

## 6.2. Verbs of communication (‘talk’, ‘say’, ‘tell’, ‘ask’, ‘beg’)

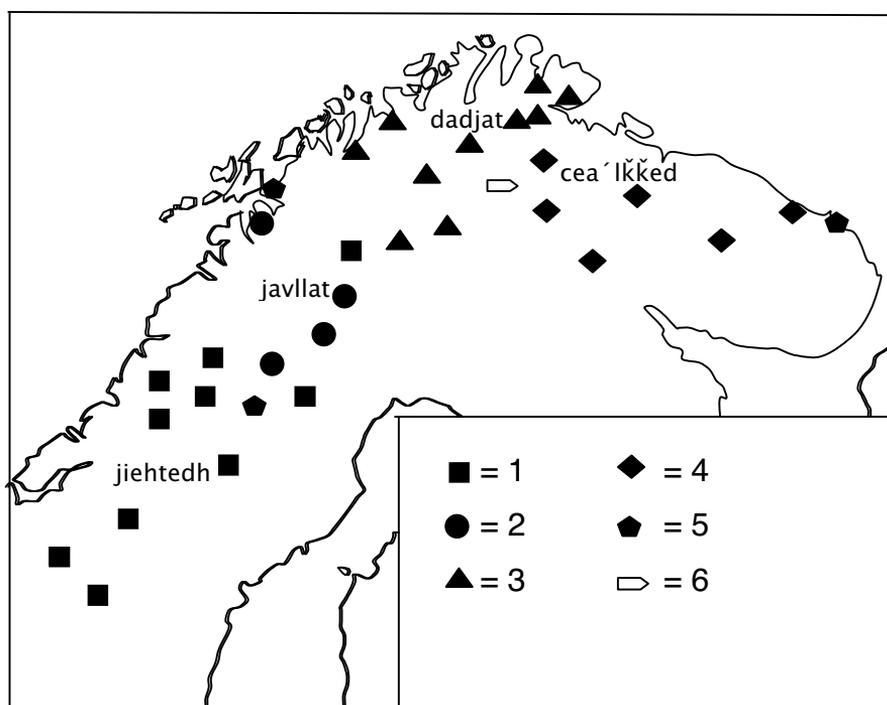
In ALE I, five questions asked for correspondences to common verbs of communication. Interestingly, the spatial distributions of the words in the answers provide good examples of the complexity of Saami word geography since, in these cases, the speech areas divide into two, three or four clearly defined main parts, each with one lexeme as the most common. In addition, one or a few other lexemes are often used in one region or spread throughout a smaller or larger part of the speech area.



Map 6.1. The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘talk’ in the SaaALE I material (q. 477). 1 = SaaS. *soptsestidh*; 2 = SaaL. *hållat*, SaaN. *hållat*; 3 = SaaN. *sárdnut*, SaaI. *sárnuđ*, SaaSk. *sárnnađ*, SaaKld. *sárrne*; 4 = SaaS. *dygkedidh*; 5 = SaaL. *rudnat*; 6 = SaaN. *hupmat*; 7 = SaaN. *práhtet*; 8 = SaaAkk. [*j’ual’aje*]. Filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from three or more of the SaaALE I localities; un-filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from one or two of the localities.

### 6.2.1. ‘talk’

No less than ten different Saami correspondences to Eng. ‘talk’ or ‘speak’ (Fr. *parler*, Rus. *говорить*, Ger. *reden / sprechen*, Sp. *hablar*) were given as answers to this question, eight of which are main forms. Three of the lexemes are used in three or more localities: (1) in South Saami, the most widespread lexeme is SaaS. *soptsestidh*, although *dygkedidh* was reported in the southernmost locality. (2) Further north (in Ume, Arjeplog, Lule and North Saami), the most common lexeme is SaaL. *hållat*, SaaN. *hållat*, although in that area, three other lexemes are main forms in a few localities: SaaL. *rudnat*, SaaN. *hupmat* and SaaN. *práhtet*. (3) In two of the North Saami localities as well as in those of the Inari, Skolt, Kildin and Ter Saami, ‘talk’ was translated with SaaN. *sárdnut*, SaaI. *sárnuđ*, SaaSk. *sárnnađ*, etc. In Akkala Saami, finally, the equivalent is [*j’ual’aje*] (cf. map 6.1).



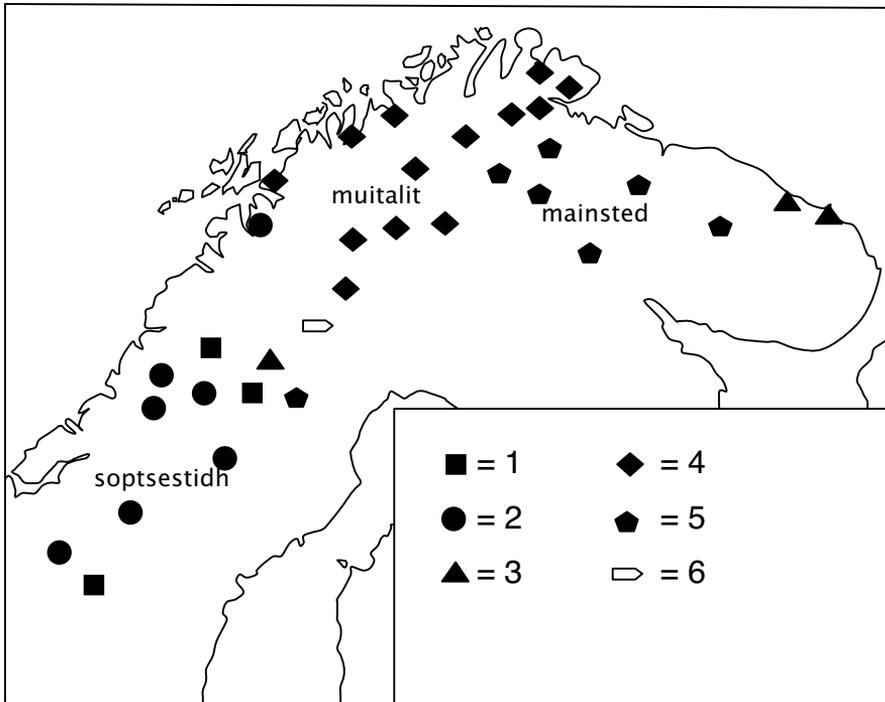
Map 6.2. The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘say’ in the SaaALE I material (q. 478). 1 = SaaS. *jiehtedh*, etc.; 2 = SaaL. *javllat*; 3 = SaaN. *dadjat*; 4 = SaaSk. *cea'lk'ked*, SaaKId. *tsēll'ke*; 5 = SaaL. *sárnnot*, SaaN. *sárdnut*; 6 = SaaI. *ettâd*. Filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from three or more of the SaaALE I localities; un-filled symbol = lexeme reported as ‘main form’ from one or two of the localities.

Among these lexemes, SaaL. *rudnat* was reported as an alternative form in southern Lule Saami, and in addition to the already mentioned lexemes, SaaU. *nålkisit* was given in two Ume Saami localities, and SaaN. *ságastit* in Čohkkiras (SaaALE I, q. 477).

To sum up, there are three main areas, a southern using SaaS. *soptsestidh*, a central using SaaL. *hállat*, SaaN. *hállat*, and an eastern (with a wedge westwards into the central one) using SaaN. *sárdnut*, etc. In addition, several other words for ‘talk’ are used locally or in small areas.

### 6.2.2. ‘say’

Also for ‘say’ (Fr. *dire*, Rus. *сказать*, Ger. *sagen*, Sp. *decir*), there are ten different lexemes in the material. However, whereas the most common Saami words for ‘talk’ divide the speech area into three main parts, the most common words for ‘say’ divide it into four main parts: (1) in South and Ume Saami, and in one southern North Saami locality (Čohkkiras), the correspondence is SaaS.



Map 6.3. The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘tell’ in the SaaALE I material (q. 479). 1 = SaaS. *saakestidh*, SaaL. *ságastit*; 2 = SaaS. *soptsestidh*, SaaL. *subtsastit*; 3 = SaaL. *sárrnot*, SaaKld. *sárrne*; 4 = SaaN. *muitalit*; 5 = SaaI. *ma’inâstiđ*, SaaSk. *mainsted*, SaaKld. *moajnse*; 6 = SaaL. *giehttot*. Filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from three or more of the SaaALE I localities; un-filled symbol = lexeme reported as ‘main form’ from one of the localities.

*jiehtedh*, etc.; (2) Arjeplog and Lule Saami use SaaL. *javllat*; (3) most of the North Saami area uses SaaN *dadjat*; while (4) in Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami, the lexeme is SaaSk. *cea’lkked*, SaaKld. *tsēll’ke*. Furthermore, (5) SaaL. *sárrnot*, etc., is reported as the main form in different parts of the speech area, in one Ume Saami, one North Saami and the Ter Saami locality. (6) The word used in Inari Saami, on the other hand, SaaI. *ettâđ*, is reported in that area alone.

As alternative forms, not included on map 6.2, four other lexemes occur: SaaS. *aevtiemdidh* in one of the South Saami, SaaU. *måålgèhtit* in two of the Ume Saami, SaaN. *muitalit* in one of the North Saami and SaaN. *lohkat* in two of the North Saami localities (SaaALE I, q. 478; cf. map 6.2).

Here, there is a southern area, where SaaS. *jiehtedh* is used, a central area using SaaL. *javllat*, etc., a northern using SaaN. *dadjat*, and an eastern using SaaSk. *cea’lkked*, etc., with some other lexemes in use, as well.

## 6.2.3. 'tell'

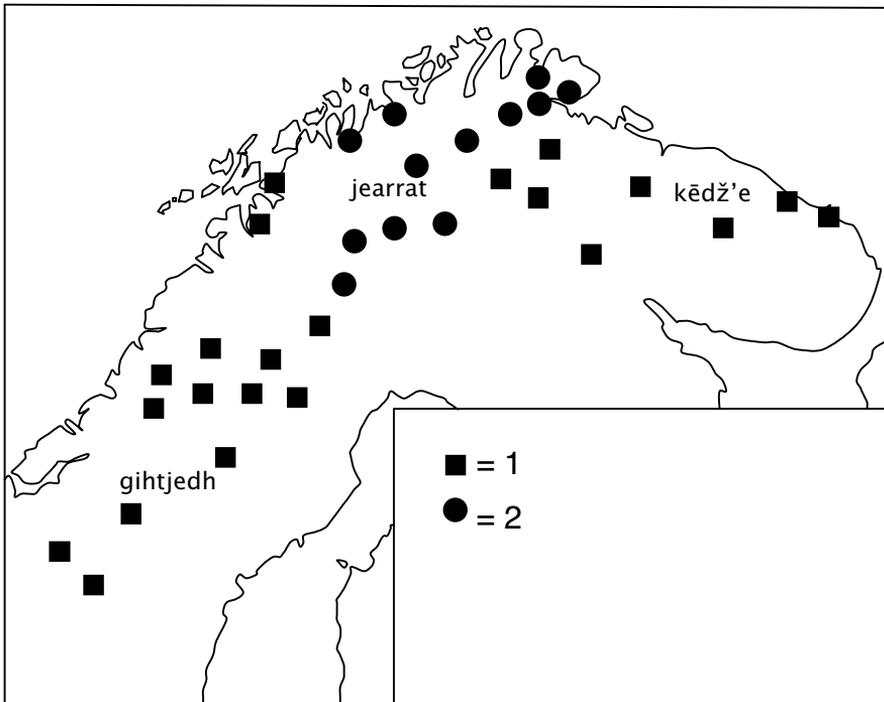
The distributions of Saami correspondences for the third verb of communication in the ALE questionnaire, English 'tell' (Fr. *raconter*, Rus. *рассказывать*, Ger. *erzählen*, Sp. *contar*), were not as varied as for the words for 'talk' and 'say', since only six different lexemes were reported, although distribution here is very difficult to summarise in a simple formula: (1) at the extremes of the South and Ume Saami area, SaaS. *saakestidh* was reported, whereas (2) the rest of the South and Ume Saami localities as well as that of the Lule Saami in Norway used SaaS. *soptsestidh*, SaaL. *subtsastit*, etc.; (3) in the Arjeplog Saami and the two easternmost localities on the Kola Peninsula (that of the Ter Saami plus one of the Kildin Saami), the lexeme was SaaL. *sárnnot*, SaaKld. *sārrne*. (4) The lexeme in the North Saami area (including Girjes / Girjjis) is SaaN. *muitalit*, while (5) in the Inari, Skolt and Kildin Saami localities (except for Aarsjogk / Varzina) SaaL. *ma'inâstid̄*, SaaSk. *mainsted* were reported. Finally, (6) in Jåhkâmâhkke 'tell' was translated with SaaL. *giehttot* (also reported as an alternative form in Árjepluovve) (SaaALE I, q. 479; cf. map 6.3). No other alternative forms were reported.

The distribution of the different Saami lexemes for 'tell' illustrates how complicated word geography can be, with individual lexemes occurring in several belts separated by other belts where other lexemes are used. Going from south to north to east one would in this case find SaaS. *saakestidh*, SaaS. *soptsestidh*, SaaS. etc. *saakestidh* (again), SaaL. *sárnnot*, SaaL. *giehttot*, SaaS. *soptsestidh*, etc. (again), SaaN. *muitalit*, SaaI. etc. *ma'inâstid̄*, SaaL. etc. *sárnnot* (again).

## 6.2.4. 'ask'

Of the five verbs of communication in ALE I, the two Saami lexemes that correspond to Eng. 'ask' (Fr. *demandeur / interroger*, Rus. *спрашивать*, Ger. *fragen*, Sp. *preguntar*) have the clearest distribution. (1) One of them (SaaS. *gihtjedh*, SaaL. *gahťjádít*, SaaN. *gahčat*, SaaI. *koiťádíd̄*, SaaSk. *kõõččád*, SaaKld. *kēdž'e*) is spread from the south to the east, whereas the other (2) (SaaN. *jearrat*) is reported across the whole North Saami region (including Girjes / Girjjis, but excluding Skánit) at the centre of the speech area (SaaALE I, q. 482; cf. map 6.4). No other alternative forms were reported.

The spatial distribution of the two lexemes divides the speech area into three parts, one southern where SaaS. *gihtjedh*, etc., is used, one central using SaaN. *jearrat*, and one eastern where SaaS. *gihtjedh*, etc., recurs.

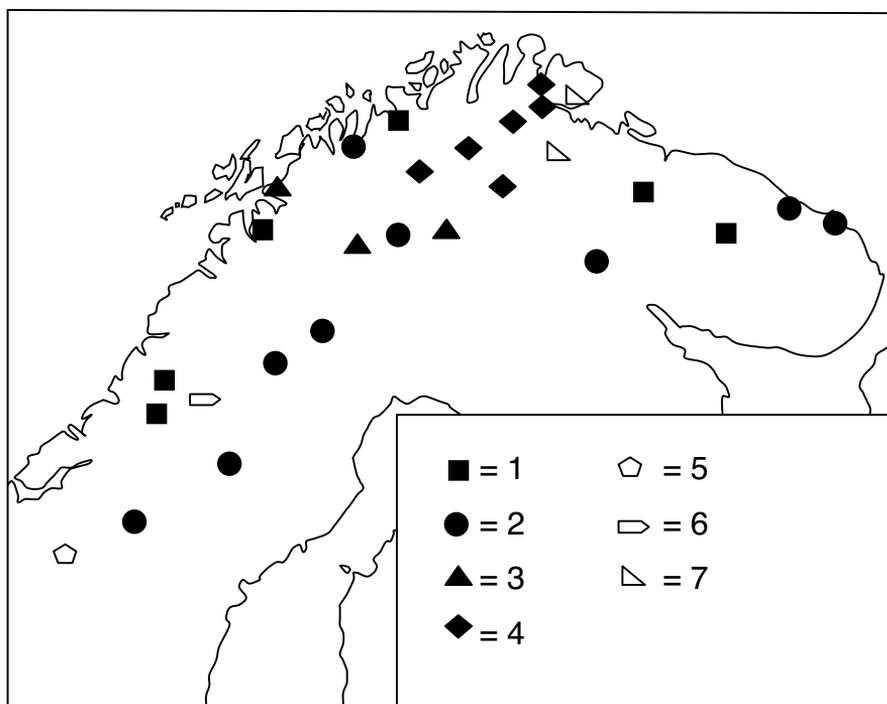


Map 6.4. The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘ask’ in the SaaALE I material (q. 482). 1 = SaaS. *gihtjedh*, SaaL. *gatjádít*, SaaN. *gahčat*, SaaI. *koijádiđ*, SaaSk. *kõõččád*, SaaKld. *kēdž’e*; 2 = SaaN. *jearrat*.

### 6.2.5. ‘beg’

For ‘beg’ (Fr. *prier*, Rus. *npocumb*, Ger. *bitten*, Sp. *rogar*), seven different lexemes were reported, with a spatial distribution that is even more scattered than the one for ‘tell’.<sup>23</sup> (1) Here and there from the northern South Saami to the Kildin Saami localities, the reported word is SaaS. *gihtjedh*, SaaN. *gahčat*, SaaSk. *kõõččád*, SaaKld. *kēdž’e*. (2) Also scattered, but in a larger area (from central South Saami to Ter Saami), one finds SaaS. *aanodh*, SaaL. *ádnót*, SaaN. *átnut*, SaaKld. *ānne*. (3) Three of the southern North Saami localities have SaaN. *sihtat*, while (4) some of the northern and eastern North Saami localities plus Inari Saami have SaaN. *bivdit*, SaaI. *pivedē*. The three remaining lexemes were only reported in one or two localities each: (5) one of the South Saami gave SaaS. *maedtedh*, (6) southern Dearna / Deärnná SaaS. *vaejtedh*, and (7) one of the North Saami as well as one of the Skolt Saami SaaN. *dáhttut*, SaaSk. *tättad* (SaaALE I, q. 483; cf. map 6.5).

<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that this question was only answered in 27 of the 34 SaaALE I localities.

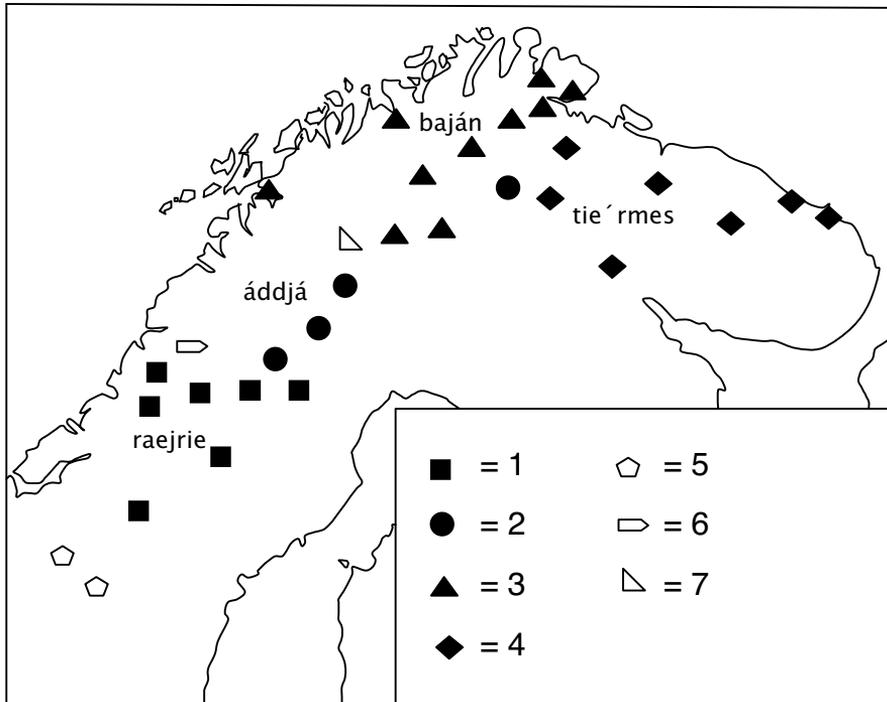


Map 6.5. The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘beg’ in the SaaALE I material (q. 48). 1 = SaaS. *gihtjedh*, SaaN. *gahčat*, SaaSk. *kõõččâd*, SaaKId. *kēdž’e*; 2 = SaaS. *aanodh*, SaaL. *ádnót*, SaaN. *átmut*, SaaKId. *ānne*; 3 = SaaN. *sihtat*; 4 = SaaN. *bivdit*, SaaL. *pivteđ*; 5 = SaaS. *maedtedh*; 6 = SaaS. *væjtedh*; 7 = SaaN. *dáhttut*, SaaSk. *tättad*. Filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from three or more of the SaaALE I localities; un-filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from one or two of the localities.

Here, two lexemes (SaaS. *aanodh*, etc., and SaaS. *gihtjedh*, etc.) are spread sparsely across almost the entire area, the first of them more widely than the second. Two additional lexemes (SaaN. *sihtat* and *bivdit*) were reported in some of the North Saami localities (the second of them in Inari Saami, as well), while three other lexemes were reported in a few localities only.

### 6.2.6. Summary

One interesting point regarding these verbs of communication is that some of the lexemes were reported in answer to more than one of the questions. In the first group (‘talk’, ‘say’, ‘tell’), SaaS. *soptsestidh* was given as equivalent of both ‘talk’ and ‘tell’, SaaL. *sárnnot*, etc., of both ‘talk’ and ‘say’, and SaaN. *muitalit* of both ‘say’ and ‘tell’. In the second group (‘ask’, ‘beg’), SaaS. *gihtjedh*, etc., was offered as a translation of both verbs. Most important in this connection, however, is that the five verbs illustrate the differences in complexity of the spatial distribution of



Map 6.6. The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘thunder’ in the SaaALE I material (q. 016). 1 = SaaS. *raejrie*; 2 = SaaL. *áddjá*, SaaI. *äjijh*; 3 = SaaN. *baján*; 4 = SaaSk. *tie'rmes*, SaaKld. *tīr'm'es'*; 5 = SaaS. *hovrenäärja*; 6 = SaaU. *aatjaa*; 7 = SaaN. *johtti*. Filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from three or more of the SaaALE I localities; un-filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from one or two of the localities.

the lexical material (from the rather simple distribution of correspondences for ‘ask’ to the scattered distribution for ‘beg’), results that underline the necessity of a large sample (as in SaaALE I) for any statistical analysis of this type of material.

### 6.3. ‘Thunder, ‘lightning’, and ‘rainbow’

The choice of words for natural phenomena presented in this section is motivated by the fact that they mirror traditional conceptions of the world. One therefore finds old terms spread (unevenly) across the whole speech area as well as newer loanwords and calques. It should be noted that these words have been discussed within the ALE project (Alinei 1984; Goeman & Hogerheijde 1988), and that I have already used this SaaALE I material to discuss the provenance of the different names of the Saami thunder god in sources from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Rydving 1992; cf. Rydving 2012).

### 6.3.1. 'thunder'

For 'thunder' (Fr. *tonnerre*, Rus. *гром*, Ger. *Donner*, Sp. *trueno*), three of the four most widespread words are reported in one region each, while three other words are used in one or two localities only. There are also three alternative word forms, which makes the total number of Saami lexemes for 'thunder' ten. (1) In the South Saami area (except in the southernmost part) and in Ume Saami the word is SaaS. *raejrie*, (2) in Arjeplog and Lule Saami, but also in Inari Saami, SaaL. *áddjá*, SaaI. *äijih*, (3) in North Saami SaaN. *baján*, and (4) in Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami SaaSk. *tier'mes*, SaaKld. *tür'm'es'*. Among the words that are reported in only one or two localities, (5) the southern South Saami varieties have SaaS. *hovrenåarja*, (6) the Ume Saami Northern Dearnna / Deärnná variety SaaU. *aatjaa*, and (7) the North Saami Čohkkiras variety SaaN. *johtti* (SaaALE I, q. 016; cf. map 6.6).

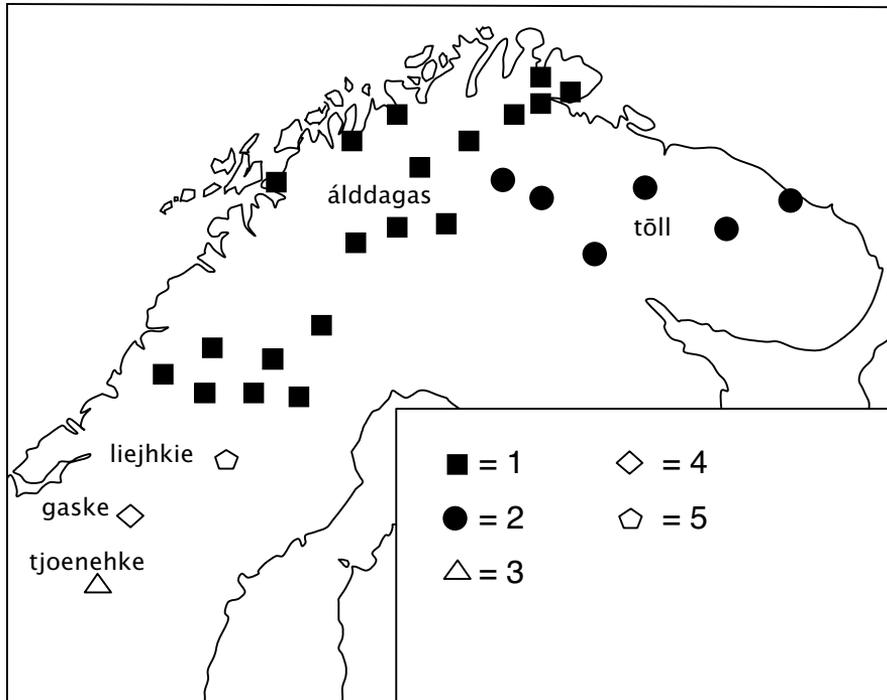
As alternative forms only, one finds SaaS. *huvresåektie* and *aatjanskodtje* in one South Saami locality each, and SaaL. *básun* / SaaN. *báson* in Girjes / Girjjiis.

### 6.3.2. 'lightning'

The geographical distribution of the Saami correspondences to Eng. 'lightning' (Fr. *éclair*, Rus. *молния*, Ger. *Blitz*, Sp. *relámpago*), defined as 'le rayon de lumière très rapide qu'on voit dans un orage' (ALE 1976: 26), is interesting. In the south, there are several words, but Ume (including southern Dearnna / Deärnná), Arjeplog, Lule and North Saami use the same lexeme, and Inari, Skolt, Akkala and Kildin another. (1) In the first of these two large areas, the word is SaaS. *naaldege*, SaaL. *eldagis*, SaaN. *álddagas*, while (2) in the second SaaI. *äijih tullâ* 'fire of thunder', SaaSk. *toolâž* 'fire (diminutive)', SaaKld. *töll* are used. The South Saami area is more complicated, with three lexemes reported, (3) SaaS. *tjoenhke* in the south, (4) SaaS. *gaske* in the centre, and (5) SaaS. *liejhkie* in the north (SaaALE I, q. 013; cf. map 6.7).

The 'eastern' lexeme (2 above) is also reported as an alternative in Arjeplog Saami (in the form SaaL. *ádjándállå* 'fire of thunder') as it is also in Čohkkiras (in the form SaaN. *bajána dolla* 'fire of thunder').

Unlike in, for example, French and Spanish, where there is a special word for 'a lightning that strikes' (Fr. *foudre*, Sp. *rayo*), there is, as in English, only one word for 'lightning' in Saami.

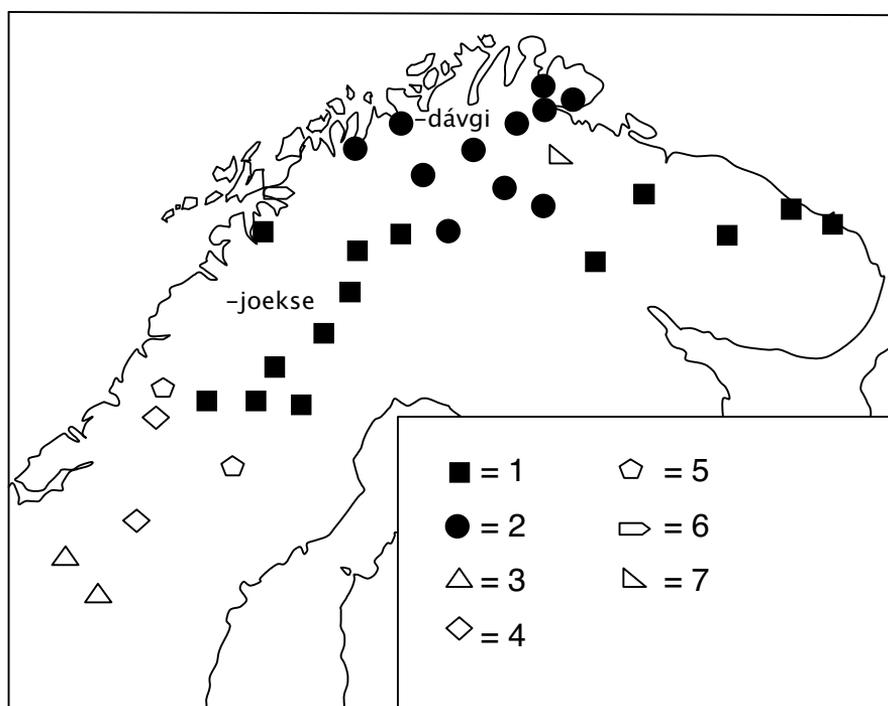


Map 6.7. The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘lightning’ in the SaaALE I material (q. 013). 1 = SaaS. *aaltege*, *naaltege*, SaaL. *eldagis*, SaaN. *álddagas*; 2 = SaaI. (*äijih*) *tullâ*, SaaSk. *toolâž*, SaaKId. *töll*; 3 = SaaS. *tjoenehke*; 4 = SaaS. *gaske*; 5 = SaaS. *liejhkie*. Filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from three or more of the SaaALE I localities; un-filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from one or two of the localities.

### 6.3.3. ‘rainbow’

There are several different Saami words for ‘rainbow’ (Fr. *arc-en-ciel*, Rus. *па́дуга*, Ger. *Regenbogen*, Sp. *arco iris*), most of them compounds, but there is also one example of a simplex.

When the Saami words for ‘rainbow’, as reported in the SaaALE I forms, are grouped according to the different lexemes that occur in the second part of the compounds or in the simplex, then the material contains nine different lexemes. Two of these were reported as main forms in three or more localities, five as main forms in one or two localities, while two were only reported as alternative forms. (1) In Ume, Arjeplog, Lule, southern North, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami, the reported word is SaaS. *-joekse*, SaaL. *-juoksa*, SaaSk. *-johss*, SaaKId. *-jũkks*, whereas (2) most of the North Saami localities, Inari Saami and one of the Skolt Saami ones have SaaN. *-dávgi*, SaaI. *-tävgi*, SaaSk. *-tavğğ*. (3) The two southern-



Map 6.8. The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘bow’ in ‘rainbow’ in the SaaALE I material (q. 017). 1 = SaaS. *-joekse*, SaaL. *-juoksa*, SaaSk. *-johss*, SaaKld. *-jūkks*; 2 = SaaN. *-dávgi*, SaaL. *-tävgi*, SaaSk. *-tavğğ*; 3 = SaaS. *-stievhke*; 4 = SaaS. *-goengere*; 5 = SaaS. *-gieres*; 6 = SaaN. *-boja*; 7 = SaaSk. *-puägganj*. Filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from three or more of the SaaALE I localities; un-filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from one or two of the localities.

most South Saami localities use SaaS. *-stievhke*, the other (4) SaaS. *-goengere* or (5) SaaS. *-gieres*.

Furthermore, (6) one North Saami locality (Skánit) has SaaN. *-boja*, and (7) the Skolt Saami locality Če’vetjäu’rr *-puägganj* (SaaALE I, q. 017; cf. map 6.8). As alternative form only, one of the North Saami localities has SaaN. *garra* and one South Saami SaaS. *aatjanbalve*, a word that usually means ‘thundercloud’.

The first part of the compounds for ‘rainbow’ in Saami is a word either for ‘rain’ in nom. or gen. (as SaaS. *ebrien-* and SaaN. *arve-*), ‘water’ (as SaaN. *čáhce-*), ‘god’ (as SaaS. *jipmelen-*), or ‘thunder’ (as SaaS. *hovra-*, SaaL. *áddjá-*, SaaN. *baján-*, SaaL. *äijih-*, SaaSk. *teármmaz-*), and the second part means ‘bow’ (as SaaS. *-gierese*, SaaL. *-juoksa*, SaaN. *-dávgi* and *-boja*), ‘firearm’ (as SaaS. *-stievhke*) or ‘belt’ (as SaaSk. *-puägganj*). There are accordingly six different ways in Saami to form words for ‘rainbow’:

- (1) ‘rainbow’,
- (2) ‘water-bow’,
- (3) ‘god’s bow or firearm’,
- (4) ‘thunder’s bow’, ‘thunder-bow or -firearm’,
- (5) ‘thunder’s belt’, or
- (6) the simplex ‘bow’.

(1) The first motivation is found in South and North Saami and corresponds to the usage in Norwegian (cf. Nor. *regnboge*, *regnbue*) and Swedish (cf. Swe. *regnbåge*), (2) the second in SaaN. dialects in Finland (cf. Fin. *vesikaari*), (3) the third in southern South Saami, (4) the fourth—which is the most widespread—in South, Ume, Lule, North, Inari, Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami, (5) the fifth in Skolt Saami, (6) and the sixth in a few isolated localities, Arjeplog, North and Kildin Saami. The relation between thunder and the rainbow (as the weapon the thunder god used when he fought against the ‘trolls’) is well attested in Saami traditions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Rydving 1992).

#### 6.3.4. Summary

The Saami correspondences to ‘lightning’ and ‘rainbow’ show similar spatial distribution patterns: a complicated situation in the south with several lexemes contrasts with the rest of the speech area, which divides into two main parts, one western and one eastern. As regards the words for ‘thunder’ on the other hand, no less than six different lexemes are reported from the region from South Saami to Inari Saami, whereas a single lexeme is used in the east from Skolt Saami to Ter Saami.

## 6.4. The days of the week

The Saami names for the days of the week are adduced here to exemplify the varying influence of Scandinavian (Norwegian and Swedish), Finnish and Russian in different Saami regions.<sup>24</sup>

### 6.4.1. 'Monday'

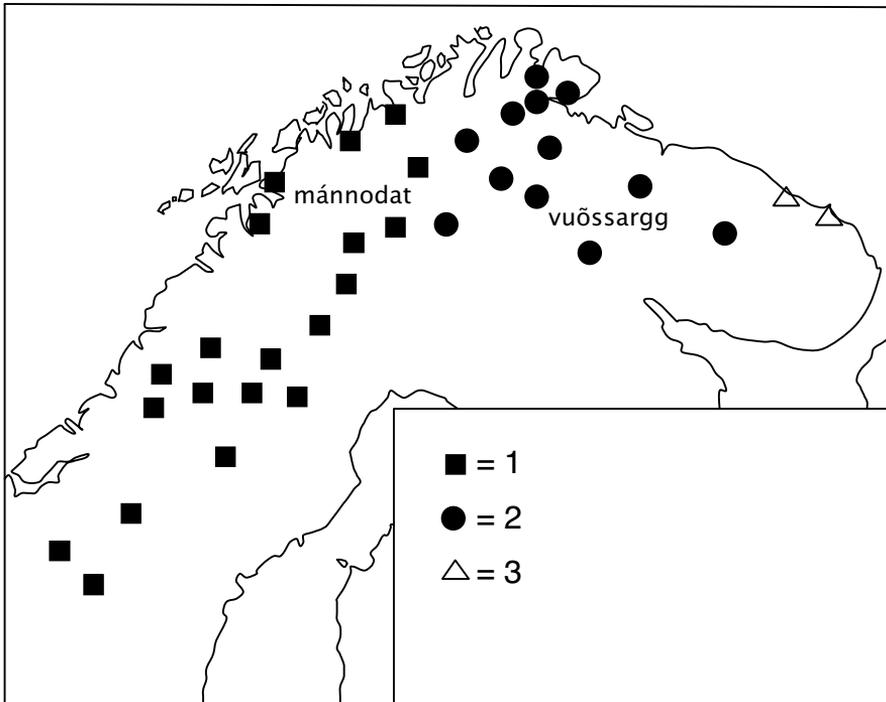
In Saami, four etymologically different lexemes are used for 'Monday' (Fr. *lundi*, Rus. *понеделник*, Ger. *Montag*, Sp. *lunes*), three of them reported as main forms. (1) In South, Ume, Arjeplog, Lule and western North Saami the word is SaaS. *maanoedahke*, SaaL. *mánnodak*, SaaN. *mánnodat*; (2) in eastern North Saami and in Inari, Skolt, Akkala and the Kildin Saami locality of Luujaaavv'r one finds SaaN. *vuossárga*, *vuosttaš árga*, SaaI. *vuossargá*, SaaSk. *vuõssargg*, SaaKld. *vūsoarrk*; (3) eastern Kildin Saami and Ter Saami have [*n'iettelälka*] (SaaALE I, q. 533; cf. map 6.9). From Ter Saami, an alternative lexeme [*p'enlnahk'e*] is also noted.

Whereas (1) SaaS. *maanoedahke*, etc., is a Scandinavian loanword (cf. Swe. *måndag* 'id.'; Qvigstad 1893: 231 f.), (2) SaaN. *vuossárga*, etc.—a calque of Finnish *ensi arki* 'the first weekday'—is a compound consisting of *vuos(s)*, a shortened form of *vuosttaš* 'first', which is a Finno-Volgaic word (cf. Fin. *vasta* 'id.'; SSA 3: 416 f.), and *árga* 'weekday', a Finnish loan (cf. Fin. *arki* 'id.'; SSA 1: 81). (3) The eastern word [*n'iettelälka*] is a compound, the first part of which is a Russian loanword (cf. Rus. *nedelja* 'week') and the second probably a Finnish loanword (cf. Fin. *alku* 'beginning'; SSA 1: 69). Finally, the Ter Saami alternative [*p'enlnahk'e*] comes from Russian (cf. Rus. *понеделник* 'Monday'; T. I. Itkonen 1958: 369) (cf. Maticsák 2004: 87 f.).

### 6.4.2. 'Tuesday'

The distribution of the Saami words for 'Tuesday' (Fr. *mardi*, Rus. *вторник*, Ger. *Dienstag*, Sp. *martes*) is similar to that of the words for 'Monday', with two large areas, one western and one eastern, the border of which runs between western and eastern North Saami. One difference is, however, that the eastern area is divided between two lexemes, one with a more southern, the other with a more northern distribution. (1) In South, Ume, Arjeplog, Lule and western North Saami one finds SaaS. *däjsta*, SaaL. *dijstak*, SaaN. *disdat*; (2) in eastern North Saami, Inari and

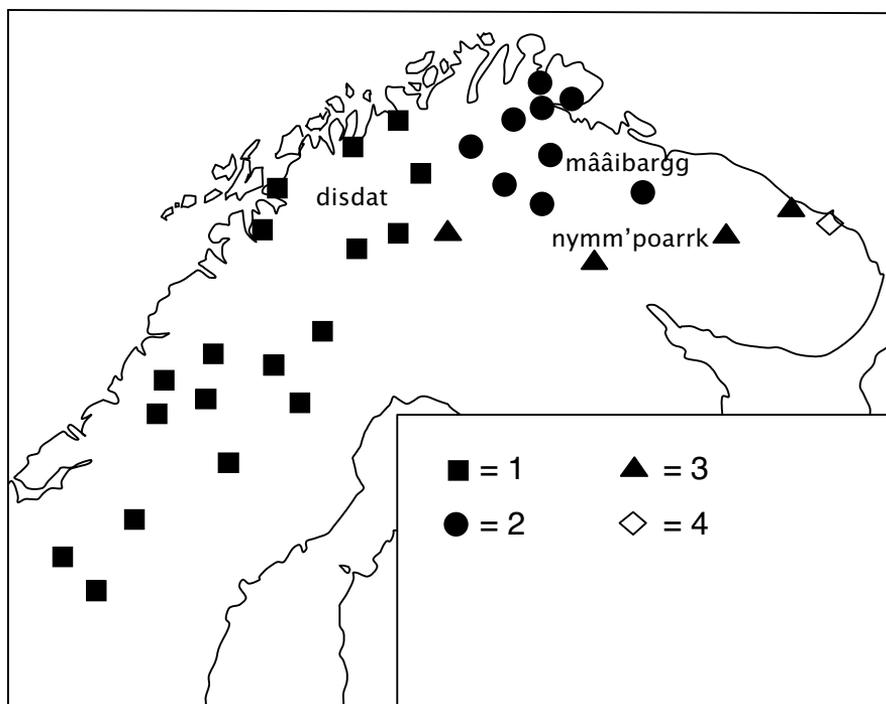
<sup>24</sup> For a general overview of the ALE material about the week, see Kruijssen & Mooijman 1986; cf. Maticsák 2006.



Map 6.9. The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘Monday’ in the SaaALE I material (q. 533). 1 = SaaS. *maanoedahke*, SaaL. *mánnodak*, SaaN. *mánnodat*; 2 = SaaN. *vuossárga*, *vuostaš árga*, SaaL. *vuossargá*, SaaSk. *vuõssargg*, SaaKld. *vūsoarrk*; 3 Ter Saami [*n’jettelálka*]. Filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from three or more of the SaaALE I localities; un-filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from one or two of the localities.

Skolt Saami the word for ‘Tuesday’ is SaaN. *mañjebárga*, SaaL. *maajeebargá*, SaaSk. *mââibargg*, whereas (3) one of the North Saami localities together with Akkala and Kildin Saami have SaaN. *nubbárga*, SaaKld. *nymm’poarrk*. (4) In Ter Saami, finally, the word [*’efternahke*] has been noted (SaaALE I, q. 534; cf. map 6.10).

Of these words, (1) SaaS. *däjsta*, etc., is a Scandinavian loanword (cf. Swe. *tisdag*); (2) SaaN. *mañjebárga*, etc., is a compound consisting of *mañjit* ‘last, second (of two)’, a FU word related to Finnish *myö-* (as in Fin. *myöhä* ‘late’), and the Finnish loanword *árga* ‘weekday’ (cf. Fin. *arki* ‘id.’; SSA 1: 81); (3) SaaKld. *nymm’poarrk*, etc., is a compound of *nymm’p* ‘second’ and *oarrk* = SaaN. *árga*; and (4) the Ter Saami [*’efternahke*] is a Russian loanword (cf. Rus. *вторник* ‘Tuesday’; T. I. Itkonen 1958: 751) (cf. Maticsák 2004: 89).

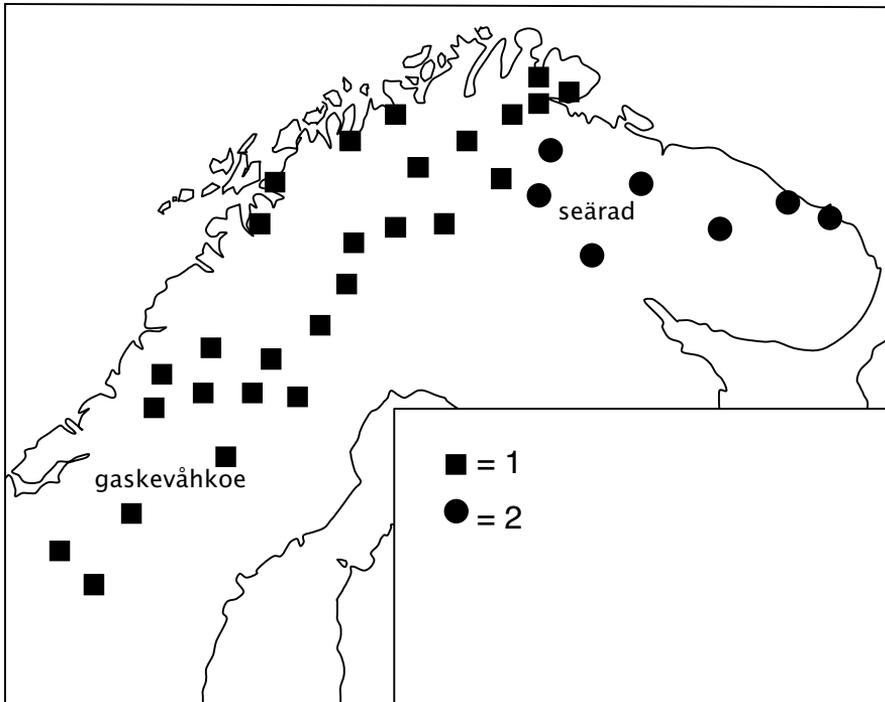


Map 6.10. The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘Tuesday’ in the SaaALE I material (q. 534). 1 = SaaS. *däjsta*, SaaL. *dijstak*, SaaN. *disdat*; 2 = SaaN. *mañjebárga*, SaaI. *maajeebargá*, SaaSk. *mââibargg*; 3 = SaaN. *nubbárga*, SaaKld. *nyymm’poarrk*; 4 = Ter Saami [*’efternáhke*]. Filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from three or more of the SaaALE I localities; un-filled symbol = lexeme reported as ‘main form’ from one of the localities.

### 6.4.3. ‘Wednesday’

For ‘Wednesday’ (Fr. *mercredi*, Rus. *среда*, Ger. *Mittwoch*, Sp. *miércoles*) there are only two lexemes in Saami, and their geographical distribution is divided between one western and one eastern area. (1) In South, Ume, Arjeplog, Lule, North and Inari Saami, the word is SaaS. *gaskevåhkoe*, SaaL. *gasskavak*, SaaN. *gaskavahkku*, SaaI. *koskokko*, while (2) in Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami the word is SaaSk. *seärad*, SaaKld. *s’aared* (SaaALE I, q. 535; cf. map 6.11).

Both these lexemes are loanwords, (1) the western, SaaS. *gaskevåhkoe*, etc., is a compound of *gaske* ‘middle’ and *våhkoe* ‘week’, a calque either of Old Scandinavian (cf. OScand. *miðvikudagr* ‘Wednesday’; Ger. *Mittwoch* ‘id.’) or via Finnish (cf. Fin. *keskiviikko* ‘id.’), and (2) the eastern, SaaSk. *seärad*, etc., comes from Russian (cf. Rus. *среда* ‘id.’) (cf. Maticsák 2004: 90).

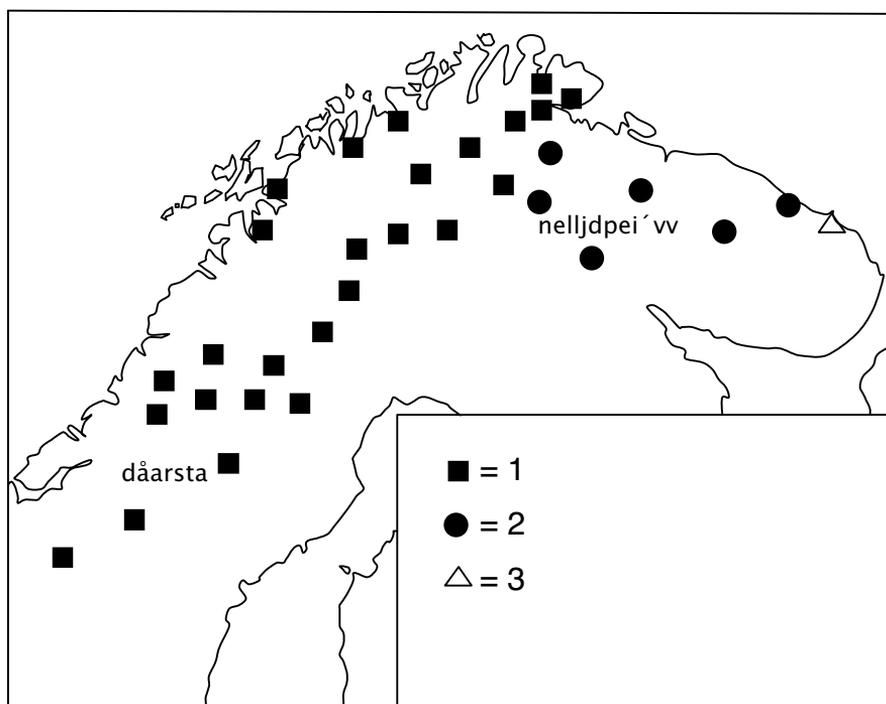


Map 6.11. The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘Wednesday’ in the SaaALE I material (q. 535). 1 = SaaS. *gaskevåhkoe*, SaaL. *gasskavak*, SaaN. *gaskavahkku*, SaaI. *koskokko*; 2 = SaaSk. *seärad*, SaaKld. *s’äred*.

#### 6.4.4. ‘Thursday’

The geographical distribution of the Saami lexemes for ‘Thursday’ (Fr. *jeudi*, Rus. *четверг*, Ger. *Donnerstag*, Sp. *jueves*) is similar to that of the words for Wednesday in that the speech area is divided into two large parts, one from South to Inari Saami, the other from Skolt Saami and eastwards, except that there is a third lexeme as well, only reported in Ter Saami. (1) In South, Ume, Arjeplog, Lule, North and Inari Saami, the word is SaaS. *dåarsta*, SaaL. *duorastak*, SaaN. *duorastat*, SaaI. *turåstâh*, (2) in Skolt, Akkala and Kildin Saami SaaSk. *neljdpei’vv*, SaaKld. *n’äl’jant p’ējjv*, while (3) in Ter Saami it is [tʃ’itverij] (SaaALE I, q. 536; cf. map 6.12).

Whereas (1) SaaS. *dåarsta*, etc., is a Scandinavian loanword (cf. Swe. *torsdag* ‘id.’), (2) SaaSk. *neljdpei’vv*, etc., is a compound consisting of *neelljad* ‘fourth’ and *pei’vv* ‘day’, probably a calque of Rus. *четверг* ‘id.’ (‘the fourth day’), (3) Ter Saami [tʃ’itverij] is a Russian loanword (cf. Rus. *четверг* ‘Thursday’) (cf. Maticsák 2004: 91).

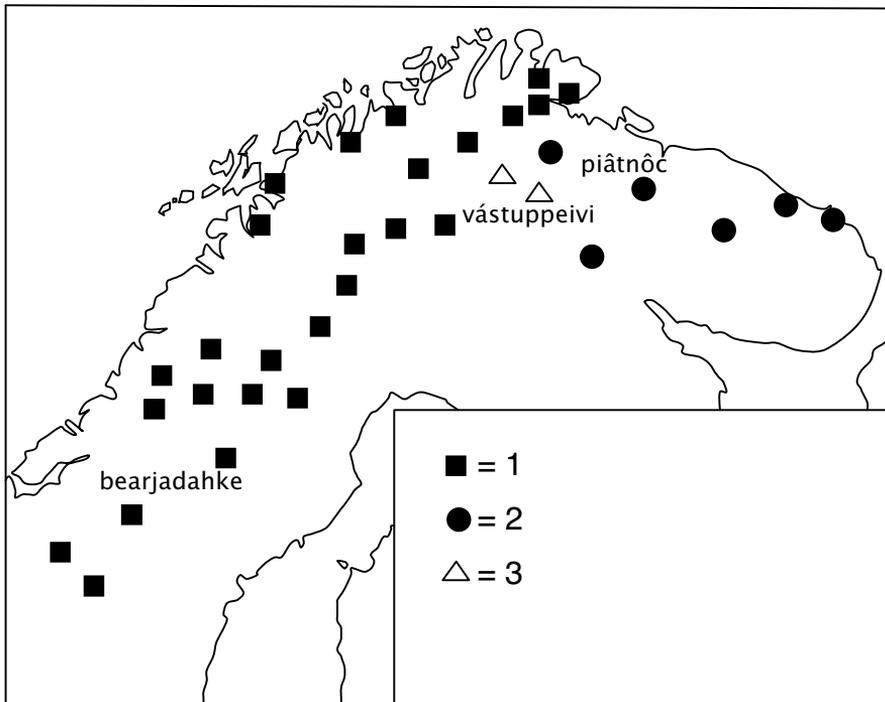


Map 6.12. The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘Thursday’ in the SaaALE I material (q. 536). 1 = SaaS. *däärsta*, SaaL. *duorastak*, SaaN. *duorastat*, SaaI. *turástâh*; 2 = SaaSk. *nelljdpei'vv*, SaaKld. *n'al'jant p'ejjv*; 3 = Ter Saami [*t'itverij*]. Filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from three or more of the SaaALE I localities; un-filled symbol = lexeme reported as ‘main form’ from one of the localities.

#### 6.4.5. ‘Friday’

The Saami words for ‘Friday’ (Fr. *vendredi*, Rus. *пятница*, Ger. *Freitag*, Sp. *viernes*) are divided between three clearly distinguishable areas, but their distribution is different from that of the words for ‘Thursday’. For ‘Friday’, (1) in South, Ume, Arjeplog and North Saami one uses SaaS. *bearjadahke*, *freadta*, SaaL. *bierj-jedak*, SaaN. *bearjadat*, (2) whereas Skolt (except in one of the localities), Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami have SaaSk. *piâtnôc*, SaaKld. *p'êtnehts'*, while (3) a third lexeme, SaaI. *vástuppeivi* etc., is reported in Inari Saami and the Skolt Saami variety of Njeä'llem (SaaALE I, q. 537; cf. map 6.13).

These words are all loanwords, (1) the southern, SaaS. *bearjadahke*, etc., from Scandinavian (cf. Swe. *fredag* ‘id.’), (2) the eastern, SaaSk. *piâtnôc*, etc., from Russian (cf. Rus. *пятница* ‘id.’), and (3) SaaI. *vástuppeivi*, etc., a compound of *vástu*, a loan from Old Scandinavian (cf. OScand. *fastu* ‘fast’) and *peivi* ‘day’, a



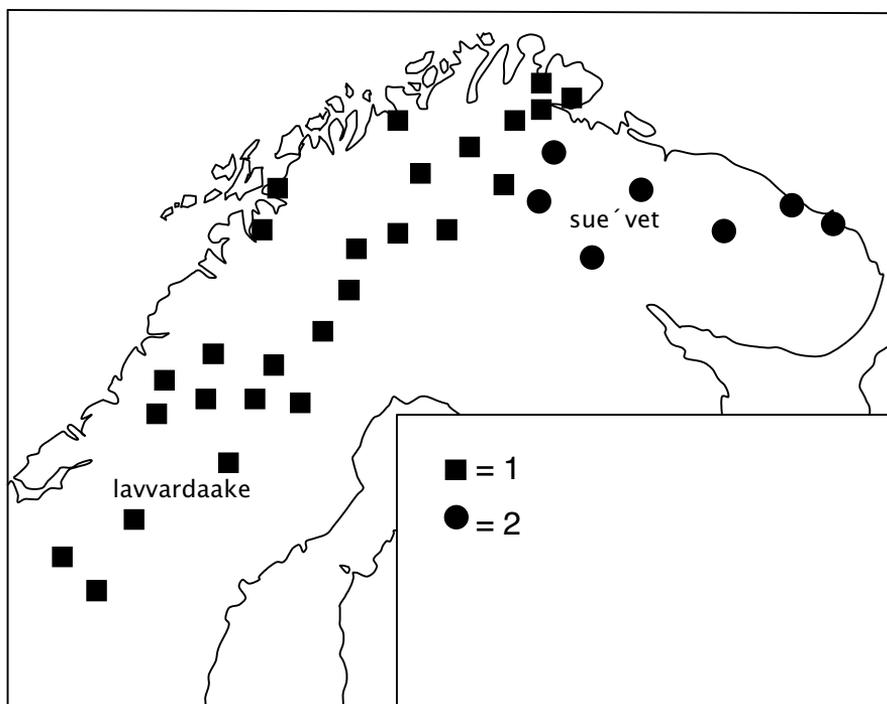
Map 6.13. The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘Friday’ in the SaaALE I material (q. 537). 1 = SaaS. *bearjadahke*, *freadta*, SaaL. *bierjjedak*, SaaN. *bearjadat*; 2 = SaaSk. *piâtnôc*, SaaKld. *p’ētnehts’*; 3 = SaaI. *vástuppeivi*.

calque from Scandinavian (cf. Icl. *föstudagur* ‘id.’; Swe. *fastedag* ‘fasting day’) (cf. Maticsák 2004: 91 f.).

#### 6.4.6. ‘Saturday’

The map of the distribution of Saami words for ‘Saturday’ (Fr. *samedi*, Rus. *cyббo-ma*, Ger. *Samstag*, Sp. *sábado*) is exactly the same as the one for ‘Wednesday’. Only two lexemes are used, one western and one eastern: (1) in South, Ume, Arjeplog, Lule, North and Inari Saami the word for ‘Saturday’ is SaaS. *lavvardaake*, SaaL. *lávvodak*, SaaN. *lávvardat*, SaaI. *lávárdâh*, and (2) in Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami SaaSk. *sue’vet*, SaaKld. *sūvv’ed’* (SaaALE I, q. 538; cf. map 6.14).

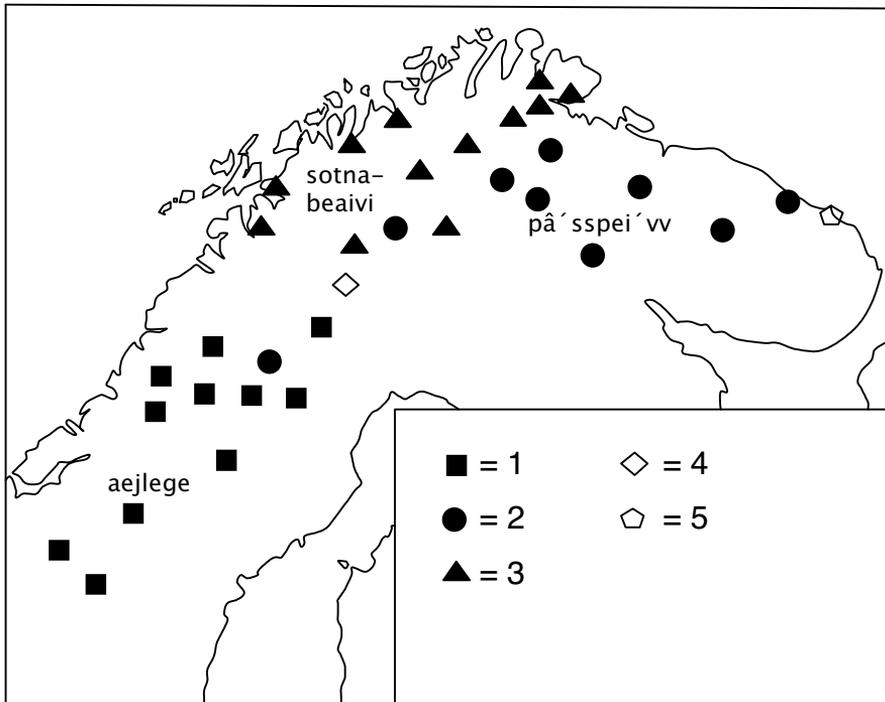
Both are loanwords, (1) SaaS. *lavvardaake*, etc., from Scandinavian (cf. Swe. *lördag* ‘id.’), and (2) SaaSk. *sue’vet*, etc., from Russian (cf. Rus. *cyббoма* ‘id.’) (cf. Maticsák 2004: 92 f.).



Map 6.14. The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘Saturday’ in the SaaALE I material (q. 538). 1 = SaaS. *lavvardaake*, SaaL. *lávvodak*, SaaN. *lávvardat*, SaaI. *lávárdâh*; 2 = SaaSk. *sue'vet*, SaaKld. *süvv'ed*.

#### 6.4.7. ‘Sunday’

Whereas there are rather few (between two and four) different Saami lexemes for the names of the days from Monday to Saturday, no less than seven were reported for ‘Sunday’ (Fr. *dimanche*, Rus. *воскресенье*, Ger. *Sonntag*, Sp. *domingo*). (1) In South, Ume and Lule Saami the most common word used is SaaS. *aejlege*, *aejlegs-biejjie*, SaaL. *ájllek*, although (2) in some of the South and Ume Saami localities an alternative is SaaS. *bissiebiejje*, a lexeme that is the common word in Arjeplog Saami, in the southern North Saami locality of Gárasavvon, and in Inari, Skolt, Akkala and Kildin Saami (SaaN. *bassi*, SaaI. *pasepeivi*, SaaSk. *pá'sspei'vv*, SaaKld. *pass' p'ëjyv*). However, (3) the common word in North Saami (as well as in the Lule Saami Divtasvuodna variety, and as an alternative in Lule Saami in Sweden) is SaaL. *sádnábiejvve*, SaaN. *sotnabeaivi*. In two localities, two other lexemes were reported: (4) in Girjes / Girjjis SaaN. *vuoiŋŋastanbeaivi*, and (5) in Ter Saami [*v'essenne*] (SaaALE I, q. 539; cf. map 6.15).



Map 6.15. The spatial distribution of the Saami words for ‘Sunday’ in the SaaALE I material (q. 539). 1 = SaaS. *aejlege*, *aejlebsbiejje*, SaaL. *ájllek*; 2 = SaaS. *bissiebiejje*, SaaN. *bassi*, SaaI. *pasepeivi*, SaaSk. *pá'sspei'vv*, SaaKld. *pass' pējiv*; 3 = SaaL. *sådnåbiejvve*, SaaN. *sotnabeaivi*; 4 = SaaN. *vuoiŋŋastanbeaivi*; 5 = Ter Saami [*v'essenne*]. Filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from three or more of the SaaALE I localities; un-filled symbols = lexemes reported as ‘main forms’ from one or two of the localities.

Etymologically, (1) SaaS. *aejlege*, etc., is a Scandinavian loanword (cf. Swe. *helig* ‘sacred, holy’), used in compounds with the word for ‘day’ (SaaS. *biejje*) as second element, whereas (2) SaaS. *bissie*, etc., is an inherited word (cf. Fin. *pyhä* ‘sacred’; SSA 2: 448 f.). (3) SaaN. *sotnabeaivi*, etc., consists of SaaN. *sotna-*, which is a Scandinavian loanword (cf. OScand. *sunnu-* ‘sun’), and *beaivi* ‘day’ (SSA 2: 456). (4) SaaN. *vuoiŋŋastanbeaivi* consists of SaaN. *vuoiŋŋastan* ‘resting’ (of unknown etymology) and, once again, *beaivi* ‘day’, while finally (5) [*v'essenne*] is a shortened form of a Russian loanword (cf. Rus. *воскресенье* ‘Sunday’) (cf. Maticsák 2004: 93 f.).

#### 6.4.8. Summary

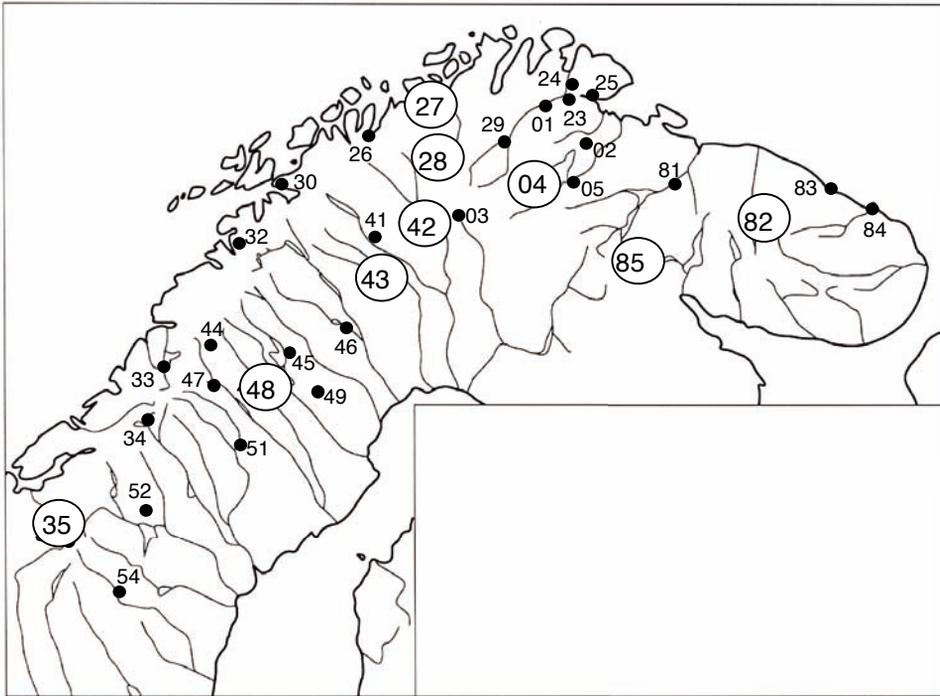
The distribution of the different lexemes used for the days of the week illustrates the fact that some of the differences between the Saami varieties can be attributable to Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish and Russian loanwords in the different areas.

## 6.5. Concluding remarks

As mentioned in the introduction, the purpose of this chapter has been to give an impression of the complexity and diversity of the SaaALE I material that will be discussed in the next chapter. This means that its aim is more pedagogical than analytical. These fifteen examples illustrate how the answers to the ALE I questions differ in terms of spatial distribution, which ranges from a very complex and scattered picture involving many lexemes through to a clear division of the speech area into two or three parts. These variations in the source material are important to keep in mind in the next chapter, where the whole SaaALE I material will be used to investigate lexical relations in the Saami-speaking area.

## 7. Dialect Relations

In contrast to the former chapter, where the perspective is word geographical, in this chapter the ALE material is used as source material for an analysis of lexical relations between some of the Saami varieties. Of the thirty-four SaaALE I localities, I have chosen nine as points of inquiry: Gåebrie (l. 35), Suorssá (l. 48), Girjes / Girjjis (l. 43), Gárasavvon (l. 42), Guovdageaidnu (l. 28), Návuotna (l. 27), Aanaar (l. 04), A'kkel (l. 85) and Luujaavv'r (l. 82) (cf. map 7.1). These localities were chosen for various reasons. Three of them can be said to represent reference



*Map 7.1.* The nine points of inquiry: **35** = SaaS. Gåebrie, Nor. Riasten i Brekken; **48** = SaaU. Suorssá, Swe. Sorsele; **43** = SaaL. Girjes, SaaN. Girjjis, Swe. Norrkaitum; **42** = SaaN. Gárasavvon, Swe. Karesuando; **28** = SaaN. Guovdageaidnu, Nor. Kautokeino; **27** = SaaN. Návuotna, Nor. Kvænangen; **04** = SaaL. Aanaar, Fin. Inari; **85** = SaaKld. A'kkel, Rus. Babino; **82** = SaaKld. Luujaavv'r, Rus. Lovozero.

points: Gåebrie (l. 35), at the southern extreme of the Saami language area; Guovdageaidnu (l. 28), in the middle of the area, where Saami is the majority language and is spoken in a form that provides the basis for the North Saami literary language; and Luujaavv'r (l. 82), where one of the eastern varieties is spoken and the language provides the basis for the easternmost of the Saami literary languages, Kildin Saami.

The other six localities were chosen because the dialect geographical status of the varieties spoken there is disputed (cf. Chapters 2 and 3 above): the Ume Saami varieties, here represented by Suorssá (l. 44), have been regarded as either South Saami (in the wider sense) or Central Saami (in the wider sense); the language of Girjes / Girjjis (l. 43) has been defined as either Lule or North Saami; the language of Gárasavvon (l. 42) as either Torne Saami or Finnmark Saami; the Coast Saami varieties of North Saami, here represented by Návuotna (l. 27), as either an independent dialect or as a sub-dialect of Finnmark Saami; and the language of A'kkel (l. 85) as either Skolt Saami, Kildin Saami or a main dialect in its own right. Aanaar (l. 04), finally, is traditionally regarded as the westernmost of the Eastern Saami varieties. However, already at a preliminary stage of this investigation there were indications that, lexically, Inari Saami seems to have an independent position between Western Saami (South Saami – North Saami) and Eastern Saami (Skolt Saami – Ter Saami), or that it could even be regarded as closer to the western than to the eastern varieties (Rydving 1986a: 200). It is these preliminary findings that justify the discussion of Inari Saami in a special section.

The point of departure for the discussion of the relation between these nine points of inquiry and the rest of the SaaALE I localities is the assumption, mentioned earlier, that mutual intelligibility increases with increased similarity in lexicon between two localities. When the share of common lexemes decreases, the difficulties in understanding increase and eventually the limit (which varies from case to case and from individual to individual) is reached when it is no longer possible for speakers to understand one another. From this point of view, a simple measure of the communicative relation between two localities is the size of the shared vocabulary, and it is just such a comparison of vocabularies, represented by the SaaALE I material, that will be undertaken in the following.

## 7.1. Dialectometry as practice

Various types of quantitative analysis of dialectological data have been used in studies of, for example, Uralic languages (see, for example, Taagepera & Künnap 2005), Finnish (see, for example, Palander 1996; 1999; Wiik 2004) and Swedish

(see, for example, Hansson 1995). However, there have so far been only few attempts to apply the quantitative approach to the relation between geographical varieties of Saami (those few attempts—using different sources and different methods—include Äimä 1918: 91; Collinder 1949; Nesheim 1962; Rydving 1986a; Tillinger 2008; 2009; Larsson 2010; 2012). In pursuing such an analysis in this chapter, the main methodological inspiration has been that of dialectometry as developed by, among others, the Romanists Jean Séguy and Hans Goebel. By way of introduction I offer a brief presentation of this type of ‘language geography that works by quantification’ (Goebel 1982a: 778).

As Lutz Hummel (1993: 4) has expressed it, dialectometry is based on ‘an astoundingly simple methodological thought’, which is to use the number of correspondences in the recorded linguistic forms (for example, lexemes) between two localities as a measure of the degree of linguistic (for example, lexical) equality between those forms of the language. Using simple quantitative analysis of this kind, dialectometry allows us to find patterns and structures that are otherwise difficult to grasp (cf. Goebel 1997: 100).

The relations between different varieties of a language are often analysed by using tools such as isoglosses or isogloss bundles, which allow one to divide a language area into parts, or ‘dialects’. But this approach ignores the fact that language varies continually. Dialectometry, on the other hand, ‘shows—and this is more suited to linguistic reality—fluid transitions and none of the abrupt boundaries suggested by the term *isogloss*’, as Viereck (1985: 96) put it.

The term ‘dialectometry’ (Fr. *dialectométrie*; Ger. *Dialektometrie*) was first introduced by Jean Séguy (1973b: 1) to denote a method developed for the final volume of the Atlas linguistique de la Gascogne (ALG; Séguy 1973a). There it was used to analyse the relation between spatial distance and lexical distance. Séguy’s idea was that there is a general relation between the two. However, after studying several Romanic language atlases, he concluded that the relation he had found—that lexical distance (differences in lexicon) increases with proximity to the point of inquiry and decreases with distance from it, because one of the functions of a dialect is to create distinctions (separate us from our neighbours)—was not universal, but ‘a regional law confined to one part of Europe’ (Séguy 1971: 357). In spite of this negative conclusion, however, his method is still useful, and the use of dialectometry took a new direction when it was developed by Hans Goebel (see, for example, Goebel 1982a; 1982b; 1984; 1989; 1993; 1994; 1997; 2010) for his studies based on information found in the Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz (AIS) and the Atlas linguistique de la France (ALF). Séguy and Goebel

Table 7.1. Extract from the matrix of nominal data. A = SaaALE I localities; B = questions. Each code letter (a, b, c, etc.) represents a different lexeme (an etymon).

		<i>Finland</i>					<i>Norway</i>								
B \ A		01	02	03	04	05	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	32 [etc.]
001	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	...
002	a	f	c	a	—	a	a	b	b	d	a	a	a	a	...
003	a	a	a	a	a	f	d	g	g	b	a	a	b	e	...
004A	a	—	a	b	b	—	a	a	—	—	a	a	—	—	...
004B	a	c	a	b	b	—	a	a	b	—	—	a	—	—	...
005	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	...
006	a	b	a	b	b	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	...
007	a	b	a	b	—	a	a	a	a	a	c	a	a	a	...
008	c	e	a,b	a,d	e	a	a	a,b	a	b	a	a,b	a	a,b	...
009	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a,b	a	a	a	a	a	...
010	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	b	...
011	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	...
012	a	a	a	a	—	b	a	a	a	b	a	b	b	b	...
013	a	—	a	c	c	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	—	...
<del>014</del>															
015	a	b	a	b	b	a	a	a	a	a	a	b	a	—	...
016	a	b	a	c	b	a	a	a	—	a	a	a	a	—	...
017	a	b	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	g	—	...
018	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	b	a	a	a	a	...
019	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	b	a	a	a	d	...
020	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	...
<del>021</del>															
022	b	c	b	a	c	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	...
023	a	a	a	a	a	b	a,b	a	b	a,b	a,b	a	a	a	...
024	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a,b	a	a	a	b	b	...
025	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	...
026	a	a	a	a	a	a,b	a	a	b	a	a	a	a	c	...
027	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	...
028	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	...
029	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	b	a	a	a,c	a	a	a	...
030	j	l	j	p,q	m	d	d	a	o,b	r	f,b,e	f	b	—	...
[etc.]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

used maps in linguistic atlases as their source material, and it can be said that I have done the same, although not all the ALE I maps have been published yet.

This study deals with lexical variation. What is measured are lexical relations, and the criterion for difference is etymological. The dialectometrical practice I have followed can be summarised thus:

1. As in Séguy 1973a, the answers to each SaaALE I question were first coded by assigning a code letter to every etymon. These code letters were then noted down in a matrix, with the localities noted along the x-axis and the questions (maps) along the y-axis (cf. table 7.1).

Table 7.2. Extract from the matrix of comparison for Aanaar (l. 04). A = SaaALE I localities; B = questions. 1 = the same lexeme (etymon) as in the point of inquiry (in this case l. 04, Aanaar); 1 = the lexeme (etymon) only reported from the point of inquiry, but from no other SaaALE I locality; 0 = another lexeme (etymon) than that given at the point of inquiry; – = no answer reported.

B \ A	<i>Finland</i>					<i>Norway</i>									
	01	02	03	<b>04</b>	05	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	32 [etc.]	
001	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	...
002	1	0	0		–	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	...
003	1	1	1		1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	...
004A	0	–	0		1	–	0	0	–	–	0	0	–	–	...
004B	0	0	0		1	–	0	0	1	–	–	0	–	–	...
005	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	...
006	0	1	0		1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	...
007	0	1	0		–	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	...
008	0	0	1		0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	...
009	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	...
010	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	...
011	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	...
012	1	1	1		–	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	...
013	0	–	0		1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	–	...
<del>014</del>															
015	0	1	0		1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	–	...
016	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	–	0	0	0	0	–	...
017	1	0	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	–	...
018	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	...
019	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	...
020	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	...
<del>021</del>															
022	0	0	0		0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	...
023	1	1	1		1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	...
024	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	...
025	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	...
026	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	...
027	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	...
028	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	...
029	1	1	1		1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	...
030	0	0	0	<u>1</u>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	–	...
031	1	0	1		–	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	...
[etc.]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

2. For each of the nine points of inquiry, the remainder of the work applied the following procedure: for each question (q), the lexeme reported from the point of inquiry was compared with the answers from all the other localities. Localities where the same etymon was reported as at the point of inquiry were given the value 1, those with a divergent answer the value 0, and those where no answer was provided were marked – (cf. table 7.2). Having gone through all the questions in this way, I added up the values for each locality and then calculated the percentage of the lexemes at the point of inquiry that were reported from each of the other

SaaALE I localities. This involves nothing more than a simple calculation of percentages, according to the formula used by Goebel (1982b: 23):

$$s_{jk} = \frac{100 \sum tx_{jk}}{\sum q_{jk}}$$

The symbols in the formula are used as follows:  $s_{jk}$  = the degree of similarity between vectors  $j$  and  $k$  (the two localities compared);  $\sum tx_{jk}$  = the number of lexemes (Ger. *Taxate*) that are the same in  $j$  and  $k$ ;  $\sum q_{jk}$  = the number of questions (q) that have been answered from both  $j$  and  $k$ . The result of this ‘equality measuring’ (Ger. *Ähnlichkeitsmessung*), i.e. the degree of similarity between the two localities compared, is what Goebel (1997: 102) calls the ‘relative equality value’ (Ger. *relativer Ähnlichkeitswert*; in Goebel 1984 and earlier: *relativer Identitätswert*).

3. The results are then accounted for in a table where the answers are grouped in a way that offers the clearest possible visualisation in a cartogram (point 4 below). In order to visualise the different grades of similarity without having to group the answers at random, one has to use an interval algorithm. There are various possibilities, but I have followed Goebel (1982a: 782; 1982b: 29; 1984: 93 f.) and divided the distance between the lowest and the highest value (i.e. the lowest and highest percentage of common lexemes between the point of inquiry and each of the other localities) into six intervals in the following way: both the distance between the lowest value and the mean, and the distance between the mean and the highest value, are divided into equal thirds (i.e. according to the interval algorithm Goebel [1982b: 29] calls MINMWMAX, an abbreviation for minimum – mean [Ger. *Mittelwert*] – maximum).

4. The results for each point of inquiry are presented graphically in a cartogram with the six intervals represented by six different textures; ranging from darker (= higher relative equality value) to lighter (= lower relative equality value). As Viereck (1985: 111) noted, one problem is, of course, that when ‘values come close to interval borders, different shadings suggest greater differences than actually exist’ (Viereck 1985: 111). However, the ‘visual presentations of the data on maps are only of secondary importance; of primary importance is the calculation of various scores.’ (Viereck 1985: 111)

In order to increase the visual clarity of the cartograms, I have used not the type of polygons preferred by Goebel and others, but circles on maps. When polygons cover the whole map one gets the false impression that small homogeneous areas are opposed to one another. However, there are many localities between the ones

where the material was collected, since the material presented does not represent the entire language area, but only a selection of representative localities. Furthermore, as Viereck (1985: 100) pointed out, circles that represent the localities on which they are centred also show the density of the coverage of the survey in different parts of the language area studied.

5. Finally, in order to visualise the lexical relations between the point of inquiry under investigation and some of the other SaaALE I localities, I have included in each section a simple bar chart which shows the relative equality values of the five (in one case: ten) localities that agree most closely with the point of inquiry.

There are several problems with this type of analysis, relating to incomplete data, more than one answer from a locality, and representativity. For example:

1. Quite often, data (answers to a question) are incomplete for one or several of the localities (cf. table 5.1 above for the general picture); in these cases, the equality values have been calculated on the basis only of those questions that were answered. In the tables, the number of unanswered questions per locality is noted in one of the columns ('d' in the tables below). The lower this number, the more reliable is the relative equality value between that locality and the point of inquiry. However, as mentioned in Chapter 5, even for the locality with the highest number of unanswered questions, the SaaALE I material is more than sufficient.

2. Where the opposite is the case, namely that at a certain locality several answers were given to a question (cf. Hummel 1993: 7), and if the same lexeme is reported there as it was at the point of inquiry, then I have given that locality the value 1, even though the lexeme might not be reported as the most common there, because provided the lexeme is used, it is understood.

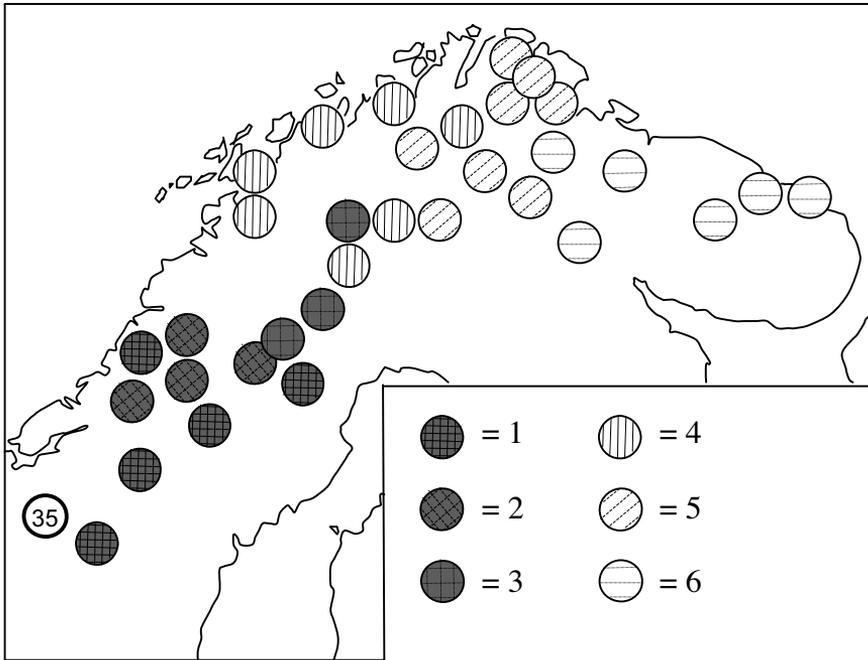
3. A third problem concerns the question of representativity, whether or not all the objects (lexemes) classified should be regarded as of equal value (Goebel 1982a: 780; 1984: 22 f.). Particular attention has to be paid to this question when evaluating different types of linguistic material (from phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon); it is less of a problem when using only one type of material, such as lexicon in the present study. The fact that different words asked for in the questionnaire are more or less frequent is a negligible problem in a comparative analysis restricted to one language.

The following sections (7.2 – 7.10) present significant answers to the question about how the language spoken at each of the nine selected points of inquiry relates, firstly, to the language spoken in the immediate vicinity, and secondly, to the rest of the Saami varieties from which the SaaALE I material was collected (cf. Goebel 1993: 48). Each of the nine sections has the following structure: (a) first, I

*Table 7.3.* The lexical relations between Gåebrie (l. 35) and the other SaaALE I localities. Abbreviations: l = locality; a = the number of occurrences of ‘the same lexeme’ in both of the compared localities; b = the number of occurrences of ‘different lexemes’ in the two compared localities; c = the number of questions with answers from both localities (= a + b); d = the number of questions without answer from at least one of the two localities; e = check digit (= c + d); f = (a x 100)/c, i.e. the relative equality value; g = interval group; h = localities per interval group; i = interval limits; MIN = the lowest relative equality value; MEAN = the mean of all the relative equality values; MAX = the highest relative equality value.

l	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
01	151	164	315	5	320	47.9	5
02	138	177	315	5	320	43.8	6
03	151	156	307	13	320	49.2	5
04	148	156	304	16	320	48.7	5
05	134	151	285	35	320	47.0	5
23	157	150	307	13	320	51.1	4
24	162	157	319	1	320	50.8	4
25	161	151	312	8	320	51.6	4
26	168	149	317	3	320	53.0	4
27	156	140	296	24	320	52.7	4
28	164	147	311	9	320	52.7	4
29	153	159	312	8	320	49.0	5
30	154	149	303	17	320	50.8	4
32	168	128	296	24	320	56.8	4
33	244	44	288	32	320	84.7	1
34	229	71	300	20	320	76.3	2
<b>35</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
41	157	109	266	54	320	59.0	3
42	145	114	259	61	320	56.0	4
43	148	112	260	60	320	56.9	4
44	165	78	243	77	320	67.9	2
45	197	110	307	13	320	64.1	3
46	195	123	318	2	320	61.3	3
47	176	71	247	73	320	71.3	2
48	174	80	254	66	320	68.5	2
49	195	87	282	38	320	69.1	2
51	241	67	308	12	320	78.2	1
52	240	60	300	20	320	80.0	1
54	242	39	281	39	320	86.1	MAX
81	126	182	308	12	320	40.9	6
82	122	191	313	7	320	39.0	6
83	121	190	311	9	320	38.9	6
84	118	194	312	8	320	37.8	MIN
85	125	178	303	17	320	41.3	6
						57.1	MEAN
g:	6	5	4	3	2	1	
h:	(6)	(5)	(10)	(3)	(5)	(4)	
i:	37.8	44.2	50.6	57.1	66.7	76.4	86.1
	MIN			MEAN			MAX

summarise the position of the variety in the Saami linguistic landscape, as presented in Chapter 2 as a prelude to the main part, (b) a presentation of the results of the dialectometrical analysis in a table backed up by an interpretative map; (c) finally, I add some concluding remarks about the lexical relations between the point of inquiry and the nearest SaaALE I localities (visualised as a bar chart) and



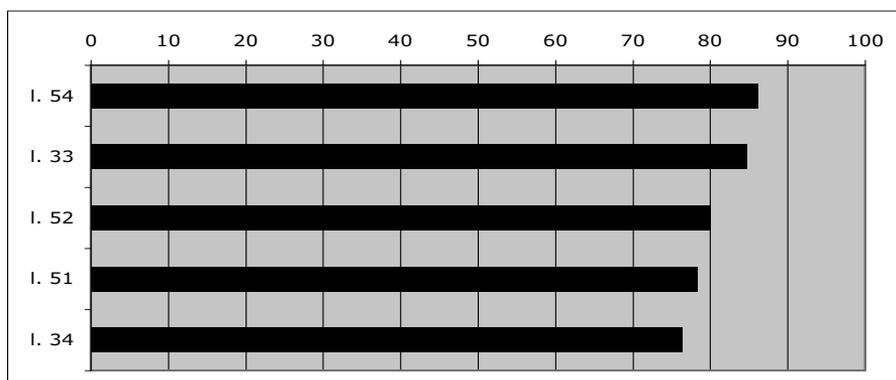
*Map 7.2.* The lexical relations between Gåebrie (l. 35) and the other SaaALE I localities. The relative equality value varies between 86.1 (maximum) and 37.8 (minimum) with 57.1 as the mean. 1–6 = intervals of relative equality values; **1** = 86.1 – 76.4; **2** = 76.4 – 66.7; **3** = 66.7 – 57.1; **4** = 57.1 – 50.6; **5** = 50.6 – 44.2; **6** = 44.2 – 37.8.

about the position of that point of inquiry in relation to the Saami language area as a whole.

## 7.2. Gåebrie

(Nor. Riasten i Brekken)

The sub-dialect that this point of inquiry represents, traditionally called Røros Saami, was investigated by Bergsland (1946; 1949). As early as the 1940s, when Bergsland collected his material, there existed, in his own words, ‘in reality’ no longer any Røros Saami language community. The reasons were both a language shift to Norwegian, which made Saami more and more a ‘foreign language’ (Bergsland 1949: 387 f.), and immigration from more northern South Saami areas. In 1949, for example, only two of the thirty Saami in Gåebrie had both their parents from an old Røros Saami family, and of those fifteen who spoke Saami only five had at least one of their parents from a local family (Bergsland 1949: 376). However, the material that Bergsland collected for ALE I represents as far as possible the traditional local variety. In earlier research, Røros Saami (together



*Fig. 7.1.* The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Gåebrie (l. 35): Ruvhten sįjte (l. 54), Gaale (l. 33), Jovnevaerie (l. 52), Vualtjere (l. 51), and Ravrvihke (l. 34).

with the varieties spoken in Hierjedaelie in Sweden) has naturally been classified as belonging to the southern dialect of South Saami (see, for example, Hasselbrink [DO 10, 32], Bergsland [DO 11], Qvigstad [DO 24, 25], Sköld [DO 27], M. Korhonen [DO 29], Sammallahti [DO 42]), disregarding the question of whether the South Saami main dialect is divided into two or three dialects (cf. fig 2.1).

Of the 400 questions in SaaALE I, 320 answers were given for Gåebrie. Formulated in the language of dialectometry, with Gåebrie as point of comparison the maximum relative equality value among all the other 33 SaaALE I localities is 86.1 (for Ruvhten sįjte) while the minimum is 37.8 (for Jofkyj). The mean of all the relative equality values is 57.0. Accordingly, the distance between maximum and mean is 29.1 percentage units, whereas the distance between mean and minimum is much smaller, only 19.2 percentage units. Of the 33 localities that Gåebrie is compared to, 12 have a relative equality value higher than the mean, and 21 one that is lower than the mean. If the distances between the highest value and the mean and between the mean and the lowest value are each divided into equal thirds, each third between maximum and mean comprises 9.7 percentage units, and each third between mean and minimum 6.4 percentage units (cf. table 7.3 and map 7.2).

As we might expect, the SaaALE I locality with the highest lexical correspondence to Gåebrie is the other locality that represents the southern South Saami dialect, Ruvhten sįjte (l. 54). 86.1% of the SaaALE I lexemes in Ruvhten sįjte correspond to those of Gåebrie. Other localities with a high relative equality value in relation to Gåebrie are Gaala (l. 33) with 84.7, Jovnevaerie (l. 52) with 80, Vualtjere (l. 51) with 78.2 and Raavrevijhke (l. 34) with 76.3 (cf. fig. 7.1).

The comparatively low relative equality value for Raavrevijhke (lower than the one for Gaala further north) is due to the fact that some lexemes are only reported there, while some others are reported only there and at one or two adjacent localities. Raavrevijhke Saami seems to be a distinct local dialect in a similar way to those of Návuoatna (l. 27) and Aanaar (l. 04) (see below).

### 7.3. Suorssá

(Swe. Sorsele)

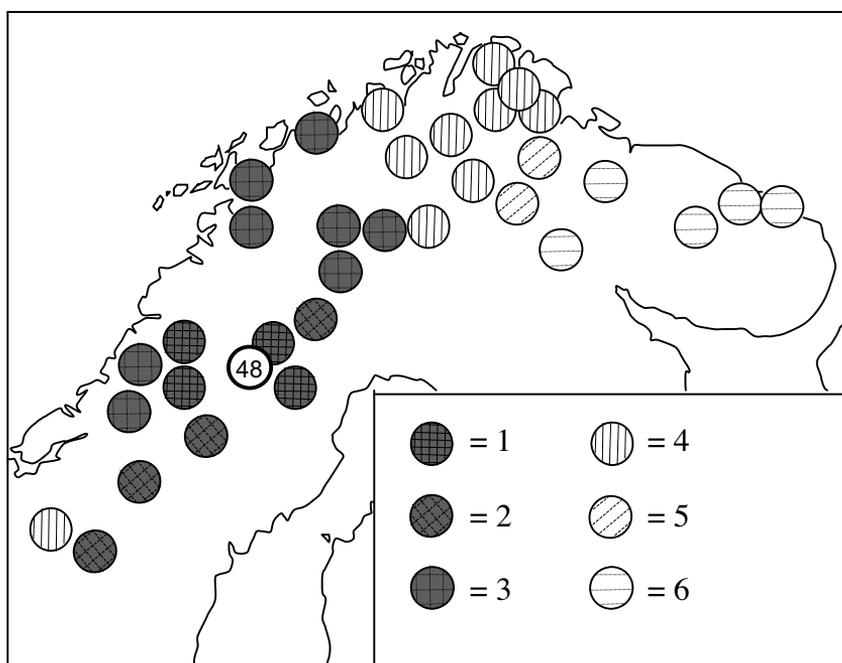
As to the internal variations within Ume Saami, Qvigstad (DO 24) in his earlier research distinguished between one southern dialect in Dearnna / Deärnná and Aarborte and one northern in Suorssá and southern Raane / Ráne. Later, however, he classified the southern part (southern Dearnna / Deärnná) of the first of these as South Saami (DO 25), an interpretation that has been followed by later research. Schlachter (1991: 443) has distinguished two Ume Saami dialects, one in Máláge and one in Suorssá, and Larsson, who like the early Qvigstad regards the local dialects of southern Deärnná and Ulliesjávrrie south of the river Ubmejeiednuo as Ume Saami,<sup>25</sup> has recently divided Ume Saami into two dialects, one western and one eastern, the first of them with two sub-dialects. The variety of Suorssá (l. 48) is at the centre of the speech area, and according to Larsson's division it belongs to the eastern dialect (cf. DO 33 and map 2.10 above).

The Ume Saami varieties have traditionally been regarded as either South Saami 'in the wider sense' (the early Hasselbrink [DO 10], Collinder [DO 26], Sköld [DO 27], O. Korhonen 1982: 129; Bergsland [DO 38], Sammallahti [DO 39, 41, 42]), or as constituting a separate dialect area (Halász [DO 9], Wiklund [DO 23], Qvigstad [DO 24–25], M. Korhonen [DO 28–29, 37], the later Hasselbrink [DO 30], Déscy [DO 31], although some scholars (Hansegård 1988: 71 f.; Fernandez 1997: 12), who put more emphasis on lexicon, have questioned this classification and analysed Ume Saami instead as the southernmost of the Central Saami varieties.<sup>26</sup>

The complex relation of Ume Saami to the other main dialects could be illustrated by means of two examples. O. Korhonen once described the linguistic boundary north of Ume Saami as 'the greatest barrier to mutual intelligibility on Swedish territory' (O. Korhonen 1976: 55). More recently, he has characterised the Ume Saami language region as a 'Saami transition area with both southern and

<sup>25</sup> I have come to the same conclusion in a brief study of the variety of southern Dearnna / Deärnná based on the SaaALE I material (Rydving MS).

<sup>26</sup> Most of Siegl's (2012) examples of morphosyntactic and syntactic features in the eastern Ume Saami varieties of Máláge and Árviesjávrrie point in the same direction.



Map 7.3. The lexical relations between Suorssá (l. 48) and the other SaaALE I localities. The relative equality value varies between 95.5 (maximum) and 40.4 (minimum) with 67.8 as the mean. 1–6 = intervals of relative equality values; **1** = 95.5 – 86.3; **2** = 86.3 – 77.0; **3** = 77.0 – 67.8; **4** = 67.8 – 58.7; **5** = 58.7 – 49.6; **6** = 49.6 – 40.4.

northern linguistic features’ (O. Korhonen 1996: 140; cf. O. Korhonen 1989; 1990), and he has defined an Ume Saami orthography based on the orthography of Lule Saami rather than that of South Saami.

On the basis of an analysis of the Ume Saami material of SaaALE I, Larsson has said that ‘Ume Saami seems accordingly to be a South Saami dialect with a vocabulary that is above all Central Saami’ (Larsson 1986: 117). This opposition between a Central Saami vocabulary and a South Saami grammar, he adds, ‘raises several topical questions, among other things, what we understand by dialect and dialect boundary’ (Larsson 1986: 117). With reference to Sammallahti’s (1985: 157 f.) distinction between a political, a communicative and a historic dialect, Larsson concludes: ‘From a communicative point of view, Ume Saami is accordingly rather to be regarded as a Central Saami dialect’ (Larsson 1986: 118; cf. Bergsland 1967: 40 f.; Larsson 2012: 101 ff.).

*Table 7.4.* The lexical relations between Suorssá (l. 48) and the other SaaALE I localities. Abbreviations: l = locality; a = the number of occurrences of ‘the same lexeme’ in both of the compared localities; b = the number of occurrences of ‘different lexemes’ in the two compared localities; c = the number of questions with answers from both localities (= a + b); d = the number of questions without answer from at least one of the two localities; e = check digit (= c + d); f = (a x 100)/c, i.e the relative equality value; g = interval group; h = localities per interval group; i = interval limits; MIN = the lowest relative equality value; MEAN = the mean of all the relative equality values; MAX = the highest relative equality value.

l	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
01	183	110	293	6	299	62.5	4
02	151	142	293	6	299	51.5	5
03	182	105	287	12	299	63.4	4
04	174	112	286	13	299	60.8	4
05	154	110	264	35	299	58.3	5
23	192	97	289	10	299	66.4	4
24	197	102	299	0	299	65.9	4
25	185	108	293	6	299	63.1	4
26	202	93	295	4	299	68.5	3
27	175	104	279	20	299	62.7	4
28	195	96	291	8	299	67.0	4
29	186	106	292	7	299	63.7	4
30	192	91	283	16	299	67.8	3
32	204	69	273	26	299	74.7	3
33	209	65	274	25	299	76.3	3
34	204	75	279	20	299	73.1	3
35	175	81	256	43	299	68.4	4
41	189	63	252	47	299	75.0	3
42	177	69	246	53	299	72.0	3
43	196	60	256	43	299	76.6	3
44	226	20	246	53	299	91.9	1
45	257	32	289	10	299	88.9	1
46	243	51	294	5	299	82.7	2
47	212	31	243	56	299	87.2	1
<b>48</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	
49	274	13	287	12	299	95.5	MAX 1
51	231	59	290	9	299	79.7	2
52	215	62	277	22	299	77.6	2
54	201	60	261	38	299	77.0	2
81	133	154	287	12	299	46.3	6
82	128	166	294	5	299	43.5	6
83	125	168	293	6	299	42.7	6
84	118	174	292	7	299	40.4	MIN 6
85	133	150	283	16	299	47.0	6
						67.8	MEAN
g:	6	5	4	3	2	1	
h:	(5)	(2)	(10)	(8)	(4)	(4)	
i:	40.4	49.6	58.7	67.8	77.0	86.3	95.5
	MIN			MEAN			MAX

Of the 400 questions in SaaALE I, 299 answers were given for Suorssá. The maximum relative equality value among the other 33 SaaALE I localities is 95.5 (for Árviesjávrrie), while the minimum is 40.4 (for Jofkyj). The mean of all the relative equality values is 67.8. Accordingly, the distance between maximum and

mean is 27.6 percentage units, and the distance between mean and minimum is nearly the same at 27.4 percentage units. Of the 33 localities that Suorssá is compared to, in 16 cases the relative equality value is higher than the mean, while in 17 it is lower. Dividing the distance between the highest value and the mean, and that between the mean and the lowest value, into equal thirds, each third between maximum and mean comprises 9.2 percentage units, and each between mean and minimum 9.1 percentage units (cf. table 7.4 and map 7.3).

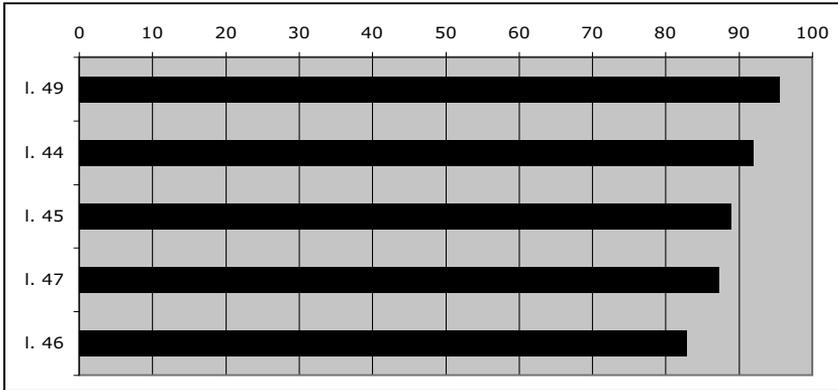
The SaaALE I localities with the highest lexical correspondences to Suorssá are the other Ume Saami localities Árviesjávrrie (l. 49) to the northeast and Northern Dearná / Deärrná (l. 44) to the south. Árviesjávrrie has a relative equality value of 95.5, while that of Northern Dearná / Deärrná is 91.9. Other ALE localities with a high percentage of vocabulary in common with Suorssá are Árjepluovve (l. 45), which has a relative equality value of 88.9, Southern Dearná / Deärrná (l. 47) with 87.2, and the Lule Saami locality of Jåhkåmåhkke (l. 46) with 82.7 (cf. fig. 7.2, table 7.4 and map 7.3).

The analysis also shows that, with Suorssá as point of comparison, the lexical equality of the northern South Saami locality of Gaala (l. 33) is about the same as that of the Lule or North Saami locality of Girjes / Girjgis (l. 43), and that the lexical equality of the southern South Saami locality of Gåebrie (l. 35) is similar to that of the Coast Saami locality of Olmmáivággi (l. 26) (cf. table 7.4).

As to the question of the relation of Ume Saami to the nearest main dialects, one can conclude that if lexicon (as represented by SaaALE I) is used as criterion, the Ume Saami main dialect (as represented by Suorssá) is closer to the main dialects to the north (Arjeplog Saami and even Lule Saami) than to the main dialect to the south (South Saami). This is especially true if one takes the dialectal basis for the literary languages into account. The South Saami literary language is based on central South Saami, which in SaaALE I is represented by Jovnevaerie (l. 52), the Lule Saami literary language on the central Lule Saami of Jåhkåmåhkke (l. 46). In relation to Suorssá, Jovnevaerie has a relative equality value of 77.6, whereas for Jåhkåmåhkke the figure is 82.7. These numbers indicate that Ume Saami (as represented by Suorssá) is closer to the main dialect of Lule Saami than to that of South Saami, a conclusion that supports Larsson's claim, mentioned above, that '[f]rom a communicative point of view' Ume Saami could be regarded as a Central Saami dialect (Larsson 1986: 118).

*Excursus:*

As the attentive reader will have observed, the relative equality value of Gåebrie in relation to Suorssá (68.4) quoted here deviates slightly from the value given earlier for Suorssá in relation to Gåebrie (68.5) (see 7.2 above). This has to do with the fact that



*Fig. 7.2.* The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Suorssá (l. 48): Árviesjávrrie (l. 49), northern Dearna / Deärnná (l. 44), Árjepluovve (l. 45), southern Dearna / Deärnná (l. 47), and Jåhkâmåhkke (l. 46).

the different calculations are based on different subsets of the total SaaALE I material of 400 answers (320 out of 400 for Gåebrie; 299 out of 400 for Suorssá).

#### 7.4. Girjes / Girjjis

(Swe. Norrkaitum)

As with Ume Saami, the dialectal status of the variety of Girjes / Girjjis is also a matter of disagreement in Saami dialect research. Together with the dialect of Basstitjärro / Bastečearru to the south, the Girjes / Girjjis variety has traditionally been regarded as the northernmost Lule Saami dialect (called Northern Gällivare), even though it has also (cf. Wiklund 1924: 196; Wickman 1980) been characterised as a transitional area between Lule Saami and North Saami. It is presented as Lule Saami in Grundström's Lule Saami dictionary (Grundström 1946–54) and in earlier surveys and dialect maps (Halász [DO 9], Wiklund [DO 13], Grundström [DO 14], Sköld [DO 27], M. Korhonen [DO 29], Décsy [map 2.7 above]), but in more recent surveys and maps it is included in the North Saami area (Jernsletten & Sammallahti [map 2.12 above]; O. Korhonen [map 2.13 above], Sammallahti [DO 41, 42]). When the Swedish government introduced Saami orthographies for the writing of place names on its maps, it reached a compromise between these two opinions, deciding that this area (Basstitjärro / Bastečearru and Girjes / Girjjis) should be regarded as transitional between Lule and the North Saami, and hence that place names there should be written in both orthographies (Mattisson 1993: 35).

Sometimes a third interpretation is put forward according to which the Gájddom / Gáidun (Kaitum) river (which flows through the centre of Northern Gällivare) is regarded as the boundary between Lule Saami and North Saami (see, for example, Collinder 1949: 277; J.H. Eira 1983: 47; O.H. Magga 1997: 141, 144).

Without a doubt, the Girjes / Girjjis variety has a number of features in common with more northerly varieties (cf. Wickman 1980: 268–271; Larsson 1991: 192 f.). Sammallahti, who emphasises phonology and morphology as the basic criteria for dialect differentiation, has concluded: ‘The Kaitum dialect has been regarded as a dialect of Lule Saami because of lexical similarities, but structurally it belongs to North Saami’ (Sammallahti 1998a: 47). However, Wickman (1980: 268) drew the opposite conclusion and regarded the dialect of Northern Gällivare as ‘essentially Lule Lappish’, but, he continued, with ‘many features in common with Torne Lappish’, i.e. with the southern North Saami varieties. In his view, ‘the northern influence on the dialect of North Gällivare is growing’ (Wickman 1980: 271). Wickman presented some traits that are clearly northern, but indicated that ‘a much greater number of dialect features could be brought forth to show that this dialect has more in common with purely Lule Lappish dialects than with North Lappish’ (Wickman 1980: 272). Here he is probably alluding to Collinder’s (1949) investigation, from which this could be concluded on the basis of phonological and morphological criteria.

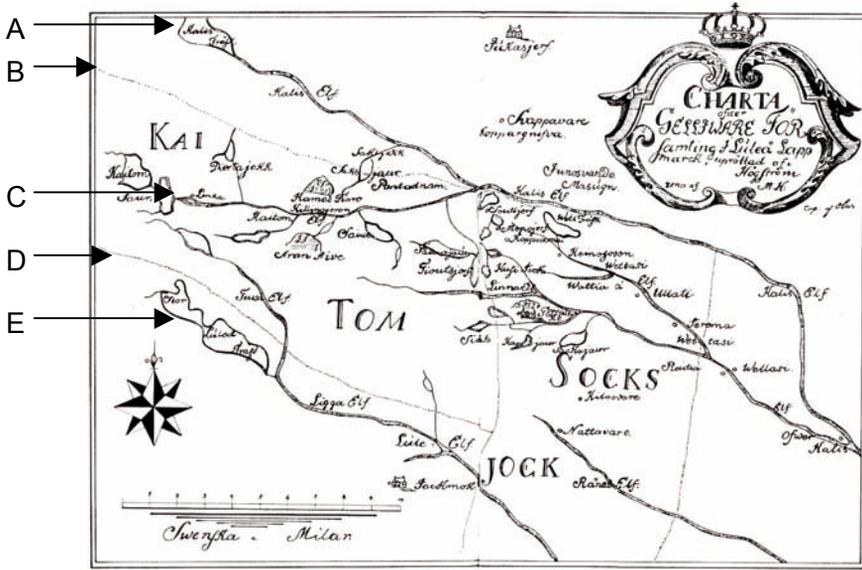
Wickman characterised the mutual intelligibility between Arjeplog (Pite) and Lule Saami on the one hand and the Torne Saami varieties of North Saami on the other as follows (Wickman 1980: 267; cf. O. Korhonen 1976: 54; Hansegård 1967):

As far as Lule and Pite Lappish are concerned, mutual understanding is really no problem, but in the case of Torne and Lule Lappish the vocabulary often makes mutual understanding more difficult. This is due to the fact that the Torne Lapps have used Finnish as their second language since old, whereas the second language of the Lule and Pite Lapps has been Swedish. As a consequence of this, Torne Lappish has a large number of rather recent Finnish loanwords, whereas the recent loanwords in Lule and Pite Lappish are predominantly Swedish.

Since there has been much confusion about the boundaries between Lule and Torne *Lappmark*<sup>27</sup> during the 18th century, and since various ideas about the dialect relations have been based on where the line was drawn, I shall here deviate from my principle not to discuss historical explanations for dialect distinctions by offering a brief survey of administrative boundary changes.

---

<sup>27</sup> During the 18th century, Lule *Lappmark* and Torne *Lappmark* were designations for administrative districts consisting of the Saami communities of the Julevuädno (Luleälven) and Duortnoseatnu (Torneälven / Tornionjoki) river valleys in the province of Lapland in Sweden (of that time).



Map 7.4. Pehr Högström's map of the parish of Gällivare. A = the boundary along the watercourse between Lule lappmark and Torne lappmark and between the parishes Gällivare and Jukkasjärvi from 1746; B = the boundary along the watershed between the parishes Gällivare and Jukkasjärvi 1742–46, and between Lule lappmark and Torne lappmark until 1746; C = the Gájddom / Gáidun river; D = the boundary along the watershed between the parishes Jokkmokk and Gällivare 1742–46, and between the Saami communities Gájddom / Gáidun and Sirges from 1647 when Sirges was divided into two; E = the boundary between the parishes Jokkmokk and Gällivare from 1746. Source: Hallencreutz 1990: between pp. 99 and 100.

#### Excursus:

The distinct linguistic differences between the varieties in 'Southern Gällivare' (i.e. Unna Tjerusj) on the one hand, and those of 'Northern Gällivare' (i.e. Basstitjärro / Bastečearru and Girjes / Girjjis) on the other, have been explained in terms of the administrative borders in what is now the municipality of Gällivare (Jiellivárre / Jiellevárri). It has been claimed that Northern Gällivare belonged to the parish of Jukkasjärvi in Torne Lappmark until 1742 (Collinder 1949: 277; Wickman 1980: 268) and that, until that point in time, the border between Lule Lappmark and Torne Lappmark ran along the Gájddom / Gáidun river (Bergsland 1967: 35; O.H. Magga 1997: 144). However, this is not correct, since only a small part of what was to become the parish of Gällivare was added to the new parish from Jukkasjärvi when the border between the two parishes was established in 1746 (Högström et al. [1760s and later] 1990: 118). The southern border of this area is indicated with a dashed line on Pehr Högström's map of the new parish, probably from 1746 (B on map 7.4). The Saami varieties in the northern part of Lule Lappmark were not influenced to any great extent by this change in the administrative border. Rather, the uniform language in central and northern Gällivare is attributable to two other circumstances, one of them being the fact that some of the Saami and settlers living in this area (which administratively belonged to Lule Lapp-

*mark* long before the 1740s) travelled to Jukkasjärvi to the north for the annual markets and holidays, not to Jokkmokk to the south.

Both the area that was transferred to Lule *Lappmark* from Torne *Lappmark* in 1742 (the northernmost part of what is now Girjes / Girjjis), and the larger area north of the Gájddom / Gáidun river, as a single area that today consists of the Saami communities Basstijärro / Bastečearru and Girjes / Girjjis, have common linguistic traits that separate the varieties spoken in these two communities from the variety spoken in Unna tjerusj to the south. The clear linguistic boundary did indeed coincide with the administrative borders prior to 1742, but by changes in the southern part of what was to become the parish of Gällivare, not in the northern part.

The change that took place in 1742 was above all that the older Saami practice of using watersheds as borders was replaced by the non-Saami practice of drawing borders along watercourses (cf. Hultblad 1968: 79). From 1647, when the Lule Saami community of Sirges was divided into two (Sirges and Gájddom / Gáidun), until 1742, the border between the communities of Sirges (to the south) and Gájddom / Gáidun (to the north) ran along the watershed north of the Stuor Julevu river (D on map 7.4), but in 1742 the border was changed and drawn along Stuor Julevu (E on map 7.4). The northernmost part of Sirges—about half of the area that today is Unna tjerusj—was thereby transferred to Gällivare.

Consequently, in his investigation of the epenthetic vowel in Lule Saami, Larsson (1991) pays special attention to the dialect of Northern Gällivare and concludes that the important ‘dialect boundary’ runs along the Dievsa (Teusa) valley (rather than the Gájddom / Gáidun valley) ‘since’, as he writes, ‘it is in the area north of it we (today) find the North and East Saami case system and in the area from the Teusa valley and southwards we find the Lule Saami labial vocal harmony’ (Larsson 1991: 193).

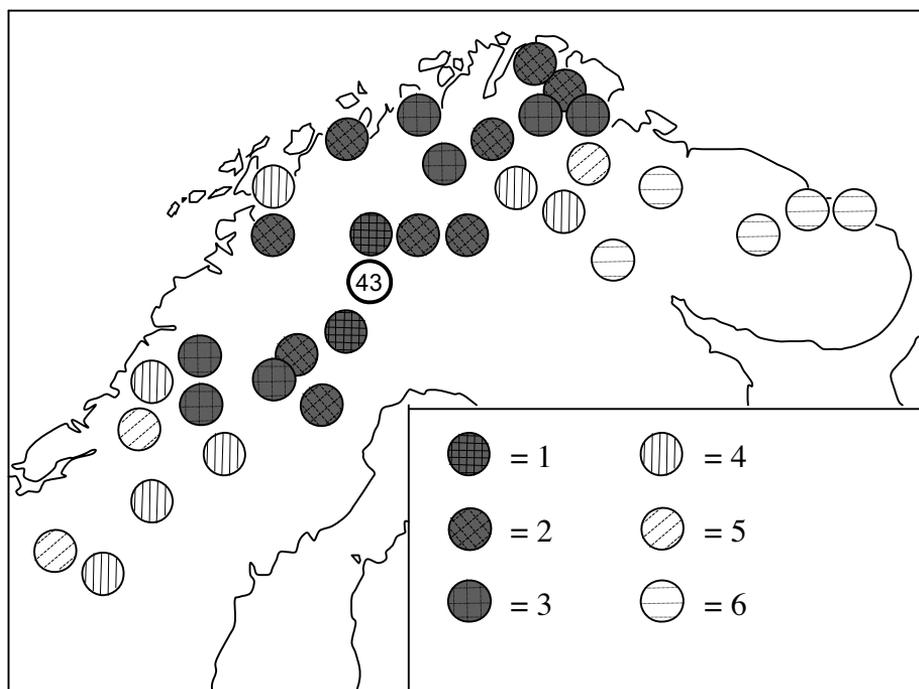
Of the 400 questions in SaaALE I, 309 answers were given for Girjes / Girjjis. The maximum relative equality value among all the other 33 SaaALE I localities is 91.9 (for Jåhkâmåhkke), while the minimum is 44.5 (for Jofkjy and Aarsjogk). The mean of all the relative equality values is 69.6. Accordingly, the distance between maximum and mean is 22.3 percentage units, while the distance between mean and minimum is only slightly larger at 25.1 percentage units. Of the 33 localities that Girjes / Girjjis is compared to, 19 have a relative equality value higher than the mean, and 14 one that is lower than the mean. If the distance between the highest value and the mean, and that between the mean and the lowest value, are each divided into equal thirds, each third between maximum and mean comprises 7.4 percentage units, and each third between mean and minimum 8.4 percentage units (cf. table 7.5 and map 7.5).

The results of the dialectometrical analysis are quite interesting. The lexicon of Girjes / Girjjis shows a correspondences of 91.9% with Jåhkâmåhkke (l. 46) to the south and of 89.5% with Čohkkiras (l. 41) to the north, but of 83.8% with Árjepluovve (l. 45) further south and only 78% with Guovdageaidnu (l. 28) further

*Table 7.5.* The lexical relations between Girjes / Girjjiis (l. 43) and the other SaaALE I localities. Abbreviations: l = locality; a = the number of occurrences of ‘the same lexeme’ in both of the compared localities; b = the number of occurrences of ‘different lexemes’ in the two compared localities; c = the number of questions with answers from both localities (= a + b); d = the number of questions without answer from at least one of the two localities; e = check digit (= c + d); f = (a x 100)/c, i.e. the relative equality value; g = interval group; h = localities per interval group; i = interval limits; MIN = the lowest relative equality value; MEAN = the mean of all the relative equality values; MAX = the highest relative equality value.

l	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
01	230	74	304	5	309	75.7	3
02	173	131	304	5	309	56.9	5
03	231	67	298	11	309	77.5	2
04	195	96	291	18	309	67.0	4
05	173	96	269	40	309	64.3	4
23	234	63	297	12	309	78.8	2
24	241	68	309	0	309	78.0	2
25	230	76	306	3	309	75.2	3
26	235	69	304	5	309	77.3	2
27	208	77	285	24	309	73.0	3
28	237	67	304	5	309	78.0	2
29	234	71	305	4	309	76.7	3
30	222	71	293	16	309	75.8	3
32	225	53	278	31	309	81.0	2
33	177	101	278	31	309	63.7	4
34	163	117	280	29	309	58.2	5
35	146	113	259	50	309	56.4	5
41	231	27	258	51	309	89.5	1
42	213	44	257	52	309	82.9	2
43	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
44	205	45	250	59	309	82.0	2
45	244	47	291	18	309	83.8	2
46	282	25	307	2	309	91.9	MAX 1
47	184	55	239	70	309	77.0	3
48	194	61	255	54	309	76.1	3
49	219	63	282	27	309	77.7	2
51	192	97	289	20	309	66.4	4
52	180	107	287	22	309	62.7	4
54	165	104	269	40	309	61.3	4
81	139	153	292	17	309	47.6	6
82	138	164	302	7	309	45.7	6
83	133	166	299	10	309	44.5	MIN 6
84	134	167	301	8	309	44.5	MIN 6
85	142	149	291	18	309	48.8	6
					69.6	MEAN	
g:	6	5	4	3	2	1	
h:	(5)	(3)	(6)	(7)	(10)	(2)	
i:	44.5	52.9	61.2	69.6	77.0	84.5	91.9
	MIN			MEAN			MAX

north (cf. fig. 7.3). Lexically, Girjes / Girjjiis Saami is thus found to be about midway between the central Lule Saami of Jåhkåmåhkke and the southern North Saami of Čohkkiras, but closer to Árjepluovve Saami than to the North Saami Finnmark dialects represented by Guovdageaidnu Saami. In relation to the present



Map 7.5. The lexical relations between Girjes / Girjjs (l. 43) and the other SaaALE I localities. The relative equality value varies between 91.9 (maximum) and 44.5 (minimum) with 69.6 as the mean. 1–6 = intervals of relative equality values; **1** = 91.9 – 84.5; **2** = 84.5 – 77.0; **3** = 77.0 – 69.6; **4** = 69.6 – 61.2; **5** = 61.2 – 52.9; **6** = 52.9 – 44.5.

literary languages this means that Girjes / Girjjs Saami is closer to the Lule Saami varieties of Jåhkâmåhkke, which the Lule Saami literary language is based on, than to the corresponding North Saami varieties of inner Finnmark (like Guovdageaidnu Saami), which are the basis of the North Saami literary language. The answer given by the SaaALE I material to the question about how to classify Girjes / Girjjs Saami is thus that this variety (so long as lexicon is used as main criterion) should preferably be regarded as the northernmost form of Lule Saami.

It is possible, furthermore, to establish that the lexicon of the Saami of Girjes / Girjjs differs about as much from the South Saami variety of Vualtjere (l. 51) as from Inari Saami (l. 04), and from the southern South Saami variety of Gåebrie (l. 35) as it does from the Skolt Saami variety of Če'vetjäu'rr (l. 02) (cf. table 7.5 and map 7.5).

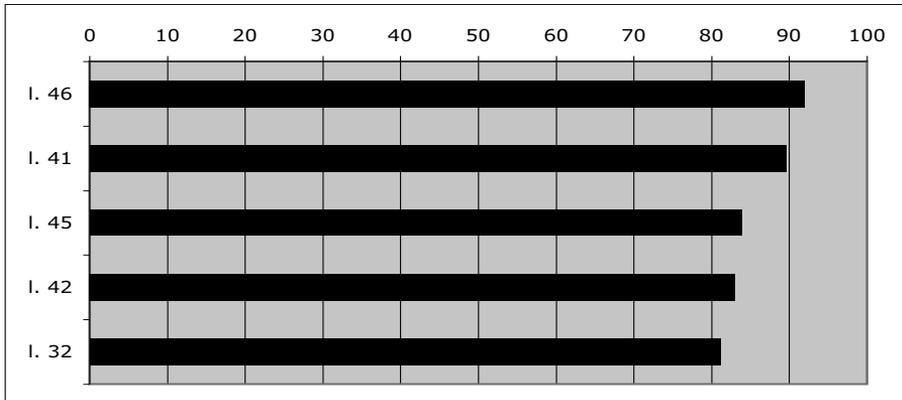


Fig. 7.3. The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Girjes / Girjjs (l. 43): Jåhkâmáhkke (l. 46), Čohkkiras (l. 41), Árjepluovve (l. 45), Gárasavvon (l. 42), and Divtasvuodna (l. 32).

## 7.5. Gárasavvon

(Swe. Karesuando)

Except for Lagercrantz' (1939) collection of words, there has so far been little scholarly interest in the Saami variety of Gárasavvon (l. 42). However, some information can be gleaned from the analyses of adjacent varieties. According to Collinder's (1949: 272 ff.) investigation of Čohkkiras Saami referred to in Chapter 2 (cf. table 2.1), about twice as many of the isoglosses he analysed divided Gárasavvon from Čohkkiras to the south than from Guovdageaidnu to the north, while Nesheim's (1962: 357 f.) comparison of Moskavuotna Saami to adjacent varieties showed that it had most in common with Gárasavvon Saami (cf. table 2.2), and he therefore called it a 'Swedish-Lappish dialect'.

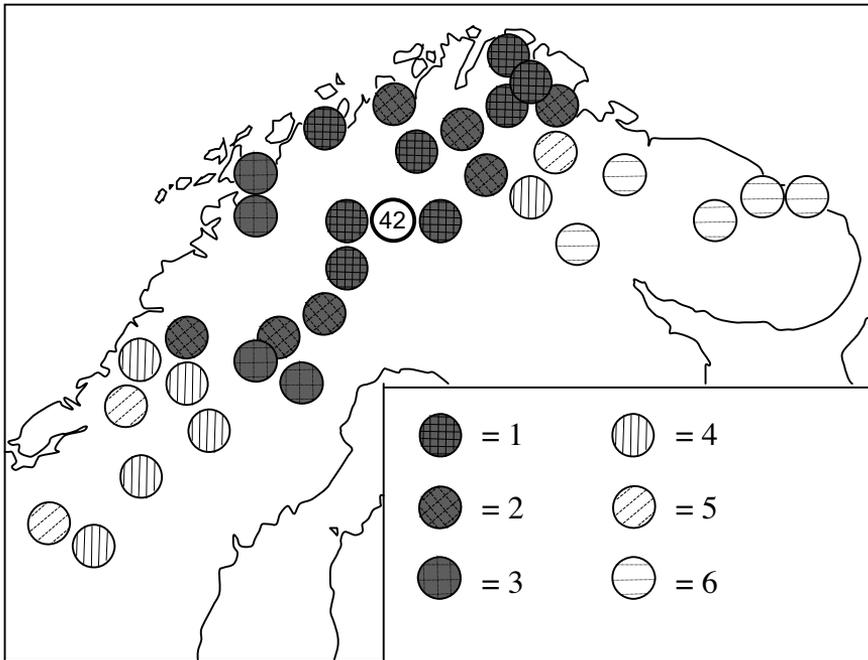
Gárasavvon Saami has been related to the geographically closest varieties in different ways, either as closer to Guovdageaidnu Saami to the north (Qvigstad [DO 24, 25]), or as belonging together with Čohkkiras Saami to the south (Friis [DO 7], M. Korhonen [DO 29], Sammallahti [DO 41, 42]).

Of the 400 questions in SaaALE I, 301 answers were given for Gárasavvon. With Gárasavvon as point of comparison, the maximum relative equality value among the other 33 SaaALE localities is 86.1 (Čohkkiras) and the minimum is 45.7 (Jofkyj). The mean of all the relative equality values is 69.2. The distance between maximum and mean is 16.9 percentage units, whereas the distance between mean and minimum is 23.5 percentage units. Of the 33 localities that Gárasavvon is compared to, 19 have a relative equality value larger than the mean, and 12 one that is

*Table 7.6.* The lexical relations between Gárasavvon (l. 42) and the other SaaALE I localities. Abbreviations: l = locality; a = the number of occurrences of 'the same lexeme' in both of the compared localities; b = the number of occurrences of 'different lexemes' in the two compared localities; c = the number of questions with answers from both localities (= a + b); d = the number of questions without answer from at least one of the two localities; e = check digit (= c + d); f = (a x 100)/c, i.e. the relative equality value; g = interval group; h = localities per interval group; i = interval limits; MIN = the lowest relative equality value; MEAN = the mean of all the relative equality values; MAX = the highest relative equality value.

l	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
01	240	58	298	3	301	80.5	1
02	176	122	298	3	301	59.1	5
03	235	57	292	9	301	80.5	1
04	214	70	284	17	301	75.4	2
05	181	93	274	27	301	66.1	4
23	238	57	295	6	301	80.7	1
24	243	58	301	0	301	80.7	1
25	230	66	296	5	301	77.7	2
26	242	56	298	3	301	81.7	1
27	216	65	281	20	301	76.9	2
28	237	57	294	7	301	80.6	1
29	229	65	294	7	301	77.9	2
30	209	81	290	11	301	72.1	3
32	193	79	272	29	301	71.0	3
33	173	103	276	25	301	62.7	4
34	163	119	282	19	301	57.8	5
35	146	113	259	42	301	56.4	5
41	216	35	251	50	301	86.1	MAX
<b>42</b>							
43	218	40	258	43	301	84.5	1
44	176	56	232	69	301	75.9	2
45	217	73	290	11	301	74.8	2
46	234	65	299	2	301	78.3	2
47	163	73	236	65	301	69.1	4
48	177	69	246	55	301	72.0	3
49	199	73	272	29	301	73.2	3
51	178	105	283	18	301	62.9	4
52	173	106	279	22	301	62.0	4
54	168	95	263	38	301	63.9	4
81	148	141	289	12	301	51.2	6
82	141	154	295	6	301	47.8	6
83	136	154	290	11	301	46.9	6
84	132	157	289	12	301	45.7	MIN
85	147	138	285	16	301	51.6	6
						69.2	MEAN
g:	6	5	4	3	2	1	
h:	(5)	(3)	(4)	(4)	(7)	(8)	
i:	45.7	53.5	61.3	69.2	74.8	80.4	86.1
	MIN			MEAN			MAX

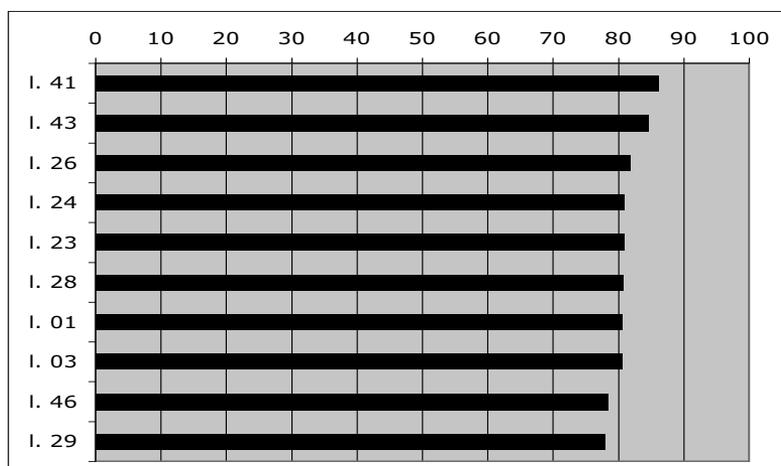
smaller than the mean. If the distances between the highest value and the mean and between the mean and the lowest value are each divided into equal thirds, each third between maximum and mean comprises 5.6 percentage units, and each third between mean and minimum 7.8 percentage units (cf. table 7.6 and map 7.6).



Map 7.6. The lexical relations between Gárasavvon (l. 42) and the other SaaALE I localities. The relative equality value varies between 86.1 (maximum) and 45.7 (minimum) with 69.2 as the mean. 1–6 = intervals of relative equality values; 1 = 86.1 – 80.4; 2 = 80.4 – 74.8; 3 = 74.8 – 69.2; 4 = 69.2 – 61.3; 5 = 61.3 – 53.5; 6 = 53.5 – 45.7.

The SaaALE I locality with the highest lexical correspondence to Gárasavvon is Čohkkiras (l. 41) to the south. Of the SaaALE I lexemes given at Čohkkiras, 86.1% correspond to those at Gárasavvon. Other SaaALE I localities with a high percentage of vocabulary in common with that of Gárasavvon are Girjes / Girjjis (l. 43) with 85.4%, and six localities with very close relative equality values: Olmmaivággi (l. 26) with 81.7%, Deatnu (l. 24) and Buolbmát (l. 23) with 80.7%, Guovdageaidnu (l. 28) with 80.6%, and Ohcejohka (l. 01) and Eanodat (l. 03) with 80.5%. Not far behind come Jáhkâmáhkke (l. 46) with 78.3% and Kárašjohka (l. 49) with 77.9% (cf. fig. 7.4 and table 7.6). Taking two other examples from different parts of Sápmi, the variety of Árjepluovve (l. 45) is lexically as close to Gárasavvon Saami as Inari Saami (l. 04), while the southern South Saami variety of Ruvhten sįjte (l. 54) is nearly as remote as the Skolt Saami of Njeä'ilem (l. 05) (cf. table 7.6 and map 7.6).

As to the question how Gárasavvon Saami should be classified, one could conclude (based on the SaaALE I material) that it is lexically closer to Čohkkiras Saami than to Finnmark Saami (with a relative equality value of 86.1 for Čohkkiras compared to 80.6 for Guovdageaidnu), probably due to the fact that Finnish loan-



*Fig. 7.4.* The relative equality values of the ten SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Gárasavvon (l. 42): Čohkkiras (l. 41), Girjes / Girjjis (l. 43), Olmmáivággi (l. 26), Deatnu (l. 24), Buolbmát (l. 23), Guovdageaidnu (l. 28), Ohcejohka (l. 01), Eanodat (l. 03), Jáhkámáhkke (l. 46), and Kárášjohka (l. 29).

words are much more common in Čohkkiras and Gárasavvon Saami than in Guovdageaidnu Saami (cf. Hansegård 1967).

## 7.6. Guovdageaidnu

(Nor. Kautokeino)

The first description of Guovdageaidnu Saami is found in a manuscript by the clergyman Johan Tornberg, which contains a grammar and a vocabulary from 1716 (although it was not published until in Nordberg 1970: 41–67). This variety was one of the three chosen by Nielsen for his North Saami dictionary (Nielsen 1932–38; Nielsen & Nesheim 1956–62) and grammar (Nielsen 1926), and together with the other varieties of inner Finnmark it is the main basis for the North Saami literary language. Today, Guovdageaidnu Saami (together, perhaps, with Kárášjohka Saami) is the most influential of all the Saami varieties. It is classified as belonging to the western group of the Finnmark Saami varieties of North Saami (Friis [DO 7, 8], Qvigstad [DO 24, 25], M. Korhonen [DO 29, 37], Décsy [DO 31], Sammallahti [DO 39, 41, 42]) (cf. fig. 7.5).

In his comparison of the dialects in Guovdageaidnu and Kárášjohka (representing western and eastern Finnmark Saami respectively), Kjell Kemi gives a number of examples where a meaning is expressed with one lexeme in the west (Guovdageaidnu) and another in the east (Kárášjohka). As especially important

Qvigstad 1925:		
Norwegian Lappish	– southern	[...]
	– western	1. the Gárasavvon dialect 2. the dialect of Ivgu and Báhcavuotna 3. <u>the Guovdageaidnu dialect</u>
	– eastern	[...]
Sammallahti 1998b:		
North Saami	– Torne Saami	[...]
	– Finnmark Saami	western dialect group 1. the Máze-Láhpoluoppal dialect 2. <u>the Guovdageaidnu dialect</u> 3. the Eastern Eanodat dialect 4. the Vuohčču dialect eastern dialect group [...]
	– Sea Saami	[...]

Fig. 7.5. Two examples of how Guovdageaidnu Saami has been classified.

(‘shibboleths’) he mentions the words for ‘understand’ (West *ipmirdit*; East *áddet*) and ‘laugh’ (West *boagostit*; East *čaiḃmat*) (Kemi 1991: 86 f.). As a general statement about the communicative relation between the different North Saami varieties, one can quote Tuomas Magga (1984: 15), who says: ‘There are no unsurpassable difficulties in mutual understanding between the speakers of various North Lappish dialects, although quite essential dialectal differences exist.’

Of the 400 questions in SaaALE I, 386 were answered at Guovdageaidnu. The maximum relative equality value among the other 33 SaaALE I localities is 86.7 (Buolbmát and Eanodat) and the minimum 40.3 (Jofkyj). The mean of all the relative equality values is 66.5. Accordingly, the distance between maximum and mean is 20.2 percentage units, whereas the distance between mean and minimum is 26.2 percentage units. Of the 33 localities that Guovdageaidnu is compared to, 20 have a relative equality value higher than the mean, and 13 one that is lower than the mean. If the distances between the highest value and the mean and between the mean and the lowest value are each divided into equal thirds, each third between maximum and mean comprises 6.7 percentage units, and each third between mean and minimum 8.7 percentage units (cf. table 7.7 and map 7.7).

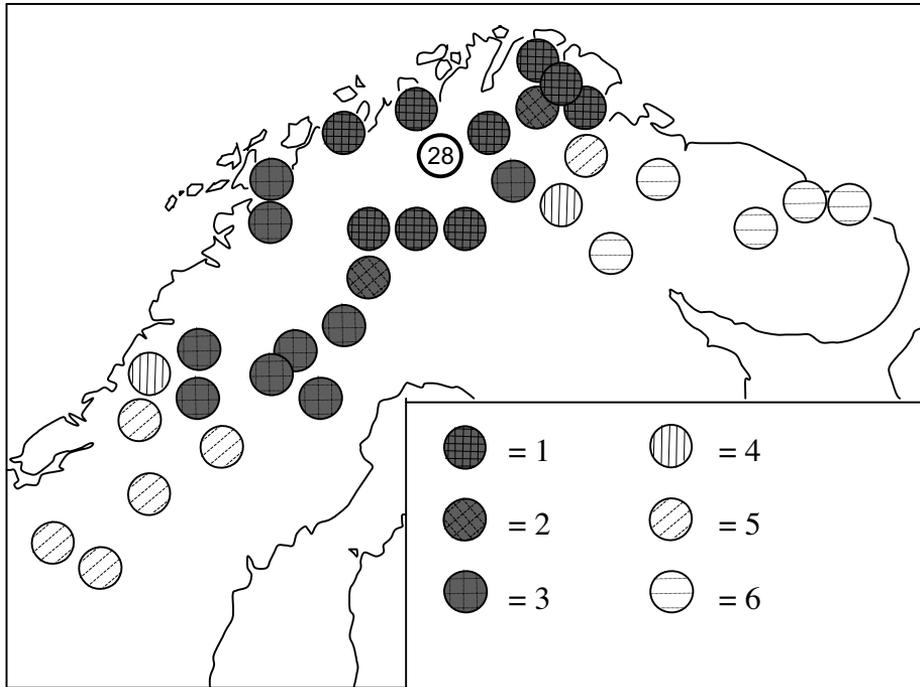
The SaaALE I localities with the highest lexical correspondences to Guovdageaidnu are other North Saami localities, although, interestingly, these include not only the other locality representing western Finnmark Saami, Eanodat (l. 03), but also one of the localities representing eastern Finnmark Saami, Buolbmát (l. 23), both of which have a relative equality value of 86.7. At other ALE localities, varieties with a high percentage of vocabulary in common with that of Guovdageaidnu are the eastern Finnmark Saami varieties of Deatnu (l. 24) with 84.7 and

*Table 7.7.* The lexical relations between Guovdageaidnu (l. 28) and the other SaaALE I localities. Abbreviations: l = locality; a = the number of occurrences of ‘the same lexeme’ in both of the compared localities; b = the number of occurrences of ‘different lexemes’ in the two compared localities; c = the number of questions with answers from both localities (= a + b); d = the number of questions without answer from at least one of the two localities; e = check digit (= c + d); f = (a x 100)/c, i.e. the relative equality value; g = interval group; h = localities per interval group; i = interval limits; MIN = the lowest relative equality value; MEAN = the mean of all the relative equality values; MAX = the highest relative equality value.

l	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
01	302	79	381	5	386	79.3	2
02	209	168	377	9	386	55.4	5
03	319	49	368	18	386	86.7	MAX 1
04	254	110	364	22	386	69.8	3
05	205	125	330	56	386	62.1	4
23	320	49	369	17	386	86.7	MAX 1
24	325	60	385	1	386	84.4	1
25	306	75	381	5	386	80.3	1
26	314	68	382	4	386	82.2	1
27	290	68	358	28	386	81.0	1
<b>28</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
29	321	61	382	4	386	84.0	1
30	261	104	365	21	386	71.5	3
32	246	105	351	35	386	70.1	3
33	200	146	346	40	386	57.8	4
34	194	154	348	38	386	55.7	5
35	164	147	311	75	386	52.7	5
41	244	56	300	86	386	81.3	1
42	239	55	294	92	386	81.3	1
43	239	64	303	83	386	78.9	2
44	193	81	274	112	386	70.4	3
45	256	112	368	18	386	69.6	3
46	278	104	382	4	386	72.8	3
47	187	92	279	107	386	67.0	3
48	195	95	290	96	386	67.2	3
49	223	109	332	54	386	67.2	3
51	205	156	361	25	386	56.8	5
52	197	154	351	35	386	56.1	5
54	176	141	317	69	386	55.5	5
81	162	206	368	18	386	44.0	6
82	158	217	375	11	386	42.1	6
83	151	219	370	16	386	40.8	6
84	150	222	372	14	386	40.3	MIN 6
85	160	200	360	26	386	44.4	6
					66.5	MEAN	
g:	6	5	4	3	2	1	
h:	(5)	(6)	(2)	(9)	(2)	(9)	
i:	40.3	49.1	57.8	66.5	73.3	80.0	86.7
	MIN			MEAN			MAX

Karášjohka (l. 29) with 84.0, and the Coast Saami variety of Olmmaivággi (l. 26) with relative equality values of 82.0 (cf. fig. 7.6, table 7.7 and map 7.7).

To take just two other examples, the analysis also shows that lexically Árjepluovve (l. 45) is as close to Guovdageaidnu Saami as Aanaar (l. 04) (with relative



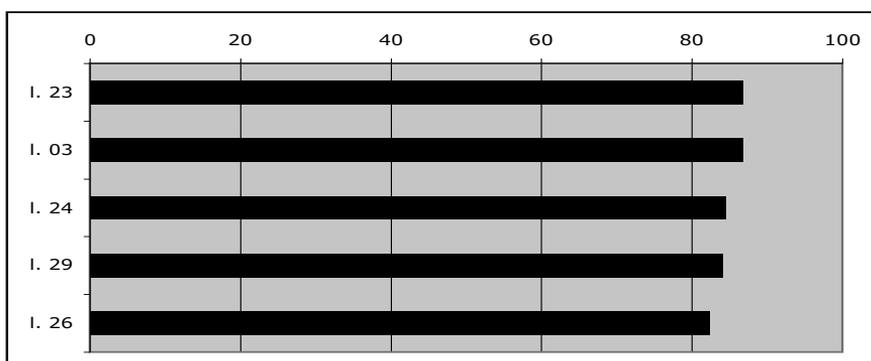
Map 7.7. The lexical relations between Guovdageaidnu (l. 28) and the other SaaALE I localities. The relative equality value varies between 86.7 (maximum) and 40.3 (minimum) with 66.5 as the mean. 1–6 = intervals of relative equality values; 1 = 86.7 – 80.0; 2 = 80.0 – 73.3; 3 = 73.3 – 66.5; 4 = 66.5 – 57.8; 5 = 57.8 – 49.0; 6 = 49.0 – 40.3.

equality values of 69.6 and 69.8 respectively), and that the variety spoken at the southernmost South Saami locality, Ruvhten sįjte (l. 54), is as remote as that at the Skolt Saami locality of Čěvetjäu'rr (l. 02) (these two localities have relative equality values of 55.5 and 55.4 respectively) (cf. table 7.7), i.e. the lexical distances between Guovdageaidnu Saami and the varieties spoken at these localities are comparable to those between Gárasavvon (see above) and these same varieties.

## 7.7 Návuoatna

(Nor. Kvænangen)

Generally, Coast Saami has been regarded as an independent North Saami dialect (M. Korhonen [DO 29], Déscy [DO 31], Sammallahti [DO 39, 41, 42]) on a par with Torne Saami and Finnmark Saami. A different view was taken by M. Korhonen, who classified Coast Saami as one of three sub-dialects of Finnmark



*Fig. 7.6.* The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Guovdageaidnu (l. 28): Buolbmát (l. 23), Eanodat (l. 03), Deatnu (l. 24), Kárášjohka (l. 29), and Olmmáivággi (l. 26).

Saami (M. Korhonen [DO 37]), the other two being western and eastern Finnmark Saami.

Of the 400 questions in SaaALE I, 369 were answered at Návuotna. The maximum relative equality value among all the other 33 SaaALE I localities is relatively low, only 81.5 (for Olmmáivággi; l. 26), while the minimum value is 38.6 (for Jofkyj; l. 84). The mean of all the relative equality values is 63.1. The distance between maximum and mean is 18.3 percentage units, whereas that between mean and minimum is 24.6 percentage units.

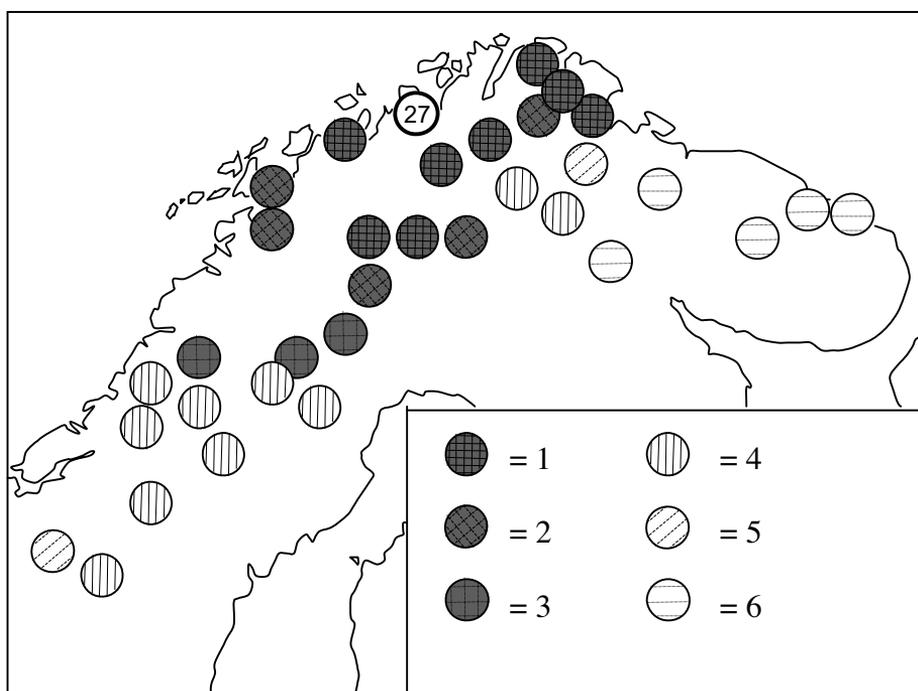
Of the 33 localities that Guovdageaidnu is compared to, 16 have a relative equality value higher than the mean, and 17 one that is lower than the mean. If the distances between the highest value and the mean and between the mean and the lowest value are each divided into equal thirds, each third between maximum and mean comprises 18.3 percentage units, and each third between mean and minimum 24.6 percentage units (cf. table 7.8 and map 7.8). One reason why the highest relative equality value for Návuotna is as low as 81.5 is that there are comparatively many answers from this locality with no correspondence at any of the other localities. No less than 13 of the 369 answers given to the SaaALE I questions at Návuotna are of this type. In addition to which, the answers to a further 20 questions had correspondences with (were the same as) those given at no more than three other localities.

The SaaALE I localities with the highest lexical correspondences to Návuotna are the Coast Saami localities of Olmmáivággi (l. 26) and Unjárga (l. 25), the eastern North Saami localities of Buolbmát (l. 23) and Deatnu (l. 24), and the western North Saami locality nearest to Návuotna, Guovdageaidnu / Kautokeino (l. 28). The relative equality values for these localities vary between 81.5 (for Olmmáivággi) and 76.9 (for Unjárga) (cf. fig. 7.7, table 7.8 and map 7.8).

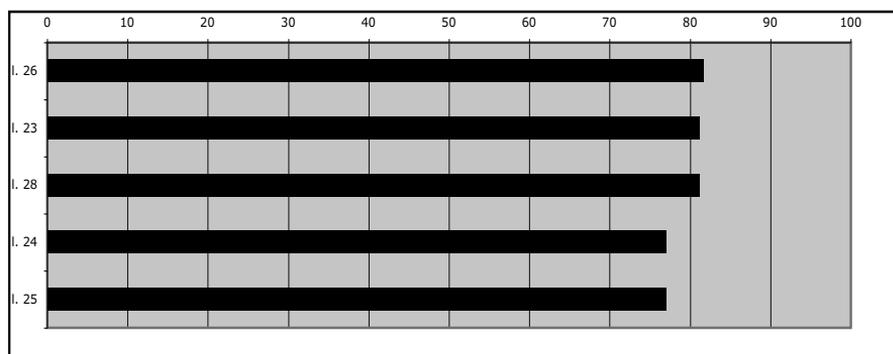
*Table 7.8.* The lexical relations between Návuoŋna (l. 27) and the other SaaALE I localities. Abbreviations: l = locality; a = the number of occurrences of 'the same lexeme' in both of the compared localities; b = the number of occurrences of 'different lexemes' in the two compared localities; c = the number of questions with answers from both localities (= a + b); d = the number of questions without answer from at least one of the two localities; e = check digit (= c + d); f = (a x 100)/c, i.e. the relative equality value; g = group; h = localities per group; i = interval limits; MIN = the lowest relative equality value; MEAN = the mean of all the relative equality values; MAX = the highest relative equality value.

l	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
01	266	96	362	7	369	73.5	2
02	182	177	359	10	369	50.7	5
03	265	89	354	15	369	74.9	2
04	215	133	348	21	369	61.8	4
05	176	133	309	60	369	57.0	4
23	292	68	360	9	369	81.1	1
24	283	85	368	1	369	76.9	1
25	276	83	359	10	369	76.9	1
26	299	68	367	2	369	81.5	MAX 1
<b>27</b>	–	–	–	–	–	–	
28	290	68	358	11	369	81.0	1
29	274	87	361	8	369	75.9	1
30	266	91	357	12	369	74.5	2
32	237	105	342	27	369	69.3	2
33	192	142	334	35	369	57.5	4
34	192	147	339	30	369	56.6	4
35	158	138	296	73	369	53.4	5
41	212	69	281	88	369	75.4	1
42	216	65	281	88	369	76.9	1
43	209	77	286	83	369	73.1	2
44	174	86	260	109	369	66.9	3
45	232	121	353	16	369	65.7	3
46	249	116	365	4	369	68.2	3
47	170	100	270	99	369	63.0	4
48	177	105	282	87	369	62.8	4
49	195	117	312	57	369	62.5	4
51	193	155	348	21	369	55.5	4
52	187	146	333	36	369	56.2	4
54	176	131	307	61	369	57.3	4
81	146	208	354	15	369	41.2	6
82	139	221	360	9	369	38.6	6
83	132	221	353	16	369	37.4	6
84	137	218	355	14	369	38.6	MIN 6
85	147	201	348	21	369	42.2	6
						63.1	MEAN
g:	6	5	4	3	2	1	
h:	(5)	(2)	(10)	(3)	(5)	(8)	
i:	38.6	46.8	55.0	63.1	69.3	75.4	81.5
	MIN			MEAN			MAX

These lexical relations, in isolation from other criteria, do not give any clue as to whether Návuoŋna Saami (and Coast Saami in general) should be classified as an independent North Saami dialect or a Finnmark Saami sub-dialect. The question has to be left unanswered.



*Map 7.8.* The lexical relations between Návuotna (l. 27) and the other SaaALE I localities. The relative equality value varies between 81.5 (maximum) and 38.6 (minimum) with 63.1 as the mean. 1–6 = intervals of relative equality values; **1** = 81.5 – 75.4; **2** = 75.4 – 69.3; **3** = 69.3 – 63.1; **4** = 63.1 – 55.0; **5** = 55.0 – 46.8; **6** = 46.8 – 38.6.



*Fig. 7.7.* The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Návuotna (l. 27): Olmmáivággi (l. 26), Buolbmát (l. 23), Guovdageaidnu (l. 28), Deatnu (l. 24), and Unjárga (l. 25).

## 7.8. Aanaar

(Fin. Inari)

Äimä (1914: xi) divided Inari Saami into four dialect areas, one southern, one eastern, one northern and one western. These four areas corresponded to the four old communities in Inari: Páčvei (Paatsjoki), Avveel (Ivalojoiki), Bádár (Padar) and Muttošjávri (Muddusjärvi) (Tegengren 1952: 159 f.). Nowadays, the dialect features are, however, ‘very difficult to prove’, making it more reasonable, in the view of E. Itkonen et al. (1986–89: 4 f.), to talk about *Sprachgebiete* instead, i.e. areas where specific language varieties are spoken. In the SaaALE I material, however, Aanaar is treated as a single locality without any consideration being made of the internal variations of Inari Saami.

As far as the relations between Inari Saami and its neighbouring Saami varieties are concerned, the boundary between North and Inari Saami has, as was mentioned in Chapter 2, been regarded as the most distinctive in the whole continuum of Saami varieties (cf. DO 28 [M. Korhonen], DO 31 [Déscy], DO 41, 42 [Sammallahti]). This view was criticised by, among others, Bergsland (1946: viii) and Collinder (1953: 59 ff.), and I myself have suggested that lexically Inari Saami could be regarded as either independent between the eastern and western varieties or as closer to the western than to the eastern ones (Rydving 1986a: 200).

This can be argued with reference to the lexemes in the SaaALE I material that have a distribution where Inari Saami is either the westernmost or the easternmost of the varieties where the lexemes in question are used. In these cases, the rate of correspondence between the Inari Saami answers and those of the nearest North Saami varieties was more than double the rate between Inari Saami and Skolt Saami (cf. tables 7.9 and 7.10).

Of the 400 questions in SaaALE I, 374 answers were given for Aanaar. The maximum relative equality value between Aanaar and any of the other 33 SaaALE I localities is 78.0 (Ohcejohka) and the minimum is 46.3 (Jofkyj). The mean of all the relative equality values is 61.8, the distance between maximum and mean 16.2 percentage units, and that between mean and minimum 15.5 percentage units. Of the 33 localities that Aanaar is compared to, 16 have a relative equality value larger than the mean, and 17 one that is smaller than the mean. If the distances between the highest value and the mean and that between the mean and the lowest value are each divided into equal thirds, each third between maximum and mean comprises 5.4 percentage units, and each third between mean and minimum 5.2 percentage units (cf. table 7.11 and map 7.9).

Table 7.9. The questions of SaaALE I where the word reported from Aanaar (l. 04) differs from the word(s) reported from North Saami and/or Skolt Saami. A = one lexeme in North Saami, another in Inari Saami and Skolt Saami; B = one lexeme in North Saami and Inari Saami, another in Skolt Saami; C = one lexeme in North Saami, another in Inari Saami, and a third in Skolt Saami.

q.		WEST / North	l. 04 / Inari	EAST / Skolt
<b>A</b>				
006	[bad] weather:	<i>dálki</i>	<i>šõŋŋá</i>	<i>šõŋŋ</i>
167	left handed one:	<i>gurutgiehtalaš</i>	<i>čizet-</i>	<i>či'žž-</i>
282	pig:	<i>spiidni</i>	<i>šahe</i>	<i>šáá'kk</i>
291	hen:	<i>vuonccis</i>	<i>kääni</i>	<i>kää'nn</i>
370	board:	<i>fiellu</i>	<i>lyevdi</i>	<i>lu'vdd</i>
424	lights:	<i>cahkkeha</i>	<i>puálláát</i>	<i>puállat</i>
451	husband:	<i>isit</i>	<i>käälis</i>	<i>kää'lles</i>
477	talks:	<i>hállá</i>	<i>sárnu</i>	<i>sárnn</i>
479	tells:	<i>muitala</i>	<i>maainást</i>	<i>maainast</i>
482	asks:	<i>jearrá</i>	<i>koijáđ</i>	<i>kááčč</i>
488	plays:	<i>stoahká</i>	<i>siára</i>	<i>seárr</i>
502	bell:	<i>biellu</i>	<i>keállu</i>	<i>keáll</i>
515	left:	<i>gurut</i>	<i>čizet</i>	<i>či'žž</i>
539	Sunday:	<i>sotnabeaivi</i>	<i>pasepeivi</i>	<i>pá'sspei'vv</i>
<b>B</b>				
013	lightning:	<i>álddagas</i>	<i>aldágás</i>	<i>tooláž</i>
214	coffin:	<i>gistu</i>	<i>kisto</i>	<i>groob</i>
217	breakfast:	<i>iđitborramuš</i>	<i>iđedáspurrámáš</i>	<i>tue'lesveärr</i>
231	pocket:	<i>lubma</i>	<i>lummá</i>	<i>kármman</i>
232	soap:	<i>sáibu</i>	<i>saibá</i>	<i>mueil</i>
236	mirror:	<i>speedjal</i>	<i>speeijal</i>	<i>suei'mkar</i>
238	understands:	<i>ipmirda</i>	<i>ibbeerd</i>	<i>fittj</i>
249	works:	<i>bargá</i>	<i>parga</i>	<i>reáugg</i>
250	workman:	<i>bargi</i>	<i>pargee</i>	<i>reáuggi</i>
389	money:	<i>ruhta</i>	<i>rutá</i>	<i>teá'gg</i>
401	window:	<i>láse</i>	<i>laasá</i>	<i>ihkkon</i>
403	opens:	<i>leahkasta</i>	<i>leehast</i>	<i>ää'vad</i>
412	ladder:	<i>ráidaras</i>	<i>raidláš</i>	<i>puárddaz</i>
420	funnel:	<i>ráhtte</i>	<i>ratti</i>	<i>voronka</i>
421	glass:	<i>láse</i>	<i>laasá</i>	<i>stákkán</i>
423	fork:	<i>gáffal</i>	<i>kaahvál</i>	<i>velkk</i>
446	bridegroom:	<i>irgi</i>	<i>irge</i>	<i>vuõddám</i>
447	bride:	<i>moarsi</i>	<i>myerssee</i>	<i>kaavsõs</i>
485	dances:	<i>dánse</i>	<i>tánsšáá</i>	<i>pleássjai</i>
492	town:	<i>gávpot</i>	<i>kaavpug</i>	<i>lá'nn</i>
496	paper:	<i>bábir</i>	<i>pááppár</i>	<i>põ'mmai</i>
497	pencil:	<i>beanna</i>	<i>penná</i>	<i>karndaš</i>
498	ink:	<i>bleahkka</i>	<i>lekká</i>	<i>černiila</i>
500	Christmas:	<i>juovllat</i>	<i>juovlah</i>	<i>rosttov</i>
501	Easter:	<i>beassáđat</i>	<i>pessijááh</i>	<i>e'jipei'vv</i>
517	hour:	<i>diibmu</i>	<i>tijme</i>	<i>čiáss</i>
518	clock:	<i>diibmu</i>	<i>tijme</i>	<i>čiáss</i>
527	today:	<i>odne</i>	<i>onne</i>	<i>tá'bbe</i>
532	week:	<i>vahkku</i>	<i>okko</i>	<i>neä'ttel</i>
535	Wednesday:	<i>gaskavahkku</i>	<i>koskokko</i>	<i>seárad</i>
536	Thursday:	<i>duorastat</i>	<i>turástáh</i>	<i>neljipei'vv</i>

C		WEST / North	I. 04 / Inari	EAST / Skolt
q.				
008	fog:	<i>mierká</i>	<i>omo</i>	<i>suälnök</i>
224	hot (water):	<i>báhkás</i>	<i>kume</i>	<i>puõ'lli</i>
478	says:	<i>dadjá</i>	<i>iättá</i>	<i>ceälkk</i>
530	early:	<i>árrat</i>	<i>tooláá</i>	<i>äái'jeld</i>
537	Friday:	<i>bearjadat</i>	<i>vástuppeivi</i>	<i>piátnác</i>

Table 7.10. The percentage distribution of words reported from Aanaar (I. 04) where the word(s) reported from there differ(s) from those reported from North Saami and/or Skolt Saami. A = one lexeme in North Saami, another in Inari Saami and Skolt Saami.; B = one lexeme in North Saami and Inari Saami, another in Skolt Saami; C = one lexeme in North Saami, another in Inari Saami, and a third in Skolt Saami.

A 14 / 374 (3,7 %)	WEST North Saami		I. 04 Inari Saami		EAST Skolt Saami
B 31 / 374 (8,3 %)	WEST North Saami		I. 04 Inari Saami		EAST Skolt Saami
C 5 / 374 (1,3 %)	WEST North Saami		I. 04 Inari Saami		EAST Skolt Saami

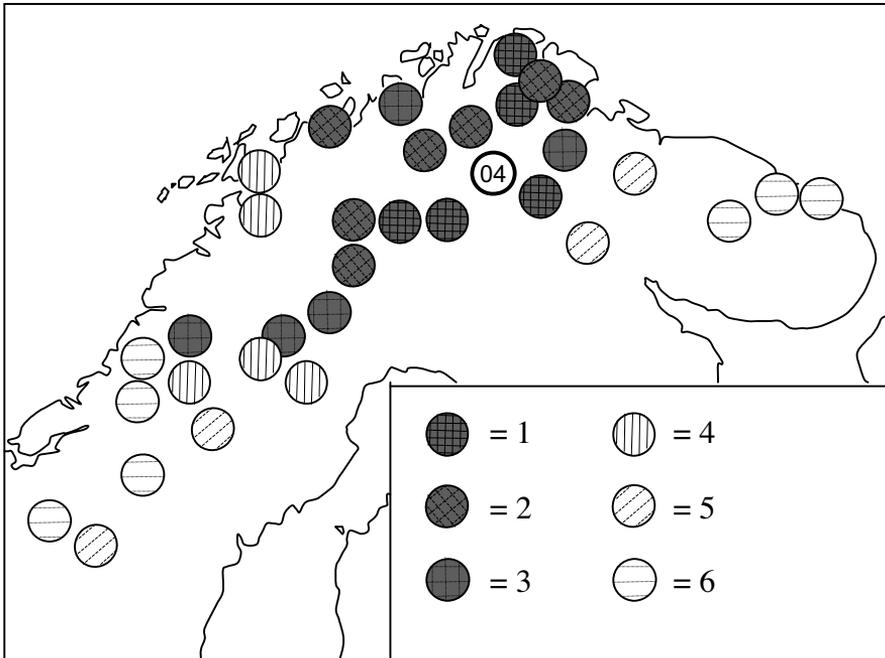
If one compares the relative equality value of Ohcejohka in relation to Aanaar (78.0) with the values found to hold between the other points of inquiry discussed so far, one notes that the former is about the same as the value between the southern South Saami locality of Gåebrie (I. 35) and the northern South Saami of Vuoltjere (I. 51), the value between the Ume Saami locality of Suorssá (I. 48) and the Lule Saami of Divtasvuodna (I. 32), or the value between the locality of Girjes / Girjjis (I. 43) and the northern North Saami of Guovdageaidnu (I. 28).

The varieties at other SaaALE I localities with a high relative equality value in relation to Aanaar are the Skolt Saami of Njeä'lem (I. 05), and the North Saami varieties of Gárasavvon (I. 42), Eanodat (I. 03), and Deatnu (I. 24), the values being 75.6, 74.7, 73.1, and 72.7 respectively (cf. fig. 7.8, table 7.11 and map 7.9).

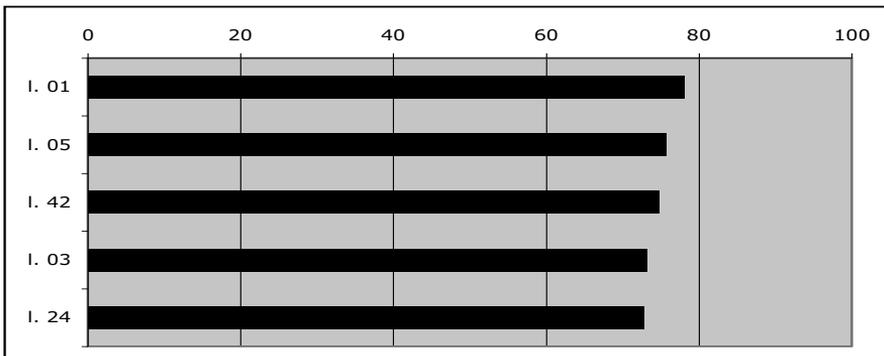
To give two other examples of relative equality values, both of which show that lexically Inari Saami is as close to much more remote western varieties as it is to the eastern varieties spoken nearby: the relative equality value for Inari Saami in relation to Northern Dearná / Deärrná (I. 44) is only slightly lower than that for Aanaar in relation to the Skolt Saami of Čé'vetjäu'rr (I. 02), while the value for Aanaar in relation to the southernmost South Saami spoken at Ruvhten sįjte (I. 54) is the same as the value for Aanaar in relation to the Skolt Saami of Njue'ttjäu'rr (I. 81) (cf. table 7.11).

*Table 7.11.* The lexical relations between Aanaar (l. 04) and the other SaaALE I localities. Abbreviations: l = locality; a = the number of occurrences of 'the same lexeme' in both of the compared localities; b = the number of occurrences of 'different lexemes' in the two compared localities; c = the number of questions with answers from both localities (= a + b); d = the number of questions without answer from at least one of the two localities; e = check digit (= c + d); f = (a x 100)/c, i.e. the relative equality value; g = interval group; h = localities per interval group; i = interval limits; MIN = the lowest relative equality value; MEAN = the mean of all the relative equality values; MAX = the highest relative equality value.

l	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
01	291	82	373	1	374	78.0	MAX 1
02	242	123	365	9	374	66.3	3
03	264	97	361	13	374	73.1	1
<b>04</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
05	245	79	324	50	374	75.6	1
23	261	99	360	14	374	72.5	2
24	271	102	373	1	374	72.7	1
25	258	106	364	10	374	70.9	2
26	250	120	370	4	374	67.6	2
27	215	134	349	25	374	61.6	4
28	255	109	364	10	374	70.1	2
29	260	106	366	8	374	71.0	2
30	208	146	354	20	374	58.8	4
32	204	137	341	33	374	59.8	4
33	174	165	339	35	374	51.3	6
34	171	168	339	35	374	50.4	6
35	149	156	305	69	374	48.9	6
41	207	84	291	83	374	71.1	2
42	213	72	285	89	374	74.7	1
43	199	93	292	82	374	68.2	2
44	173	93	266	108	374	65.0	3
45	223	132	355	19	374	62.8	3
46	231	138	369	5	374	62.6	3
47	160	112	272	102	374	58.8	4
48	175	111	286	88	374	61.2	4
49	192	127	319	55	374	60.2	4
51	187	163	350	24	374	53.4	5
52	169	169	338	36	374	50.0	6
54	166	142	308	66	374	53.9	5
81	193	165	358	16	374	53.9	5
82	181	185	366	8	374	49.5	6
83	174	189	363	11	374	47.9	6
84	167	194	361	13	374	46.3	MIN 6
85	185	167	352	22	374	52.6	5
						61.8	MEAN
g:	6	5	4	3	2	1	
h:	(7)	(4)	(6)	(4)	(7)	(5)	
i:	46.3	51.5	56.7	61.8	67.2	72.6	78.0
	MIN			MEAN			MAX



*Map 7.9.* The lexical relations between Aanaar (l. 04) and the other SaaALE I localities. The relative equality value varies between 78.0 (maximum) and 46.3 (minimum) with 61.8 as the mean. 1–6 = intervals of relative equality values; **1** = 78.0 – 72.6; **2** = 72.6 – 67.2; **3** = 67.2 – 61.8; **4** = 61.8 – 56.7; **5** = 56.7 – 51.5; **6** = 51.5 – 46.3.



*Fig. 7.8.* The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Aanaar (l. 04): Ohcejohka (l. 01), Njeä'llem (l. 05), Gárasavvon (l. 42), Eanodat (l. 03), and Deatnu (l. 24).

In conclusion I can only repeat what I proposed nearly thirty years ago (in Rydving 1986a), that if one seeks to divide the Saami speech area into a western and an eastern part (in accordance with one of the traditional approaches), then from a lexical point of view (and assuming, that is, that the SaaALE I material is representative) Inari Saami could be classified as holding a middle position between east and west, or even as being the easternmost of the Western Saami varieties, rather than the westernmost of the Eastern Saami varieties. The problems involved in classifying Inari Saami in relation to the other Saami varieties illustrate the complexity of dialectal analysis and point to the obvious (but not always recognised) conclusion that the results of any linguistic analysis depend on the criteria chosen.

## 7.9. A'kkel

(Rus. Babino)

As mentioned earlier, the last active speaker of Akkala Saami passed away in 2003 (cf. Chapter 1). Long before that, it was one of the most threatened Saami varieties because there were few speakers and all of them were old, although estimates of the number of speakers varied until well into the 1990s. In the middle of that decade Zaykov (1996: 138 f.), the foremost specialist on Akkala Saami, reported that about 80 people spoke the language fluently, all of them older than 45–50, while according to Rantala (1994: 201) only seven people spoke the language at the beginning of the 1990s. However, thanks to Zaykov's studies we have extensive linguistic information about Akkala Saami (cf. Zaykov 1987; Kert & Zaykov 1987; Zaykov 1996), and since A'kkel was chosen as one of the SaaALE I localities when the material was collected during the 1970s, its lexicon is included in this study.

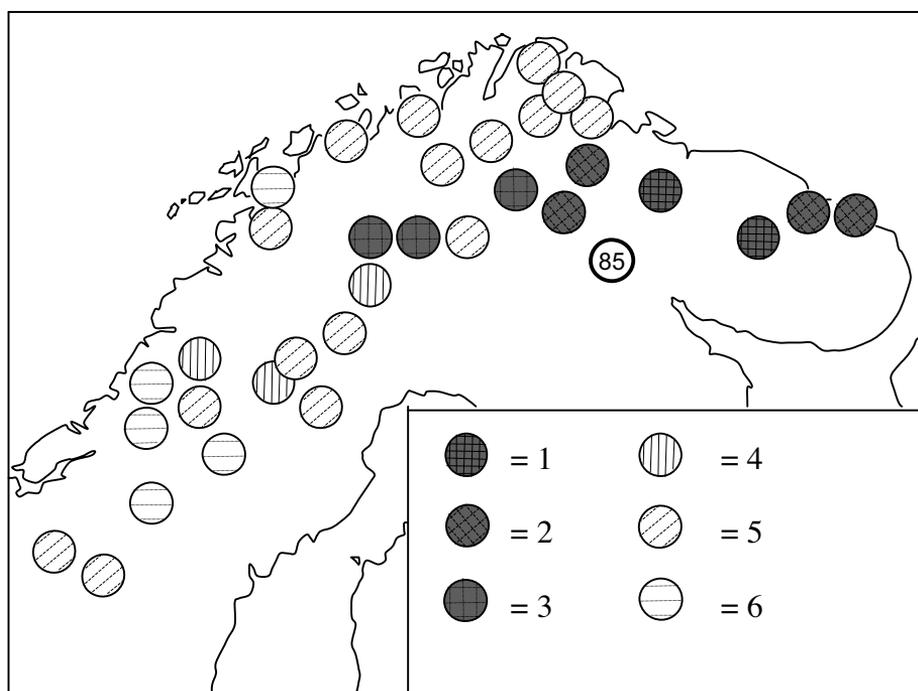
As already mentioned, the position of Akkala Saami in relation to its surrounding varieties has been interpreted in three different ways. Akkala Saami has been seen either as a Skolt Saami variety (or, at least, as closest to Skolt Saami) (Endyukovskiy [DO 19], Sammallahti [DO 41, 42]), as a main dialect in its own right (Genetz [DO 17], T.I. Itkonen [DO 18], Qvigstad [DO 24], M. Korhonen [DO 28 and 29], Décsy [DO 31]), or, finally, as a Kildin Saami variety (or, at least, as closest to Kildin Saami) (Fellman [DO 5], Qvigstad [DO 25], Sköld [DO 27], Sammallahti [DO 39], M. Korhonen 1988: 41).

Of the 400 questions in SaaALE I, 372 were answered at A'kkel. The maximum relative equality value among all the other 33 SaaALE I localities is 88.8 (Njue'tt-jäur) and the minimum is 37.0 (Raavrevijhke). The mean of all the relative

*Table 7.12.* The lexical relations between A'kkel (l. 85) and the other SaaALE I localities. Abbreviations: l = locality; a = the number of occurrences of 'the same lexeme' in both of the compared localities; b = the number of occurrences of 'different lexemes' in the two compared localities; c = the number of questions with answers from both localities (= a + b); d = the number of questions without answer from at least one of the two localities; e = check digit (= c + d); f = (a x 100)/c, i.e. the relative equality value; g = interval group; h = localities per interval group; i = interval limits; MIN = the lowest relative equality value; MEAN = the mean of all the relative equality values; MAX = the highest relative equality value.

l	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
01	166	199	365	7	372	45.5	5
02	239	123	362	10	372	66.0	2
03	161	196	357	15	372	45.1	5
04	184	166	350	22	372	52.6	3
05	220	96	316	56	372	69.6	2
23	161	192	353	19	372	45.6	5
24	168	203	371	1	372	45.3	5
25	165	197	362	10	372	45.6	5
26	161	208	369	3	372	43.6	5
27	144	203	347	25	372	41.5	5
28	160	199	359	13	372	44.6	5
29	166	197	363	9	372	45.7	5
30	136	216	352	20	372	38.6	6
32	144	198	340	32	372	41.8	5
33	130	204	334	38	372	38.9	6
34	126	215	341	31	372	37.0	MIN
35	126	177	303	69	372	41.6	5
41	152	138	290	82	372	52.4	3
42	148	136	284	88	372	52.1	3
43	143	148	291	81	372	49.1	4
44	132	133	265	107	372	49.8	4
45	162	194	356	16	372	45.5	5
46	169	200	369	3	372	45.8	5
47	123	151	274	98	372	44.9	5
48	132	151	283	89	372	46.6	4
49	140	177	317	55	372	44.2	5
51	140	216	356	16	372	39.3	6
52	135	206	341	31	372	39.6	6
54	130	184	314	58	372	41.4	5
81	324	41	365	7	372	88.8	MAX
82	302	63	365	7	372	82.7	1
83	271	91	362	10	372	74.9	2
84	263	100	363	9	372	72.5	2
<b>85</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
					50.2	MEAN	
g:	6	5	4	3	2	1	
h:	(5)	(16)	(3)	(3)	(4)	(2)	
i:	37.0	41.4	45.8	50.2	63.1	75.9	88.8
	MIN			MEAN			MAX

equality values is 50.2, the lowest of all the points of inquiry so far. The distance between maximum and mean is 38.5 percentage units, whereas the distance between mean and minimum is 13.3 percentage units. Of the 33 localities that A'kkel is compared to, 9 have a relative equality value higher than the mean, while no less

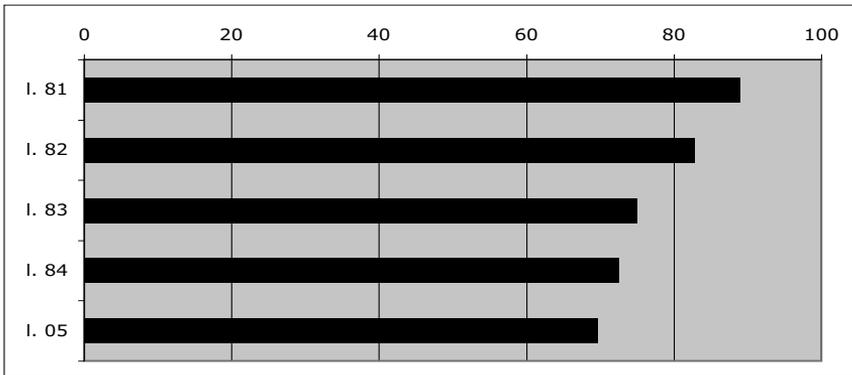


*Map 7.10.* The lexical relations between A'kkel (l. 85) and the other SaaALE I localities. The relative equality value varies between 88.8 (maximum) and 37.0 (minimum) with 50.2 as the mean. 1–6 = intervals of relative equality values; **1** = 88.8 – 75.9; **2** = 75.9 – 63.1; **3** = 63.1 – 50.2; **4** = 50.2 – 45.8; **5** = 45.8 – 41.4; **6** = 41.4 – 37.0.

than 24 have values lower than the mean. If the distances between the highest value and the mean and between the mean and the lowest value are each divided into equal thirds, each third between maximum and mean comprises 12.8 percentage units, and each third between mean and minimum 4.4 percentage units (cf. table 7.12 and map 7.10).

The SaaALE I localities with the highest lexical correspondences to A'kkel are the Skolt Saami locality of Njuõ'ttjäu'rr (l. 81), with a value of 88.8, the Kildin Saami localities of Luujaavv'r (l. 82) and Aarsjogk (l. 83), with values of 82.7 and 74.9 respectively, the Ter Saami locality of Jofkyj (l. 84), with a value of 72.5, and the Skolt Saami locality of Njeä'llem (l. 05), with a relative equality value of 69.6 (cf. fig. 7.9, table 7.12 and map 7.10).

Compared to other relative equality values, the one between A'kkel and Guovdageaidnu (l. 28) is about 10 percentage units lower (i.e. the lexical differences are larger) than that which holds between Guovdageaidnu and the southernmost SaaALE I locality in Sweden, Ruvhten sijte (l. 54).



*Fig. 7.9.* The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with A'kkel (l. 85): Njue'ttjäu'rr (l. 81), Luujaavv'r (l. 82), Aarsjogk (l. 83), Jofkyj (l. 84), and Njeä'llem (l. 05).

As to the question whether A'kkel should be classified as a Skolt Saami or a Kildin Saami variety or as a main dialect in its own right, the results of the lexical analysis show, on the one hand, that the SaaALE I locality with the highest relative equality value is the Skolt Saami locality of Njue'ttjäu'rr (l. 81) in Russia, a finding that supports the Skolt Saami hypothesis, but on the other hand, that not only the two Kildin Saami localities of Luujaavv'r (l. 82) and Aarsjogk (l. 83), but also the Ter Saami locality of Jofkyj (l. 84), have higher relative equality values than the two Skolt Saami localities in Finland (Njeä'llem and Če'vetjäu'rr). In other words, the lexical material does not help us to solve the question of classification. What it does show, however, is how much the Skolt Saami varieties of Russia and Finland lexically differed from one another when the SaaALE I material was collected (cf. Rydving 1986a: 201).

## 7.10. Luujaavv'r

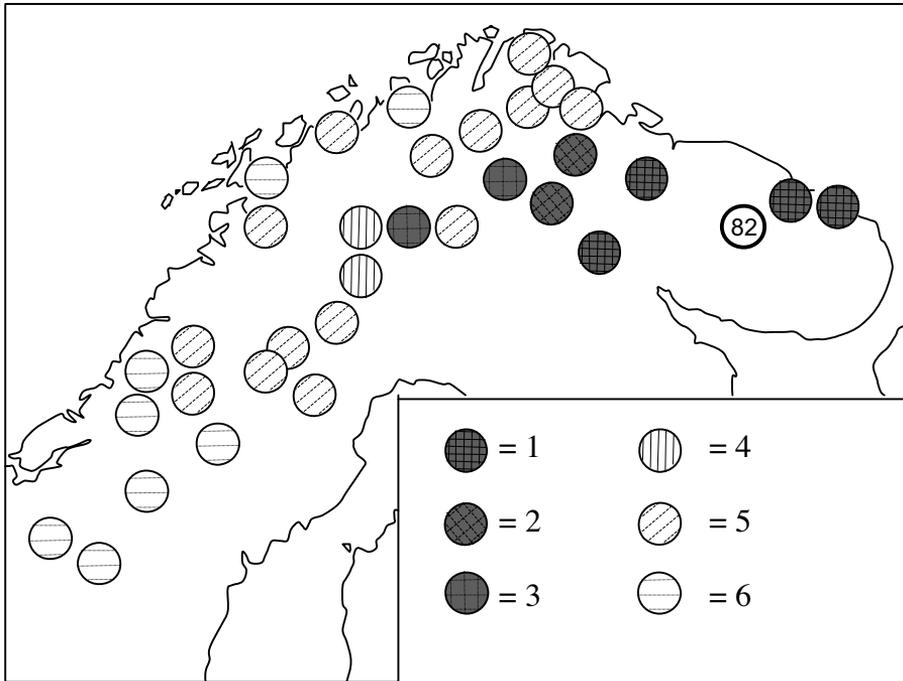
(Rus. Lovozero)

Sammallahti (1998b: 33 f.) divides Kildin Saami into four dialects, spoken at, respectively (1) Šonguy in the west, (2) Tyrr'byr' in the north, (2) Luujaavv'r inland, and (4) Aarsjogk in the east. In SaaALE I, two of these varieties were chosen for investigation: those of Luujaavv'r (l. 82) and Aarsjogk (l. 83). I have chosen Luujaavv'r as one of the nine points of inquiry since the variety spoken there forms the basis for the Kildin Saami literary language (dialectological classifications of Luujaavv'r Saami have been made by Fellman [DO 5], Endyukovskiy [DO 19], Kert [DO 20], M. Korhonen [DO 29], and Sammallahti [DO 42]).

*Table 7.13.* The lexical relations between Luujaavv'r (l. 82) and the other SaaALE I localities. Abbreviations: l = locality; a = the number of occurrences of 'the same lexeme' in both of the compared localities; b = the number of occurrences of 'different lexemes' in the two compared localities; c = the number of questions with answers from both localities (= a + b); d = the number of questions without answer from at least one of the two localities; e = check digit (= c + d); f = (a x 100)/c, i.e. the relative equality value; g = interval group; h = localities per interval group; i = interval limits; MIN = the lowest relative equality value; MEAN = the mean of all the relative equality values; MAX = the highest relative equality value.

l	a	b	c	d	e	f	g
01	166	214	380	7	387	43.7	5
02	239	138	377	10	387	63.4	2
03	163	207	370	17	387	44.1	5
04	181	183	364	23	387	49.7	3
05	215	112	327	60	387	65.7	2
23	163	207	370	17	387	44.1	5
24	167	219	386	1	387	43.3	5
25	166	210	376	11	387	44.1	5
26	158	221	379	8	387	41.7	5
27	139	222	361	26	387	38.5	6
28	161	215	376	11	387	42.8	5
29	163	211	374	13	387	43.6	5
30	135	229	364	23	387	37.1	6
32	144	210	354	33	387	40.7	5
33	131	215	346	41	387	37.9	6
34	126	218	344	43	387	36.6	MIN
35	121	182	303	84	387	39.9	6
41	145	159	304	83	387	47.7	4
42	146	153	299	88	387	48.8	3
43	138	159	297	90	387	46.5	4
44	130	157	287	100	387	45.3	4
45	155	215	370	17	387	42.0	5
46	158	213	371	16	387	42.6	5
47	119	155	274	113	387	43.4	5
48	127	171	298	89	387	42.6	5
49	143	191	334	53	387	42.8	5
51	132	228	360	27	387	36.7	6
52	132	215	347	40	387	38.0	6
54	121	197	318	69	387	38.1	6
81	306	65	371	16	387	82.5	1
<b>82</b>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
83	322	53	375	12	387	85.9	MAX
84	288	86	374	13	387	77.0	1
85	301	63	364	23	387	82.7	1
					48.5	MEAN	
g:	6	5	4	3	2	1	
h:	(8)	(14)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(4)	
i:	36.6	40.6	44.5	48.5	60.9	73.4	85.9
	MIN			MEAN			MAX

Of the 400 questions in SaaALE I, no less than 387 were answered at Luujaavv'r. The maximum relative equality value among all the other 33 SaaALE I localities is 85.9 (for Aarsjogk) and the minimum is 36.6 (for Raavrevijhke). The mean of all the relative equality values is 48.5, the lowest of all the points of



Map 7.11. The lexical relations between Luujaavv'r (l. 82) and the other SaaALE I localities. The relative equality value varies between 85,9 (maximum) and 36,6 (minimum) with 48,5 as the mean. 1–6 = intervals of relative equality values; 1 = 85,9 – 73,4; 2 = 73,4 – 60,9; 3 = 60,9 – 48,5; 4 = 48,5 – 44,5; 5 = 44,5 – 40,6; 6 = 40,6 – 36,6.

inquiry. The distance between maximum and mean is 37.4 percentage units, while that between mean and minimum is much lower at 11.9 percentage units. Of the 33 localities that Luujaavv'r is compared to, only 8 have a relative equality value higher than the mean, while no less than 25 have a value lower than the mean. If the distances between the highest value and the mean and between the mean and the lowest value are each divided into equal thirds, each third between maximum and mean comprises 12.5 percentage units, and each third between mean and minimum 4.0 percentage units (cf. table 7.13 and map 7.11).

As one might expect, the SaaALE I localities with the largest lexical correspondences to Luujaavv'r are the other four localities in Russia, whereby it is the other Kildin Saami locality, Aarsjogk (l. 83), that has the highest value of 85,9, which is followed by the Akkala Saami locality of A'kkel (l. 85), with a value of 82,7, the Skolt Saami locality of Njue'ttjäu'rr (l. 81), with a value of 82,5, and the Ter Saami locality of Jofkyj (l. 84), with a relative equality value of 77,0. Next comes the Skolt Saami locality of Njeä'llem (l. 05) in Finland with a relative equality value of 65,7 (cf. fig. 7.10). The ALE locality where the answers differed

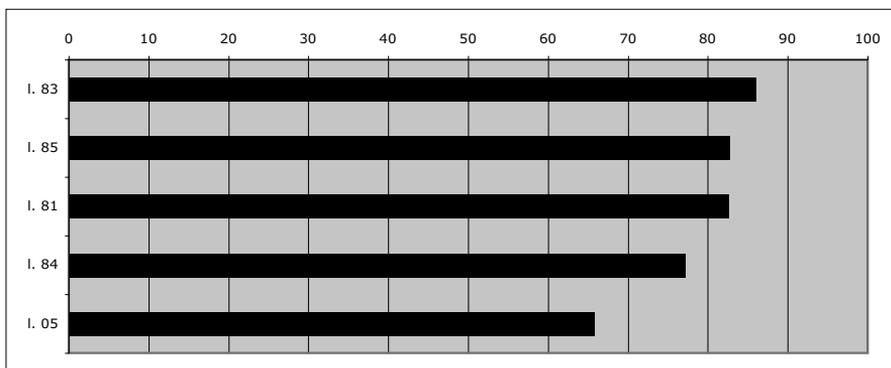


Fig. 7.10. The relative equality values of the five SaaALE I localities most in agreement with Luujaavv'r (l. 82): Aarsjogk (l. 83), A'kkel (l. 85), Njue'ttjäu'rr (l. 81), Jofkyj (l. 84), and Njeä'llem (l. 05).

most from those of Luujaavv'r was the northern South Saami locality of Raavrevijhke (l. 34), where only 36.6% of the questions were answered with the same lexeme (cf. table 7.13 and map 7.11). The fact that the lowest relative equality value occurred here rather than at a locality where the southernmost South Saami variety is spoken can be attributed not only to the comparative distinctiveness of Raavrevijhke Saami as a local dialect, but probably also to the lexemes that correspond at the extremes of the Saami speech area, in the southernmost and the easternmost varieties, but not in the area in between.<sup>28</sup>

If one compares the relative equality values between Luujaavv'r and the other four localities in Russia with the values that hold between other SaaALE I localities, one sees for instance that the lexical distance between the varieties spoken at Luujaavv'r and Aarsjogk (l. 83) is similar to the distance between the varieties spoken at the two southern South Saami localities of Gåebrie (l. 35) and Ruvhten sijte (l. 54), or to the distance between the varieties at the two North Saami localities of Guovdageaidnu (l. 28) and Eanodat (l. 03). Further, the lexical distance between Luujaavv'r and the Ter Saami of Jofkyi (l. 84) is similar to the distance between the southern South Saami of Gåebrie (l. 35) and the northern South Saami of Raavrevijhke (l. 34), to the distance between the variety spoken at Girjes / Girjjis (l. 43) and the north Saami of Eanodat (l. 03), or to the distance between the Inari Saami of Aanaar (l. 04) and the North Saami of Ohcejohka (l. 01).

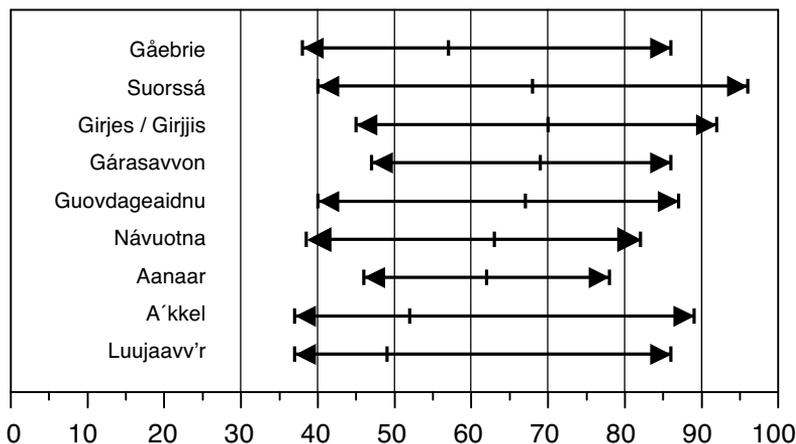
<sup>28</sup> For example, q. 223, 'warm', has been answered with one lexeme from most of the South Saami localities (SaaS. *bahkes*), with another one from the localities from Ume Saami to Skolt Saami (SaaN. *liekkas*, etc.), and then again with the same etymon from the Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami localities as from South Saami (SaaKId. *poakas*, etc.).

### 7.11. Comparing the nine points of inquiry

One way to establish the dialect relations between the nine points of inquiry is to compare the differences between the relative equality values and the mean values for each point (cf. fig. 7.12). However, when evaluating these figures it is vital to remember, firstly, that the network of SaaALE I localities does not include all the places in Sápmi where Saami is spoken, but consists instead of only a small selection, and secondly, that in some areas (such as those of Ume Saami and parts of the region where North Saami is spoken) the density of SaaALE I localities is greater than in other areas.

1. Localities adjacent to the point of inquiry have a lexicon very similar to that of the point of inquiry when the relative equality values are high (the arrows pointing to the right in figure 7.11). However, the high numbers for Suorssá and Girjes / Girjjis and the low numbers for Návuotna and Aanaar could also be due to the way the SaaALE I localities were chosen. At least, this might seem a tempting explanation for the high numbers for Suorssá relative to those for the other Ume Saami localities.

But neither the high numbers for Girjes / Girjjis, nor the low numbers for Návuotna and Aanaar can be explained in this way, since the geographical distance between Girjes / Girjjis and the nearest SaaALE I localities is by no means the smallest between adjacent localities, and the distances between Návuotna and Aanaar and their closest localities are by no means the largest. One possible



*Fig. 7.11.* A comparison of the span of the relative equality values of the nine points of inquiry. The arrow to the left indicates the lowest, the short cross-stroke the mean, and the arrow to the right the highest relative equality value of each point (cf. tables 7.3, 7.4, 7.5, 7.6, 7.7, 7.8, 7.11, 7.12 and 7.13 above).

*Table 7.14.* Differences between minimum (MIN) and mean (MEAN), mean (MEAN) and maximum (MAX), and minimum (MIN) and maximum (MAX) of the relative equality values in relation to the nine points of inquiry. The numbers in italics indicate the percentage of the total distance between minimum (MIN) and maximum (MAX).

	MIN/MEAN	MEAN/MAX	MIN/MAX
Gåebrie	19.2 <i>40</i>	29.1 <i>60</i>	48.3 <i>100</i>
Suorssá	27.4 <i>50</i>	27.6 <i>50</i>	55 <i>100</i>
Girjes / Girjjis	25.1 <i>53</i>	22.3 <i>47</i>	47.4 <i>100</i>
Gárasavvon	23.5 <i>58</i>	16.9 <i>42</i>	40.4 <i>100</i>
Guovdageaidnu	26.2 <i>56</i>	20.2 <i>44</i>	46.4 <i>100</i>
Návuotna	24.6 <i>57</i>	18.3 <i>43</i>	42.9 <i>100</i>
Aanaar	15.5 <i>49</i>	16.2 <i>51</i>	31.7 <i>100</i>
A'kkel	13.3 <i>26</i>	38.5 <i>74</i>	51.8 <i>100</i>
Luujaavv'r	11.9 <i>24</i>	37.4 <i>76</i>	49.3 <i>100</i>

conclusion is that Ume Saami (which, when Suorssá is starting-point, have relative equality values of between 95.5 and 91.9) is much more homogeneous than North Saami (which, when Guovdageaidnu is taken as point of inquiry, has relative equality values of between 86.7 and 71.5) or than South Saami (which, with Gåebrie as point of inquiry, has relative equality values of between 86.1 and 71.3). On the other hand, the area where Ume Saami is spoken is much smaller than the areas where North or South Saami are spoken.

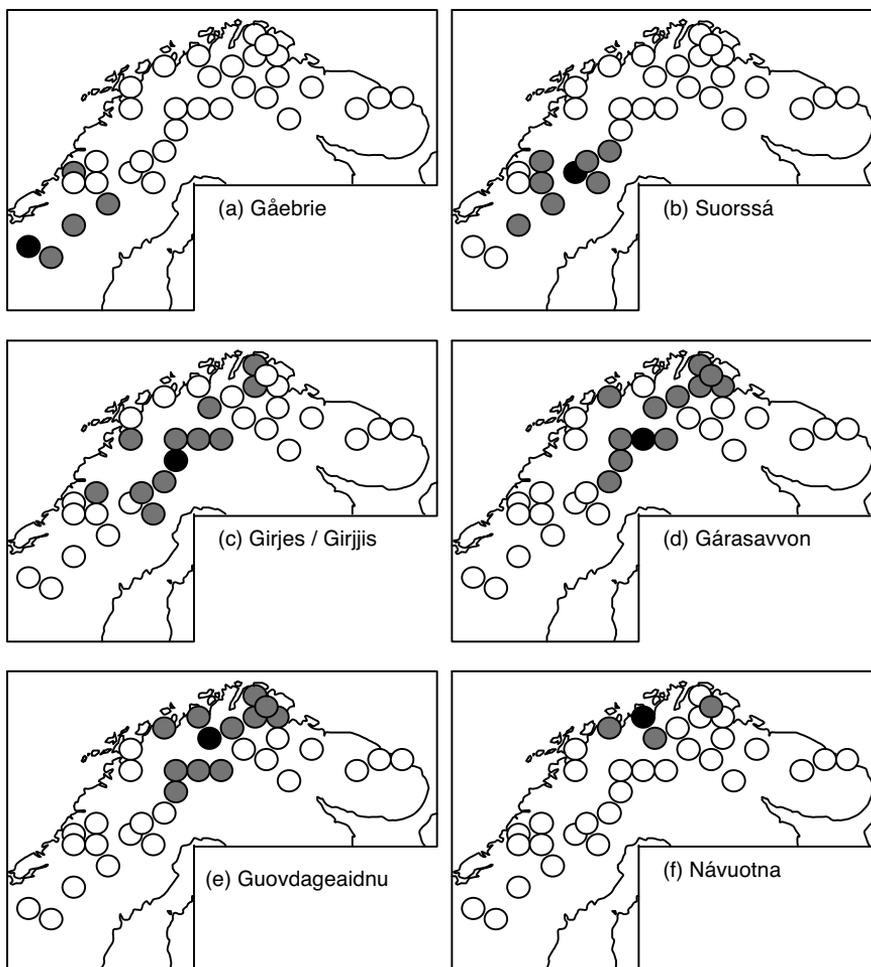
2. More interesting are the differences conveyed by the left-pointing arrows in figure 7.11, i.e. the differences between the lowest relative equality values. These are of course attributable to the points of inquiry at the extremes of the Saami speech area—Gåebrie in the south and A'kkel and Luujaavv'r in the east—the endpoints of the longest geographical line one can draw across the speech area. Interestingly, Guovdageaidnu and Návuotna in the centre of the region also have comparatively low lowest relative equality values. Aanaar, Gárasavvon, and Girjes / Girjjis, on the other hand, have comparatively high lowest relative equality values (46.3, 45.7, and 44.5, respectively). This means that, of the nine points of inquiry,

these three have the largest share of lexicon in common with the localities that lie at the opposite lexical extremes of the speech area.

3. Turning, finally, to the mean values: the distances between mean values and those at the extremes (cf. fig. 7.11 and table 7.14) indicate whether the largest lexical differences are between the point of inquiry and adjacent SaaALE I localities or between geographically more distant localities. The closer the mean is to the minimum, the larger are the lexical differences to localities close to the point of inquiry, as we see in the cases of Luujaavv'r and A'kkel, where the differences between minimum and mean are only 24% and 26% respectively of the distance between minimum and maximum relative equality values. For all the other points of inquiry, the difference between minimum and mean relative equality values varies between 40% (for Gåebrie) and 58% (for Gárasavvon) of the difference between minimum and maximum, i.e.  $50 \pm 10\%$ . Suorssá and Aanaar are the two points of inquiry where the differences in relative equality values between minimum and mean on the one hand, and mean and maximum on the other, are most evenly distributed (50/50% and 49/51%, respectively).

Another type of comparison can be illustrated using three sets of maps. On each set, the localities with a certain minimum relative equality value (78, 66 and 54, respectively) in relation to the nine points of inquiry have been marked. A comparison between these sets of maps indicates where in the Saami speech area there is greater or lesser lexical homogeneity. To ensure that the three relative equality values on which the three sets are based are not chosen at random, I have chosen three of the relative equality values in relation to Aanaar and marked the localities that have these or higher relative equality values in relation to each of the nine points of inquiry. The numbers chosen are 78 (the relative equality value of Ohcejohka in relation to Aanaar, the highest value for Aanaar in relation to any of the other localities), 66 (the relative equality value of Če'vetjäu'rr in relation to Aanaar, the lowest value for Aanaar in relation to any of the Skolt Saami localities in Finland), and 54 (the relative equality value of Njue'ttjäu'rr in relation to Aanaar, the lowest value for Aanaar in relation to any of the Skolt Saami localities).

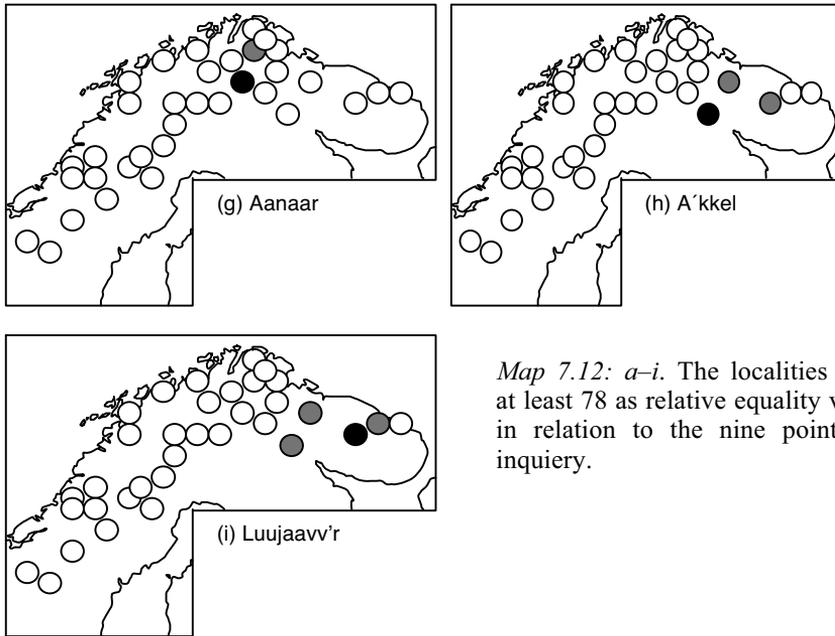
The first set of maps shows that when one uses the relative equality value of Ohcejohka in relation to Aanaar as point of comparison, i.e. when at least 78% of the SaaALE I lexemes are etymologically the same in the localities one compares with the points of inquiry, then:



– the other South Saami localities, except for Raavrevijhke (l. 34), and Southern Dearná / Deärrná (l. 47), are lexically as close or closer to Gåebrie (cf. map 7.12: a);

– the other Ume Saami localities, the northernmost South Saami localities in Sweden as well as Árjepluovve (l. 45) and Jáhkámáhkke (l. 46) to the north are lexically as close or closer to Suorssá (cf. map 7.12: b);

– the Lule and Arjeplog Saami localities as well as two of the Ume Saami localities, Northern Dearná / Deärrná (l. 44) and Árviesjávrrie (l. 49), to the south, and the Torne Saami localities in Sweden as well as four of the Finnmark Saami localities, among them Ohcejohka (l. 01) and Deatnu (l. 24) to the north, are lexically as close or closer to Girjes / Girjjis (cf. map 7.12: c);

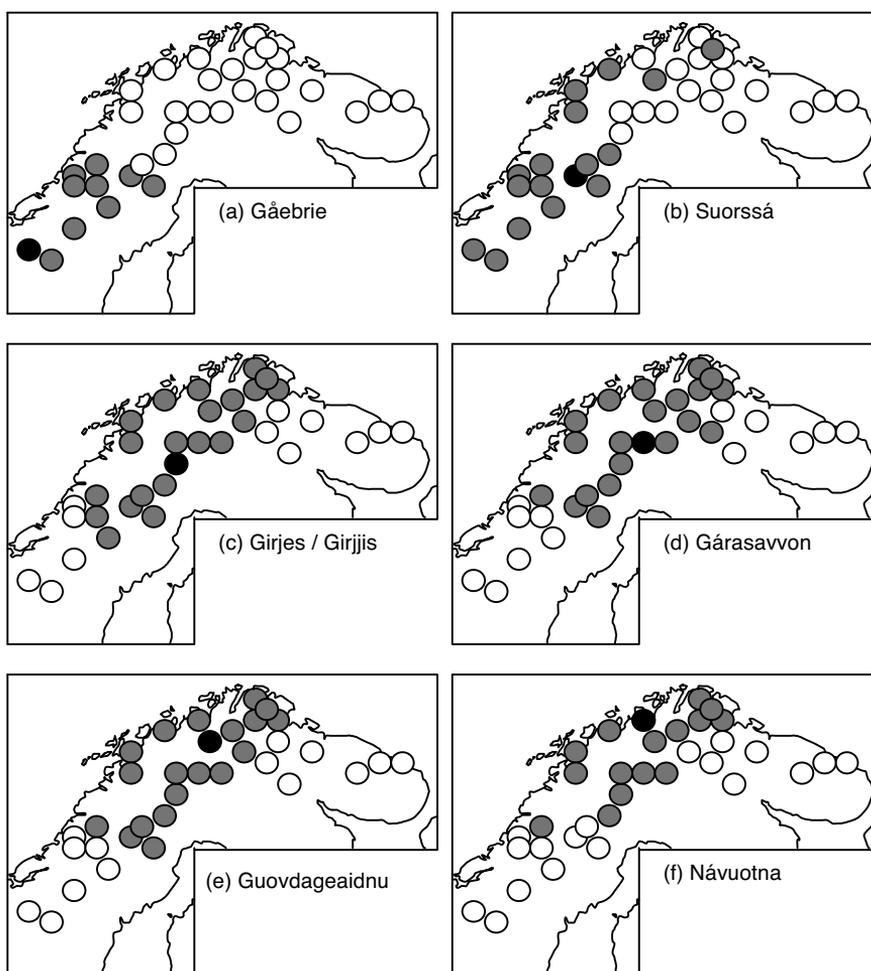


Map 7.12: a–i. The localities with at least 78 as relative equality value in relation to the nine points of inquiry.

- all the North Saami localities, except Návuoatna (l. 27) and Skánit (l. 30), as well as Girjes / Girjjis (l. 43) and Jåhkâmåhkke (l. 46) are lexically as close or closer to Gárasavvon (cf. map 7.12: d);
- all the other North Saami localities except Skánit (l. 30) are lexically as close or closer to Guovdageaidnu (cf. map 7.12: e);
- the Coast Saami locality of Olmmáivággi (l. 26) as well as the two Finnmark Saami localities of Guovdageaidnu (l. 28) and Buolbmát (l. 23) are lexically as close or closer to Návuoatna (cf. map 7.12: f);
- the Skolt Saami locality of Njue'ttjäu'rr (l. 81) and the Kildin Saami one of Luujaavv'r (l. 82) are lexically as close or closer to A'kkel (cf. map 7.12: h); and,
- the other Kildin Saami locality, Aarsjogk (l. 83), as well as Njue'ttjäu'rr (l. 81) and A'kkel (l. 85) are lexically as close or closer to Luujaavv'r (cf. map 7.12: i);
- as Ohcejohka (l. 01) is to Aanaar (l. 04) (cf. map 7.12: g).

In the second set of maps, the relative equality value of the Skolt Saami locality in Finland, which lexically differs the most from Aanaar, Če'vetjäu'rr (l. 02), is used as the point of comparison. When at least 66% of the SaaALE I lexemes are etymologically the same in the localities one compares with the points of inquiry, then:

- the South and Ume Saami localities are lexically as close or closer to Gåebrie (cf. map 7.13: a);

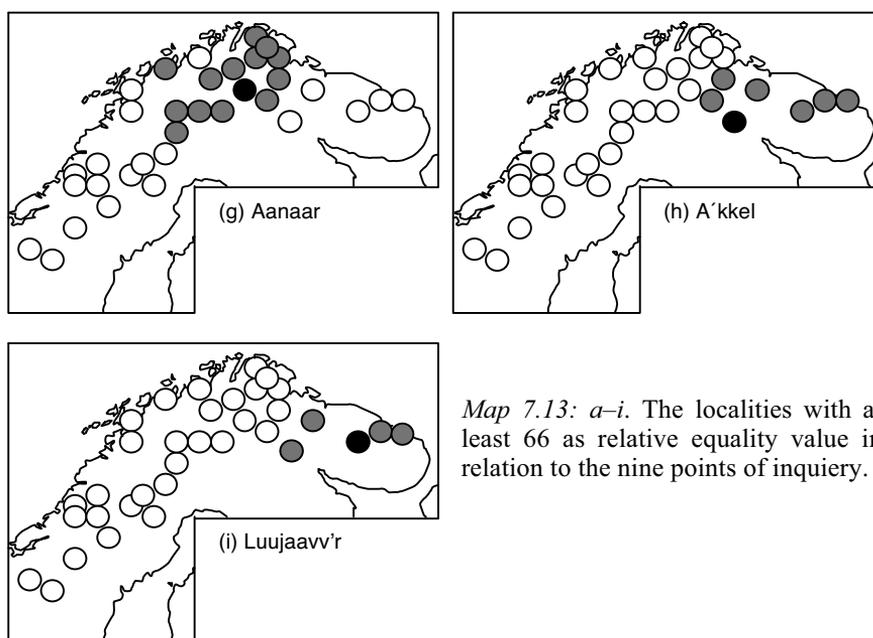


– the South, Ume, Arjeplog and Lule Saami localities, except the disputed Girjes / Girjjis (l. 43), as well as four of the North Saami localities, Skánit (l. 30), Olmmáivággi (l. 26), Guovdageaidnu (l. 28) and Buolbmát (l. 23) are lexically as close or closer to Suorssá (cf. map 7.13: b);

– northern South Saami in Sweden, as well as the Ume, Arjeplog, Lule, North and Inari Saami localities are lexically as close or closer to Girjes / Girjjis (cf. map 7.13: c);

– the Ume, Arjeplog, Lule, North and Inari Saami localities as well as the Skolt Saami one of Njeä'llem (l. 05) are lexically as close or closer to Gárasavvon (cf. map 7.13: d);

– the Ume, Arjeplog, Lule, North and Inari Saami localities are lexically as close or closer to Guovdageaidnu (cf. map 7.13: e);

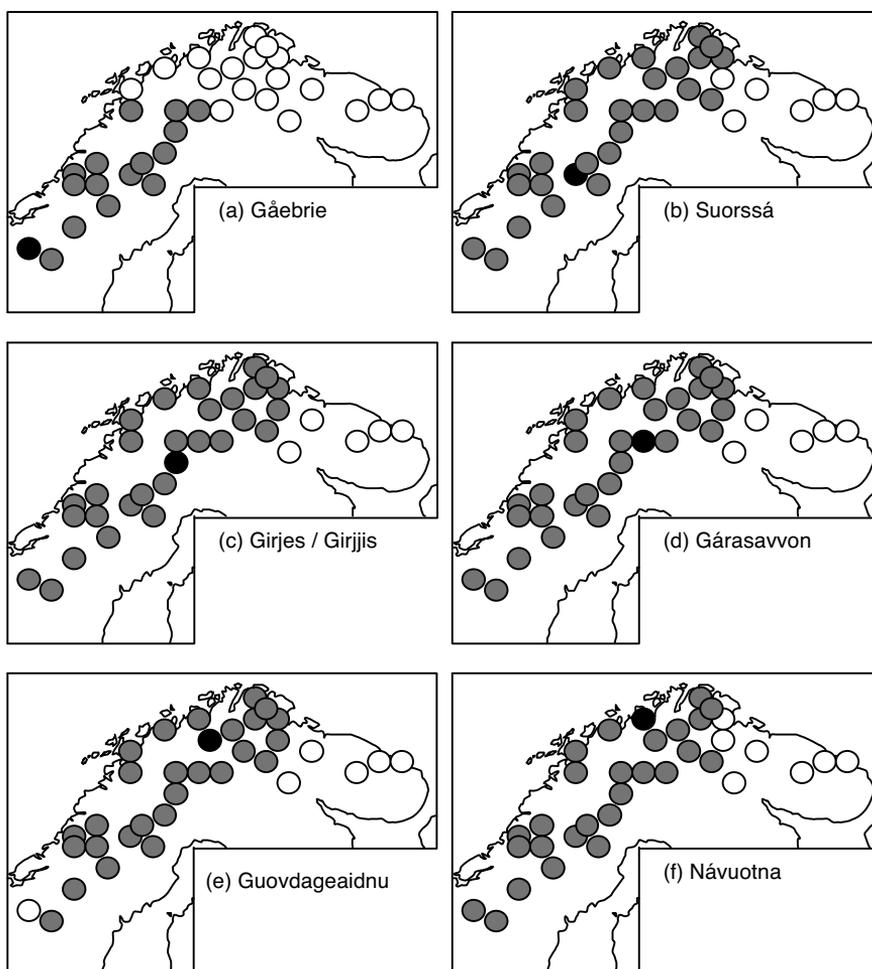


Map 7.13: a–i. The localities with at least 66 as relative equality value in relation to the nine points of inquiry.

- the Ume Saami locality of Northern Dearná / Deärnná (l. 44), as well as the Lule and North Saami localities are lexically as close or closer to Návuotna (cf. map 7.13: f);
- the Skolt, Kildin and Ter Saami localities are lexically as close or closer to A'kkel (cf. map 7.13: h); and,
- the Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami localities, as well as the Skolt Saami locality in Russia, Njue'ttjäu'rr (l. 81), are lexically as close or closer to Luujaavv'r (cf. map 7.13: i);
- as Čé'vetjäu'rr is to Aanaar. In addition, Njeä'llem (l. 05), the North Saami localities except for Návuotna (l. 27), and the locality of Girjes / Girjjis (l. 43) are also lexically as close or closer to Aanaar (cf. map. 7.13: g).

Finally, in the third set of maps, the relative equality value of the Skolt Saami locality in Russia, Njue'ttjäu'rr (l. 81), in relation to Aanaar, is used as point of comparison. When at least 54% of the SaaALE I lexemes are etymologically the same in the localities one compares with the points of inquiry, then:

- the South, Ume, Arjeplog, Lule and southern (Torne or Troms) North Saami localities, except Skánit (l. 30), are lexically as close or closer to Gåebrie (cf. map 7.14: a);

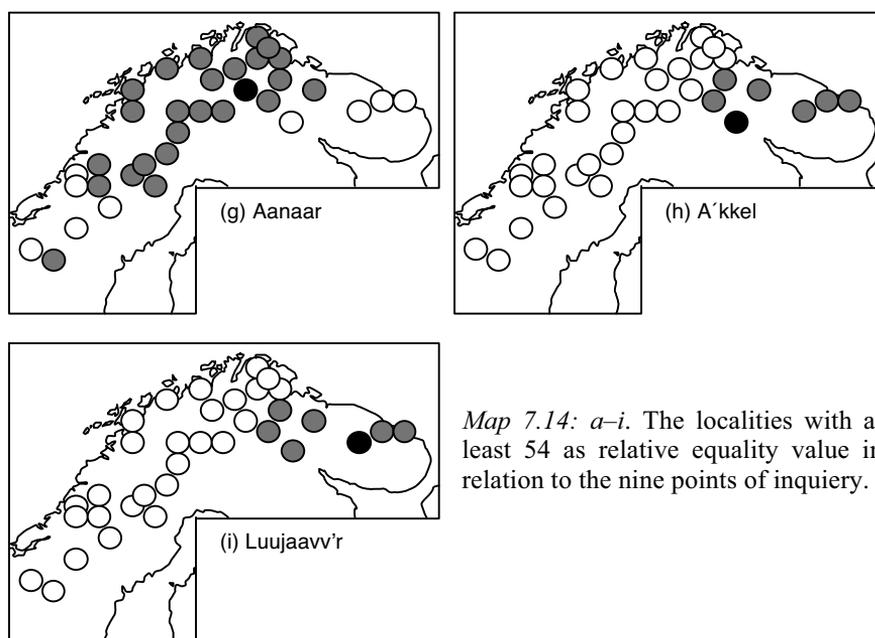


– the South, Ume, Arjeplog, Lule, North, and Inari Saami localities, in addition to the Skolt Saami locality of Njeá’llem (l. 05), are lexically as close or closer to Suorssá (cf. map 7:14 b);

– the South, Ume, Arjeplog, Lule, North, and Inari Saami localities, as well as the Skolt Saami localities in Finland, are lexically as close or closer to Girjes / Girjjis (cf. map 7.14: c);

– the same group of localities, the South, Ume, Arjeplog, Lule, North, and Inari Saami localities, as well as the Skolt Saami localities in Finland, are lexically also as close or closer to Gárasavvon (cf. map 7.14: d);

–the South, Ume, Arjeplog, Lule, North, and Inari Saami localities, as well as the Skolt Saami localities in Finland, but except for the southernmost South Saami



Map 7.14: a–i. The localities with at least 54 as relative equality value in relation to the nine points of inquiry.

locality in Norway, Gåebrie (l. 35), are lexically as close or closer to Guovdageaidnu (cf. map 7.14: e);

– the South, Ume, Arjeplog, Lule, North, and Inari Saami localities, as well as the Skolt Saami locality of Njeä'llem (l. 05), are lexically as close or closer to Návuotna (cf. map 7.14: f);

– the Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami localities are lexically as close or closer to A'kkel (cf. map 7.14: h); and,

– the same group of localities, the Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami localities, are lexically as close or closer to Luujaavv'r (cf. map 7.14: i);

– as Njue'ttjäu'rr is to Aanaar. In addition, the Ume, Arjeplog, Lule, North and Skolt Saami localities, in addition to the South Saami locality of Ruvhten sijte (l. 54), are lexically as close or closer to Aanaar (cf. map 7.14: g).

Comparing the three sets of maps, we find that the Saami speech area consists of two relatively homogeneous parts, one in the west (from South Saami to North Saami) and one in the east (from Akkala Saami to Ter Saami), and a transition area in between (Inari Saami and Skolt Saami) with much greater lexical differences. If one takes, for example, the three North Saami points of inquiry (Gárasavvon, Guovdageaidnu and Návuotna) as points of comparison and compares the areas covered on the three sets of maps, the areas extend much further southwards from one set to the next, but only one or two localities eastwards (cf. maps 7.12–14: d–

f). In a similar way, we see only small changes in the extension westwards between the three sets of maps, if one takes the two points of inquiry on the Kola Peninsula (A'kkel and Luujaavv'r) as points of comparison (cf. maps 7.12–14: h–i). The same tendency is apparent if one compares the three maps for Aanaar. From map to map, the area covered increases considerably towards the west, but only marginally eastwards (cf. maps 7.12–14: g). This visualises the conclusion that Inari Saami is lexically more connected to the western than to the eastern dialect group, and that the varieties of the two Skolt Saami localities in Finland (Njeä'llem and Če'vet-jäu'rr) form a transition area.

## 7.12. Concluding remarks

The Saami lexical landscape looks different depending on which locality within the speech area one takes as point of comparison. Starting at the extremes, in the south or in the east, one perceives only small lexical differences near the point of comparison and a gradual increase in diversity as one moves further away from it. Starting at the centre—not the geographical but the lexical centre, the point where lexical distance to the southern extreme is about as great as it is to the eastern extreme—implies large jumps in lexical difference close to the point of comparison and then a very slow decrease in common lexicon as soon as the area with the greatest variation has been passed. Comparably homogeneous areas in the west and in the east, with small lexical changes from locality to locality, surround this central area with extensive lexical variation. Though there are a few local exceptions, like Raavrevijhke (l. 34) and Návuoтна (l. 27), that detach themselves lexically from the surroundings, lexicon in general changes only a little from one locality to the next in the west and in the east. From the South Saami to the North Saami area in the west and from the Akkala Saami to the Ter Saami area in the east, this seems to be the main trend of lexical relations. In the central area, on the other hand, the area where the Inari and Skolt Saami main dialects are spoken, difference in lexicon is quite large between adjacent SaaALE I localities.

The examples in this chapter do more than simply illustrate the well-known fact that Saami is fairly homogeneous in some areas, and characterised by extensive variation in others. With a basis in nine points of inquiry, a set of tables and maps has been produced which show more specifically where in the Saami language area lexical relations (as exemplified by the SaaALE I material) are dense and where they are sparse, and how various parts of the area are related to one another.

## 8. Conclusions

Mapping the Saami lexical landscape from nine points of inquiry has given interesting results of relevance to some of the most discussed questions in the field of Saami linguistic geography. In addition, the investigation has provided material that will bring a new level of detail to the debate, helping us to get away from the simple dichotomies of either-or.

In Chapter 3, I posed the following six questions in response to the history of research summarised in Chapter 2:

- (1) Should Ume Saami lexically be classified as South Saami ('in the wider sense') or Central Saami ('in the wider sense')?
- (2) Should Northern Gällivare (Basstitjërro + Girjes / Bastečearru + Girjjis) lexically be classified as Lule or North Saami?
- (3) Should the North Saami dialect of Gárasavvon lexically be classified as Torne Saami (southern North Saami) or Finnmark Saami (northern North Saami)?
- (4) Should the Coast Saami varieties of North Saami lexically be classified as an independent dialect or as a sub-dialect of Finnmark Saami?
- (5) Should Inari Saami lexically be classified as eastern or western?
- (6) Should Akkala Saami lexically be classified as a Skolt Saami dialect, as a main dialect of its own, or as a Kildin Saami dialect?

With the benefit of the dialectometrical analyses of the SaaALE I material in the foregoing chapter, these six main problems of Saami linguistic geography can now be answered as follows:

1. Suorssá Saami (l. 48) (representing Ume Saami) is lexically closer to Arjeplog and Lule Saami to the north than to South Saami to the south. This is especially interesting in relation to the present discussion about Ume Saami orthography, since Suorssá Saami is closer to the Lule Saami variety of Jáhkámáhkke (l. 46), which the Lule Saami literary language is based on, than to the central South Saami varieties, which form the basis for the South Saami literary language. For example, the Suorssá variety is lexically slightly closer to that of Jáhkámáhkke than those of the two North Saami localities of Gárasavvon (l. 42) and Guovdageaidnu (l. 28) are to one another, but only about as close to the central

South Saami of Jovnevaerie (l. 52) as the North Saami of Ohcejohka (l. 01) is to the Inari Saami of Aanaar (l. 04).

2. As to the position of Girjes / Girjjis (l. 43) in relation to the main dialects of Lule and North Saami, lexically speaking, Girjes / Girjjis Saami turns out to be, on the one hand, about midway between the central Lule Saami of Jáhkámáhkke (l. 46) and the southern North Saami of Čohkkiras (l. 41), but on the other, closer to Árjepluovve Saami (l. 45) than to the North Saami Finnmark dialects represented by Guovdageaidnu Saami (l. 28). Thus if we take lexicon as the main criterion for deciding between Lule and North Saami, Girjes / Girjjis Saami would have to be classified as a Lule Saami sub-dialect.

3. The third question was whether lexically Gárasavvon Saami (l. 42) should be classified as southern or northern North Saami. The conclusion is that, since it is lexically closer to Čohkkiras Saami (l. 42) than to Finnmark Saami, it should be classified as one of the Torne Saami (southern North Saami) varieties. This agrees with the well-known fact that Finnish loanwords are much more common in Čohkkiras and Gárasavvon Saami than in Guovdageaidnu Saami (l. 28).

4. The SaaALE I material does not help us very much in answering the question about the dialectical position of the Coast Saami varieties, except, of course, that the comparison made on the basis of this material shows that lexically the Návuotna variety (l. 27) is only slightly closer to the Coast Saami of Olmmáivággi (l. 26) than it is to the western Finnmark Saami of Guovdageaidnu (l. 28), and is as close to the Coast Saami of Unjárga (l. 25) as it is to the eastern Finnmark Saami of Deatnu (l. 24). On the other hand, Návuotna is a locality that shares a comparatively low percentage of vocabulary even with the lexically closest SaaALE I localities. Only Aanaar (l. 04) has a lower highest relative equality value. This indicates the lexical independence of the variety of Návuotna.

5. The most interesting result of this investigation is, most probably, the conclusions one can draw about Inari Saami. This main dialect (represented by one locality, Aanaar; l. 04) is shown to hold a middle position between Eastern Saami and Western Saami. If one wanted to classify Aanaar as either Eastern or Western, the SaaALE I material indicates that lexically it would be more appropriate to classify it either as the easternmost of the Western Saami varieties or, possibly, as an independent dialect group between east and west, rather than as the westernmost of the Eastern Saami varieties, which is how it is usually classified (albeit on the basis of other criteria).

6. The dialectal position of the Akkala Saami main dialect is more difficult to establish on the basis of the SaaALE I material. Lexically, A'kkel (l. 85) has on the one hand been found to be closer to the Skolt Saami of the Njue'ttjäu'rr locality (l.

81) than the Guovdageidnu variety (l. 28) is to any of the other North Saami localities, and closer to the Kildin Saami of Luujaavv'r (l. 82) than Guovdageidnu is to the southern North Saami of Gárasavvon (l. 42). On the other hand, A'kkel is lexically only as close to the Skolt Saami localities in Finland as Guovdageidnu is to the Ume Saami localities far south. One could conclude that Akkala Saami is slightly closer to Skolt Saami in Russia than to Kildin Saami, but, above all, these numbers show how much the Skolt Saami varieties in Russia and Finland differ from one another lexically. This is only one example of the more and more important role the national boundaries play in creating linguistic differences.



# Epilogue

The results presented above are very preliminary and represent only a first step towards a more comprehensive analysis of lexical variation in Saami. Needless to say, the results are only valid for the SaaALE I material and the few aspects that have been discussed. When working on the basis of this limited material alone, one should be careful not to draw general conclusions. Rather, I hope that this investigation might inspire others to take up other themes or to try out other perspectives within the fascinating landscape of Saami linguistic geography. Some of the most urgent themes that need investigation are, in my opinion, the following three:

1. Our knowledge of many of the individual varieties is still fragmentary. This is especially true of Torne Saami, Coast Saami, and Ter Saami. When it comes to Torne Saami, for example, there is, as Hansegård (1988: 198) pointed out long ago, ‘not one single book and not one single word list of a size worth mentioning’. Dictionary projects could be initiated for Ume Saami, Arjeplog Saami and Torne Saami, to mention only three of the most urgent examples.

2. One major problem with the Saami dialect maps is that—with the exception of the rastration of the North, Inari and Skolt Saami areas in Northern Finland on M. Korhonen’s and Sammallahti’s maps—they do not take the results of migrations into account. However, more than one Saami variety are spoken in many other areas as well, not just in parts of northern Finland. One of the most obvious reasons for this mixing of varieties is the so-called ‘North Saami dislocation’, a series of more or less forced waves of migration of North Saami speakers southwards caused by three separate political decisions: in 1852 the border between Norway and Finland was closed to Saami nomads with their reindeer herds; in 1889 the border between Sweden and Finland was closed in the same way; and in 1919 a reindeer grazing convention was agreed between Norway and Sweden. Many Saami from Guovdageaidnu in Norway moved to northern Sweden as a result of the 1852 decision, while after 1919 many Saami from northernmost Sweden (some of them were among the immigrants from Norway) were forced to move further south, some as far as to the South Saami area (cf. Åhrén 1979; Marainen 1984; Hansegård 1988; Aarseth 1989; Marainen 1996). A situation that has brought two mutually incomprehensible Saami varieties into contact in the

South Saami area has weakened both South and North Saami there, since people from the two groups are forced to resort to Norwegian or Swedish as a language of communication when they work together, for instance, during the marking of reindeer calves, or when rounding up and sorting out reindeer herds. The role of Saami as a working language has thus been impaired. However, the North Saami dislocation has been especially dramatic for South Saami, since there are so few South Saami speakers. Those who speak North Saami in the South Saami area have a proportionately good supply of radio and TV programmes, newspapers, books and other types of material in their own language, something the South Saami speakers do not have to the same extent. A study of the complex linguistic situation in the south would be of great interest (cf. Skum 2013 about the situation of Ume Saami and North Saami in the Gávtsjávrrie / Ammarnäs area).

3. For my own part, I would find a sociolinguistic investigation of some of the SaaALE I localities very intriguing. What has happened with the local varieties since the material used in this study was collected during the 1970s? Among other things, the material was collected before the modern Saami literary languages became established, which, through school education and literature, have contributed to a homogenisation of the language in the different regions. It would be a task for such a project to test the hypotheses that the different South Saami dialects have become more similar to the central dialect, the Lule Saami dialects more similar to that of northern Jåhkåmåhkke, the North Saami dialects more similar to those of Inner Finnmark, etc., because these varieties form the bases of the South, Lule and North Saami literary languages respectively.

It is my hope that this study will create interest in a fascinating area of linguistic research, and will at the same time initiate an intensified discussion about Saami linguistic geography, its methods, criteria, material and theoretical perspectives. I also venture to hope that it will, within the scope of that discussion, contribute to the evaluation of different criteria, be they—alluding to Sammallahiti's summary from 1985—language historical, political or communicative.

# Sánit ja suopmanat

(Čoahkkáigeassu davvisámegillii / North Saami summary)

Eatnigiellahállit dábálaččat fihttejit ahte erohusat sátnerajus leat deatalaččabut go erohusat jietnadeamis dahje sániid sojahusas suopmandovddaldahkan. Goasii buot dutkamušat giellamolsašuddama birra almmatge vuodđudit jurddabohtosiid eará giellasurggiide, nu go fonologiijai, morfologiijai, dahje syntáksii. Dat guoskánai dutkamii sámeгиela birra, muhto dán dutkamuša vuolggačuokkis lea fasttain sátneradju.

Vuosttaš kapihttalis lea oanehis dieđáhus sámeгиela birra, erenoamážit lohkkiiide ovdadieđuid haga. Nubbi kapihtal lea guhkit ja sisdoallá oppalašgeahčastaga dutkanhistorjja birra, ovdamearkkaiguin mo gielladutkit leat juogadan sámeгиela stuorát ja uhcit osiide (suopmanat, vuollesuopmanat, báikkálaš suopmanat, jnv.) 1670-logus otnáža rádjai. Dat čájeha ja veardádallá buohkanassii 42 árvalusa sámeгиela juogadeapmái, ja maiddái sisdoallá dieđáhusa deataleamos sátnegirjjiid ja -listtuid birra, Stephen Borrougha gieldda- ja darjjesámi sátnelisttus (1556) Mikael Svonni davvisámegiel sátnegirjái (2013), ja deataleamos giella-oahpalaš bargguid birra, Johan Tornberga unna guovdageainosámi giellaohpažis (1700-logu álgogeahčen) ođđa lullisámi giellaohppii (2012) maid Ole Henrik Magga ja Lajla Mattsson Magga leaba čállán.

Dutkanoppalašgeahčastat čájeha makkár deataleamos digaštallanfáttat leat leamaš sámi suopmangeografijjas, ja goalmát kapihtal hábme guhitta dutkan-gažaldaga daid fáttaid rájes:

- (1) Galggašii go juogustit ubmesámi oaivesuopmana lulli- vai guovddášsuopmanin?
- (2) Galggašii go juogustit Girjása suopmana julev- vai davvisámesuopmanin?
- (3) Galggašii go juogustit Gárasavvona suopmana duortnos- vai finnmárkkusuopmanin?
- (4) Galggašii go juogustit mearrasámi suopmaniid iehčanas suopmanin vai finnmárkkusuopmanin?
- (5) Galggašii go juogustit anárašsámi oaivesuopmana oarje- vai nuortasuopmanin?

(6) Galggašii go juogustit áhkksámi oaivesuopmana nuortalaš- vai gielddas-suopmanin vai iehčanas oaivesuopmanin?

Njealját kapihtal ságastallá dutkamuša tearpmaid (nu go omd. «giella» ja «suopman») ja iešguđetlágán suopmaniid namahusaid, ja viđát kapihtal ovdanbuktá gáldomateriála ja -kritihka. Dutkan lea vuodđudovvon dan materiálii mii 1970-logus lea čohkkejuvvon UNESCO-prošektii Atlas Linguarum Europae (ALE) gažadanskovi olis olles Sámis, lullisámi suopmanguovllus darjjesámi suopman-guvlui. Dat skovvi sisdoallá 546 gažaldaga ja vástádusat 400 dain gažaldagain leat leamaš geavahuvvon gáldomateriálan.

Juohke sánis lea su iežas historjá ja káhpital 6 buktá ovdamearkkaid stuorra molsašuddamis materiálas muhtin sátnegárttaid bokte. Dat čájehit vástádusaid 15 gažaldahkii ALE-prošeavttas ja govuhit man kompleaksa ja iesguđetlágán sániid leavvamat leat sámi giellaguovllus.

Kapihtal 7 lea dutkamuša oaiveoassi ja ovdanbuktá statistihkalaš analysa oppa materiálas. Vuolggachuokkis lea oktageardásaš fuomášahttin ahte mađe eanet sátnerájut guovtti suopmanis leat ovttalárganat, dađe eanet gaskavuoda ipmirdeapmi lassána suopmaniid gaskkas. Dan dihte kapihtal vuigestaga buohtastahtá muhtin suopmaniid sátnerájuid ALE-materiála vuodul. Dat dárkkánuhtá eanemus riidduvuloš suopmaniin ja dasa lassin lullisámi suopmanis Gæbries, davvisámi suopmanis Guovdageainnus ja gielddasámi suopmanis Lujávrris.

Mañimusta, gávccát kapihtal geassá čoahkkái dutkamuša deataleamos jurdda-bohtosiid:

- (1) Ubmisámi oaivesuopman lea lagat guovddášsuopmaniidda (davvin) go lullisámi oaivesuopmanii (lullin).
- (2) Girjása suopman lea lagat julevsámi oaivesuopmanii (lullin) go davvisámi oaivesuopmanii (davvin).
- (3) Gárasavvona suopman lea lagat duortnossuopmaniidda (lullin) go finnmárkkusuopmaniidda (davvin).
- (4) Dutkamuš ii atte čielga vástádusa gažaldahkii mearrasámi suopmaniid birra.
- (5) Anárašsámi oaivesuopman lea lagat oarjesámi suopmaniidda (oarjin) go nuortasámi suopmaniidda (nuortan).
- (6) Dutkamuš ii atte čielga vástádusa gažaldahkii áhkksámi oaivesuopmana birra.

# Abbreviations

## Linguistic

Eng.	English
Fin.	Finnish
Fr.	French
gen.	genitive
Ger.	German
Icl.	Icelandic
nom.	nominative
Nor.	Norwegian
OScand.	Old Scandinavian
pl.	plural
Rus.	Russian
Saa.	Saami
SaaI.	Inari Saami
SaaKld.	Kildin Saami
SaaL.	Lule Saami
SaaN.	North Saami
SaaS.	South Saami
SaaSk.	Skolt Saami
SaaU.	Ume Saami
Scand.	Scandinavian
sg.	singular
Sp.	Spanish
Swe.	Swedish

## SaaALE | localities

The numbers refer to the ALE codes (cf. map 5.1).

01	SaaN. Ohcejohka, Fin. Utsjoki	Finland
02	SaaSk. Če'vetjäu'rr, Fin. Sevettijärvi	"
03	SaaN. Eanodat, Fin. Enontekiö	"

04	SaaI. Aanaar, Fin. Inari, Nor. & Swe. Enare	"
05	SaaSk. Njeä'llem, Fin. Nellim	"
23	SaaN. Buolbmát, Nor. Polmak	Norway
24	SaaN. Deatnu, Nor. Tana	"
25	SaaN. Unjárga, Nor. Nesseby	"
26	SaaN. Olmmaivággi, Nor. Manndalen	"
27	SaaN. Návuotna, Nor. Kvænangen	"
28	SaaN. Guovdageaidnu, Nor. Kautokeino	"
29	SaaN. Kárašjohka, Nor. Karasjok	"
30	SaaN. Skánit, Nor. Skånland	"
32	SaaL. Divtasvuodna, Nor. Tysfjord	"
33	SaaS. Gaala, Nor. Grane	"
34	SaaS. Raavrevijhke, Nor. Røyrvik	"
35	SaaS. Gåebrie, Nor. Riasten	"
41	SaaN. Čohkkiras, Swe. Jukkasjärvi	Sweden
42	SaaN. Gárasavvon, Swe. Karesuando	"
43	SaaL. Girjes, SaaN. Girjjis, Swe. Norrkaitum	"
44	Northern SaaS. Dearna, SaaU. Deärnná, Swe. Tärna	"
45	SaaL. Árjjepluovve, Swe. Arjeplog	"
46	SaaL. Jáhkámáhkke, Swe. Jokkmokk	"
47	Southern SaaS. Dearna, SaaU. Deärnná, Swe. Tärna	"
48	SaaU. Suorssá, Swe. Sorsele	"
49	SaaU. Árviesjávrrie, Swe. Arvidsjaur	"
51	SaaS. Vualtjere, Swe. Vilhelmina	"
52	SaaS. Jovnevaerie, Swe. Offerdal	"
54	SaaS. Ruvhten sijte, Swe. Tännäs sameby	"
81	SaaSk. Njuđ'ttjäu'rr, Rus. Notozero, Fin. Nuortijärvi	Russia
82	SaaKld. Luujaavv'r, Rus. Lovozero	"
83	SaaKld. Arsjogk, Rus. Varzina	"
84	SaaKld. Jofkyj, Rus. Yokanga	"
85	SaaKld. A'kkel, Rus. Babino, Fin. Akkala	"

## Other Abbreviations

ALE I	Atlas Linguarum Europae, volume 1
DO	Dialect Overview(s); refers to the overviews 1–42 in Chapter 2
l.	locality, point of inquiry
SaaALE I	the Saami material for ALE I

- SOFI Swedish Institute for Language and Folklore (*Institutet för språk och folkminnen*)
- SOFI: DA Swedish Institute for Language and Folklore, Department of Dialectology (*Institutet för språk och folkminnen, Dialektavdelningen*), earlier: ULMA
- SSA Suomen sanojen alkuperä: etymologinen sanakirja 1–3; see the References
- q. question (in ALE I)
- ULMA The Institute of Dialect and Folklore Research, Uppsala (*Dialekt- och folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala*), now: Institute of Language and Folklore (SOFI), Department of Dialectology (DA) and Department of Folklore (FA)



# References

- Aarseth, Björn, 1989: Grenseoppgjørene og konsekvensene av disse for den nordsamiske bosetting i Norge. In: Grenser i Sameland, pp. 43–81. [Ed. by] B. Aarseth. (Samiske samlinger 13.) Oslo.
- Åhrén, Ingvar, 1979: Tvångsförflyttning eller dislokation: nordsamernas förflyttning till södra Lappland. In: Norrbotten 1976–77, pp. 107–143.
- Aikio, Marjut, 1994a: The Sámi language in Finland: problems and progress. In: Linguistic Rights of Minorities / Droits linguistiques des minorités, pp. 54–76. Ed. by F. Horn. (Juridica Lapponica 9.) Rovaniemi.
- 1994b: The Sami language – a living language: the Sami language act and the case of Lisma village as examples of Sami language revitalization in Finland. In: Majority-Minority Relations: The Case of the Sami in Scandinavia, pp. 63–69. Ed. by R. Erke. (Dieđut 1994:1.) Oslo & Guovdageaidnu.
- Aikio, Samuli, 1993: Sámegiel loddenamahusat. (Ruovttueanan gielaide dukanguovddáš. Sámegiel doaimmahusat 2.) Helsset.
- Äimä, Frans, 1906: Eräs lappalainen astevaihtelutapaus. In: JSFOu 23:25.
- 1914: Phonetik und Lautlehre des Inarilappischen. Helsinki.
- 1918: Äänneopillinen katsaus Sompion ja Kuolajärven lapinmurteisiin. In: JSFOu 30:30a, pp. 34–91.
- AIS = Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz, 1–8. [By] K. Jaberg & J. Jud. Zofingen 1928–40.
- ALE = Atlas Linguarum Europae. [Ed. by] M.L. Alinei et al. Assen & Roma 1983–.
- ALE 1975: Introduction. Assen.
- 1976: Premier questionnaire [...] préparé par Joep Kruijssen. Assen/Amsterdam.
- 1979: Second questionnaire – texte établi par A. Weijnen en [sic!] J. Kruijssen. Assen.
- 1983: Volume 1, 1. Cartes, commentaires. [Ed. by] M.L. Alinei. Assen.
- 1986: Volume 1, 2. Cartes, commentaires. [Ed. by] M.L. Alinei. Assen/Maastricht.
- 1988: Volume 1, 3. Cartes, commentaires. [Ed. by] M.L. Alinei. Assen.
- 1990: Volume 1, 4. Cartes, commentaires. [Ed. by] M.L. Alinei. Assen/Maastricht.
- 1997: Volume 1, 5. Cartes, commentaires. [Ed. by] M.L. Alinei. Roma.
- 2002: Volume 1, 6. Cartes, commentaires. [Ed. by] R. Caprini. Roma.
- 2007: Volume 1, 7. Cartes, commentaires. [Ed. by] M.L. Alinei & G. Ekelund. Roma.
- ALEIC = Atlante linguistico-etnografico italiano della Corsica, 1–10. [By] G. Bottiglioni. Pisa 1933–42.
- ALF = Atlas linguistique de la France, 1–9. [By] J. Gilliéron & É. Édmont. Paris 1902–10.
- Alinei, Mario, 1997: The Atlas Linguarum Europae after a quarter century: a new presentation. In: Perspectives nouvelles en géolinguistique, pp. 1–40. [By] M. Alinei et al. (Atlas Linguarum Europae.) Roma.
- Angéus Kuoljok, Susanna, 1997: Nominalavledningar på *ahka* i lulesamiskan. (AUU. Studia Uralica Upsaliensia 28.) Uppsala.
- Arctic Languages = Arctic Languages: An Awakening. Ed. by D.R.F. Collis. Paris 1990.

- Aubert, Vilhelm, 1978: Den samiske befolkning i Nord-Norge / Sámi ál'bmut Davvi-Norgas. (Artikler fra Statistisk Sentralbyrå 107.) Oslo.
- AUU = Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Uppsala.
- AUUm = Acta Universitatis Umensis. Umeå.
- Bartens, Raija, 1972: Inarilapin, merilapin ja luulajanlapin kaasussyntaksi. (MSFOu 148.) Helsinki.
- Berg, Tor Magne & Johanna Ijäs, 1999: Giellaoahpa terminologiija. [Romsa.]
- Bergsland, Knut, 1946: Røros-lappisk grammatikk. (Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning. B 43.) Oslo.
- 1949: Samemål på Rørosvidda. In: Rørosboka 1, pp. 374–388. Røros.
- 1961: Samisk grammatikk med øvelsesstykker. [Oslo.]
- 1962: The Lapp dialects south of Lappland. In: Commentationes, pp. 27–39.
- 1967: Lapp dialectal groups and problems of history. In: Lapps and Norsemen, pp. 32–53.
- 1984: Eldre samiske tekster i utvalg til forelesninger. Tromsø.
- (1982) 1994: Sydsamisk grammatikk. Karasjok. (2nd ed.)
- [1995a]: Bidrag til sydsamenes historie. (Sámi dutkamiid guovddáš / Senter for samiske studier. Skriftserie 1.) Tromsø.
- 1995b: Om sydsamiske dialekter og stedsnavn. In: Fragment av samisk historie, pp. 9–21. [Ed. by] S. Fjellheim. Røros.
- Bergsland, Knut & Gustav Hasselbrink, 1957: Sámiens lukkeme-gärjá: sydlapsk läsebok med grammatik och ordlista. Oslo.
- Bergsland, Knut & Lajla Mattsson Magga, 1993: Áarjelsaemien–daaroen baakoegærja / Sydsamisk–norsk ordbok. [Indre Billefjord.]
- Bloomfield, Leonard, (1935) 1973: Language. London. 12th ed.
- Boyne, Hans Petter & Arnulf Soleng, 2006: Dáru–sámi pedagogalaš–psykologalaš sátnegirji / Norsk–samisk pedagogisk–psykologisk ordbok. Kárášjohka.
- Broch, Ingvild & Ernst Håkon Jahr, (1981) 1984: Russenorsk: et pidginspråk i Norge. (Tromsø-studier i språkvitenskap 3.) Oslo.
- Castrén, Matthias Alexander, 1839: Dissertatio academica de affinitate declinationum in lingua Fennica, Esthonica et Lapponica [...]. Helsingforsiae.
- 1845: Om accentens inflytande i lappska språket. In: Suomi: tidskrift i fosterländska ämnen 4, pp. 23–86.
- (1838–44) 1870: Nordiska resor och forskningar. 1: M.A. Castréns reseminnen från åren 1838–1844. Helsingfors.
- Chambers, J.K. (Jack) & Peter Trudgill, 1980: Dialectology. (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics.) Cambridge.
- Changes in Contemporary Northern Societies = Changes in Contemporary Northern Societies. Ed. by L. Müller-Wille & L. Weber Müller-Wille. (Dieđut 1993:7 / Northern Studies Forum 1993.) Guovdageaidnu & Montréal 1993.
- Collinder, Björn, 1942: Lappische Sprachproben aus Härjedalen nach Nils Axman, Torkel Larsson, Lars Renfelt, Elisabeth Rensberg und Nils Rutfjäll. (Arbeten utgivna med understöd av Vilhelm Ekmans universitetsfond, Uppsala 50.) Uppsala.
- 1943: Lappisches Wörterverzeichnis aus Härjedalen. (UUÅ 1943:1.) Uppsala.
- 1949: The Lappish Dialect of Jukkasjärvi: A Morphological Survey. (Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala 37:3.) Uppsala.
- 1953: Lapparna: en bok om samefolkets forntid och nutid. Stockholm.
- 1956: Swedish research on the language and folklore of the Lapps. In: SvLm 1956, pp. 25–50.

- Commentationes = Commentationes fenno-ugricae in honorem Paavo Ravila. (MSFOu 125.) Helsinki 1962.
- Dahlstedt, Karl-Hampus, 1972: Svensk dialektgeografi: dess metoder och uppgifter. Förra hälften. (University of Umeå. Department of General Linguistics. Publication 3.) Umeå. (Mimeograph).
- Décsy, Gyula, 1965: Einführung in die finnisch-ugrischen Sprachwissenschaft. Wiesbaden.
- 1970: Zu einer lappischen Dialektkarte. In: Ural-altaische Jahrbücher 42, pp. 167.
- Le département de Laponie = Le département de Laponie [...]. Ensemble préparé par le Centre d'Études Arctiques de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. In: The Lapps Today, pp. 139–182.
- Dialectologia Uralica = Dialectologia Uralica: Materialen des ersten Internationalen Symposions zur Dialektologie der uralischen Sprachen 4.–7. September 1984 in Hamburg. [Ed. by] W. Veenker. (VDSUA 20.) Wiesbaden 1985.
- Dialektologie = Dialektologie: ein Handbuch zur deutschen und allgemeinen Dialektforschung. 1. [Ed. by] W. Besch & U. Knoop & W. Putschke & H.E. Wiegand. (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 1:1.) Berlin 1982.
- Djäv, Ulrika, 2003: De första samiska ordböckerna: mission och upplysning. (Opuscula Uralica 7.) Uppsala.
- Duodjeinstituhtta 2009 = [Digital Word-Lists for Saami Handicraft published by the] Duodjeinstituhtta in 2009, at <http://duodjeinstituhtta.com/duodjeinstituhtta/index.php> > Duodji > Ordliste for duodji (available 21 June, 2013).
- DWA = Deutscher Wortatlas, 1–22. [By] W. Mitzka & L.E. Schmidt. Giessen 1951–80.
- Eira, Inger Marie Gaup, 2003: Giella vákkis vággái: Gáivuona dialeavtta suokkardallan. (Diedut 2003:2.) Guovdageaidnu.
- 2004: Sámegeiella Davviriikain: stáhtus- ja domenačielggadeapmi / Sami language in Nordic Countries: Status and Domain Clarification / Samisk språk i Norden: status- og domeneutredning. (Diedut 2004:4.) Guovdageaidnu.
- Eira, John Henrik, 1983: Samiske dialekter: Sør-Troms dialekten. In: Iina ja Biras sámiiid searvi / Hinnøy og omegn sameforening: årbok 1983, pp. 46–49.
- 1986: Sámi suopmanat. In: Samefolket 1986:3, pp. 42–44.
- Endyukovskiy, A.G. (А.Г. Эндюковский), 1937: Саамский (лопарский) язык. In: Языки и письменность народов севера. 1: Языки и письменность самоедских и финно-угорских народов, pp. 125–162. [Ed. by] Г.Н. Прокофьева. (Труды по лингвистике 1.) Москва & Ленинград.
- Fellman, Jacob, [1820s] 1906: Anteckningar under min vistelse i lappmarken 1. Helsingfors.
- Fernandez, M.M. Jocelyne, 1997: Parlons lapon: les Sames, langue et culture. (Parlons.) Paris.
- Fjellström, Pehr, 1738a: Dictionarium Sveco-Lapponicum. Holmiæ.
- 1738b: Grammatica Lapponica [...]. Holmiæ.
- Forsgren, Tuuli, 2000: Language and colonialism: two aspects. In: Education and Colonialism: Swedish Schooling Projects in Colonial Areas, 1638–1878, pp. 87–121. Ed. D. Lindmark. (Kulturens frontlinjer 29.) Umeå.
- 2001: Gamla protokoll berättar: språkkonferenser 1743 och 1744. In: Oknytt 2001: 1–2, pp. 81–98.
- Frette, Thor, 1975: Norsk–samisk ordbok / Dárugiel–sámigiel sádnigir'ji. Oslo.
- Friis, Jens Andreas, 1851: Uddrag af [...] Indberetning til det Kongelige Kirke-Departement om Sprogforholdene i Finmarken og Nordlandene [...]. In: Stockfleth 1851, pp. 81–109.

- 1856: *Lappisk Grammatik: udarbeidet efter den finmarkiske Hoveddialekt eller Sproget, saaledes som det almindeligst tales i norsk Finmarken*. Christiania.
- 1887: *Ordbog over det lappiske sprog: med latinsk og norsk forklaring [...]*. Christiania.
- FUF = *Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen: Zeitschrift für finnisch-ugrische Sprach- und Volkskunde*. 1–. Helsinki 1901–.
- Ganander, Henricus, 1743: *Grammatica lapponica [...]*. Holmiae.
- Gaski, Harald & Vuokko Hirvonen & Ellen Näkkäläjärvi, 1992: *Girjjálašvuoda tearpmat. Guovdageaidnu*.
- Gaup, Elisabeth Utsi & Amund Nergård & Arne Nystad & Nils Henrik Valkeapää, 1990: *Matematihkkasánit dárogielas sámegillii, sámegielas dárogillii*. [Guovdageaidnu.]
- Genetz, Arvid, 1891: *Kuollan Lapin murteiden sanakirja ynnä kielennäytteitä / Wörterbuch der Kola-lappischen Dialekte nebst Sprachproben*. (Bidrag till kändedom af Finlands natur och folk 50.) Helsingfors.
- Goebel, Hans, 1982a: *Ansätze zu einer computativen Dialektometrie*. In: *Dialektologie*, pp. 778–792.
- 1982b: *Dialektometrie: Prinzipien und Methoden des Einsatzes der numerischen Taxonomie im Bereich der Dialektgeographie*. (Österreichisches Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften 157.) Wien.
- 1984: *Dialektometrische Studien: anhand italoromanischer, rätoromanischer und galloromanischer Sprachmaterialien aus AIS und ALF 1–3*. (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 191–193.) Tübingen.
- 1989: *Problèmes et méthodes de la dialectométrie*. In: *New Methods in Dialectology*, pp. 165–184. Eds. M.E.H. Schouten & P.Th. van Reenen. (Publications in Language Sciences 33.) Dordrecht.
- 1993: *Probleme und Methoden der Dialektometrie: Geolinguistik in globaler Perspektive*. In: *Verhandlungen des internationalen Dialektologenkongresses, Bamberg 29.7.–4.8.1990: 1*, pp. 37–81. [Ed. by] W. Viereck. (ZDL. Beihefte 74.) Stuttgart.
- 1994: *Dialektometrie und Dialektgeographie: Ergebnisse und Desiderate*. In: *Dialektologie des Deutschen: Forschungsstand und Entwicklungstendenzen*, pp. 171–191. [Ed. by] K. Mattheier & P. Wiesinger. (Reihe Germanische Linguistik 147.) Tübingen.
- 1997: *‘Es kracht im Gebälk des CLAE ...’: dialektometrische Betrachtungen zu eigenartigen Polarisierungseffekten im sprachgeographischen Netzen*. In: *Language in Time and Space: Studies in Honour of Wolfgang Viereck on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, pp. 100–108. Ed. by H. Ramesch & K. Wyne. (ZDL. Beihefte 97.) Stuttgart.
- 2010: *Dialectometry and quantitative mapping*. In: *Language and Space: An International Handbook of Linguistic Variation. 2: Language Mapping*, pp. 433–457, 2201–2212. Ed. by A. Lameli & R. Kehrein & S. Rabanus. (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 30:2.) Berlin.
- Greller, Wolfgang, 1996: *Provision and Regulation of the Sámi Languages*. (Bilingual Studies.) Caerfyrddin.
- Grundström, Harald, 1946–54: *Lulelappsk ordbok / Lulelappisches Wörterbuch 1–4*. (SkrULMA C:1.) Uppsala. Digital version of the first part at: <http://www.sameetinget.se/14885> (available 21 June, 2013).
- Guttorm, Gunvor & Solveig Labba, 2008: *Ávdnasis duodjin: dipmaduodjesánit*. Guovdageaidnu.
- Hagland, Jan Ragnar, 2000: *Knud Leem – vår første språkvitenskapmann!* In: *1700-tallet: artikler om språk, litteratur, musikk og estetikk*, pp. 87–96. [Ed. by] K.O. Eliassen & S.-E. Fauskevåg & P. Goring. (Kulturstudier 15.) Bergen.

- Hakluyt, Richard, (1589) 1965: *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (London, 1589). A Photo-Lithographic Facsimile [...]. (Hakluyt Society Extra Series 39.) Cambridge.
- Halász, Ignác, 1883: Orosz-lapp nyelvtani vázlat. In: NyK 17, pp. 1–45.
- 1886: Svéd-lapp nyelv: 2, Jemtlandi lapp nyelvmutatványok. (Ugor füzetek 8.) Budapest.
- 1891a: A svédországi lapp nyelvjárások. In: NyK 22, pp. 161–259.
- 1891b: Svéd-lapp nyelv: 4, Déli-lapp szótár. (Ugor füzetek 10.) Budapest.
- 1896: Svéd-lapp nyelv: 6, Pite lappmarki szótár és nyelvtan. Rövid Karesuandói lapp szójegyzékkel. Budapest.
- Hallencreutz, Carl Fredrik, 1990: Pehr Högströms missionsförrättningar och övriga bidrag till samisk kyrkohistoria. (Studia missionalia Upsaliensia 50.) Uppsala.
- Hammond, Hans, 1787: *Den Nordiske Missions-Historie i Nordlandene, Finmarken og Trundhiems Amt til Lappers og Finners Omvendelse* [...]. Kiøbenhavn.
- Handlingsplan for samiske språk = Handlingsplan for samiske språk, Arbeids- og inkluderingsdepartementet, 2009, at: [http://www.regjeringen.no/upload/AID/publikasjoner/rapporter\\_og\\_planer/2009/Handlingsplan\\_2009\\_samisk\\_sprak.pdf](http://www.regjeringen.no/upload/AID/publikasjoner/rapporter_og_planer/2009/Handlingsplan_2009_samisk_sprak.pdf) (available 21 June, 2013).
- Hansegård, Nils Erik, 1965: Sea Lappish and Mountain Lappish: a comparison of Fiord Lappish and Jukkasjärvi Lappish. In: JSFOu 66:6.
- 1967: Recent Finnish Loanwords in Jukkasjärvi Lappish. (AUU. Studia Uralica et Altaica Upsaliensia 3.) Uppsala.
- 1974: Samernas språk. In: Samerna – ett folk i fyra länder, pp. 30–36. [Ed. by] L. Svonni. Stockholm.
- 1978: The Transition of the Jukkasjärvi Lapps from Nomadism to Settled Life and Farming. (Studia ethnographica Upsaliensia 39.) Uppsala.
- 1988: Språken i det norrbottensfinska området. (Högskolan i Luleå. Forskningsenheten för lärarutbildning. Arbetsrapport 1988:3.) Luleå.
- 2000: Dialekt eller språk? Om de västsamiska och norrbottensfinska skriftspråken. (Ursus 7.) Uppsala.
- Hansson, Åke, 1995: Nordnorrländsk dialektatlas. 1–2. (Skrifter utgivna av Dialekt-, ortnamns- och folkminnesarkivet i Umeå. Serie A. Dialekter 11.) Umeå.
- Hasselbrink, Gustav, 1944: Vilhelminalapskans ljudlära med särskild hänsyn till första stavelsens vokaler. Uppsala.
- 1962: Le lapon et les principaux travaux linguistiques. In: Orbis: bulletin international de documentation linguistique 11, pp. 369–379.
- 1965: Alternative Analysis of the Phonemic System in Central South-Lappish. (Indiana University Publications. Uralic and Altaic Series 49.) Bloomington.
- 1981–85: Südlappisches Wörterbuch / Oårj'elsaamien baaguog'ärjaa 1–3. (SkrULMA C:4.) Uppsala.
- Helander, Elina, 1990: Situation of the Sámi language in Sweden. In: Arctic Languages, pp. 401–417.
- 1993: Death or survival? The Sámi strategy for language maintenance. In: Changes in Contemporary Northern Societies, pp. 31–36.
- Högström, Pehr, [1747]: *Beskrifning öfwer de til Sweriges Krona lydande Lapmarker* [...]. Stockholm.
- Högström, Pehr et al.: [1760 and later] 1990: Gellivare församlings historia. In: Hallencreutz 1990, pp. 114–121, 136–138.

- Hultblad, Filip, 1968: Övergång från nomadism till agrar bosättning i Jokkmokks socken (Acta Lapponica 14.). Stockholm.
- Hummel, Lutz, 1993: Dialektometrische Analysen zum Kleinen Deutschen Sprachatlas (KDSA): experimentelle Untersuchungen zu taxonomischen Ordnungsstrukturen als dialektaler Gliederung des deutschen Sprachraums. (Studien zum Kleinen Deutschen Sprachatlas 4.) Tübingen.
- Huss, Leena, 1999: Reversing Language Shift in the Far North: Linguistic Revitalization in Northern Scandinavia and Finland. (AUU. Studia Uralica Upsaliensia 31.) Uppsala.
- Hyltenstam, Kenneth, 1999: Inledning: ideologi, politik och minoritetsspråk. In: Sveriges sju inhemska språk, pp. 11–40.
- Hyltenstam, Kenneth & Christopher Stroud, 1991: Språkbyte och språkbevarande: om samiskan och andra minoritetsspråk. Lund.
- Hyltenstam, Kenneth & Christopher Stroud & Mikael Svonni, 1999: Språkbyte, språkbevarande, revitalisering: samiskans ställning i svenska Sápmi. In: Sveriges sju inhemska språk, pp. 41–97.
- Hyvärinen, Heikki J., 1995: Samernas språklig rättigheter – en nordisk jämförelse. In: Minoritetsspråk i Norden, pp. 42–52. [Ed. by] R. Jansson. Mariehamn.
- Idström, Anna & Matti Morottaja, 2007: Inarinsaamen idiomisanakirja. Inari.
- Ingold, Tim, 1976: The Skolt Lapps Today. Cambridge.
- Israelsson, Per-Martin, (2009) 2010: Sydsamiska ortnamn, at: <http://www.sametinget.se/7548> (available 21 June 2013).
- Israelsson, Per-Martin & Sakka Neje, [2007]: Svensk–sydsamisk, sydsamisk–svensk ordbok och ortnamn / Daaroen–åarjelsaemien, åarjelsaemien–daaroen baakoegärja jih sije-nommh. Kiruna.
- Itkonen, Erkki, 1972: Weitere Anmerkungen zu einer lappischen Dialektkarte. In: FUF 39, pp. 430–431.
- Itkonen, Erkki & Raija Bartens & Lea Laitinen, 1986–89: Inarilappisches Wörterbuch 1–4. (LSFU 20.) Helsinki.
- Itkonen, Toivo I., 1958: Koltan- ja kuolanlappin sanakirja / Wörterbuch des Kolta- und Kolalappischen. (LSFU 15.) Helsinki.
- Jahr, Ernst Håkon, 1996: On the pidgin status of Russenorsk. In: Language Contact in the Arctic: Northern Pidgins and Contact Languages, pp. 107–122. Ed. by E.H. Jahr & I. Broch. (Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 88.) Berlin.
- Jansson, Annika, 2005: Sami Language at Home and at School: A Fieldwork Perspective. (AUU. Studia Uralica Upsaliensia 36.) Uppsala.
- Jernsletten, Nils, 1982: Språket i samiske samfunn. In: Nordnorsk: språkarv og språkforhold i Nord-Noreg, pp. 101–107. [Ed. by] T. Bull & K. Jetne. Oslo.
- 1983: Álgosátnegirji. Oslo.
- 1994: Senjasamisk på det samiska dialektkartet. In: Samer i Senja fra gammel og ny tid, pp. 149–155. [Ed. by] Aa. Pedersen & I.A. Skum & H.K. Eriksen. Silsand.
- 1997: Norwegian – Sami. In: Kontaktlinguistik 2, pp. 957–961.
- Jernsletten, Nils & Pekka Sammallahti, 1985: [Suopmangárttat]. In: Per Stefan Labba & Aage Solbakk & Veikko Holmberg, Sámás 1, passim. Stockholm.
- Johansson, Henning, 1975a: De renskötande samerna i Sverige 1958–1972: en befolkningsstudie. In: Samerna i Sverige, pp. 9–236.
- 1975b: Den icke renskötande samebefolkningen i Sverige: storlek; sammansättning och geografisk utbredning 1973. In: Samerna i Sverige, pp. 237–269.
- JSFOu = Journal de la Société finno-ougrienne. 1–. Helsinki 1886–.

- Kåven, Brita & Johan Jernsletten & Ingrid Nordal & John Henrik Eira & Aage Solbakk, 1995: Sámi-dáru sátnegirji / Samisk-norsk ordbok. Kárášjohka. Digital version at: [http://533.davvi.no/ordbok\\_samnor.php](http://533.davvi.no/ordbok_samnor.php) (available 21 June, 2013).
- 2000: Stor norsk-samisk ordbok / Dáru-sámi sátnegirji. Kárášjohka. Digital version at: [http://533.davvi.no/ordbok\\_norsam.php](http://533.davvi.no/ordbok_norsam.php) (available 21 June, 2013).
- Kekarainen, Risto, 1987: Kuolansaamelaiset. In: Terra: maantieteellinen aikakauskirja 99:1, pp. 19–30.
- Kemi, Kjell, 1984: Dialektgrensen mellom Kárášjohka og Guovdageaidnu. Hovedfagsoppgave i samisk ved Universitetet i Oslo, våren 1984. (Mimeograph).
- 1991: Nordsamisk. In: Muhtun giellagažaldagat, pp. 78–88. [By] V. Guttorm & N.Ø. Helander & K. Kemi. [Guovdageaidnu.]
- 1993: The Sámi Language Act in Norway. In: Changes in Contemporary Northern Societies, pp. 37–42.
- 1994: 1700-jagiid Leavdnjavuona suopman. In: Giellačállosat 2, pp. 33–91. [Ed. by] V. Guttorm & N.Ø. Helander & K. Kemi. (Dieđut 1994:2.) Guovdageaidnu.
- Keresztes, László, 1996: Die Aufnahme von K.B. Wiklunds Arbeiten in Ungarn. In: Lapponica et Uralica, pp. 351–357.
- Kert, Georgiy M. (Георгий М. Керт), 1961: Основные сходства и различия в саамских диалектах Кольского полуострова. In: Пробалтийско-финское языкознание (= Festschrift Д. В. Бубрих), pp. 110–134. (Труды карельского филиала Академии Наук СССР 23.). Москва.
- 1971: Саамский язык (кильдинский диалект): фонетика, морфология, синтаксис. Ленинград.
- 1986: Словарь саамско-русский и русский-саамско [...]. Ленинград.
- 2003: Саамский язык. In: Прибалтийско-финские народы России, pp. 49–57. [Ed. by] Е.И. Клементьев & Н.В. Шлыгина. (Народы и культуры.) Москва.
- Kert, Georgiy M. (Георгий М. Керт) & Petr M. Zaykov (Петр М. Зайков), 1987: Образцы саамской речи. Петрозаводск.
- Kintel, Anders, 2012a: Julevsáme-dárro báhkogirjje, at <http://victorio-old.uit.no/webdict/ak/smj2nob/index.html> (available 21 June, 2013).
- 2012b: Norsk-lulesamisk ordbok, at: <http://victorio-old.uit.no/webdict/ak/nob2smj/index.html> (available 21 June, 2013).
- Knud Leem og det samiske. [Ed. by] J.R. Hagland & S. Supphellen. (Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab. Skrifter 2003:2.) Trondheim 2003.
- König, Werner, 1982: Probleme der Repräsentativität in der Dialektologie. In: Dialektologie, pp. 463–485.
- Kontaktlinguistik 2 = Kontaktlinguistik / Contact Linguistics / Linguistique de contact: ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung [...]. Ed. by H. Goebel et al. [Vol.] 2. (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 12:2.) Berlin 1997.
- Korhonen, Mikko, 1964: Lapin murteiden keskinäisistä suhteista. In: Lapin tutkimusseura. Vuosikirja 5, pp. 49–64.
- 1967: Die Konjugation im Lappischen: morfologisch-historische Untersuchung. 1: Die finiten Formkategorien. (MSFOu 143.) Helsinki.
- 1981: Johdatus lapin kielen historiaan. (SKSt 370.) Helsinki.
- 1988: The Lapp language. In: The Uralic Languages: Description, History and Foreign Influences, pp. 41–57. (Handbuch der Orientalistik 8:1.) Leiden.
- Korhonen, Mikko & Jouni Mosnikoff & Pekka Sammallahti, 1973: Koltansaamen opas. (Castrenianumin toimitteita 4.) Helsinki.

- Korhonen, Olavi, 1973: *Sádnigir'ji sámigielas ruotagillii, ruotagielas sámigillii / Svensk samisk, samisk svensk ordbok*. Jokkmokk.
- 1976: Linguistic and cultural diversity among the Saamis and the development of standard Saamish. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 10, pp. 51–66.
- 1979: *Bákkogir'je julevusámes dárrui dáros julevusábmái / Lulesamisk svensk, svensk lulesamisk ordbok*. Luleå.
- 1982: Samisk-finska båttermen och ortnamnselement och deras slaviska bakgrund: en studie i mellanspråklig ordgeografi och mellanfolklig kulturhistoria. (Skrifter utgivna av Dialekt-, ortnamns- och folkminnesarkivet i Umeå. Serie A. Dialekter 3.) Umeå.
- 1989: A boundary between northern and southern Saami culture and language. In: *Readings in Saami History, Culture and Language*, pp. 111–123. Ed. by R. Kvist. (Center for Arctic Cultural Research. Miscellaneous publications 7.) Umeå.
- 1990: Södra Norrbottens och norra Västerbottens samiska forskningsfält. In: *Oknytt* 1989:3–4, pp. 35–44.
- (1993) 1994: *1993 ruota-sámegiela hálddahussáni*. (Giera 3.) Umeå.
- 1996: Något om fjällsamers och skogssamers näringar och språk i äldre skriftliga källor. In: *Norrbotten 1995*, pp. 132–143.
- 1997a: Schwedisch – Samisch. In: *Kontaktlinguistik* 2, pp. 976–981.
- 1997b: Samiskan som språk och traditionskälla. In: *Språkliga och kulturella gränser i Nordskandinavien: två uppsatser*, pp. 53–106. [By] O. Korhonen & B. Winsa. (Kulturens frontlinjer 7.) Umeå.
- 2001: Svenska kvasinamn med samisk bakgrund. In: *DAUM-katta: vinterblad från Dialekt-, ortnamns- och folkminnesarkivet i Umeå* 8:1, pp. 8–9.
- 2006: *Bahkogir'je julevusámes dárruj, dáros julevusábmaj / Lulesamisk svensk, svensk lulesamisk ordbok*. Jokkmokk.
- 2007: Från En lijten Sängebook 1619 till Julevsáme sálmmagirje. In: *Seminar på Drag i Tysfjord 2005*, pp. 32–51. [Ed. by] M. Kolvik. Kjøpsvik.
- Krauss, Michael, 1997: The indigenous languages of the north: a report on their present state. In: *Northern Minority Languages: Problems of Survival*, pp. 1–34. Ed. by H. Shoji & J. Janhunen. (Senri Ethnological Studies 44.) Osaka.
- Kruijzen, Joep & Ellen Mooijman, 1986: The week and some days of the week. In: *Aspects of Language: Studies in Honour of Mario Alinei. Volume 1*, pp. 388–400. Amsterdam.
- Kuruč, Rimma D. (Римма Д. Куруч), [Ed.] 1985: *Саамско-русский словарь / Сәмь-рӯшш соагкнэхкь*. Москва.
- Lagercrantz, Eliel, 1923: *Sprachlehre des Südlappischen nach der Mundart von Wefsen*. (Kristiania Etnografiske Museum. Bulletin 1.) Kristiania.
- 1926a: *Sprachlehre des Westlappischen nach der Mundart von Arjeplog*. (MSFOu 55.) Helsinki.
- 1926b: *Wörterbuch des Südlappischen nach der Mundart von Wefsen*. (Institutet for sammenlignende kulturforskning. B:4.) Oslo.
- 1929: *Sprachlehre des Nordlappischen nach den seelappischen Mundarten*. (Oslo Etnografiske Museum. Bulletin 3.) Oslo.
- 1939: *Lappischer Wortschatz 1–2*. (LSFU 6.) Helsinki.
- Lakó, György, 1986: *Chrestomathia Lapponica*. Budapest.
- Lapponica et Uralica = Lapponica et Uralica: 100 Jahre finnisch-ugrischer Unterricht an der Universität Uppsala. Vortäge am Jubiläumssymposium 20.–23. April 1994. [Ed. by] L.-G. Larsson. (AUU. Studia Uralica Upsaliensia 26.) Uppsala 1996.

- Laponicae investigationes et uralicae = Laponicae investigationes et uralicae: Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Lars-Gunnar Larsson. [Ed. by] E. Winkler & H.-H. Bartens & C. Hasselblatt. (VDSUA 82.) Wiesbaden 2012.
- Lapps and Norsemen = Lapps and Norsemen in Olden Times. (Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning. A:26.) Oslo 1967.
- The Lapps To-Day = The Lapps To-Day in Finland, Norway and Sweden 1. Ed. by R.G.P. Hill. (Bibliothèque Arctique et Antarctique 1.) Paris 1960.
- Larsson, Lars-Gunnar, 1985: Kriterien zur Klassifizierung der lappischen Dialekte in Schweden. In: *Dialectologia Uralica*, pp. 159–171.
- 1986: Nordligt i söder och sydligt i norr: något om samisk dialektforskning. In: *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala. Årsbok 1985*, pp. 106–122.
- 1990: Überblick über den Stand der Dialektforschung des Lappischen in Schweden. In: *Congressus Septimus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum. Rundtischgespräch “Dialectologia Uralica” Debrecen, 30. August 1990*, pp. 45–49. [Ed. by] W. Veenker. (Mitteilungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica 10.) Hamburg.
- 1991: Glidvokalen i lulesamiskan: en dialektgeografisk studie på grundval av Harald Grundströms ordbok. In: *SvLm 1990*, pp. 167–199.
- 1997: Prästen och ordet: ur den samiska lexikografins historia. In: *LexicoNordica 4*, pp. 101–117.
- 2000: Gränser i den samiska dimman. In: *Dialekter och folkminnen: hyllningsskrift till Maj Reinhammar den 17 maj 2000*, pp. 177–187. [Ed. by L. Elmevik]. Uppsala.
- 2001a: Baltic influence on Finnic languages. In: *Circum-Baltic Languages 1*, pp. 237–253. Ed. by Ö. Dahl & M. Koptjevskaja-Tamm. (Studies in Language Companion Series 54.) Amsterdam.
- 2001b: Lappische Sprachforschung an der Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert. In: *FUF 56*, pp. 79–94.
- 2001c: Sockenlapparnas språk. In: *Saga och sed 2000*, pp. 61–69.
- 2005: Saami speakers in Central Sweden. In: *Folia Uralica Debreceniensia 12*, pp. 59–68.
- 2010: Ume Saami language variation. In: *Congressus XI Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum. Pars 1: Orationes plenariae*, pp. 193–224. [Ed. by] S. Csúcs et al. Piliscsaba.
- 2012: Grenzen und Gruppierungen in Umesamischen. (VDSUA 83.) Wiesbaden.
- Leem, Knud, 1748: *En Lappisk Grammatica Efter den Dialect, som bruges af Field-Lapperne udi Porsanger-Fiorden [...]*. Kiøbenhavn.
- 1756: *En Lappesk Nomenclator efter Den Dialect, som bruges af Fjeld-Lapperne i Porsanger-Fjorden [...]*. Trondheim.
- (1768) 1781: *Lexicon lapponicum bipartitum. Pars prima lapponico-danico-latina. Nidrosiæ*.
- Lehtiranta, Juhani, 1989: *Yhteissaamelainen sanasto*. (MSFOu 200.) Helsinki.
- 1992: *Arjeploginsaamen äänne- ja taivutusopin pääpiirteet*. (MSFOu 212.) Helsinki.
- Lehtola, Veli-Pekka, (1997) 2004: *The Sámi People: Traditions in Transition*. Fairbanks.
- Lidberg, Hanna, 2002: *Johannes Tornæus & Manuale Lapponicum*. (Opuscula Uralica 6.) Uppsala.
- Lindahl, Eric & Johannes Öhrling, 1780: *Lexicon Lapponicum [...] nec non auctum grammatica Lapponica. Holmiae*.
- Lindin, Leif & Håkan Rydving, 2007: *Samisk kyrkohistorisk bibliografi / Sámi girko-historjjálaš bibliografiija / Sami Church History: A Bibliography*. (Skrifter från Centrum för samisk forskning 6.) Umeå.

- Lönnrot, Elias, 1856: Ueber den Enare-lappischen Dialekt. In: *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* 4:1, pp. 133–279.
- LSFU = *Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae*. Helsinki.
- Lund, Svein & Aimo Aikio, 1999: *Mekanihkkársánit*. Guovdageaidnu.
- Lundius, Nicolaus, [late 1670s] 1905: *Descriptio Lapponiæ*. In: *SvLm* 17:5. Uppsala.
- Magga, Lajla Mattsson, 2009: *Norsk–sydsamisk ordbok / Daaroen–áarjelsaemien baakoe-gærja*. [Indre Billefjord.]
- Magga, Ole Henrik, 1990: The Sámi language in Norway. In: *Arctic Languages*, pp. 418–436.
- 1997: Samisk språk. In: *Nordens språk*, pp. 137–160. [Ed. by] A. Karkar & B. Lindgren & S. Løland. Oslo.
- [2001]: Hva bestemmer om et språk blomstrer eller dør? Det samiske språket som eksempel. In: *Samisk språks stilling i skolen og lokalsamfunnet*, pp. 7–17. Kárášjohka.
- 2003: Knud Leem som utforsker av samisk språk og kultur. In: *Knud Leem og det samiske*, pp. 29–43.
- Magga, Ole Henrik & Lajla Mattsson Magga, 2012: *Sørsamisk grammatikk*. [Kárášjohka.]
- Magga, Ole Henrik & Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, 2003: Life or death for languages and human beings: experiences from Saamiland. In: *Transcending Monolingualism: Linguistic Revitalisation in Education*, pp. 35–52. Ed. by L. Huss & A. Camilleri Grima & K.A. King. (Multilingualism and Linguistic Diversity.) Lisse.
- Magga, Tuomas, 1984: Duration in the Quantity of Bisyllabics in the Guovdageaidnu Dialect of North Lappish. (*Acta Universitatis Ouluensis. Series B. Humaniora* 11.) Oulu.
- Mål og meining = Mål og meining: ein heilskapleg norsk språkpolitikk (Stortingsmelding 35; 2007–08), Kulturdepartementet, at: <http://www.regjeringen.no/nm/dep/kud/document/proposisjonar-og-meldingar/stortingsmeldingar/2007-2008/stmeld-nr-35-2007-2008-.html?id=519923> (available 21 June, 2013).
- Marainen, Johannes, 1984: *Förflyttningar i Sápmi*. (Sápmi 2.) Umeå.
- 1996: Tvångsförflyttning av samer. In: *Norbotten 1996*, pp. 62–79.
- Martinussen, Bente, 1992: Anders Porsanger: teolog og språkforsker fra 1700-tallets Finnmark. In: *Nordlyd* 18, pp. 15–59.
- Maticsák, Sándor, 2004: A hét napjainak megnevezése a lappban. In: *Folia Uralica Debreceniensia* 11, pp. 87–99.
- 2006: Vándorló napok: a hét napjainak elnevezése az európai nyelvekben. Debrecen.
- Mattisson, Ann-Christin, 1993: *Samiska ortnamn på fjällkartorna*. (LMV-Rapport 1993:19.) Gävle.
- [Mikkelsen, Sigvald B. et al.], 1990: *Samisk kirkeliv i Den norske kirke*. Utkast til handlingsprogram. (KM-dokument nr. 15.2./90.) [Oslo.]
- Morén-Duolljá, Bruce, 2010: De samiske språkene: vakre, unike og uerstattelige. In: *Bårjås: populærvitenskapelig tidsskrift fra Árran – lulesamisk senter 2010*, pp. 54–65.
- Morottaja, Matti, 2007: *Anarâškielâ ravvuuh*. (Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 144.) Helsinki.
- Mosnikoff, Jouni & Pekka Sammallahti, 1988: *U'cc sämm-lää'dd sää'nnkeârjaž / Pieni koltansaame–suomi sanakirja*. Ohcejohka.
- MSFOu = *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*. Helsinki.
- Neahttagisánit = *Neahttagisánit* [Digital Dictionaries from Giellatekno at the University of Tromsø], at: <http://sánit.oahpa.no/> (North Saami) and <http://baakoeh.oahpa.no/> (South Saami) (available 21 June 2013).

- Nesheim, Asbjørn, 1962: The Lappish dialect of Ullsfjord and its relations to other Lappish dialects. In: *Commentationes*, pp. 333–360.
- 1967: Eastern and western elements in Lapp culture. In: *Lapps and Norsemen*, pp. 104–168.
- Nickel, Klaus Peter, (1990) 1994: *Samisk grammatikk. Kárášjohka*.
- Nickel, Klaus Peter & Pekka Sammallahti, 2008: *Duiskka-sámi sátnegirji / Deutsch-saamisches Wörterbuch. Kárášjohka*.
- 2011: *Nordsamisk grammatikk. Kárášjohka*.
- Nickul, Karl, 1970: *Saamelaiset kansana ja kansalaisina. (SKSt 297.) Helsinki*.
- Nielsen, Konrad, 1903: *Lappalaisten murteiden tutkimisesta. In: JSFOu 21:4*.
- 1926: *Lærebok i lappisk 1. Grammatikk. Oslo*.
- 1929: *Lærebok i lappisk 3. Glossar. Oslo*.
- 1932–38: *Lappisk ordbok / Lapp Dictionary based on the dialects of Polmak, Karasjok and Kautokeino 1–3. (Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning B:17:1–3.) Oslo*.
- 1953: *Knud Leems Lexicon Lapponicum. In: Studia Septentrionalia 5 (= Liber saecularis in honorem J. Qvigstadii [...] Pars 2), pp. 17–30. Oslo*.
- Nielsen, Konrad & Asbjørn Nesheim, 1956–62: *Lappisk ordbok / Lapp Dictionary based on the dialects of Polmak, Karasjok and Kautokeino 4–5. (Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning B:17:4–5.) Oslo*.
- Nilsson-Mankok, Erik, 1976: *Svensk-sydsamisk ordlista: Vilhelmina-Vefsen. [Marsfjäll.]*
- Nissen, Kristian, 1958: *Lars Levi Læstadius og hans samiske forfatterskap. In: Sameliv / Sámi ællin 1956–58, pp. 68–85*.
- Nordberg, Erik, 1970: *Specimen Novi Testamenti lapponici: provtryck av 1715 av Lars Rangius' översättning av Nya Testamentet till lapska samt Skriftväxlingen mellan Georg Wallin i Härnösand och lappmarksprästerna om lapsk ortografi. Grammatikprov. Ordlistor. (SvLm B: 66.) Stockholm*.
- Norrbottnen = Norrbotten: *Norrbottens läns hembygdsförenings tidskrift / årsbok. 1–. Luleå 1922–.*
- NyK = *Nyelvtudományi közlemények. 1–. Budapest 1862–.*
- Nystad, Arne & Nils Henrik Valkeapää, 1993: *Fysihkka- ja kemijatearpmat: sámegielas dárogillii, dárogielas sámegillii. [Guovdageaidnu.]*
- Oknytt = *Oknytt: Johan Nordlander-sällskapets tidskrift. 1–. Umeå 1980–.*
- Ortnamnsregistret [The Internet Place Names Register at the Swedish Institute for Language and Folklore], at: [http://www.sofi.se/servlet/GetDoc?meta\\_id=1759](http://www.sofi.se/servlet/GetDoc?meta_id=1759) (available 21 June, 2013).
- Palander, Marjatta, 1996: *Vaihtelu Savonlinnan seudun välimurteissa. (SKSt 648.) Helsinki*.
- 1999: *Mitä dialektometria on? In: Virittäjä: kotikielen seuran aikakauslehti 1999, pp. 259–265*.
- Palismaa, Maaren & Inger Marie Gaup Eira, 2001: *Davvisámegiela suopmanat. (Gielas gillii, mielas millii 9.) Kárášjohka*.
- Parker, Philip M., 2008: *Webster's Saami-English Thesaurus Dictionary. San Diego, CA*.
- Pettersen, Torunn, 2008: *Nåtidig samisk demografi som forskningstema: status, utfordringer og behov. In: Människor i norr: samisk forskning på nya vägar, pp. 103–116. [Ed. by] P. Sköld. (Skrifter från Centrum för samisk forskning 8.) Umeå*.
- Plantinus, Zacharias, [1672] 1890: *Ein lappisches wörterverzeichnis. [Ed. by] E.N. Setälä. In: JSFOu 8, pp. 85–104*.
- Porsanger, Jelena, 2007: *Bassejoga čáhci: gáldut nuortasámiid eamioskkoldaga birra álgo-álbmotmetodologiijaid olis. Kárášjohka*.

- Qvigstad, Just, 1893: *Nordische Lehnwörter im Lappischen*. (Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlingar for 1893:1.) Christiania.
- 1899: Uebersicht der geschichte der lappischen sprachforschung. In: JSFOu 16:3, pp. 11–29.
- 1925: Die lappischen Dialekte in Norwegen. In: *Zur Sprach- und Volkskunde der norwegischen Lappen*, pp. 1–20. [By] J. Qvigstad. (Oslo Etnografiske Museums skrifter 1:1.) Oslo.
- 1933: Die Sprache in Tornaeus' *Manuale Lapponicum*. In: *Liber semisaecularis Societatis Fenno-Ugricae*, pp. 336–350. (MSFOu 67.) Helsinki.
- [1930s?] 2004: [O]rdbok fra Ibestad, Lenvik og Ofoten. [Ed. by] A. Skåden & A.R. Eriksen & M. Einejord. [Evenskjær.]
- Qvigstad, Just & Karl Bernhard Wiklund, 1899: *Bibliographie der lappischen Litteratur*. (MSFOu 13.) Helsingfors.
- Rangius, Lars, [1716] 1970: [Letter to Georg Wallin, 16 Jan., 1716]. In: Nordberg 1970, p. 17.
- Rantala, Leif, 1994: Samerna på Kolahalvön: deras situation idag. In: JSFOu 85, pp. 200–204.
- 1996: Guoládaga sámiiid gielladilli 1995. In: *Sámegiela ja sámii girjjálašvuoda dutkanja bagadansymposia, čavčča 1995*, pp. 38–41. Guodageaidnu.
- Rantala, Leif & Alefina Sergina, 2009: Áhkčila sápmelaččat: oanehis muitalus sámegoavkku birra, man mañimuš sámegielaš olmmoš jámii 29.12.2003. (Lapin yliopiston kasvatustieteellisiä raportteja 8.) Roavvenjárga.
- Rapport 1994 = Rapport om situasjonen for samisk språk i Norge i 1993. Guovdageaidnu 1994. (Mimeograph).
- Rask, Rasmus, [1819] 1932–33: En Afhandling om Sprogkyndigheden (Lingvistikken), især de finniske Folkeslags Inddeling. In: *Udvalgte Afhandlinger 2*, pp. 239–283. [Ed. by] L. Hjelmslev. København.
- 1832: Ræsonneret Lappisk Sproglære efter den Sprogart, som bruges af Fjældlapperne i Porsangerfjorden i Finmarken: en omarbejdelse af Prof. Knud Leems Lappiske Grammatica. København.
- (1836) 1932–33: Om Lappiskens Oprindelse. In: *Udvalgte Afhandlinger 2*, pp. 321–350. [Ed. by] L. Hjelmslev. København.
- Rättigheter stärks = Rättigheter stärks för de nationella minoriteterna. Faktblad, Regeringskansliet, Integrations- och jämställdhetsdepartementet, [Stockholm], 24 June, 2009, at: <http://www.regeringen.se/content/1/c6/12/27/28/26f8703c.pdf> (available 21 June, 2013).
- Rheen, Samuel, [1671] 1897: En kortt Relation om Lapparnes Lefwarne och Sedher [...]. In: SvLm 17:1.
- RLR = *Revue de linguistique romane*. 1–. Strasbourg 1925–.
- Ruong, Israel, 1943: *Lappische Verbalableitung dargestellt auf Grundlage des Pite-lappischen*. (UUÅ 1943:10.) Uppsala.
- 1970: *Min sámigiella: lärobok i samiska*. [Stockholm.]
- Rydving, Håkan, 1986a: Несколько замечаний о результатах исследования саамской диалектологии в предалах ЛАЕ. In: *Советское Финно-Угроведение 22*, pp. 198–202.
- 1986b: Samiska sjönamn på *-hau're*. In: *Fenno-Ugrica Suecana: tidskrift för finsk-ugrisk forskning i Sverige 8*, pp. 81–100.

- 1987: Shamanistic and postshamanistic terminologies in Saami (Lappish). In: Saami Religion, pp. 185–207. Ed. by T. Ahlbäck. (Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis 12.) Stockholm.
- 1992: The names of the Saami thunder-god in the light of dialect geography. In: Readings in Saami History, Culture and Language 3, pp. 25–40. Ed. by R. Kvist. (Center for Arctic Cultural Research. Miscellaneous Publications 14.) Umeå.
- 1995: The Saami literary languages: problems of unification. In: Zur Frage der uralischen Schriftsprachen / Вопросы уральских литературных языков, pp. 25–30. [Ed. by] G. Zaicz. (Linguistica A:17.) Budapest.
- 1996: Tre av Wiklunds elever. In: Finsk-ugriska institutionen i Uppsala 1894–1994, pp. 61–73. [Ed. by] R. Raag & L.-G. Larsson. (Ursus 2.) Uppsala.
- 2000: Lars Levi Læstadius og det første lulesamiske skriftspråket. In: Lars Levi Læstadius: botaniker, lingvist, etnograf, teolog, pp. 69–76. [Ed. by] B. Jonsell & I. Nordal & H. Rydving. (Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi. 1. Matematisk-naturvitenskapelig klasse, Skrifter, Ny serie 40 / 2. Historisk-filosofisk klasse, Skrifter, Ny serie 24 / Kungl. Vetenskapsakademien) Oslo & Stockholm.
- 2004: Language proficiency and ethnicity: the Sami case. In: Circumpolar Ethnicity and Identity, pp. 357–370. Ed. by T. Irimoto & T. Yamada. (Senri Ethnological Studies 65.) Osaka.
- 2006: Sydsamiskan i Trøndelag. In: Regional språkhistorie, pp. 40–46. [Ed. by] J.R. Hagland. (Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab. Skrifter 2006:1.) Trondheim.
- 2008: Sørsamisk. In: Trøndersk språkhistorie: språkforhold i ein region, pp. 357–397. [By] A. Dalen & J.R. Hagland & S. Hårstad & H. Rydving & O. Stemshaug. (Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab. Skrifter 2008:3.) Trondheim.
- 2012: South Sami *Hovrogaellies* and the early history of the southern Sami. In: Laponicae investigationes et uralicae, pp. 163–167.
- MS: Ume Sami or South Sami? Southern Tärna in the Sami dialectal landscape. (Manuscript for a lecture at the University of Göttingen, 7 Dec. 2012).
- Saamen kielilaki 15.12.2003 / 1086, at: <http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/2003/20031086> (available 21 June, 2013).
- Saga och sed = Saga och sed: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademiens årsbok. 1–. Uppsala 1932–.
- Salminen, Tapani, 1994–2012: Finno-Ugrian Languages: Classification of the Uralic (Finno-Ugrian) languages, with present numbers of speakers and areas of distribution (last updated 2 July 2009), at: <http://www.helsinki.fi/~tasalmin/fu.html> (available 21 June, 2012).
- Samene: en håndbok. [Ed. by] Aa. Solbakk. [Guovdageaidnu & Kárášjohka] 1990.
- Samerna i Sverige = Samerna i Sverige: stöd åt språk och kultur. Betänkande av Sameutredningen. Bilagor. (SOU 1975:100.) Stockholm.
- Sámi dieđalaš áigečála = Sámi dieđalaš áigečála. 1–. Tromsø 1994–. As from 2013, open access at: <http://site.uit.no/aigecala/> (available 21 June 2013).
- Sámi giellatekno = Sámi giellatekno, at: <http://giellatekno.uit.no> (available 21 June, 2013).
- De samiska språken i Sverige 2012: lägesrapport. [Ed. by] I.M. Steinfjell & I. Vannar. [Kiruna] 2013.
- Samisk språkunderekse 2012. [Ed. by] K.J. Solstad. (NF-rapport 2012:7.) Bodø 2012.
- Sammallahti, Pekka, 1985: Die Definition von Sprachgrenzen in einem Kontinuum von Dialekten: die lappischen Sprachen und einige Grundfragen der Dialektologie. In: Dialectologia Uralica, pp. 149–158.
- 1989: Sámi-suoma sátnegirji / Saamelais-suomalainen sanakirja. Ohcejohka.

- 1990a: Dihtorsánit. Ohcejohka.
- 1990b: The Sámi language: past and present. In: *Arctic Languages*, pp. 437–458.
- 1993: Sámi–suoma–sámi sátnegirji / Saamelais–suomalais–saamelainen sanakirja. Ohcejohka.
- 1997: Finnish – Saami. In: *Kontaktlinguistik* 2, pp. 1015–1019.
- 1998a: Saamic. In: *The Uralic Languages*, pp. 43–95.
- 1998b: *The Saami Languages: An Introduction*. Kárášjohka.
- 2002: *North Saami Resource Dictionary*. (Publications of the Giellagas Institute 1.) Oulu.
- 2005: Láidehus sámegiela cealkkaoahpa dutkamii. Kárášjohka.
- 2007a: *Gielladutkama terminologija*. Kárášjohka.
- 2007b: *Inarisaamen käänteissanakirja / Inari Saami Reverse Dictionary*. (Publications of the Giellagas Institute 6.) Oulu.
- Sammallahti, Pekka & Anastasiya Hvorostuhina (Анастасия Хворостухина), 1991: *Unna sámi–cāmь, cāmь–sámi sátnegirjjáš / Удць sámi–cāmь, cāmь–sámi соагкнэгка*. Ohcejohka.
- Sammallahti, Pekka & Matti Morottaja, 1983: *Säämi–suoma–säämi š kovlasänikirje / Inarinsaame–suomi–inarinsaame koulusanakirja*. (Ráidu. Ruovttueatnan gielaide dutkanguovddaža sámegiela doaimmahusat 1.) Helsset.
- 1993: *Säämi–suomâ sänikirje / Inarinsaamelais–suomalainen sanakirja*. Ohcejohka.
- Sammallahti, Pekka & Jouni Mosnikoff, 1991: *Suomi–koltansaame sanakirja / Lää’dd-sää’ m sää’ nke’ rjj*. Ohcejohka.
- Sammallahti, Pekka & Klaus Peter Nickel, 2006: *Sámi–duiskka sátnegirji / Saamisch–deutsches Wörterbuch*. Kárášjohka.
- Sandberg, Gerhard, 1781: *Lexicon lapponicum bipartium: pars secunda danico-latino-lapponica*. Havniæ.
- Sápmelaččat. [Ed. by] Aa. Solbakk. [Guovdageaidnu & Kárášjohka] 1993.
- Sára, Máret. 1996. *Eatnigiella. Fáddágirji 2: [báikenamat]*. Kárášjohka.
- Schefferus, Johannes, 1673: *Lapponia: id est, regionis lapponum et gentis nova et verissima descriptio [...]*. Francofurti.
- (1673) 1674: *The History of Lapland*. Oxford [English translation of Schefferus 1673.], at: <http://www.kb.se/F1700/Lapland/Lapland.htm> (available 21 June, 2013).
- Scheller, Elisabeth, 2011: *The Sámi language situation in Russia*. In: *Ethnic and Linguistic Context of Identity: Finno-Ugric Minorities*, pp. 79–96. Ed. by R. Grünthal & M. Kovács. (Uralica Helsinkiensia 5.) Helsinki.
- Schlachter, Wolfgang, 1958: *Wörterbuch des Waldlappendialekts von Malå und Texte zur Ethnographie*. (LSFU 14.) Helsinki.
- 1991: *Stufenwechselstörungen im Malälappischen: Aufbau oder Abbau eines Systems?* (VDSUA 33.) Wiesbaden.
- Séguy, Jean, 1971: *La relation entre la distance spatiale et la distance lexicale*. In: *RLR* 35, pp. 335–357.
- 1973a: *Atlas linguistique de la Gascogne*. 6. (Atlas linguistique de la France par regions.) Paris.
- 1973b: *La dialectométrie dans l’Atlas linguistique de la Gascogne*. In: *RLR* 37, pp. 1–24.
- Setälä, Eemil Nestor, 1888: *Om de finsk-ugriska språken*. In: *Språkvetenskapliga sällskapets i Uppsala förhandlingar 1885–1888*, pp. 81–104.
- 1890: *Ein lappisches wörterverzeichnis von Zacharias Plantinus: mit einleitung nach der originalhandschrift herausgegeben*. In: *JSFOu* 8, pp. 85–104.

- Seurujärvi-Kari, Irja, 2012: Ale jaskkot eatnigiella: alkuperäiskansaliikkeen ja saamen kielen merkitys saamelaisten identiteetille. Helsinki.
- Siegl, Florian, 2012: Strövtåg i umesamiskan. In: *Laponicae investigationes et uralicae*, pp. 203–217.
- Simonsen, Dag Finn, 1992: Sámiigiella – almmolaš giella: en sammenlikning mellom lovregler for bruk av samisk i Norge, Sverige og Finland. In: *Språk i Norden 1992*, pp. 100–109. (Nordiska språksekretariatets skrifter 13.) Stockholm.
- Sjögren, Andreas Johan, 1828: Anteckningar om församlingarne i Kemi-lappmark. Helsingfors.
- Skåden, Asbjørg, 2010: Márkku sánit. [Evenskjer.]
- Skanke, Hans, [1730] 1745: Om Quænerne og de 3<sup>de</sup> fornemste Finners Sprogs Dialecter, nemlig den Qvænske, Lappiske og Finniske. In: *Samling af Adskillige Nyttige og Opbyggelige Materier 7*, pp. 603–608.
- Sköld, Tryggve, 1961: Die Kriterien der urnordischen Lehnwörter im Lappischen. 1. (Skrifter utgivna av Institutionen för nordiska språk vid Uppsala universitet 8.) Uppsala.
- 1986: Pehr Fjellström och det svensksamiska skriftspråket. In: *Saga och sed 1984*, pp. 15–26.
- SKrULMA = Skrifter utgivna genom Dialekt- [earlier: Landsmåls-] och Folkminnesarkivet i Uppsala. Uppsala.
- SKSt = Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia. Helsinki.
- Skum, Marja-Kristin, 2013: Giellamolsun sámi boazodoalus / Språkbyte inom rensköteln. Karasjok.
- Söder, Torbjörn, 2001: Az első ismert lapp szöveg. In: *Ünnepi könyv Keresztes László tiszteletére*, pp. 561–567. [Ed. by] S. Maticsák & G. Zaicz & T. Lahdelma. (Folia Uralica Debreceniensia 8.) Debrecen & Jyväskylä.
- Sortelius, Nils-Olof. (2007) 2012. Ortnamn med lulesamisk stavning, at: <http://www.same-tinget.se/1670> (available 21 June, 2013).
- Spiik, Nils Eric, 1977: Lulesamisk grammatik. [Jokkmokk.]
- 1994: Lulesamisk ordbok. Jokkmokk.
- Språklag utfärdad den 28 maj 2009 (Svensk författningssamling [SFS] 2009:600.). Stockholm.
- SSA = Suomen sanojen alkuperä: etymologinen sanakirja 1–3. [Ed. by] E. Itkonen & U.-M. Kulonen et al. (Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 62 / SKSt 556.) Helsinki (1992–2000) 2001.
- Stanford, James N. & Dennis R. Preston, 2009: The lure of a distant horizon: variation in indigenous minority languages. In: *Variation in Indigenous Minority Languages*, pp. 1–22.
- Stockfleth, Nils Vibe, 1840: Grammatik i det lappiske Sprog, saaledes som det tales i norsk-Finmarken. 1. Bogstav- og Formlæren. Christiania.
- 1848: Bidrag til Kundskab om Finnerne i Kongeriget Norge. 1. Christiania.
- 1851: Yderligere Bidrag til Kundskab om de finske Sprogforholde i Finmarkens og Nordlandenes Amter [...]. Christiania.
- 1852: Norsk-lappisk Ordbog. Christiania.
- Supphellen, Steinar, 2003: Knud Leem og hans språkprofessorat i lærdomshistorisk perspektiv. In: *Knud Leem og det samiske*, pp. 17–27, 127.
- Svanberg, Ingvar, 1986: Sockenlappar. In: *Rig 69:4*, pp. 97–118.
- 1999: Hästslaktare och korgmakare: resursutnyttjande och livsstil bland sockenlappar. (Skrifter utgivna av Johan Nordlander-sällskapet 21.) Umeå.

- Svenskt ortnamnslexikon. [Ed. by] M. Wahlberg. Uppsala 2003.
- Sveriges sju inhemska språk = Sveriges sju inhemska språk: ett minoritetsspråksperspektiv. [Ed. by] K. Hyltenstam. Lund 1999.
- SvLm = Svenska landsmål och svenskt folkliv [Earlier: Nyare bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmålen ock svenskt folkliv]. 1–. Uppsala 1879–.
- Svonni, Mikael, 1990: Sámi–ruota, ruota–sámi sátnegirji / Samisk–svensk, svensk–samisk ordbok. Jokkmokk.
- 1993: Samiska skolbarns samiska: en undersökning av minoritetsspråksbehärskning i en språkbyteskontext. (AUUm. Umeå Studies in the Humanities 113.) Umeå.
- 1998: Sami. In: *Minority Languages in Scandinavia, Britain and Ireland*, pp. 21–49. Ed. by A.Ó. Corraín & S. Mac Mathúna. (AUU. Studia Celtica Upsaliensia 3.) Uppsala.
- 2006: Umesamiskan: det gåtfulla språket. In: *Sápmi Y1K: livet i samernas bosättningsområden för ett tusen år sedan*, pp. 151–170. [Ed. by] A. Amft & M. Svonni. (Samiska studier 3.) Umeå.
- 2008a: Sámi languages in the Nordic countries and Russia. In: *Multilingual Europe: Facts and Policies*, pp. 233–249. Ed. by G. Extra & D. Gorter. (Contributions to the Sociology of Language 96.) Berlin.
- 2008b: Samiskan i Sverige idag. In: *Váimmus čiegan sániid*, pp. 99–111.
- 2012: Language change among the Jukkasjärvi Sami. In: *Laponicae investigationes et uralicae*, pp. 233–242.
- 2013: Davvisámegiela–ruotagiela, ruotagiela–davvisámegiela sátnegirji / Nordsamisk–svensk, svensk–nordsamisk ordbok. Kárášjohka.
- Taagepera, Rein & Ago Künnap, 2005: Distances among Uralic and other Northern Eurasian languages. In: *Linguistica Uralica* 41, pp. 161–181.
- Tegengren, Helmer, 1952: En utdöd lappkultur i Kemi lappmark: studier i Nordfinlands kolonisationshistoria. (Acta Academiae Aboensis. Humaniora 19:4.) Åbo.
- Tillinger, Gábor, 2008: Samiskans gränser: nya metoder för den samiska dialektindelningen. In: *Váimmus čiegan sániid*, pp. 117–123.
- 2009: Les limites des langues sames: nouvelles méthodes de la classification des langues et des dialectes – avec l'exemple de certaines langues finno-ougriennes, scandinaves et romanes. In: *L'Image du Sápmi: études comparées*, pp. 461–478. [Ed. by] K. Andersson. (Humanistica Oerebroensia. Artes et linguae 15.) Örebro.
- Todal, Jon, 2007: Samisk språk i Svahken sijte: sørsamisk vitalisering gjennom barnehage og skule. (Diedut 2007: 1.) Guovdageaidnu.
- 2008: Når er eit språk forsvunne? Kritiske merknader til språkdødmetaforen. In: *Váimmus čiegan sániid*, pp. 124–130.
- Tornæus, Johannes J., 1648: *Manuale Lapponicum* [...]. Stockholm.
- [1672] 1772: *Beskrifning, Öfwer Tornå och Kemi Lappmarker*. [Ed. by] S.S. Loenbom. Stockholm.
- Ursus = Ursus: skriftserie utgiven av Finsk-ugriska institutionen i Uppsala. Uppsala.
- Utsi, Egil, 1984: Dearvvasvuoda- ja sosialsuorggi sánit ja dadjanvuogit / Medisinske og sosiale ord og uttrykk fra samisk til norsk. Tana.
- 1986: *Anatomia*. Tana.
- 1998: *Medisinsk lommeparlør: norsk–samisk*. Kárášjohka.
- Utsi, Egil & Håkon Jenssen, 2006: *Apotekordliste: reseptparlør på norsk, samisk og finsk*. Kárášjohka.
- Utvik, Unni Karin, 1982: Det samiske språket i Sovjetunionen. In: *Syn og segn: norsk tidskrift* 1982:1, pp. 55–59.

- UUÅ = Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift. Uppsala.
- Váimmus čiegan sániid = Váimmus čiegan sániid – I hjärtat gömmer jag orden: samiskt symposium till minne av Annika Jansson den 4–5 februari 2005. [Ed. by] L.-G. Larsson & T. Söder. (Opuscula Uralica 9.) Uppsala 2008.
- Variation in Indigenous Minority Languages. Ed. by J.N. Stanford & D.R. Preston. (Impact: Studies in Language and Society 25.) Amsterdam 2009.
- VDSUA = Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica. Wiesbaden.
- Vest, Jovvna-Ánde, 1995: Synonymasátnegirji. Inari.
- Viereck, Wolfgang, 1985: Linguistic atlases and dialectometry: the survey of English dialects. In: *Studies in Linguistic Geography: The Dialects of English in Britain and Ireland*, pp. 94–112. Ed. by J.M. Kirk & S. Sanderson & J.D.A. Widdowson. London.
- Wehlmann, Susanne, 1991: *Dialektometrische Studien zum Korsischen und Sardischen: eine Gesamtdarstellung auf der Grundlage von zwei Sprachatlanten*. 1. Essen.
- Wexonius, Michael Olai, 1650: *Epitome descriptionis Sueciæ, Gothiæ, Fenningiæ, et subjectarum provinciarum*. Aboe.
- Wickman, Bo, 1959: Swedish contributions to Lapp linguistics. In: *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 89:2, pp. 149–153.
- 1975: Phonologische Analyse des Lulelappischen. In: *Phonologische Analyse der uralischen Sprachen*, pp. 1–5. (Linguistische Studien. Reihe A. Arbeitsberichte 22.) Berlin.
- 1980: Features of dialect mixture in the Lappish dialect of Northern Gällivare. In: *Congressus Quintus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum. Pars 3: Dissertationes symposiorum linguisticorum*, pp. 267–272. [Ed. by] O. Ikola. Turku.
- Wiik, Kalevi, 2004: *Suomen murteet: kvantitatiivinen tutkimus*. (SKSt 987.) Helsinki.
- Wikipedia [English] = Wikipedia: The Free Encyclopedia, at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/> (available 21 June, 2013).
- Wikipedia [Finnish] = Wikipedia: vapaa tietosanakirja, at: <http://fi.wikipedia.org/wiki/> (available 21 June, 2013).
- Wikipedia [North Saami] = Wikipedia: friddja diehtosátnegirji, at: <http://se.wikipedia.org/wiki/> (available 21 June, 2013).
- Wikipedia [Norwegian (bokmål)] = Wikipedia: den frie encyklopedi, at: <http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/> (available 21 June, 2013).
- Wikipedia [Russian] = Википедия: свободная энциклопедия, at: <http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/> (available 21 June, 2013).
- Wikipedia [Swedish] = Wikipedia: den fria encyklopedin, at: <http://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/> (available 21 June, 2013).
- Wiklund, Karl Bernhard, 1890: *Lule-lappisches Wörterbuch*. (MSFOu 1.) Helsinki.
- 1891: *Laut- und Formenlehre der Lule-lappischen Dialekte*. (Göteborgs Kongl. Vetenskaps och Vitterhets Samhälles Handlingar. Ny Tidsföljd 25.) Göteborg.
- 1893: Die südlappischen Forschungen des Herrn Dr. Ignacz Halász. In: *JSFOu* 11:2.
- 1896: Entwurf einer urlappischen Lautlehre. 1: Einleitung, Quantitätsgesetze, Accent, Geschichte der hauptbetonten Vokale. (MSFOu 10:1.) Helsinki.
- 1906: Zur Lehre vom Stufenwechsel im Lappischen. In: *FUF* 6, pp. 5–16.
- (1901) 1915: *Lärobok i lapska språket*. Uppsala.
- 1922: De första lapska böckerna. In: *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 9, pp. 13–28.
- 1924: Samlingar och desiderata rörande de svenska lapparnas språk, ortnamn, folklore, religion, sång och etnografi. In: *Betänkande med förslag till ett systematiskt utforskande av den svenska allmogekulturen*. 2: Allmogeforskningen i Sverige och dess nordiska grannländer, pp. 194–203. (SOU 1924:27.) Stockholm.

- Wilson, Karin, 2003: Lars Rangius: bråkstake och bibelöversättare på 1700-talet. In: *Oknytt* 2003:3–4, pp. 31–39.
- 2008: Markusevangeliet i Lars Rangius samiska översättning från 1713. (*Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi* 101.) Uppsala.
- Zaykov, Petr M. (Петр М. Зайков), 1987: Бабинский диалект саамского языка (фонологи-морфологическое исследование). Петрозаводск.
- 1996: Sprachliche Besonderheiten des Akkalalappischen. In: *Lapponica et Uralica*, pp. 137–142.
- ZDL = Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik. 1–. Wiesbaden 1969–.

# List of place names

The names are written in order of the Eng. alphabet. The numbers in semibold are the code numbers of the SaaALE I localities (cf. map 5.1).

- Aanaar SaaL. / SaaN. Anár / Fin. Inari /  
Nor. & Swe. Enare = **I. 04**
- Aarborte SaaS. / Nor. Hattfjellidal
- Ååre (SaaS.) / Swe. Åre
- Aarsjogk SaaKld. / Rus. Varzina (Вар-  
зина) = **I. 83**
- Áhtávuodna SaaL. / Nor. Efjorden
- Akkala, see A'kkel
- A'kkel SaaSk. / Rus. Babino (Бабино) /  
Fin. Akkala = **I. 85**
- Álaheadju SaaN. / Nor. Alta
- Álaheaivuotna SaaN. / Nor. Altafjord
- Alta, see Álaheadju
- Altafjord, see Álaheaivuotna
- Älvdalen Swe.
- Ammarnäs, see Gávtsjávrrie
- Anár, see Aanaar
- Anárjohka, see Aanaar
- Angeli, see Áŋgel
- Áŋgel SaaN. / Fin. Angeli
- Åre, see Ååre
- Arjeplog, see Árjepluovve
- Árjepluovve SaaL. / Swe. Arjeplog = **I. 45**
- Árvehure, see Árviesjávrrie
- Árves SaaL. / Swe. Arves
- Arvidsjaur, see Árviesjávrrie
- Árviehávrrie, see Árviesjávrrie
- Árviesjávrrie (Árviehávrrie, Árvehure)  
SaaU. / Swe. Arvidsjaur = **I. 49**
- Ásele, see Sjeltie
- Á'vvel SaaSk. / Fin. Ivalo
- Babino, see A'kkel
- Badjegeavŋjis SaaN. / Nor. Ailerstry-  
kene / Fin. Yläköngäs
- Báhccavuotna SaaN. / Nor. Balsfjord
- Ballangen, see Bálák
- Balsfjord, see Báhccavuotna
- Barturte SaaL. / Swe. Barturte
- Basstitjárro SaaL. / SaaN. Bastečearru /  
Swe. Mellanbyn
- Berg, see Bjerje
- Bjerje SaaS. / Swe. Berg
- Bihtámädno, see Byöhdameiednuo
- Bindal Nor.
- Birgguj SaaL. / Swe. Björkfjället
- Björkfjället, see Birgguj
- Boftsa, see Bokcá
- Bokcá SaaN. / Nor. Boftsa
- Bonakas, see Bonjákas
- Bonjákas SaaN. / Nor. Bonakas
- Borisoglebskiy, see K̄eeu'ŋes
- Buolbmát SaaN. / Nor. Polmak = **I. 23**
- Byöhdameiednuo SaaU. / SaaL. Bihtám-  
ädno / Swe. Piteälven
- Čáhcesuolo SaaN. / Nor. Vadsø / Fin.  
Vesisaari
- Čal'mny-Varre SaaKld. / Rus. Ivanovka  
(Ивановка)
- Če'vetjäu'rr SaaSk. / Fin. Sevettijärvi =  
**I. 02**
- Čohkkiras SaaN. / Swe. Jukkasjärvi = **I. 41**
- Čovččočearru SaaN. / Swe. (earlier)  
Saarivuoma
- Ču'kksuál SaaSk. / Rus. Yokostrov  
(Йокостров)
- Dálbmá SaaN. / Swe. (earlier) Talma
- Dálbmeluokta SaaN. / Nor. Talvik
- Dalecarlia Eng. / Swe. Dalarna
- Davvesiida SaaN. / Nor. Lebesby
- Davvi-Njárga SaaN. / Nor. Nordkapp
- Deanušaldi SaaN. / Nor. Tanabru

Dearna SaaS. / SaaU. Deärnná / Swe. Tärna  
 Deärnná, see Dearna / Deärnná  
 Deatnu SaaN. / Nor. Tana / Fin. Teno = **1. 24**  
 Divtasvuodna SaaL. / Nor. Tysfjord = **1. 32**  
 Dolstad Nor.  
 Duorbun SaaL. / Swe. Tuorpon  
 Duortnoseatnu SaaN. / Fin. Tornionjoki / Swe. Torneälven  
 Eajra SaaS. / Swe. Idre  
 Eanodat SaaN. / Fin. Enontekiö = **1. 03**  
 Efjorden, se Áhtávuodna  
 Enare, see Aanaar  
 Engerdaelie SaaS / Nor. Engerdal  
 Enontekiö, see Eanodat  
 Essand, see Saante  
 Fálesnuorri SaaN. / Nor. Kvalsund  
 Fauske, see Fuosko  
 Fisher Peninsula, see Giehkirnjárga  
 Fiskerhalvøya, see Giehkirnjárga  
 Flakaberg, see Sádek  
 Folda, see Fuolldá  
 Föllinge Swe.  
 Frööstege SaaS. / Swe. Frostviken  
 Frostviken, see Frööstege  
 Fuolldá SaaL. / Nor. Folda  
 Fuosko SaaL. / Nor. Fauske  
 Gaala SaaS. / Nor. Grane = **1. 33**  
 Gabná SaaN. / Swe. (earlier) Rautasvuoma  
 Gåebrie SaaS. / Nor. Riasten = **1. 35**  
 Gaelpie SaaS. / Swe. Kall  
 Gáidun, see Gájddom  
 Gáinnas (Gálás) SaaN. / Swe. Kalix  
 Gáivuotna SaaN. / Nor. Kåfjord  
 Gájddom SaaL. / SaaN. Gáidun / Swe. Kaitum  
 Gájdomädno SaaL. / Swe. Kaitumälven  
 Gáláseatnu SaaN. / Swe. Kalixälven  
 Gällivare, see Jiellevárre / Jiellevárri  
 Gálsa SaaN. / Nor. Karlsøy  
 Gárasavvon SaaN. / Swe. Karesuando = **1. 42**  
 Gáregasnjárga SaaN. / Fin. Karigasniemi  
 Gävle, see Tjarvetje  
 Gávtsjávrrie SaaU. / Swe. Ammarnäs

Geaggánvuopmi SaaN. / Swe. Könkömävuooma  
 Giärggiesuvvane, see Gierkiesovvene  
 Giehkirnjárga SaaN. / Rus. Poluostrov Rybačiy (Полуостров Рыбачий), Nor. Fiskerhalvøya / Fin. Kalastaja-saarento  
 Gierkiesovvene SaaS. / SaaU. Giärggiesuvvane / Swe. Stensele  
 Gihkávrrie SaaU. / Swe. Kikkejaure  
 Girjes SaaL. / SaaN. Girjjis / Swe. Norrkaitum = **1. 43**  
 Giron / Swe. Kiruna / Fin. Kiiruna  
 Girvasozero, see Sââ'rvesjäu'rr  
 Gran Swe.  
 Grane, see Gaala  
 Gratangen, see Rivttát  
 Guovdageaidnu SaaN. / Nor. Kautokeino = **1. 28**  
 Hábmmer SaaL. / Nor. Hamarøy  
 Háhpárándi SaaN. / Swe. Haparanda  
 Hamarøy, see Hábmmer  
 Hámmárfeasta SaaN. / Nor. Hammerfest  
 Hammerfest, see Hámmárfeasta  
 Haparanda, see Háhpárándi  
 Härjedalen, see Hjerjedaelie  
 Háršta SaaN. / Nor. Harstad  
 Harstad, see Háršta  
 Hattfjeldal, see Aarborte  
 Hjerjedaelie SaaS. / Swe. Härjedalen  
 Hirvasjärvi, see Sââ'rvesjäu'rr  
 Hotagen, see Jijnjevaerie  
 Ibestad, see Ivvárstáđit  
 Idre, see Eajra  
 Imandra, see Oaver  
 Inari, see Aanaar  
 Ivalo, see Á'vvel  
 Ivgu SaaN. / Nor. Lyngen  
 Ivgubađajohka SaaN. / Nor. Skibotnelva  
 Ivgubahta SaaN. / Nor. Skibotn  
 Ivvárstáđit SaaN. / Nor. Ibbestad  
 Jáhkågasska SaaL. / Swe. Jákkákaska  
 Jáhkámáhkke (Dálvvadis) SaaL. / Swe. Jokkmokk = **1. 46**  
 Jiellevárre (Váhtjer) SaaL. / SaaN. Jiellevárri (Váhčir) / Swe. Gällivare  
 Jijnjevaerie SaaS. / Swe. Hotagen  
 Jofkyj SaaKld. / Rus. Yokanga (Юканга) = **1. 84**

- Jokkmokk, see Jåhkâmåhkke  
 Jona, see Juonn  
 Jovnevaerie SaaS. / Swe. Offerdal = **1. 52**  
 Jukkasjärvi, see Čohkkiras  
 Julevuädno SaaL. / Swe. Luleälven  
 Juonn SaaSk. / Rus. Jona (Ёна)  
 Kaalasvuoma, see Leaváš  
 Käddluht SaaSk. / Rus. Kandalakša  
 (Кандалакша)  
 Kåfjord, see Gáivuotna  
 Kalastajasaarento, see Giehkirnjárga  
 Kalix, see Gáinnas  
 Kalixälven, see Gáláseatnu  
 Kall, see Gaelpie  
 Kamensk, see Kiintuš  
 Kárášjohka SaaN. / Nor. Karasjok = **1. 29**  
 Karasjok, see Kárášjohka  
 Karehâšjávri SaaI. / Fin. Kirakkajärvi  
 Karesuando, see Gárasavvon  
 Karigasniemi, see Gáregasnjárga  
 Karlsøy, see Gálsa  
 Kautokeino, see Guovdageaidnu  
 Ķeeu'ņes SaaSk. / Rus. Borisoglebskiy  
 (Борисоглебский) / Fin. Kolttaköngäs  
 / Nor. Skoltefossen  
 Kiillt SaaKld. / Rus. Kil'din (Кильдин)  
 Kiintuš SaaKld. / Rus. Kamensk (Ка-  
 менск)  
 Kiiruna, see Giron  
 Kikkejaure, see Gihkávrrie  
 Kild'in, see Kiillt  
 Kirakkajärvi, see Karehâšjávri  
 Kiruna, see Giron  
 Koarrdögk SaaKld. / Rus. Voroninsk  
 (Воронинск)  
 Kola, see Kuâlök  
 Kolttaköngäs, see Ķeeu'ņes  
 Könkömävuoma, see Geaggánvuopmi  
 Kuâlök SaaSk. / Rus. Kola (Кола)  
 Kuolajärvi, see Salla  
 Kuopatovsk, see Kyöddemjaavvre  
 Kvalsund, see Fálesnuorri  
 Kvänangen, see Návuotna  
 Kyöddemjaavvre SaaKld. / Rus. Kuro-  
 patovsk (Куропатьёвск)  
 Lágesvuotna SaaN. / Nor. Laksefjord  
 Láhpoluoppal SaaN.  
 Láhppi SaaN. / Nor. Loppe  
 Lainiovuoma, see Lávdnjitvuopmi  
 Laisälven, see Lájssojáhkå  
 Lájssojáhkå SaaL. / Swe. Laisälven  
 Lákkovuotna SaaN. / Nor. Langfjord  
 Laksefjord, see Lágesvuotna  
 Langfjord, see Lákkovuotna  
 Lavangen, see Loabát  
 Lávdnjitvuopmi SaaN. / Swe. Lainio-  
 vuoma  
 Leangáviika SaaN. / Nor. Lenvik  
 Leaváš SaaN. / Swe. (earlier) Kaalas-  
 vuoma  
 Lebesby, see Davvesiida  
 Lejjaavv'r SaaKld. / Rus. Lyavozero  
 (Лявозеро)  
 Lenvik, see Leangáviika  
 Lierne, see Lijre  
 Lijre SaaS. / Nor. Lierne  
 Liksjoe SaaS. / SaaU. Likssjuo / Swe.  
 Lycksele  
 Loabát SaaN. / Nor. Lavangen  
 Loppe, see Láhppi  
 Lovozero, see Luujaavv'r  
 Luleälven, see Julevuädno  
 Lumbovsk, see Lyymbes  
 Luokta-Mávas SaaL. / Swe. Luokta-  
 Mavas  
 Luspie SaaS. / SaaU. Lusspie / Swe.  
 Storuman  
 Luujaavv'r SaaKld. / Rus. Lovozero  
 (Ловозеро) = **1. 82**  
 Lyavozero, see Lejjaavv'r  
 Lycksele, see Liksjoe / Likssjuo  
 Lyngen, see Ivgu  
 Lyymbes SaaKld. / Rus. Lumbovsk  
 (Лумбовск)  
 Maaziell'k SaaKld. / Rus. Masel'ga  
 (Масельга)  
 Malå, see Máláge  
 Máláge SaaU. / Swe. Malå  
 Mátatvuopmi SaaN. / Nor. Målselv  
 Málmahávrrie SaaU. / Swe. Malmesjaure  
 Malmesjaure, see Málmahávrrie  
 Målselv, see Mátatvuopmi  
 Manndalen, see Olmmáivággi  
 Masel'ga, see Maaziell'k  
 Masi, see Máze  
 Maskaure, see Másskávrrie  
 Másskávrrie SaaU. / Swe. Maskaure

- Máze SaaN. / Nor. Masi  
 Mearohke SaaS. / Nor. Meråker  
 Mellanbyn, see Basstijärro / Bastečearru  
 Meråker, see Mearohke  
 Míhte SaaS. / Swe. Mittådalen  
 Mittådalen, see Míhte  
 Mosjøen, see Mossere  
 Moskavuotna SaaN. / Nor. Ullsfjord  
 Mossere SaaS. / Nor. Mosjøen  
 Motovskij, see Mue'tk̄kvuõnn  
 Mue'tk̄ SaaSk. / Rus. Muotka (Муотка)  
 Mue'tk̄kvuõnn SaaSk. / Rus. Motovskiy (Мотовский)  
 Muotka, see Mue'tk̄  
 Namdalen, see Njaarke  
 Návuotna SaaN. / Nor. Kvänangen = **1. 27**  
 Neassah SaaS. / Swe. Tännäs = **1. 54**  
 Nejden, see Njauddâm  
 Nellim, see Njeä'llem  
 Nesseby, see Unjárga  
 Nitsijärvi, see Nje'žžjäu'rr  
 Njaarke SaaS. / Nor. Namdalen  
 Njauddâm SaaSk. / Nor. Neiden / Fin. Näätämo  
 Njeä'llem SaaSk. / Fin. Nellim = **1. 05**  
 Nje'žžjäu'rr SaaSk. / Fin. Nitsijärvi  
 Njuorggán SaaN. / Fin. Nuorgam  
 Njuõ'ttjäu'rr SaaSk. / Rus. Notozero (Нотозеро) / Fin. Nuortijärvi = **1. 81**  
 Nordkapp, see Davvi-Njárga  
 Nordland Nor.  
 Norrkaitum, see Girjes / Girjiis  
 Northern Dearná SaaS. / SaaU. Deärnná (Ubmeje tjeälddie) / Swe. Tärna = **1. 44**  
 Northern Gällivare, see Basstijärro / Bastečearru and Girjes / Girjiis  
 Notozero, see Njuõ'ttjäu'rr  
 Nuorgam, see Njuorggán  
 Nuortijärvi, see Njuõ'ttjäu'rr  
 Nyrr't syjít SaaKld. / Rus. Semiostrovsk (Семиостровск)  
 Oaver SaaKld. / Rus. Imandra (Имандра)  
 Offerdal, see Jovnevaerie  
 Ofoten, see Ufuohtta  
 Ohcejohka SaaN. / Fin. Utsjoki = **1. 01**  
 Olmmáivággi SaaN. / Nor. Manndalen = **1. 26**  
 Omasvuotna SaaN. / Nor. Storfjord  
 Östersund, se Staare  
 Outakoski, see Vuovdaguoika  
 Overhalla Nor.  
 Paaččjokk, see Páčvei  
 Paatsjoki, see Páčvei  
 Páčvei SaaI. / SaaSk. Paaččjokk / Fin. Paatsjoki / Nor. Pasvikelva / Rus. Paz, Pazreka, Patsoyoki (Паз, Пазрека, Патсойоки)  
 Pasvikelva, see Páčvei  
 Paz, Pazreka, see Paaččjokk  
 Peäccam SaaSk. / Fin. Petsamo / Rus. Pečenga (Печенга)  
 Piteälven, see Byõhđameiednuo  
 Plassje SaaS. / Nor. Røros  
 Polmak, see Buolbmát  
 Poluostrov Rybačiy, see Giehkirnjárga  
 Ponoy, see Pyõnne  
 Porsanger, see Porsáŋgu  
 Porsangerfjorden, see Porsáŋgguvuotna  
 Porsáŋgguvuotna SaaN. / Nor. Porsangerfjorden  
 Porsáŋgu SaaN. / Nor. Porsanger  
 Pulozero, see Puuljaavv'r  
 Puuljaavv'r SaaKld. / Rus. Pulozero (Пулозеро)  
 Pyõnne SaaKld. / Rus. Поной (Поной)  
 Raane SaaS. / SaaU. Ráne / SaaL. Rádno / Nor. Rana  
 Raavrevijhke SaaS. / Nor. Røyrvik = **1. 34**  
 Rádno, see Raane  
 Ran Swe.  
 Rana, see Raane  
 Ráne, see Raane  
 Ráneå, see Rávnna  
 Rasjverta SaaL. & Swe.  
 Rautasvuoma, see Gabná  
 Rávnna SaaL. / Swe. Ráneå  
 Repparfjord, see Riehppovuotna  
 Riasten, see Gåebrie  
 Riehppovuotna SaaN. / Repparfjord  
 Rivttát SaaN. / Nor. Gratangen  
 Røros, see Plassje  
 Røyrvik, see Raavrevijhke

- Ruvhten sįjte SaaS. / Swe. (earlier)  
 Tännäs sameby  
 Säähka SaaS. / Swe. Undersåker  
 Saante SaaS. / Nor. Essand  
 Saarivuoma, see Čovčočoearru  
 Sää'rvesjäu'rr SaaSk. / Rus. Girvasozero  
 (Гирвасозеро) / Fin. Hirvasjärvi  
 Sádek SaaL. / Swe. Flakaberg  
 Salla Fin.; until 1936 Kuolajärvi  
 Sážžá SaaN. / Nor. Senja  
 Seida, see Sieiddá  
 Semioströff, see Nyrr't syjtt  
 Semisjávur-Njarg SaaL. / Swe. Semisjaur-  
 Njarg  
 Senja, see Sážžá  
 Sevettijärvi, see Če'vetjäu'rr  
 Sieiddá SaaN. / Nor. Seida  
 Sierre SaaL. / Swe. Sierr  
 Sierr, see Sierre  
 Silbbajähká SaaL. / Swe. Silbojokk  
 Silbojokk, see Silbbajähká  
 Sirbmá SaaN. / Nor. Sirma  
 Sirma, see Sirbmá  
 Sirges SaaL. / Swe. Sirkas  
 Sirkas, see Sirges  
 Sjeltie SaaS. / Swe. Åsele  
 Skalstugan Swe.  
 Skánit SaaN. / Nor. Skánland = **I. 30**  
 Skánland, see Skánit  
 Skibotn, see Ivgubahta  
 Skibotnelva, see Ivgubađajohka  
 Skierde SaaS. / Nor. Stjørdal  
 Skiervá SaaN. / Nor. Skjærøvø  
 Skiippagurra SaaN.  
 Skjærøvø, see Skiervá  
 Snåase SaaS. / Nor. Snåsa  
 Snåsa, see Snåase  
 Soabbat SaaN. / Fin. Sompio  
 Soađegillii SaaN. / Fin. Sodankylä  
 Sodankylä, see Soađegillii  
 Šonġuj SaaSk. / Rus. Šonguy (Шонгуй)  
 Sompio, see Soabbat  
 Songel'sk, see Suõ'nn'jel  
 Sörkaitum, see Unna Tjerusj  
 Sorsele, see Säärsa / Suorssá  
 Sosnovka, see Sosnyõffke  
 Sosnyõffke SaaKld. / Rus. Sosnovka  
 (Сосновка)  
 Southern Dearnna (Vaadteje) SaaS. /  
 SaaU. Deärnná / Swe. Tärna = **I. 47**  
 Staare SaaS. / Swe. Östersund  
 Ståhkke SaaL. / Swe. Ståkke  
 Ståkke, see Ståhkke  
 Stensele, see Gierkiesovvene / Giärggie-  
 suvvane  
 Stjørdal, see Skierde  
 Stod Nor.  
 Storbacken Swe.  
 Storfjord, see Omasvuotna  
 Storuman, see Luspie / Lusspie  
 Straejmie SaaS. / Swe. Strömsund  
 Strömsund, see Straejmie  
 Suonikylä, see Suõ'nn'jel  
 Suõ'nn'jel SaaSk. / Rus. Songel'sk  
 (Сонгельск) / Fin. Suonikylä /  
 Suorssá SaaU. / Swe. Sorsele = **I. 48**  
 Šuoššjávri SaaN. / Nor. Suossjavri  
 Svaipa, see Svájppá  
 Svájppá SaaL. / Swe. Svaipa  
 Svyatoy Nos Rus. (Святой Нос)  
 Talma, see Dálbmá  
 Talvik, see Dálbmeluokta  
 Tana, see Deatnu  
 Tanabru, see Deanušaldi  
 Tännäs (parish), see Neassah  
 Tännäs (Saami community; Swe. *same-  
 by*), see Ruvhten sįjte  
 Tärna, see Dearnna / Deärnná  
 Teriberka, see Tyrr'byr'  
 Tjarvetje / Swe. Gävle  
 Tjijdtjak SaaL. & Swe.  
 Torneälven, see Duortnoseatnu  
 Tornionjoki, see Duortnoseatnu  
 Trollfjorden, see Vuodavuotna  
 Tuállám SaaSk. / Fin. Tuuloma / Rus.  
 Tuloma (Тулома)  
 Tuloma, see Tuállám  
 Tuorpon, see Duorbun  
 Tuuloma, see Tuállám  
 Tyrr'byr' SaaKld. / Rus. Teriberka (Те-  
 риберка)  
 Tysfjord, see Divtasvuodna  
 Ubmeje, see Urmeje / Ubmeje  
 Ubmejeiednuo, see Urmejenjeano  
 Ubmeje tjeälddie, see Northern Dearnna /  
 Deärnná  
 Udtjá SaaL. / Swe. Udtja

- Ufuohtta SaaL. & SaaN. / Nor. Ofoten  
 Ulliesjaevrie SaaS. / SaaU. Ulliesjávrrie /  
 Swe. Ullisjaure  
 Ullisjaure, see Ulliesjaevrie  
 Ullsfjord, see Moskavuotna  
 Umbajärvi, see Umm'pjaavv'r  
 Umbozero, see Umm'pjaavv'r  
 Umbyn, see Northern Dearn / Deärnná  
 Umeå, see Upmeje / Ubmeje  
 Umeälven, see Upmejenjeanoë / Ubme-  
 jeiednuo  
 Umm'pjaavv'r SaaKld. / Rus. Umbozero  
 (Умбозеро) / Fin. Umbajärvi  
 Undersåker, see Säähka  
 Unjårga SaaN. / Nor. Nesseby = **1. 25**  
 Unna Tjerusj SaaL. / Swe. Sörkaitum  
 Upmeje SaaS. / SaaU. Ubmeje / Swe.  
 Umeå  
 Upmejenjeanoë SaaS. / SaaU. Ubmeje-  
 iednuo / Swe. Umeälven  
 Utsjoki, see Ohcejohka  
 Vaadteje, see Southern Dearn / Deärnná  
 Vaapste SaaS. / Nor. Vefsn  
 Vadsø, see Čáhcesuolu  
 Vågsfjord, see Váhkvierddas  
 Váhkvierddas SaaN. / Nor. Vågsfjord  
 Valbo Swe.  
 Vapsten, see southern Dearn / Deärnná  
 Varanger, see Várjjat  
 Varangerfjorden, see Várjjatvuotna  
 Várjjat SaaN. / Nor. Varanger  
 Várjjatvuotna SaaN. / Nor. Varanger-  
 fjorden  
 Varzina, see Aarsjogk  
 Vefsn, se Vaapste  
 Verdalen Nor.  
 Vilhelmina, see Vuoltjere  
 Voroninsk, see Koarrdõgk  
 Vuoltjere SaaS. / Swe. Vilhelmina = **1. 51**  
 Vuodavuotna SaaN. / Nor. Trollfjorden  
 Vuohčču SaaN. / Fin. Vuotso  
 Vuotso, see Vuohčču  
 Vuovdaguoika SaaN. / Fin. Outakoski  
 Yokanga, see Jofkyj  
 Yokostrov, see Ču'kksuâl.