REVOICING SÁMI NARRATIVES
Revoicing Sámi narratives investigates the relationship between storytellers, contexts and collective tradition, based on an analysis of North Sámi narratives published in the early 1900s. This dissertation “revoices” narratives by highlighting the coexistence of different voices or socio-ideological languages in repertoires and by considering Sámi narratives as utterances by storytellers rather than autonomous products of tradition. Thus, this study serves as an act of “revoicing,” of recovering voices that had been silenced by the scientific discourse which enveloped their passage into print.

Narrators considered “tradition bearers” were interviewed or wrote down folk narratives that were interpreted as representative of a static, dying culture. The approach chosen in this thesis highlights the dynamic and conscious choices of narrative strategies made by these storytellers and the implications of the discourses expressed in narration. By taking into account the intense context of social change going on in Sápmi at the time the narratives emerged, as well as the context that includes narrators, ethnographers and tradition, the analysis demonstrates that storytelling is an elaboration that takes place in negotiation with tradition, genres and individual preferences.

The repertoires of four storytellers are studied according to a methodological framework consisting in critical discourse analysis from a folkloristic perspective. The analysis underscores the polyphony of the narratives by Johan Turi, who related with skillfulness of tradition by taking position as a conscious social actor. This study also investigates the repertoires of storytellers Ellen Utsi, Per Bær and Isak Eira who were interviewed by the Norwegian “lappologist” Just K. Qvigstad. Their contributions to his extensive collection of Sámi narratives express their relation to tradition and to the heteroglossia that surrounded them. Based on a receptionalist approach, this dissertation investigates the implications of these narratives for the North Sámi community at the turn of the twentieth century. Storytelling appears to have had a set of functions for community members, from the normative as regards socialization, information and warning against dangers to the defensive with the elaboration of a discourse about solidarity, identity and empowerment.

Key words: storytelling, folklore, folk narratives, oral tradition, Sámi culture, muitalus, critical discourse analysis, polyphony

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North Sámi Storytelling at the Turn of the 20th Century
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This present study is nothing more than another story, an arena of polyphony where different tongues and influences from different traditions, schools and theoretical frameworks meet. I have striven to harmonize them into a coherent and relevant story that I hope the reader will enjoy.

Umeå, February 2008

Coppélie Cocq
Part I

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Folk narratives recorded from North Sámi storytellers at the turn of the twentieth century form the focus of this study. The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate from a variety of different perspectives the relationship between storytellers, contexts and collective tradition. The contexts in which repertoires emerge are central for an understanding of narrative meaning. As social actors, community members and artists, storytellers elaborate their repertoires in relation to their contexts, to the tradition they are part of, and to their own subjective experiences and preferences.

In turn, storytellers and their narratives have an effect on the collective tradition and on the community. My aim is to explore to what extent and in what ways North Sámi storytellers at the beginning of the twentieth century can be seen as standing in relation to their communities’ collective storytelling tradition.

Previous research has been devoted to recurrent themes and characters peculiar to the Sámi storytelling tradition, and less attention has been allocated to the role of the storyteller in the elaboration of the narratives. I seek to analyze narratives that are part of the Sámi storytelling tradition with a focus on the narrative strategies of the narrators.

The analysis is based on narratives written by the Sámi author Johan Turi and material compiled by the ethnographer Just Qvigstad at the beginning of the twentieth century from the informants Ellen Utsi, Isak Eira and Per Bær. These three storytellers were among the main informants of Qvigstad, contributing a total of 80 stories to the second volume of Lappiske eventyr og sagn (“Sámi tales and legends”), devoted to the regions of Troms and Finnmark.
The point of departure for my study is the premise that narratives serve not just to entertain but also to play a central role in the construction, preservation and modification of discourse. In keeping with Hymes’s statement that “Stories are good to hear, but also good to think” (Hymes, 1992:113), narratives become expressions of discourses specific for the community in which they were performed. Through the analysis of storytelling, we can gain insight into the social norms and values expressed by their narrators. Toward that purpose, I have applied a critical discourse analysis from a folkloristic perspective that gives particular attention to the narrators and the context of the narratives, to the narratives themselves, and to the relations between these and other recorded texts, focusing on the strategies used by the narrators and their implications.

I intend to highlight the value of Sámi narratives as active elaborations by storytellers rather than autonomous products of tradition. Such a perspective on storytelling enables us to approach the temporal context as experienced by those narrators, and to discern the role of the narratives within this specific context. This perspective also gives a voice to the storytellers: Ellen Utsi, Isak Eira, Per Bær and Johan Turi regain their authority as narrators when we take into account the specific characteristics of their repertoires. Consequently, the texts are not regarded as anonymous Sámi stories, but as creative narratives elaborated by specific storytellers.

Most collections of Sámi folklore have dispossessed the narratives of their authors. Thus, valuable aspects have been lost. In this study, attention is restored to the storyteller’s creativity and subjectivity in narration. Based on the premise that telling stories is a way of taking a position, I consider narratives central in understanding the elaboration of representations and social relations. They guide us to the order of discourse of the community in which they take place. By analyzing the discourse they express, we can gain insight into the attitude and position of the narrators toward their social contexts.

Narratives are approached in relation to the collective tradition and to the social context. This implies that the texts we access today have to be viewed in their original context in order to perceive the role they might have played for the narrators and their community.

**THEORY AND METHOD**

I have applied a methodological framework that enables us to study the discourse expressed in narratives as individual expressions of collective storytelling. It
consists of critical discourse analysis from a folkloristic perspective. Fairclough (1992) proposes a three-dimensional conception of discourse analysis which offers a wide range of tools to approach various kinds of texts. He identifies three areas of analysis: texts, discursive practice and social practice. A folkloristic approach completes this model by throwing light upon the interplay between text and context from the perspective of the storyteller in relation to prior narratives and to tradition.

Fairclough’s threefold model is a suitable point of departure for a folkloristic study of narratives, since both such discourse analytical and folkloristic approaches attach great significance to the context of the emergence of a text, to the text itself, and to the relations of it to other texts and to the broader social context. This model also offers the advantage of accentuating the interaction between discursive and non-discursive aspects and revealing how the discourse influences and is influenced by social aspects. As Fairclough summarizes it, “discourse makes people, as well as people make discourse” (Fairclough, 1995:39).

Discourse does not only reproduce structures, it also questions them. From this perspective, discourse analysis offers an angle of approach to social change – even in narratives meant by the ethnographer to prove homogeneity and stasis.

This dissertation focuses on (1) the context of emergence of the narratives, (2) the texts approached folkloristically with focus on the teller’s active strategies of narration (3) the implications of the discourse expressed in narratives. These three components constitute three different means of exploring the (1) contextual, (2) subjective, and (3) social aspects of the narratives.

This analytical framework represents refinement and adaptation of critical discourse analysis to folklore studies. As Fairclough states, the concepts of genre and discourse “cut across disciplines and theories, and can operate as ‘bridges’ between them” (Fairclough, 2003:26). This combination of approaches implies a repositioning of key concepts, which I define below.

DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS

Before looking closer at the theoretical and methodological framework applied in this study, a presentation of key concepts is necessary. Terms such as *text*, *context* and *discourse* have been used and interpreted in different manners in research and literature. Throughout this study, the concept of *text* refers to verbal products, written and spoken (see e.g. Fine, 1984). The narratives which compose the corpus originate from the oral tradition but are studied in their written form. *Context* is
to be understood as the surrounding situations and the set of conditions which permitted the emergence of the narratives (see e.g. Bauman, 1983; Ben-Amos, 1971; Widdowson, 2004). Context includes the social, cultural, political and economic circumstances that surround the narrators. The storytellers too are part of the context, to the extent that they make use of and express in words those circumstances and conditions of possibility. Other narrators and their texts also compose the context in terms of intertextuality. A text gains meaning in relation to a context. The audience understands a story in relation to the storyteller, to the circumstances of its telling, and to the broader storytelling tradition. An item of folklore is always part of a set of practices. The narratives discussed in this study allude to the historical context in an explicit manner, as when Turi relates events that occurred in Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) in 1852, or when Utsi tells about relationships between different cultural groups. Also, the context is expressed on an implicit level through both narrative strategies and variations of the degree of responsibility assumed by the storytellers in their narrations. A text as an isolated item might be valuable to certain strains of linguistics, but it is of no use to the folklorist. The context of emergence of a story and its relation to other narratives are the keys with which a text can be opened for understanding. With Widdowson, I believe that “how we interpret a text is a matter of realizing that relationship [between text and context]” (Widdowson, 2004:36). Texts are interpreted in relation to the context, as a reflection, a product and a production of discourse.

This latter concept is to be understood in this study in the Foucaultian sense of the term, that is to say as “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, 1972:49). A given discourse represents a relation to reality. Thus, the discourse or discourses expressed in narratives are the storyteller’s expression of reality as perceived. Norman Fairclough has underscored the constructive effects of discourse: the construction of social self and identity, the construction of social relationships and the construction of systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough, 1992:64). Michel Foucault’s research on the elaboration of discourse - e.g. sexuality, as in the work quoted below - has provided evidence of the significance of context that provides a “control over enunciations.”

[W]here and when it was possible to talk about such things became much more strictly defined; in which circumstances, among
which speakers, and within which social relationships (Foucault, 1990:18).

From this perspective, the elaboration of a certain discourse is to be considered in relation to the social and cultural context.

EMERGENCE OF THE NARRATIVES

The contexts in which narratives are produced can be studied as a first step toward an interpretation of these texts. Thus, the first part of this study focuses on the contexts of emergence of the texts (Chapter Two). The sociocultural and political background brings up aspects that affected the North Sámi community. Although these aspects are innumerable from an historical perspective, I focus attention in the next chapter on the predominant factors that influenced the storytellers and their tradition, as they emerge in narratives.

Further, the specific contexts of emergence of the texts that composed the corpus are also presented in the next chapter. *Muitalus sámiid birra*, by Johan Turi, was the first book written in Sámi by a Sámi and is the result of collaboration with the ethnographer Emilie Demant Hatt. The process of emergence of this particular book is part of its context of production and has to be taken into account. Another central publication in Sámi folklore, *Lappiske eventyr og sagn* by Just K. Qvigstad is a collection of narratives arranged by theme and locale. The four volumes are the result of many years of fieldwork and editing, and must be contextualized historically and intellectually in order to approach the repertoires of Qvigstad’s informants. In both cases, we face a complex chain of distribution, where a text uttered by a storyteller has later been modified by a transcriber and/or an editor before finally reaching the reader.

In textual analysis, key contexts must be considered including the circumstances of the item’s emergence (the narrator, interviewer, and their direct surroundings), as well as the historical context. In narratives, different aspects of this background emerge: the context the “users” refer to (such as specific historical events), the narrative context, i.e. storytelling as a practice, and aspects of a longer period of change that is expressed in the storytelling tradition. The latter aspects are accessible today, since we are able to place the texts in a temporal frame built of decades of documented history. A storyteller is conscious of the immediate context but does not generally have the possibility at the time of the performance to reflect on the position of the event in a historical perspective other than in relation to the past.
Another significant aspect to bear in mind is the fact that the narratives were not intended for us, readers at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Recontextualizing the narratives enables us to diminish the gap between the immediate context of emergence and the historical context offered to us today; we may reconstruct the sociocultural context and thereby come closer to the storyteller’s intention.

THE NARRATIVES

The second part of the study focuses on the repertoires of four storytellers. The narratives of Johan Turi and three of Qvigstad’s informants are studied in relation to each other and to the collective storytelling tradition.

Narrative strategies

Although the practice of storytelling is part of a collective tradition, each narrative is nevertheless a unique event performed by a specific artist in a specific context. The uniqueness of these narrative events must be taken into account in order to understand their value.

I focus on the strategies elaborated by the storytellers in order to establish a relation to the audience, to achieve a purpose and to express a discourse. The strategies of each narrator reveal differences and similarities which underscore the specificity of the Sámi storytelling tradition and the unique qualities of the storytellers, and consequently their relation to the collective storytelling tradition they are a part of.

The perspective of the narrator, i.e “the particular perspective or angle of view from which [parts of the world] are represented,” (Fairclough, 2003:219) is an important discursive aspect in my approach. The narrator’s presence and the strategies used in order to give the audience indications about the storyteller’s own opinions augment this perspective.

Theory of genre

In the case of Sámi storytelling tradition, the terminology based on the European tale telling tradition with the distinction between tales and legends may be misleading since a distinction between “tales” and “legends” is intricate. The use of native terms may in such cases provide a more appropriate framework for understanding lore (Hauskonen, 1998:63). The Sámi term muitalus, “story”
(see Chapter 3), renders in a more accurate way the essence of Sámi storytelling. However, I make use of generic conventions at some point of my study in order “to construct a meaningful discourse for academic communication” (Hasan-Rokem, 1999:42); however, it is not my intention to classify narratives as exemplars of a particular genre.

Instead, I make use of the concept of genre as proposed by Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman. In their article “Genre, Intertextuality, and Social Power,” the two scholars define genres “in intertextual terms” as “generalized or abstracted models of discourse production and reception” (Briggs and Bauman, 1992:147). The conception of genre as an analytical classifying device is subordinated to the approach of the concept from the perspective of the storyteller as a conscious artist. This perception of genre as a strategy enables us to identify and interpret the different voices and discourses present in the chosen narratives in a manner consonant with the narrators’ own likely understandings of them.

In the same article, the authors note that “intertextual relationships between a particular text and prior discourse […] play a crucial role in shaping form, function, discourse structure, and meaning“ (Briggs and Bauman, 1992:147). In a similar way, Fairclough acknowledges genres as “ways of acting” (Fairclough, 2003). In the analytical framework of this dissertation, genre is consequently considered as a construction, an active choice of strategies used by the narrator, a subjective way to relate to a generic frame. Emphasis is given to the consciousness of the storyteller in elaborating narratives.

I consider the storyteller a social agent who adjusts a collective storytelling tradition to subjective preferences and interest. A storyteller’s narrative strategies are an active choice when adapting the narratives to the audience, but also to one’s own personality. The relation of a storyteller to the collective tradition of the community can be understood by studying the maximization and minimization of “intertextual gaps.” Briggs and Bauman develop this concept when they explain how “the process of linking particular utterances to generic models necessarily produces an intertextual gap” (Briggs and Bauman, 1992:149). Adapting narratives to prior genres thus results in a flexibility that the storyteller may use in order to achieve a certain effect. To minimize this gap implies that the narrator follows the pattern of a genre, using generic precedents, suppressing explicit contextualization and referring to the one who told the narrative. To maximize the gap, on the other hand, the narrator may diverge markedly from the generic pattern, presenting the narrative as a personally experienced event, without references to previous narratives and with a strong degree of
contextualization. The elasticity of this gap represents a zone within which the author of a text can create textual and/or personal authority, communicate with an audience and texture narratives.

Genre theory also holds a significant place in the analysis of interdiscursivity, since the consideration of genre as a strategy implies that it becomes a means for a storyteller to express a discourse, a representation of reality. The creative exploitation of the elasticity of the intertextual gap and the emergence of hybrid genres represents the intersection of different discourses. Their coexistence and relation, which reveal the position of the narrator, become therefore visible through the study of genre. In other words, discourses are enacted and inculcated in genres (Fairclough, 2003).

**Intertextuality and Polyphony**

The concept of intertextuality has gained wide usage in literature and folklore studies principally due to the work of Julia Kristeva (1969), based on a Bakhtinian approach to the concept. Kristeva defines intertextuality as an intersection of textual surfaces (Kristeva, 1969) where the author, the audience or addressee, the immediate and prior context meet. The concept of texts as “clusters or processes of meaning that presuppose each other and exist in relation to each other” (Tarkka, 1993:171) has been successfully applied in folklore research (e.g. Asplund Ingemark, 2004; Tarkka, 1993).

As a means for defining gaps, the study of intertextuality is fruitful. Fairclough makes a distinction between “manifest” and “constitutive” intertextuality, where manifest intertextuality is “the heterogenous constitutions of texts out of other specific texts” whereas constitutive intertextuality, which he also calls “interdiscursivity,” is “the heterogenous constitutions of texts out of elements (types of conventions) of orders of discourse” (Fairclough, 1992:85).

These aspects are approached by studying “the presence of actual elements of other texts within a text” (Fairclough, 2003:39), presence that becomes visible in quotations, reported speech, writing and thought, summarizing, direct and indirect speech. The relationship between the texts presented and other narratives is also to be taken into consideration from the perspective of the relation to the generic frame, highlighting the particularities of the tradition and of a specific storyteller. More specifically, the study of the degree of presence of the narrators in narration will reveal their relation to the context and position toward the discourses in the community.
Intertextuality as “manifest intertextuality” is integrated in my analytical framework as part of the study of the narratives, whereas interdiscursivity falls under the approach of the implications of the narratives. As Fairclough notes, texts bear embedded traces of intertextuality and interdiscursivity:

Change leaves traces in texts in the form of co-occurrence of contradictory or inconsistent elements – mixtures of formal and informal styles, technical and non-technical vocabularies, markers of authority and familiarity, more typically written and more typically spoken syntactic forms, and so forth. In so far as a particular tendency of discursive change ‘catches on’ and becomes solidified into an emergent new convention, what at first are perceived by interpreters as stylistically contradictory texts come to lose their patchwork effect and be ‘seamless’. (Fairclough, 1992:97)

The concepts of heteroglossia and polyphony developed by Mikhail Bakhtin (2004) offer a complement to the study of this homogenization of the discourse observed by Fairclough. The diversity of socio-ideological languages provides the author or narrator a range of “voices” bound to the social and ideological context. The choices of the author are conscious and symptomatic of his/her relation to the different ideologies these languages represent. The presence of different voices reflects the social, cultural and ideological context and the subjective attitude of the storyteller to it. The polyphony of the texts, i.e. the coexistence of different voices within the same text, reflects the storyteller’s outlook toward the socio-ideological context.

In the study of the narratives, we can distinguish what different voices are included, excluded and prominent in the text, as well as their relation to each other. The identification of different voices reveals the coexistence of different ideologies and discourses. The polyphony of the texts is here considered as another narrative strategy for the storyteller to express his position toward the socio-ideological context. Bakhtin’s concept of heteroglossia and his conception of the consciousness and responsibility of the writer also have implications in the study of folklore. By making choices, the narrator makes a political statement. The study of the interrelation between the different voices allows us to identify “authoritative discourses” and “internally persuasive discourses” (Bakhtin, 2004:345). In the same way as “[t]he speaking person in the novel is always, to one degree or another, an ideologue, and his words are always ideologemes” (Bakhtin, 2004:324), Sámi storytellers are conscious creators of narratives and agents of
social change, and can thus be considered as ideologues. Their narratives are expressions of the socio-ideological context.

A suitable adaptation of the concept of polyphony suggests a Bakhtinian approach to storytelling with a focus on the choice and use of different voices as an expression of “responsible self” (Hill, 1995). This concept is valuable in the study of Sámi narratives since it allows us to sense the authority of each storyteller. The issue of responsibility in narratives is central in this study. A storyteller may use different means in order to express personal attitudes toward what is being said. In the context of social change taking place in Sápmi (Sámiland) at the beginning of the twentieth century, storytelling was a way to make a statement. From this perspective, narratives became the storyteller’s expression and opinion about the context she/he was part of. Both the content of the narratives and the strategies used are sources of information about the society of that time and the changes taking place in the North Sámi region.

Relation of the narrators to the collective storytelling tradition

The Swedish folklorist Ulf Palmenfelt has shown how collective storytelling tradition and subjective repertoires can be related and how they influence each other. The relation between collective and personal storytelling must be seen as following a cycle, where elements are borrowed, adapted and reinjected (Palmenfelt, 1993b). In a similar way, I propose to approach the storytellers’ narratives in relation to the community’s range of stories with a focus on the interaction between personal repertoires and the collective storytelling tradition. The concept of intergenericity elaborated by Briggs and Bauman is key to the study of this relation.

Each storyteller expresses subjectively through narratives when creating and adapting a story. At the same time, the resulting narratives are part of a tradition that they refer to. A look at these variations and adaptations enables us to approach the ways in which the narrators take positions toward the context in which they live. It also highlights the possibilities of change and flexibility of the tradition. Consequently, considerations of the repertoires of Turi, Utsi, Bær, Eira in relation to the tradition underscore the storytellers’ contributions to the collective repertoire as well as the creative narrative aspects of their texts in relation to the tradition.
Revoicing Sámi Narratives

Implications

The third part of the study consists in a further interpretation of the narratives as part of the social and ideological context. Following Fairclough’s point of departure that “discourses do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they contribute or ‘constitute’ them” (Fairclough, 1992:3), the study of Sámi storytelling at the turn of the twentieth century highlights the dynamic relationship between narratives and the elaboration or maintenance of discourses. The implications the narratives might have had on the community are approached with consideration of the three aspects of the constitutive effects of discourse distinguished by Fairclough: the construction of social identities (social identity set up in discourse), the construction of social relationships between people facilitated by that discourse (discourse participant) and the construction of systems of knowledge and belief through the narratives (how texts signify the world) (Fairclough, 1992:64).

This perspective emphasizes the significance of narration in a process of social change. As Fairclough writes:

[T]exts as elements of social events have causal effects - i.e. they bring about changes. Most immediately, texts can bring about changes in our knowledge (we can learn thing from them), our beliefs, our attitudes, values and so forth. They also have longer-term causal effect – one might for instance argue that prolonged experience of advertising and other commercial texts contributes to shaping people’s identities as ‘consumers’ or their gender identities. Texts can also start wars, or contribute to changes in education, or to changes in industrial relations, and so forth (Fairclough, 2003:8).

Stories as a way of communication in a specific social context hold implications that go beyond the narrative event. The Sámi narratives analyzed in this dissertation were performed at a time of intense social change in the Sámi community. The illustrations, statements narrated and the positions taken by the storytellers will here be analyzed in relation to the social, historical and ideological context in order to approach their implications for the community.

Richard Bauman has highlighted the didactic aspects of storytelling, asserting that “stories are the major means by which […] actions and experiences are memorialized and given expression” (Bauman, 1986:76). Stories articulate an attitude toward a situation and a strategy for dealing with it. From this
perspective, attention is centered in Chapters Six and Seven on the implications of the discourse produced in the narratives with focus on the expression of norms and the elaboration of a discourse about the Other. The context in which the narratives emerged has to be kept in mind when studying these two aspects. The interpretation of narratives presented in this study is centered in the interpretive tradition of the community, reflecting how the Sámi audience would have understood the texts in their immediate context (DuBois, 2006). Previous studies have highlighted the ability to address, through folklore, different audiences (e.g. DuBois, 2000; Gaski, 2000:196). Distinctive messages can be conveyed to different audiences, for instance through storytelling strategies. In the same way as Gaski has scrutinized the secretive aspect of yoik, I propose to approach unspoken implications of narratives.

**Social practice**

Critical discourse analysis represents an appropriate framework for analyzing discourses expressed in folklore texts. Social practices are presented by Fairclough as intermediate organizational entities between social structures and events. “Social practices can be thought of as ways of controlling the selection of certain structural possibilities and the exclusion of other [...]” (Fairclough, 2003:23). Narrative events should not be considered direct expressions of abstract social structures. From this perspective, narratives become part of a discourse and thus the intersection of a collective social practice and a subjective expression of it. Storytelling as a social practice plays the role of intermediate entity by providing to subjective storytellers a range of possibilities by which they select, exclude, adapt and hence create narratives.

The study of the social practice scrutinizes “how the text stands in relation to the social matrix (i.e. social and hegemonic relations and structures): conventional or normative, creative or innovative; effect of reproducing or transforming; ideological and political effects of discourse” (Fairclough, 1992:237-238). In a time of intense social change, the Sámi storytelling tradition presents expressions of “social and hegemonic relations and structures,” reproduction and transformation of discourse and its implications.
Discourse and empowerment

The conception of discourse applied in my analytical model considers the narrator to be a social agent. This empowered storyteller utilizes conscious strategies that reveal awareness of the context and of a narrator’s roles.

According to Fairclough, Foucault’s approach toward discourse does not satisfactorily deal with the “way in which discourse contributes both to the reproduction and to the transformation of society” (Fairclough, 1992:36). Fairclough’s approach to discourse differs from Foucault’s regarding the perception of the subject. While Foucault expresses a view of the subject which precludes active social agency, Fairclough and critical discourse analysis opt for a view of “social subjects as shaped by discursive practices, yet also capable of reshaping and restructuring those practices” (Fairclough, 1992:45). In the same vein, the analysis of the narratives which comprise the corpus for this study lays emphasis on the empowered social actor.

SÁMI FOLKLORE MATERIAL

FOLKLORE COLLECTIONS AND RESEARCH

Qvigstad was one of the first so-called “Lappologists.” His Lappiske Eventyr og Folkesagn (“Sámi tales and folklegends”) (Qvigstad, Sandberg and Moe, 1887) represents an early collection of Sámi folklore. Before him, documentation of Sámi language, traditions and folklore resulted from priests or missionaries (Fellman, 1844, 1906; Grundström, 1946-54; Högström, 1747), including Lars Levi Laestadius (1800-1861), who had noted down Fragmenter i lappska Mytologien (Laestadius, 1959) (Fragments of Lappish Mythology (Laestadius, 2002)) in the 1840s (Pentikäinen, 2000). In 1856, Jens A. Friis (1821-1896), produced one of the earliest collections devoted to Sami folklore, Lappiske Sprogprøver: en samling af Lappiske Eventyr, ordsprog og gaader; med Ordbog (Friis, 1856) (“Sámi Language samples. A collection of Sami folktales, proverbs and riddles with a dictionary”). Among other works of the lappologists, we find Lappische Volksdichtung I-IV (“Sámi popular poetry”) (1957-1966), a collection of Sámi narratives and yoik composed by Eliel Lagercrantz (1894-1973), professor of Sámi languages at the University of Helsinki.

Qvigstad’s publications represent by far the most extensive collection of Sámi narratives. The uniqueness of the material motivates my choice of studying
the Sámi storytelling tradition at the beginning of the twentieth century. In this study, the selection among the repertoires that make up *Lappiske eventyr og sagn* is geographically based, delimited to the Guovdageaidnu region in the North Sámi area - which was also the home of Johan Turi. Narratives presented in other folklore collections are also taken into account when approaching the collective Sámi storytelling tradition in Part Three of this study.

Recent research in Sámi folklore is characterized by a variety of perspectives. In parallel with changes in attitude and ideologies, the appellation “lappologist” has disappeared and Sámi cultural research today has a different orientation. Sámi folklore material has been studied within different fields, such as history of religion (Pentikäinen, 1968), ethnology (Fjellström, 1962, 1986), literary studies (e.g. Gaski, 1993, 2000; Hirvonen, 2000), ethnomusicology (Jones-Bamman, 1993) and folkloristics (e.g. DuBois, 1995, 1996b, 2000, 2006; Mathisen, 1994; Mathisen, 2000a, 2000b; Porsanger, 2005; Sergejeva, 1996; Stoor, 2007).

**NEGLIGENCE MATERIAL**

The methodology presented in this chapter and put in practice in the following sections enables us to approach and understand narratives even though we lack information about the narrative event. Collected narratives present a challenge to the folklorist, since we do not have access to the context of performance. Many scholars of performance theory reject material in archives or collected and published 100 years ago, referring to its lack of reliability, such as Lauri Honko did in 1989.

Folklore archives are nothing but collections of dead artifacts, arbitrary limited texts, that were generated under rather special, mostly nonauthentic circumstances and immediately placed outside that system of communication which maintains folklore (Honko, 1989:33).

This point of view on archives calls attention to the fact that we cannot deal with previously collected narratives in the same way as with witnessed performances. However, to reject such works means to forfeit the benefits of the priceless information and artistic creations which may be contained within these earlier collections. Defenders for the study of archived texts (e.g. Hymes, 1981; Jacobs, 1959) have pointed to the richness of collected narratives. In a similar vein, I wish to reassess the value of “dusty” collections of Sámi folklore, taking into
consideration that they provide us an insight into a time past. With Palmenfelt, I believe that “an archived legend collection can be understood on a textual, a collective contextual, and an individual contextual level, and that methodological approaches deriving from the so-called ‘performance school’ may very well be used in working with archived material” (Palmenfelt, 1993a:143).

The problematic use of records and the necessity to elaborate an approach on archived texts has been brought up by the American sociolinguist and folklorist Dell Hymes. In his research on Native American Literature, he refers to “the struggle to gain a hearing from for works from Native American traditions as genuine ‘works’, aesthetic accomplishments, literature, products of voices” (Hymes, 1981:8).

The analytical framework in the present study employs an approach that makes it possible to deal with the problems of detextualization that previous collections of Sámi folklore have been subjected to. Recontextualizing archives and other documented material enables us to reach a dimension of the narratives that otherwise would be lost. In the case of Sámi folklore, a huge amount of archived and unpublished material exists that has been largely neglected. This study suggests an approach to give back to the silenced storytellers found in previous publications and archived materials the voices they expressed in their original narratives.

OVERVIEW

This study is divided into three parts. The first part is devoted to the context of the narratives and narrators that form the focus of the study. The second part focuses on the texts, and the third examines the social aspects and implications of the narratives.

Chapter Two: Texts and Contexts, presents an overview of the corpus and of the contexts of emergence of the selected narratives. After a general presentation of the sociocultural and political context of the time, I introduce the specific context of creation of Turi’s Muitahus sámiid birra and Qvigstad’s Lappiske eventyr og sagn. Thus, Part One provides a theoretical, methodological and contextual background that enables us to approach the narratives in Part Two, beginning with Turi’s texts in Chapter Three and followed by the analysis of the narratives of Ellen Utsi, Isak Eira and Per Bær in Chapter Four. Chapter Five: Subjective Narration and Collective Tradition, scrutinizes other aspects of Sámi storytelling, showing how the analyzed narratives express a broader tradition.
This chapter establishes a link between Part Two and Part Three, which brings up the normative (Chapter Six) and defensive aspects (Chapter Seven) of Sámi storytelling. Chapter Eight, finally, concludes the study with a summarizing discussion and methodological considerations.
CHAPTER TWO: TEXTS AND CONTEXTS

*Life itself is the most wonderful fairytale of all.* - Hans Christian Andersen

Peoples of the Arctic area of the Nordic countries have long had contacts with each other since time immemorial, through migration and trade. If the borders that delimited the Nordic countries had been nothing but lines on a map, they eventually became noticeable political constructions for people whose livelihoods, traditions and culture were widespread on different sides of these strokes of a politician’s pen.

The fact that Sápmi is spread between four countries means that Sámi history has been strongly affected by different policies applied in Sweden, Norway, Finland and Russia. For the Sámi from the northern part of Sápmi, where the borders of Norway, Sweden or Finland meet, the relation between the countries had immediate and tangible consequences.

The storytellers whose repertoires are the focus of the second part of this study were affected by the politics and historical events taking place in northern Sápmi during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Aspects including contact with other ethnic and cultural groups, as well as experiences with the institutions of schooling and religion find expression in their narratives. A first step in the study of the corpus entails situating the texts in relation to their context. This chapter proposes an approach to the sociocultural and political contexts in which the narratives emerged, followed by a presentation of Johan Turi’s *Muitalus sámiid birra* and a similar contextualization of *Lappiske eventyr og sagn.*

SOCIO-CULTURAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

The nineteenth century witnessed an adjustment of attitude toward minorities, from general tolerance to assimilatory nationalism. The issue of national identity, and related developments in national language policy, can be seen as central in this era of the history of Swedish and Norwegian Sámi. In Norway and Sweden, policies toward the Sámi had been friendly, and majorities in each
state had shown tolerance regarding Sámi minorities. In 1751, issues concerning Sámi transnational migration were solved by a treaty defining the official borders between the Swedish-Finnish and the Danish-Norwegian kingdoms. An appendix to the treaty, the “Lapp Codicil” assured special rights to the reindeer herders. It guaranteed the possibility for the Sámi to keep crossing borders with their reindeer for pasturage as they had always done; the codicil also included a clause stating that the Sámi would not have to pay tax in more than one country (Ruong, 1982a:54).

Although reindeer herding is the type of livelihood most often associated with the Sámi in scholarship and policy, other livelihoods such as fishing and hunting were widely practiced throughout Sápmi. The Sámi were organized in siida (“bands”), in charge of the area. The term siida refers commonly to “lands owned collectively on a temporary basis” (Ruong, 1982b:24). Families within the community had the right of usage of their special hunting grounds and fishing waters (ibid). The siida-system in itself does not refer exclusively to a form of reindeer herding organization; the pre-pastoral dating of this form of organization has been recognized by many scholars (Bergman, 1991; Hultblad, 1968; Ingold, 1978). Ingold observes that the term could refer “both to the range of the territory, its resources, and the people it contained” (Ingold, 1978:152).

The historian Roger Kvist discerns two major policies toward the Sámi practiced by the Swedish state over time. The Swedish national state (1548-1846) treated minorities as fellow citizens in the Kingdom. In contrast, the Swedish nation state (1846-1971) instituted specific policies aimed at defining and controlling the Sámi as a separate population. Similarly, in Norway, the growing wind of nationalism began to affect the Sámi in the mid 1800s (Kvist, 1994). According to Kvist, the Swedish attitude from the mid nineteenth century can be characterized as “institutionalized racism.” Military and political relations between the countries of the Arctic area and the process of industrialization were among the main changes that affected the attitude of the Scandinavian countries toward their minorities (Elenius, 2006:25). Also, the construction of the railway, mining, and the religious movement of Laestadianism, perceived as a threat toward the Swedish state Church, became grounds for the state to exert tighter control over the part of the country that had been previously neglected. Northernmost Scandinavia became important for the supply of raw materials and the process of modernization further motivated these policies and attitudes toward minorities. Nationalism took different shapes in Fennoscandinavia at that time, but this nationalistic project can be discerned across the region.
and concerned all ethnic groups residing there. For the Sámi, this nationalistic project found expression in the late nineteenth century through policies aimed at the assimilation of ethnic minorities. Different legal measures aimed at the Swedification and Norwegianization of ethnic minorities, who were encouraged to adopt the national identity and culture, consequently renouncing their ethnic identity. The assimilation policy that took place in Sweden from the mid-nineteenth century was based on an economic interpretation of Sámi ethnicity. The nationalistic ideal of a homogeneous culture had one exception: the reindeer herders, considered at a lower level of development, were thought not to be able to survive modernization. Therefore, a segregation policy was applied to the reindeer herding minority to occur alongside the process of Swedification of other Sámi groups. Thus, livelihood determined ethnicity: herders were Sámi, farmers were Swedes and many Sámi who pursued an agricultural livelihood lost recognition of their ethnic distinctiveness.

Social Darwinism provided many politicians with arguments for classifying the Sámi as an inferior race. As for the reindeer-herding “nomads,” a paternalistic policy aimed at protecting them resulted in segregation. This attitude was particularly strong regarding settlement and reindeer herding rights and the school system. From the early 1910s, a segregation policy toward the nomadic minority prevailed. According to the ideology of that time, Sámi children should not attend the same schools as sedentary children, and reindeer herding was restricted to nomads. This policy is referred to in Sweden as the “Lapp-skallvara-Lapp” policy, or “Lapp shall be Lapp” (Lundmark, 1998, 2002).

Assimilation of minorities in Norway started in the 1860s. Elenius points to both external and internal factors that can explain the changes in Norwegian politics. The assimilation policy towards the Sámi was seen as an issue of national security, as minorities were considered a potential danger. Nationalism thus motivated measures unfavorable to the Sámi and Finnish minorities. The fear of Russia also brought mistrust toward the Swedish and Finnish reindeer herders coming to the Norwegian coast. Therefore, the Norwegian government provided Sámi with education and social welfare as a means of assimilating them swiftly. In that process, the minority had to adapt to the majority’s language and culture. On an economic level, competition for resources occurred between Norwegian settlers and the Sámi (Elenius, 2006). As in Sweden, the ideology of Social Darwinism legitimated a strong discriminatory attitude. It was only in the 1970s that Sámi policy came to be characterized by political integration.
This period of nationalism and assimilation has left profound, drastic and irrevocable marks in the history of the Sámi. Competition between the nationalistic policies of the different countries contributed to an increase of the conflicts in Fennoscandinavia. At a time when the relations between the Nordic countries and Russia were tense, the Sámi who lived at the borders and the meeting points of the different nationalistic influences became viewed as a security problem. Reindeer herding that involved the crossing of national borders became an issue (Elenius, 2006:86). For many herders, the political context resulted in the loss of grazing lands. When Russia closed the border between Finland and Norway in 1852 (Finland had been since 1809 a part of the Russian empire), the reindeer herders from Norway could no longer access their pastures in Finland. Many Sámi moved to Gárasavvon (Karesuando) and changed to Swedish citizenship, since the border between Sweden and Finland was still open. Border regulations continued to render herding conditions more difficult when the border to Russia and consequently to Finland was closed in 1889 to Sámi herders from Sweden. Herders from the Guovdageaidnu region who had moved to Sweden were once again blocked from access to their lands in Finland. Some moved back to Finland, others moved to Čohkkiras (Jukkasjärvi), others stayed in Gárasavvon.

Pasturages in Troms county, where many Sámi from Guovdageaidnu had to take their reindeer for grazing after the closing of the border in 1852, became even more overpopulated with reindeer after 1889. Moreover, not only herders, but also farmers and coastal Sámi had to share the territory. Conflicts that already existed between farmers and Sámi increased. Strict rules were instituted for the herders. Only 30 000 “Swedish” reindeer were allowed to pasture in Troms county during the summer, and the herders had to pay compensation for damages caused by their animals (Elenius, 2006:89). The increased number of reindeer in the area resulted in the first attempt at mandatory relocation in 1890, in which Sámi from the northern part of the country had to move to south Sápmi areas. Bad pasturage that caused the death of many reindeer forced the temporary postponement of the project. Despite this, mandatory relocation continued in Sweden up until the 1930s.

For the Swedish Sámi herders, relations between Sweden and Norway had direct consequences. When Norway became independent in 1905, the Sámi lost access to grazing lands on the Norwegian side of the border (Kuutma, 2002; Kvist, 1992). After the rupture between Norway and Sweden in 1905, nationalism intensified toward a cultural homogenization in each country. For minorities, this entailed the rejection of their cultures. The nation-states sought the ideal of a
monoculture; the Sámi, reindeer herding and Laestadianism - all characterized by the crossing of the borders on a regular basis - posed practical and symbolic problems.

Nationalistic policies also resulted in a polarization between Scandinavian and Finno-Ugrian peoples. Moreover, herding had a low status and thus, agriculture was given precedence in most policies. Since the 1760s, Sámi land had been regarded as the property of the Crown. The discovery of silver mines in 1634 and 1660 and the economic implications of mining placed the Sámi in a subordinated position. It not only had consequences for grazing lands, but also for many herders who were compelled to transport the ore to the coast for insufficient compensation (Lundmark, 1998:43-50).

From the beginning of the nineteenth century on, priority was given to settlers, and Sámi rights were undermined. “In 1827, the Saami right to inherit land was rejected in Norrbotten as Saami land rights now were only regarded as a right of usufruct” (Kvist, 1994:207). Consequently, reindeer herders saw their land distributed for agriculture and had to move to pasturage of poor quality (Elenius, 2006:91-93).

The redrawing of the political landscape that occurred in Sápmi in the late 1800s and early 1900s was not only confined to the borders. Due to an increasing number of settlers and to the beginning of agricultural activity in the area, the Sámi, previously the sole inhabitants of the region, were reduced to a minority in certain parts of Sápmi. In Sweden, an initial settlement proclamation of 1673, promising exemption from both taxation and military draft, was aimed at catalyzing the colonization of Sápmi by Swedish and Finnish farmers. According to the theory of parallel settlement, herders and farmers would live side by side without nuisance since the two types of land exploitation were so different. The difficulty of exploiting the soil, due to the climate of the region, postponed the arrival of new settlers in Sápmi, and it is only after the settlement ordinance of 1749 that colonization really increased. The expansion of forestry and mining, which entailed the increase of workers of non-Sámi origin in the area, contributed to colonization (Elenius, 2006:103). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the presence of colonizers became noticeable, and approximately fifty years later, settlers of Sámi, Swedish, Finnish, and Norwegian origins comprised the majority (Kvist, 1992). The extension of the colonization of Sápmi entailed increasing contacts between these cultural groups. Competition for land and conflicts that consequently arose from the situation emerges in many narratives.
These social and political changes restructured the composition of the population in Sápmi and the relations between Sámi groups, and other forms of social organization based on juridical texts took over the central role of the siida. In Sweden, a Reindeer Grazing Act was promulgated in 1886, in relation with the regulation of borders and the situation of herders in Sweden. It entailed the creation of administrative Sámi villages and the collectivization of the right to carry on reindeer herding that was defined as a Sámi right (Elenius, 2006:97). Consequently, the Sámi minority lost ownership to land, and pasture rights became transformed into a communal right for the Sámi villages (Kvist, 1994:209). The “Lappväsendet,” a special police administration, was created in 1886 and took over responsibility for the welfare and protection of the Sámi minority, “usurping the right of Sámi people to make decisions about their own lives” (Kvist, 1994:210). A new Reindeer Grazing Act in 1898 required the Sámi to pay higher compensation to farmers for damages caused by reindeer. According to Kvist, “the reindeer grazing acts also formally diminished the political status of the Saami. As reindeer grazing rights were not assessed as taxable property, they did not give general or municipal suffrage before the introduction of the general suffrage for men in 1909 and the abolition of graded municipal suffrage in 1919” (Kvist, 1994:209-210).

Among other significant elements of social change contemporary to the storytellers of this study, the construction of the railway through Sápmi must be mentioned. In 1903, the first railway crossing Sápmi opened, with service from Giron (Kiruna), Sweden, to Narvik, Norway (Ruong, 1982a:116). This construction had great significance primarily for mining and ore transport, but it also came to play an important role for Sápmi and its inhabitants. This new transport facility implied changes in housing, and the life of many nomads would be modified due to this tremendous change. The railway represented much more than a new type of transportation; it also had economic, cultural and social consequences. As Ruong points out, the construction of the railway and the work opportunities it offered were factors that strongly hastened Sámi transition to a sedentary lifestyle.

The religious landscape of Sápmi was also changing at the time. Although missionaries had initiated efforts to Christianize the Sámi already from the eleventh century, it is not before the seventeenth that the presence of the Church in Sápmi began to meet with real success. In 1689, a report addressed to the king denounced pagan practices. Noaidernobhta (shamanism) and sacrifices were performed in accordance with traditional Sámi religion, which was considered
pagan and sinful by the Church. Trials took place in Sápmi, resulting in the destruction of drums, the levying of fines, whipping and even the execution of a Sámi in 1693. In 1682, a trial in Arjeplog revealed that traditional Sámi religion and Christianity existed side by side (Kvist, 1992). By the end of the seventeenth century, many Sámi were baptized and attended church regularly. It was mandatory for a child to have a Christian name, but it was not uncommon for a newly baptized child to receive a new Sámi name afterwards through an additional ceremony (Myrhaug, 1997). The transition from paganism to Christianity has also been studied in burial rituals. The Swedish scholar in the science of religion Louise Bäckman has observed how aspects of folk beliefs and Christianity coexisted during the seventeenth century (Bäckman, 1983). By the eighteenth century, the Sámi religion was fading away, and Christianization in Sápmi took a new turn with the pietist revival. But according to Kvist, it was the Laestadian revival of the 1850s that marked the real internalization of Christianity among the Sámi. This religious movement, named after Lars Levi Laestadius (1800-1861), a Swedish priest of Sámi origin, took place beginning in the mid-1800s in North and Lule Sámi areas. Laestadius adapted Christian doctrine to the factual circumstances of the parish and expressed social criticism through his ministry. Myrhaug has suggested that Laestadianism embraces aspects of the former Sámi religion, such as the induction of trance (Myrhaug, 1997:93). This Lutheran religious movement mobilized mostly Sámi and Finnish speaking minorities and became rapidly perceived as a threat in Sweden. The movement was accused of running counter to the modernization process including Sweden’s language policy (Elenius, 2006:115). It was particularly strong among Sámi and the norms and values it championed have had a significant effect on its community members.

A revolt in Guovdageaidnu on November 8, 1852 also occupies a significant place in the history of the Sámi in the region, and is reflected in the repertoire of some storytellers including Johan Turi. The county sheriff Bucht, shopkeeper Ruth and minister Hwoslef were assaulted by a group of Sámi in Guovdageaidnu. Bucht and Ruth were killed, their homes plundered and others on the scene were maltreated. The revolt went on for hours and ended thanks to the intervention of people from the Sámi community of Ávži. The trial in May 1853 condemned six persons to death. However, an appeal against the judgment resulted in a more lenient decision. Two persons were nonetheless sentenced to execution and about 30 others were condemned to prison terms (Zorgdrager, 1997). This revolt was interpreted as an extreme expression of the Laestadian religious movement. In public opinion, Lars Levi Laestadius was accused of responsibility for the deeds
of the leaders. This major event in Sámi history has later been interpreted as
the result of a confluence of several economic and social factors rather than
as a religious uprising (Zorgdrager, 1997). Laestadianism was perceived as a
threat to the extent that it jeopardized the hegemony of the Swedish Church.
Also, it spread over national borders, which was disquieting from a nationalistic
perspective.

The religious movement can be considered the result of the long-term
assimilative efforts of nation states. As a means of control in the nationalistic
context, the creation of schools was prioritized on the missionaries’ agenda. The
education of Sámi children at school was first of all a means for Christianization
combined with the application of language policies (Svonni, 1996). Considerations
based on a cultural hierarchy, romantic representations and ethnocentrism also
played significant roles in school politics (Elenius, 2006:159). In Sweden, the
education of Sámi children between 1750 until 1818 was to occur in Sámi schools
(or “Lapp schools”). Traveling schools and sedentary “Lapp schools” were in
use until the 1840s, when Swedish became the main language in Sámi schools
(Elenius, 2006:119-121). In Norway, from the end of the nineteenth century, all
instruction was to be in Norwegian. The motto of “one nation, one people” was
primary in school policies until after the Second World War.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, school issues became a topic of
discussion. A report in 1909 concluded that the Swedish Sámi school system was
of poor quality and that many children grew up without going to school. The
Sámi School Act of 1913 aimed at an amelioration of the school system and at
encouraging children of herders to take part in reindeer herding after school, and
resulted in the foundation of “tent schools.” According to the ideas of that time
and following the “Lapp-shall-be-Lapp” ideology, Sámi children should not live
comfortably during their time at school so that it would be easier to return to
their nomadic lifestyle afterwards (Ruong, 1960:28ff). The “tent schools” were
the dominant mode of education until 1940s (Svonni, 2007). As for language at
school, reindeer herders could choose for their children to be taught in Sámi until
the 1920s. Children of non-reindeer herders were taught in Swedish. In 1925,
state authorities decided that Swedish would be the language of instruction for
all children – as part of a project of assimilation that concerned all Sámi.

Having summarized these considerations of aspects of the sociocultural
and political context, I will now look more closely at the specific contexts of
emergence of the texts that compose the corpus.
Born in Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) in northern Norway in 1854, Johan Turi spent most of his life in the parishes of Gárasavvon (Karesuando) and Čohkkiras (Jukkasjärvi) in Sweden where he followed his parents. After the closing of the border between Finland and Norway in 1852, the family had to move due to the loss of pastures, first in 1857 to Gárasavvon and then in 1883 further south to the parish of Čohkkiras (Kuutma, 2002; Valkeapää, 1994b). Although he grew up in a reindeer herding milieu (Kuutma, 2002:107), Turi privileged hunting. A yoik (a traditional Sámi song) dedicated to him, praises him as a great hunter. His father Ole Olsen Tuuri also functioned as an itinerant teacher between 1845 and 1853 (Valkeapää, 1994b:32), but Johan Turi himself did not have the possibility to spend much time at school. In his large family, the boys had to work at a young age. He was already an adult when he learned to write. The extensiveness of his correspondence and diaries reveals that he enjoyed sharing his experiences. His exposure to the oral tradition and the practice of storytelling gave him many opportunities to share his knowledge and recount the legends and other stories of his community.

Muitalus sámiid birra (“Story about the Sámi”) (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b), published in Danish and Sámi in 1910, is a collection of narratives and reports about historical and traditional knowledge composed by Turi from his perspective and based on his knowledge. He was the first Sámi to publish a book written in his mother tongue, North Sámi. It has been translated into many languages, and can be considered a door opening for the world into the situation of the Sámi in Scandinavia at that time. In addition to Muitalus, he also published Duoddaris (“From the mountain”) (Turi, 1931b, [1920] 1988), in which he relates his travels as a guide for the British explorer Frank Butler and the Swedish photographer Borg Mesch. In 1918, Lappish Texts appeared (Turi, 1918) in which Turi and his nephew write about delicate topics like noaidenvohta. Johan Turi died in 1936 at the age of 82.
If Johan Turi is considered the first Sámi writer, he was first of all a storyteller. An analysis of his narrative strategies reveals his relation to the collective Sámi storytelling tradition and how the manipulation of these strategies allows him to dissociate himself from the context or take responsibility for his opinions.

Turi lived in a context of intense social change. The North Sámi community had had to adapt to political decisions from Norway, Sweden and Russia and the regulation of the borders had direct consequences for the reindeer herders. Not only conditions for reindeer herding were changing, Turi also witnessed changes in beliefs, the school system, and other consequences of ideological action toward the Sámi minority.
“STORY ABOUT THE SÁMI”

With his *Muitalus sámiid birra*, Turi is considered the first Sámi writer. In fact, the very first Sámi texts were two yoiks by Olaus Sirma published in 1673 by Schefferus in *Lapponia*. The first books in Sámi were translations of the New Testament in 1755 and the entire Bible in 1811. At the end of the nineteenth century, periodicals gave the Sámi the opportunity to write in their language. *Muitalægje* (1873), *Sámi usteb* (1888), *Nuorttanaste* (1898) were thus the first Sámi publications. A few Sámi authors had published before Turi. Such is the case of Elsa Laula (1877-1931), who wrote a political text in Swedish, *Inför lif eller Död? Sanningsord i de Lappska förhållandena* (“Do we face life or death? Words of truth for the Sámi situation”), in 1904. The same year, Matti Aikio (1872-1929), also published his first novel in Norwegian, *Kong Akab* (Aikio, 1904; Storfjell, 2001).

Other texts about the Sámi had previously been published: the works of linguists/folklorists Jens Andreas Friis (1821-1896) (Friis, 1871) and Just K. Qvigstad (1853-1957) (Qvigstad, 1927-1929) have provided a tremendous collection of Sámi folklore. The priest Lars Levi Laestadius (1800-1861) also published documents about the Sámi oral tradition in *Fragmenter i lappska mytologien* (Laestadius, 1959) (*Fragments of Lappish mythology* (Laestadius, 2002)). However, Johan Turi was the first to write in his mother tongue, North Sámi, about Sámi life from a native perspective.

The context in which *Muitalus* was created has been presented on several occasions (Kuutma, 2002; Valkeapää, 1994b). The publication of the first Sámi book was made possible by the Danish artist and ethnographer Emilie Demant (later Demant Hatt). Turi and Demant met accidentally in 1904, and Turi decided to write, with her help, a book about his people. Six years later, *Muitalus* was published in Danish and North Sámi. This work bears witness to Turi’s skills, and the help provided by Demant Hatt was probably essential to the publication. Hjalmar Lundbohm, founder of the town of Giron, also helped Turi and Demant Hatt with accommodation and economic assistance.

The role of Emilie Demant, the 30-year old Danish artist who edited *Muitalus*, has been discussed on several occasions. According to Kuutma, “the final published version of the text is not Turi’s arrangement, but a product of a thorough and long-lasting editing effort by Emilie Demant.” (Kuutma, 2002:140) Kuutma also states that “she [Emilie Demant] suggested particular themes and topics, and provided inspirational guidance to motivate the fatigued and inexpert
writer” (ibid.). Nevertheless, the original manuscript of *Muitalus* consists of several booklets about various topics that correspond mostly to the chapters of *Muitalus* (Turi, Notes and Manuscript). The topics Turi writes about also correspond to his interests and fields of competency.

According to Kuutma, “Even if Demant suggested topics or amended chapter sequence or segments, *Muitalus* distinctly narrates and reflects Turi’s authentic knowledge of his people” (Kuutma, 2002:149). The result of the collaboration witnesses of a mutual respect between the author and the publisher. As DuBois states,

It is in part the uniqueness of Emilie Demant Hatt’s relation to Turi which made *Muitalus* possible in the form we have it. For Demant Hatt allowed Turi to write his book, refraining from the more usual plucking and representing of knowledge that ethnographers in the past tended to engage in. Turi’s account is thus rich in associations, broader spans of knowledge, and contextualization that one may find in many of the anthropological studies of kinship terms or work organization produced on the basis of Sámi culture during the same era. (DuBois, March 12, 2004)

However, it is established that the role of the Danish ethnographer was essential in Turi’s choice of language.

Turi vilde nemlig først skrive paa Finsk – et saa foragtet Sprog som Lappisk kunde ikke egne sig for en Bog. Jeg forbød Turi at skrive paa Finsk - skulde han skrive om sit Folk, skulde han ogsaa skrive paa Folkets Modersmaal. (Demant Hatt, 1994 [1940]:63)

Turi wanted at first to write in Finnish – such a despised language as Sámi could not be appropriate for a book. I forbade Turi to write in Finnish – if he was to write a book about his people, he would also write in the mother tongue of his people.¹

Emilie Demant Hatt learned Sámi after her meeting with Turi and learning of his decision to write a book; she could not speak or read Finnish. Turi actually also wrote diaries, stories and other texts in Finnish, material which, sadly, remains until this present day unpublished (Turi, Notes and Manuscript).

¹ The English texts are my translation of the original language, whenever no other reference is given.
The successful collaboration behind *Muitalus* is the result of negotiating authorities. “In the process of writing and editing *Muitalus sámiid birra*, Turi and Demant were concurrently negotiating different and similar agendas of representation and authorities” (Kuutma, 2002:141). The writer and the ethnographer each had a personal goal with the book and private interests that had to be satisfied by the final result. As Kuutma states, “The Sámi wolf-hunter Johan Turi might have never written his book without the assistance of Emilie Demant Hatt. On the other hand, without his collaboration, support and friendship, the Danish artist Emilie Demant might never have evolved into an anthropologist” (Kuutma, 2002:156-157). Demant was first of all an artist when she met Turi, *Muitalus* was her first ethnographic project. Later, she published her own ethnographic reports (Demant Hatt, 1913, 1922). The contribution of Emilie Demant made it possible for Turi to publish his book. Still, there is no doubt that Turi would have written his “Story about the Sámi” in one way or another. Already before he had met Demant in 1904, he had written texts in Finnish and expressed his wish to publish his narratives (Turi, Notes and Manuscript). The relationship between Turi and Demant does not correspond to the common relation between informant and ethnographer. Their collaboration reveals a bond that even goes beyond the relation between a writer and his editor.

In *Muitalus*, we find texts about topics close to Turi’s heart, such as hunting and reindeer herding. He also gives the reader historical facts about the Sámi as well as traditional legends and other stories. Turi uses different styles, genres and strategies in narration. Sámi narratives often combine different features like mythological elements in experience-based narratives or supernatural events occurring at local places. Turi chose to call his book “*Muitalus*,” and uses this term throughout the book. The term *muitalus* (pl. *muitalusat*) can be translated as “story,” but it is neither a tale nor a myth. *Muitalus* is a kind of storytelling particular to the Sámi tradition. This North Sámi term finds its etymology in the verb *muitit*, to remember. Storytelling becomes in this context a combination of collective memories and personal experiences. The subjectivity of the storyteller is part of the narrating event, since it relies on his memory, life history and experience. A parallel can be drawn between the Sámi genre *muitalus* and the concept of “memorate” (Sydow and Bødtker, 1948:87). “Memorates are narratives about people’s real experiences. Their form is often traditional, since the experiences are generally interpreted on the basis of the collective tradition, but the plot of the memorate is not as firmly constructed as that of the legend” (Klintberg, 1989:71). The term *muitalus* differs in such way that it also includes narration...
based on external sources, i.e. not on one’s own experiences. Johan Turi wrote *muitalusat*, which implies that he adjusted the oral tradition to a written form, creating a link between oral storytelling and literature. This adjustment becomes more obvious when studying the narrative strategies of Turi. It also reveals the storyteller’s relation to a collective tradition.

*Muitalus sámíid birra* reflects the context of social change in which Turi lived. In the 1910 edition, Hjalmar Lundbohm, who subsidized Demant and Turi, focuses in his foreword on the conflicts taking place in Sápmi as a result of colonization and on other problems the Sámi have had to face. He concludes his preface by emphasizing the value of Turi’s book as a source of information for the understanding of the situation of the Sámi (Lundbohm, 1910). In a similar way, Israel Ruong presents explicitly in his preface to the 1965 edition of *Muitalus* how the political context had influenced Johan Turi and his community:

His fate is part of the history of the Lappish people: he lived at a time when the traditional territory of the Lapps was constantly being encroached upon in the north, the west and the east by the extension of settled areas toward the tundra. Industrial expansion was also taking place as a result of the development of Kiruna as a mining-town and the building of the railway through Lappland to Narvik (Ruong, 1965:xiv).

Being at the crossroads of different influences, Turi’s writings are characteristic of the changes occurring in Sápmi. The appearance of the train in Sápmi, for instance, had a concrete implication: it was in this train that he fortuitously met Emilie Demant in 1904 (Skaltje, 2005).

Turi was well aware of, and concerned by, the ideology of contemporary politicians. He was one of the Sámi who were photographed as objects of research for craniologists. This study of the characteristics of the skull, used to classify different races, was an influential part of a wide-ranging discourse on racial classification and purity (Lundmark, 1998). A picture of Turi dating from 1922 was published in “The racial characters of the Swedish nation. Race – Mixed types Nordic – Lapp”, together with short biographical information as well as his stature, head length, breadth and index, frontal diameter and so on (Valkeapää, 1994b:187). Other reports of the kind were issued by the Swedish Institute for Race Biology, Uppsala, founded in 1921.

Turi was politically conscious and one of the first Swedish Sámi to attempt to organize his people in order to make their voices heard by contemporary
politicians. In 1918, he participated in the second political meeting which gathered Sámi from the Nordic countries. Later, he attempted, with his nephew Per Turi, to start the first Swedish Sámi political organization in Čohkkiras (Skaltje, 2005). His efforts remained in vain, and the Sámi organization in Čohkkiras was not founded until 1937.

*Muitalus* can be considered one of Turi’s attempts to make a difference for his people. After centuries of silence in Sápmi, a voice could be heard: the one of the politically conscious Sámi minority.

**REACTIONS TO TURI’S SEMINAL WORK**

Breaking centuries of silence was not unproblematic and, following Turi’s multiple aims with *Muitalus*, the Sámi’s first book elicited various responses from the audiences it addressed.

Turi’s effort was quite unique and stood out as a conscious enlightening and didactic project, an attempt to provide his people with a history, a printed document that verified their lifestyle and affiliation to ancestral beliefs, lore and legends, that would demonstrate their right to contested territory through historical connection and subsistence practices (Kuutma, 2002:155).

Turi was aware of the significance of the written word, considered by authorities and the cultural majority alike as a reliable source of information. He was conscious of the need for such a text about the Sámi, and the process of writing *Muitalus* entailed much more than writing down oral “*muitalusat.*” Turi consciously made a first step toward written history and literature.

The importance of the first book written in Sámi by a Sámi has also been highlighted by Israel Ruong in the prefatory note of the 1965 edition:

Johan Turi’s book is, without doubt, the most important which has ever been written in the Lappish language. It has value not only as a work of literature but also as a document of cultural history (Ruong, 1965:xiv).

The artistic value of *Muitalus sámiid birra* had been underscored by Emilie Demant:

*Muittalus Sámid birra blev en litterær Succes - den blev Kunst, fordi Turi var Kunstner. Men saadan var den ikke ment fra hans Haand.*
Turis Bog er et Bønskrift! En brendende Bøn fra Laplands Hjerte, et Raab om Retfærdighed for Nomaderne i Skandinavien - ikke en Bøn om Fattigunderstøttelse, men en Bøn om at blive forstået, en Bøn om Rett til at leve! (Demant Hatt, 1994 [1940]:63)

Muitalus sámiid birra became a literary success – this was art, because Turi was an artist. But this was not his intention. Turi’s book was a petition! An ardent plea straight from the heart of Sápmi, a cry for justice for the nomads of Scandinavia – not a plea for poverty allowance, but a plea to be understood, a plea for the right to live!

In this speech, delivered upon acceptance of the Arthur Hazelius medal at the Nordic museum in Sweden, she also emphasizes the ideological goal of Turi.

Muitalus sámiid birra was the first book of its kind for the Sámi, but it represents also a new genre for the European public. The literary context of the time was favorable to folklore texts and to “exotic” cultures. Ethnographic projects like those published by Friis and Qvigstad had been received in Europe with great interest, and the assumption that the Sámi minority was disappearing accorded great value to the folklore material then considered as the last remains of a vanishing culture. A review of Turi’s book of Lapland (the translation of Muitalus into English, published 1931), by Hugh Massingham in The Observer illustrates the expectations and reception of the book in Europe.

It is perhaps stressing the obvious to say that Turi’s stories have a charming, childlike quality which expresses itself in a trust of nature difficult to describe. In many ways there is a sense in which they touch Hans Andersen. Turi’s world is a world of hobgoblin and devil, ghost and fairy, where a man must walk stopping his ears lest he should be seduced by the angry shouts or the subtle whisperings of the Evil One. […] It [a sentence about doctoring] brings out the naïveté that gives life and charm to this book. This simplicity goes very much deeper than the simplicity of the peasant, for these stories are by a man quite untouched by civilization and progress – words which seem to have a certain ironic ring after reading this book (Valkeapää, 1994b:256).
The tales of H.C. Andersen represent here a frame of comparison for the stories told by Turi. *Muitalus* ends up among other tales, stories and fiction books of the time, responding to an interest for infantine and naïve forms of literature. The discourse voiced by the reviewer describes Turi’s authorship as simple and primitive. Only the last sentence intimates that Turi was not untouched by civilization. *Muitalus* deals in a large extent with contacts and conflicts with settlers, but the political aim of Turi is strongly under-emphasized. Instead, focus is stressed on the exotic quality of the book.

Another review published in *Times Literary Supplement* in 1931 voices a similar discourse:

> The special attractiveness of their [the tales] presentation here lies in the fact of their evident reality to the author; they are thus a harmonious and integral part of Lapp psychology. A similar value attaches to his absurd and sometimes rather revolting medical recipes (Valkeapää, 1994b:260).

In a similar way as in the previous review, the author refers to the naïveté and simplicity of Turi’s writing as criteria of value.

In Sápmi, the reception of *Muitalus* was different:


*Muitalus sámiid birra* was not received in a friendly manner by his [Turi’s] people. The Sámi thought the descriptions were too intimate – well, they felt aversion for Turi, because he had revealed their secretive and ancient culture. They would rather have remained as a snail in its house. They felt as if they had been betrayed by one of their own.

The majority’s attitude toward the Sámi minority had resulted in the mistrust and reticence of the Sámi in their contacts with outsiders. With the publication of *Muitalus*, Turi contradicted – partially, as we will see in Chapter Three – typical Sámi attitudes toward such contact by opening his world to others.
In spite of the criticism that followed the publication of *Muitehlu*, Turi gained a significant position in the Sámi community. Today, he is acknowledged as the writer of the Sámi, and an inscription on his tombstone in the churchyard at Čohkkiaras reads in Swedish *Samernas författare* ("The writer of the Sámi") and bears witness to the significance of his work.

![Johan Turi's tombstone in Čohkkiaras.](image)

*Figure 2* Johan Turi's tombstone in Čohkkiaras. Photographer: Risto Koskinen.

**Contextualizing Qvigstad’s *Lappiske Eventyr og Sagn***

The Norwegian ethnographer Just Knud Qvigstad (1853-1957) contributed to research in Sámi language and folklore with an outstanding collection of data. His publications cover a broad range of topics, such as language, place names and storytelling in different forms. The material is not only exceptional in its extensiveness; it also contains valuable information about language, traditions, worldviews and social norms.

Nevertheless, a weakness can be pointed out in Qvigstad’s material: he left no information to the reader about the recording process of these valuable
narratives, and scarcely any about his informants. The decontextualisation of folklore material was neither odd nor uncommon at that time, but today, at the beginning of the twenty first century, the need for understanding the context of the recordings appears absolute. Other projects of collecting narratives have underscored how the interviewer may affect the interviewee and, consequently, the material collected (Bauman, 1986; Kaivola-Bregenhøj, 1989; Nyberg, Huuskonen and Enges, 2000).

In this section, I contextualize the production of Qvigstad’s *Lappiske eventyr og sagn* (Qvigstad, 1927-1929). With the few leads left by Qvigstad in his publications and archives as a point of departure, I attempt to reconstruct the context in which the collecting of the narratives took place. This can finally lead to an evaluation of the possible uses offered by Qvigstad’s material to contemporary researchers.

**AN UNCOMMON SCHOLAR**

Just Knud Qvigstad was born 1853 in Lyngseidet, northern Norway. After earning a degree in philology at the University of Christiania (Oslo), he went back to northern Norway. In 1878, he became a teacher of Sámi at the Romsa (Tromsø) teachers’ college - and later headmaster - where he worked for over 40 years. Throughout his working life and his uncommonly long and active life as a retiree, Qvigstad collected an impressive amount of material composed of place names, tales and legends from the broad Sámi territory, which gave him a major place in Sámi research history.

Language and linguistics were his first main interests, with focus on the Finno-Ugrian languages. This interest brought him to Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) in 1878, where he studied North Sámi with Lars Jakobsen Haetta, a Sámi condemned for his involvement in the Guovdageaidnu revolt in 1852. Qvigstad’s first publications dealt with language issues and in many of the later ones, he studied loan words, place names and variation in Sámi dialects.

His fieldwork with Sámi storytellers was probably motivated by his interest in gathering samples of different dialects, a practice typical of his day (cf e.g Franz Boas 1858-1942). Qvigstad’s contribution to Sámi folklore is documentary; his fieldwork was of ethnographic character. He was primarily interested in language samples, but his private library\(^1\) bears witness to a genuine interest in folklore.

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\(^1\) Qvigstad’s private library is today stored at the Tromso Museum.
Legends and tales from many different countries are represented on the shelves, as frequently as books about Finno-Ugrian languages or religious texts.

Qvigstad was interested in pedagogy, particularly when teaching bilingual and non-Norwegian speaking children. In 1897, he traveled to Finland and Sweden in order to study teaching methods in different schools. In a report dated 1897, he presents his observations and opinions on different ways of teaching language to children. This study was conducted thanks to a stipend for the project. In different schools in Sweden and Finland, he observed how teachers instructed children in a new language, either with translation or repetition of new words and phrases (Qvigstad, 1897). In his works, Qvigstad expresses his view that there was a political responsibility to teach the majority language to minorities. In the case of Finland, he pointed out how surprised he was that so little had been done to educate teachers for the youngest pupils (Qvigstad, 1897:22). After his observations in Sweden, he concluded that efforts for
diffusion of Swedish language and culture in the Finnish speaking area were considered a national duty. He also pointed out that the Finnish speaking minority itself found it necessary to learn Swedish.

For den kvænske befolkning selv er det en ulempe i kommunale og retslig forhold ikke at kunna landets officielle sprog, svensk (Qvigstad, 1897:4).

For the Finnish speaking population, it is a disadvantage not to be able to speak the official language, Swedish, in municipal and judicial situations.

Qvigstad was not only a scholar. He also had an official position as Minister of Church and Education in 1910-12 (Nissen, 1953:3). He had a significant role in the local community and represented authority. He also had a central role in the Reindeer Pasturage Commission in 1907.

In an interview in 1939, Qvigstad was asked if it was his interest in politics that had led him to different official positions on a national and local level. He declared then that this was not the reason, but that he felt he had a duty (NRK, 1939). Qvigstad was also one of the founders and active member of the Norske Finnemisjon, (“Norwegian Sámi Mission”), an organization working for the evangelical education of the Sámi (Iversen, 1957:109). This status conferred upon him an authority that may have affected the way Sámi interacted with him, since he represented the empowered majority.

Just K. Qvigstad lived a long and active life. Most of his works were published after he retired. In 1920, he retired from his position at the college with a fixed annual allowance from the State in addition to his pension (Nissen, 1953:5). By then, he was established as a researcher and had the authority as well as time for fieldwork and editing. It seems he had at that time a rather altruistic attitude toward his research and his field. Even if he had his own interests, he refers on several occasions to his duty and obligation to collect and publish Sámi material.

Qvigstad was rewarded for his contributions on many occasions. He was knighted and later promoted to the rank of Commander First Class of the Royal Norwegian Order of St Olav. He was an honorary member of several societies, including La société finno-ougrienne, the Scientific Society in Uppsala and La société académique de la langue estonienne (Wighus, 1976:26).
The range of topics in Qvigstad’s many publications corresponds to the multiplicity of interests he had, from linguistics to place names, with a large quantity of reports and books about folklore. Among the works on Sámi folklore, we find books about premonitions, healing, and holy places (Qvigstad, 1920, 1921, 1926, 1932, 1934), but the largest publication is, by far, *Lappiske eventyr og sagn*. This four-volume collection was published between 1925 and 1929 in a bilingual edition, with the original North Sámi text and Qvigstad’s translation into Norwegian. In his foreword, Qvigstad mentions that he used the North Sámi orthography based on Professor Nielsen’s system. He also specifies distinctions between different vowels. This specification is relevant, as there was no official North Sámi orthography at that time.

The four volumes cover five geographic regions: Varanger, Troms, Finnmark, Lyngen and Nordland. The stories are classified first geographically, secondly, within each volume, according to themes. They are numbered; variants are sorted under the same number. At the end of each story, the name of the informant, his/her geographical origin and the year of interview are mentioned. Alternatively, the name of the one who collected the story if other than Qvigstad himself is noted. In some cases, we are given other information revealed by the informant on the sources of the tale or legend, like *hørt i min barndom* (“heard during my childhood”) (Qvigstad, 1928:432).

In order to understand the process of production of *Lappiske eventyr og sagn*, it is important to bear in mind the social, cultural and ideological context in which Qvigstad lived and worked.

**Qvigstad and Norwegianization**

The political and ideological context of the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries was, as described in the previous section, unfavorable to the Sámi. In Norway as in Sweden, the Sámi minority was considered primitive compared to the majority population, and the Sámi were subjected to attempted assimilation and segregation. The position of Qvigstad as the headmaster of the Romsa teachers’ school and as a researcher implied that he had to take a position on issues such as the choice of language in education, the future of the Sámi culture and Norwegianization. The positions he adopted interacted with his research and

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1 The Norwegian linguist Konrad Nielsen (1875-1953) earned a significant position in the history of Sámi language with his North Sámi dictionary *Lappisk Ordbok* (Nielsen, 1932-1938).
fieldwork, and must be taken into account when studying his collection of Sámi material.

Qvigstad was teaching in Romsa while the politics of minority assimilation were in force. It was a peculiar situation, since the teachers’ college had a special obligation to train teachers for the Sámi district (Dahl, 1957:138). According to Mathisen, Qvigstad was a “supporter of the assimilating Norwegianization politics” (Mathisen, 2000a:189). The point of view of the headmaster was that the process of Norwegianization was the chance for the Sámi to be part of national progress. But he did not seem to agree with the idea that assimilation should imply the loss of the Sámi language. His translations of official and religious documents into North Sámi (Hansen, 1992:50) are indications of his position on the place of the language in at least the private and spiritual lives of Sámi communities.

Despite his paternalistic attitude toward the Sámi (Hansen, 1992), Qvigstad did not deny the significance of their mother tongue. He acknowledged the value of Sámi language and seemed to have approved the position of Thomas von Westen, who played an important role in the Christianization of Sámi and according to whom Sámi children should be taught in their own language (NRK, 1939).

When expressing his view upon the linguistic assimilation of the Finnish minority in Sweden, he observed that it is not question of an education by coercion, but that the minority itself wished to learn Swedish (Qvigstad, 1897). As for the situation in Norway, he writes of a national obligation to study the culture of the Sámi (Qvigstad, 1925b:62).

In conformity with the beliefs of Social Darwinism, the Sámi population and culture were considered to be dying out. As Hansen has pointed out, this ideology was nothing new: “evolutionism can be regarded as an inheritance from the 18th century enlightenment” (Hansen, 1992:57). To Qvigstad, collecting traditional stories was a way of ensuring that aspects of Sámi traditional culture would not fall into oblivion.

According to Per Mathiesen (1984), Qvigstad had the same approach toward language as toward culture. He considered that the same process was going on: Sámi language, like Sámi culture, was disappearing. Although this perspective had had negative consequences for the Sámi on a political level, it apparently functioned as a motivation for Qvigstad. He was striving to collect as much data as possible, since he thought he was among the last to have access to this culture.
Qvigstad did not seem to disparage the Sámi. On the contrary, his conviction that Norway had an obligation to document Sámi culture shows that he valued it greatly. Moreover, he proved trustworthy toward his Sámi colleagues and accorded authority to them. As a matter of fact, he helped Sámi like Isak Saba and Anders Larsen, school teachers and Qvigstad’s collaborators for *Lappiske eventyr og sagn*, to publish articles. As Hansen writes:

He also was instrumental in getting Sámi spokesmen to publish articles and expositions on their own account. In Tromsø Museum’s annual report of 1919 is a short article by Isak Saba on Sámi place names, and in 1949 Qvigstad encouraged Anders Larsen to write the work *Om sjøsamarne* (Larsen, 1950) (“About the coastal Sámi”) (Hansen, 1992:54).

This aspect of Qvigstad’s character indicates how he accorded authority to his collaborators and informants based on their knowledge.

Qvigstad was part of the political discourse of the time, and could offer influential views, as when he writes about how the young people who grow up in warm houses are neither skillful nor interested in herding (Qvigstad, 1938:34). This statement refers to the Lapp-shall-be-Lapp discourse that was taking place in Sweden and influenced the way the Sámi were regarded in neighboring countries. The young Sámi who grew up as Norwegians would lose their Sámi qualities. Later in the same essay, Qvigstad expresses more explicitly his position:

De star tillbake i allt, i barnepleie, renlighet, matlagning, fjøsstell, jordbruk, forstandig utnyttelse av skogen. De behøver bedre båter og fullkommere fiskeredskaper. Erfaringer fra Troms fylke viser at sjølappene er mottagelig for norsk kultur, og at de lapper som har tilegnet sig den, star sig godt i konkurranse med nordmennene. Det er da håp også for sjølappene i Finnmark. (Qvigstad, 1938:38)

They are backward in everything: nursing, hygiene, cooking, cattle-tending, agriculture, skillful exploitation of the forest; they need better boats and adequate fishing gear. Experiences from the province of Romsa show that the Coastal Sámi are amenable to Norwegian culture, and that those who have learned it stand strong in competition with Norwegians. Then there is also hope for the Coastal Sámi in Finnmark.
Qvigstad had expressed this view of Sámi backwardness and need of guidance already in 1907 (Qvigstad, 1907:63).

Qvigstad’s attitude toward the Sámi was nevertheless not as condescending as some of his compatriots or Swedes adopting a discourse of Social Darwinism. Actually, he did not state that the Sámi were unable to improve their situation. He emphasized that their needs were not fulfilled, and did not refer to any innate inability. Qvigstad believed that if the Sámi had the possibility, they would be able to “modernize.” This paternalistic and ethnocentric view also reveals Qvigstad’s positive attitude to Norwegianization. Assimilation was here described as a “hope,” a possibility for the Sámi to have a chance to be part of the Norwegian community. His essay ends with the wish that soon all Sámi will realize this goal:

Man kan håpe att den tid ikke er fjern, da alla lapper kan fylle sin plass som selvhjulpne og jevngode medlemmer av det norske borgersamfund. (Qvigstad, 1938:39).

We can hope that the time is not far when all the Sámi will be able to fit in as self-sufficient and equal members of the Norwegian society.

RESEARCH TRADITIONS

The political context also affected research traditions and attitudes toward the field of study. Hansen reports that there was a “relatively recently established tradition of collecting and documenting Norwegian material with the sector of fairy tales, folklore, place names and Nordic etymology” with reference to Moltke Moe, Sophus Bugge and Oluf Rygh (Hansen, 1992:56).

The predominant research traditions of the time furnished different approaches to cultural variation in terms of diffusionism or evolutionism. These ideas influenced work on Sámi folklore. The historic-geographic method of the Finnish school, developed by the scholars Julius and Kaarle Krohn, is representative of the ideas of the time. It aimed “to explain the similarities of stereotyped, complex forms of folklore as the result of shared origin and migration” (Kvideland, Schmdsford and Simpson, 1989:5). This method was developed by folklorists who felt a need for “a uniform system of reference and general collaboration so that a folklorist who wanted to make a
comparative study of a tale type could ask his colleagues in other countries what examples they possessed of the type in question” (Holbek, 1992:4). In 1910, Antti Aarne published the first list of folktales types (Aarne, 1910). This method of research was based on the same ideas that the diffusionists developed in Central Europe, that is to say the belief in the diffusion of cultural elements. Qvigstad used and referred to this list in his notes. In the Norwegian Folklore Archives, we can read observations he made at the end of some narratives such as “Aarne 314”, “Aarne 303, defective” (Qvigstad, NFS 16) or “Aarne 550, incomplete” (Qvigstad, NFS 17).

A list of motifs of Sámi folklore was published in 1925, elaborated by Just Qvigstad himself. *Lappische Märchen- und Sagenvarianten* is a classification of Sámi narratives by topics like animal tales, stories about giants, ghosts, and more (Qvigstad, 1925a). Qvigstad's collection of narratives resembles other publications of folklore texts such as those established by other scholars, e.g. the Finnish folklorist Kaarle Krohn (1863-1933), or August Bondeson (1854-1906), Gunnar Olof Hyltén-Cavallius (1818-1889) in Sweden or Peter Christen Asbjørnsen (1812-1885) and Jørgen Engebretsen Moe (1813-1882) in Norway (Asbjørnsen and Moe, 1843-1844). Qvigstad’s collection has had an even greater impact on folkloristic research thanks to its predominant place in Reidar Th. Christiansen's central work on the classification of legend types (Christiansen, 1958) as well as in the second edition of Antti Aarne's classification of the folktale (Aarne, 1928). With their entrance in this reference publication, Sámi legends collected by Qvigstad placed Sámi storytelling tradition on the map of folklore in Europe.

One of the specificities of the Finnish school was the “emphasis placed on the study of the stability of oral tradition in certain areas” (Mathisen, 2000b:110). The collection of tales and legends compiled by Qvigstad follows this idea. His choice to publish different variants of a given story reveals a desire to contribute to the reconstruction of original form, in collaboration with other researchers, in accordance with the historic-geographic method.

Despite the fact that they were collected over a long period of time, the narratives are not presented in chronological order nor are their dispersion in time mentioned at all. Moreover, the fact that some informants had moved during their lifetime was downplayed, although it must have had an impact on the storyteller. The presentation of geographic stasis lacks the ability to interpret this aspect. One could say that the mobility of the Sámi even made this image of geographic stasis incorrect. The inaccuracy of the method and the issues
it raises have been underscored by Reidar Th. Christiansen. Though he was a fervent adept of the historic-geographic method, he came to the conclusion that the method could raise more questions than it could answer. The existence of similar motifs or narratives in widespread areas was problematic to explain (Christiansen, 1945; Mathisen, 2000a:194).

The political background of the day was reflected in the dominancy of the Finnish method. As Mathisen points out, “There is a link between nationalistic ideology and a folkloristic research method” (Mathisen, 2000a:191). The Finnish school stressed a geographical and national unity, which leads Mathisen to qualify the results of this research method as “ideological and political constructs” (Mathisen, 2000a:195).

The method followed indeed the agenda striving for the enhancement of a national pride and strength. It resulted nevertheless in extensive catalogs and registers of folklore items that remain useful for all folklorists providing they take into account the weaknesses and lacunas of the collection of materials.

One of these failings can be noticed when Qvigstad writes about different narratives and variants: he focuses on the content but underemphasizes individual creativity. The loss of subjective and local variation is characteristic of the historic-geographic method. The informants were not considered storytellers, neither were their contributions performances; for Qvigstad and other researchers of the Finnish school, each informant was a “tradition bearer”. To scholars, the perfect informant was faithful to the collective storytelling tradition. Characteristic of the Finnish school was the focus on the text itself, “the interest in the producers of the oral text […] being scantier.” (Honko, 2000:7). The subjective and artistic dimensions of the storytelling were neglected.

Qvigstad did not deny the impact of cultural contacts on the Sámi population. He mentions in his foreword to Lappiske eventyr og sagn III Lyngen that contacts with Finns and Norwegians took place in the region. Still, he wrote about a one-sided influence, highlighting, for instance, how the Sámi storytelling tradition had been influenced by Scandinavians and Finns. He was also interested in loan words and other traces of contacts between different groups. At that time, the scholarly assumption was still clearly that lore could only pass from “superior” culture to “inferior” and not in the opposite direction, as articulated by Moltke Moe:
The rule is that it is the most advanced people who are the donors, and the lesser developed, who are the receivers (Moe 1887:x in Mathisen, 2000a)

In an article in 1938, Qvigstad observes that the Sámi have mixed with their neighbors from Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia and Karelia. It is therefore almost impossible to find a “pure” Sámi (Qvigstad, 1938:32). In an interview on Norwegian radio in 1939, Qvigstad states that there is no genuine Sámi race anymore, since the Sámi have mixed with their neighbors (NRK, 1939). As for Sámi folklore, he declares in the same way that it is composed of elements borrowed from other peoples that have been adjusted to the Sámi situation and appropriated it by adding their own touch. This attitude was in accordance with that of many of Qvigstad’s contemporaries (Mathisen, 2000b).

Lars Ivar Hansen has examined how Qvigstad situated himself at the intersection of different research traditions when trying to answer the question of “which cultural elements arose from a common core, or basis; - which are later brought in by cultural loans (diffusion) and which arose spontaneously?” (Hansen, 1992:60). At some points, Qvigstad portrays the Sámi culture as static and focused on elders. He admits that some changes had occurred, but depicts them critically as fatal for the Sámi. On the other hand, he emphasizes the significance of cultural contacts between Sámi and other people. In a 1925 lecture, Qvigstad presented his approach to cultural variation. With the examples of language, reindeer herding and dwelling types, he referred to various researchers and underscored the relevance of comparative studies in order to approach aspects of Sámi culture (Qvigstad, 1925b).

Qvigstad collaborated with scholars such as Konrad Nielsen for the elaboration of his dictionary (Hansen, 1992:50) and K.B. Wiklund in connection with the Reindeer Pasturage Commission in 1907. These collaborations placed Qvigstad as significant in the field of Sámi research. He was also distinctive in his early interest in interdisciplinary research. In different essays, he referred to several fields including linguistics, ethnology, and even psychology (Qvigstad, 1925a:80).

Being at the intersection of different ideologies of the time, Qvigstad’s statements about the Sámi reveal his dilemma when striving to create a coherent discourse of his own. Evolutionist ideas come to the fore when he writes that “They [the Sámi] are backward in everything” (Qvigstad, 1907:63). This view of hygiene and cleanliness also is expressed in the Veiledning til undersøgelse af...
Revoicing Sámi narratives

Lappernes Forhold (Qvigstad, 1896), “Fieldguide for the study of the situation of the Sámi”. This fieldguide, published in 1896, includes an extensive questionnaire. The topics listed consist of dwelling, clothes, food, everyday life, hunting, fishing, reindeer and other animals, relations and superstitions. Several questions deal with issues of cleanliness. A headline in the fieldguide, “About superstitions,” also reveals an ethnocentric perspective. Qvigstad’s view of the Sámi apparently affected his method when collecting material, i.e. he focused on issues he already had an opinion about.

Such a field method was not uncommon at that time. Other scholars in linguistics and folklore also collected material with the help of a fieldguide. Ernst Manker also used such a list in order to collect material about sacred places and sacrifices in the 1940s and 1950s (Vorren, 1992:15). Eddy Wighus refers to the German ethnologist and folklorist W. Mannhart (1831-1880) as a pioneer of this method (Wighus, 1976:69). The Irish archivist and folklorist Seán O’Súilleabháin (1903-1996) elaborated one of the most extensive fieldguides, A Handbook of Irish Folklore in 1942 - first published in Irish Láimhleaghar Béaloideasa in 1937 -, that contains headings similar to those that can be found in Qvigstad’s booklet: about Dwelling, Household, Nature, Popular belief etc. O’Súilleabháin had collaborated with the Swedish Folklorist Carl Wilhelm von Sydow (1878-1952) and found inspiration in the work of Scandinavian scholars.

This example underscores the consensus in methodology of the time. Qvigstad was a frontrunner with his fieldguide, and we can even imagine that it has been used as a model by other scholars who developed more extensive handbooks for other cultures.

Qvigstad was at the crossroads of different influences and followed the changes occurring in the field of research. Numerous examples exist which also reflect Qvigstad’s positionality in the changing influences of the time. For instance, when talking about the Sámi, he used the term “Finns” in 1907, the term that was established in Northern Norway. In his later publications, he calls the Sámi Lapper, (“Lapps”), the general term then in use. Later, in an interview with Norwegian Radio in 1939, he uses the term Samene (“Sámi”), chosen by the Sámi and since the 1950s more commonly in use instead of the rather pejorative term “Lapp,” even if he has to correct himself for not using that term, still more commonly in use at that time (NRK, 1939).

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1 A look at bibliography about the Sámi reveals that the term “Lapp” was gradually replaced by “Sámi” and lost his predominance in the 1950s. Nevertheless, it was still in use up to the 1970s (Hultkrantz, 2000:77).
Positionality and Authority

The concept of positionality is a key to research based on ethnographic material. The point of view adopted by an ethnographer or a storyteller when presenting narratives shape the perspective and consequently its effect upon the audience. Positionality is also a way to assert authority. The Sámi writer Johan Turi, for instance, stated his authority when beginning *Muitalus sámiid birra* (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b) with “Mon lean okta sápmelas”, “I am a Sámi.” He uses his background as a cultural insider to legitimate his right to write about the situation of the Sámi and to ensure the validity of his accounts (DuBois, March 12, 2004). Authority has to be motivated, in the case of Turi, by his ethnicity. In contrast to Turi, it is Qvigstad’s position as an outsider that gave him his authority. His education and position at the Romsa teachers’ college as the headmaster responsible for the teaching of Sámi language situated him as an authority in the field of Sámi culture and language. For the Sámi, he represented the Norwegian majority. The political context of the time, as mentioned above, placed the Sámi in a situation of inferiority.

Qvigstad’s positionality was influenced by romantic ideas, as some of his statements reflect:

> As with their superstitions and their heathen religion, their language and their culture, the Sámi are the pupils and the neighbours are the teachers (Qvigstad, 1932).

In other words, a Sámi fisherman was not on an equal footing with a Norwegian scholar. This quotation reveals Qvigstad’s positionality toward the group studied. His perspective as a Norwegian scholar enabled him to conduct his fieldwork and legitimized a paternalistic attitude.

An ethnographer’s position has an undeniable impact on the result obtained. The unbalanced power relation between Qvigstad and his informants must have affected the collecting of data. Although Qvigstad did not attempt to obscure his informants or himself from the process of interviewing - he mentioned their names - he did not emphasize the role they might have had. Neither Qvigstad nor any of the interviewers are mentioned as an audience in the narratives, though they were involved in the interview situation. Because of the circumstances of the tellings, Qvigstad must have been considered by the informants to be an authority. Storytelling is about adapting a story to an audience and it seems reasonable to believe that the informants adapted the language they used and
the content of some stories, in order to sound more adequate to a Norwegian
teacher. The issue of authority, once again, plays an important role, since the
expectations of the interviewer - real or believed by informants - may alter the
narration.

The interviews were conducted in North Sámi, since Qvigstad was eager to
collect language samples. Qvigstad had learned Sámi as a young adult and was
self-confident in his mastery of the Sámi language. His main informant in the
second volume, Ellen Utsi, mentions in an interview that Qvigstad knew Sámi
better than she did (Berg, 1981). This might have been ironic, since we know
Qvigstad did comment on some of his informants’ proficiency in Sámi, although
he was not himself a native speaker. In a letter to K. B. Wiklund in 1896, he named
a Sámi informant who, according to Qvigstad, did not pronounce correctly and
used short vowels where there should be long vowels (Qvigstad, 22.7.1896). We
can assume that his position and self-confidence was noticeable in the context of
the interview and may have increased the power imbalance between interviewer
and interviewee.

**Methodology**

The context of the interviews has a significant impact on the result of the
data collected (Nyberg et al., 2000). Before an attempt to recreate this context
and Qvigstad’s encounter with his informants, we also need to examine his
methodology as a researcher and ethnographer.

The content of his notebooks as well as his methodology in the field reveal
that Qvigstad was an orderly and meticulous researcher. Many of the booklets he
left offer today’s researchers lists with words, place names, family names, topical
bibliographies, and more (Qvigstad, Notes). As a basis for his different works,
he scrupulously studied protocols from authorities, including police and court
records. Qvigstad seems to have striven to collect as much data as possible and to
establish a total corpus of different topics. In archives, we find notes that give us
hints about how he worked, systematically and in a thorough way. Nevertheless,
the neat appearance of these notes indicates that they are fair copies rather than
field notes.

A look at Qvigstad’s early publications reveals the recurrence of his
methodology. In 1896, he published his *Veiledning til undersøgelse af Lappernes Forhold*,
“Fieldguide for the study of the situation of the Sámi,” which aimed at collecting
terminology, descriptions and practical details and habits of Sámi life. He sent
this checklist to people he was acquainted with and colleagues. Publications based on the answers of Sámi informants to these questions collected by Anders Larsen (1950), Ole Thomassen and Peder Mikalsen (Thomassen, 1999) show that this fieldguide was put to use. Anders Larsen (1870-1949) studied at the Romsa seminar from 1897 to 1899 and was one of the first Sámi writers. He was the editor of the Sámi newspaper Sagai Muittelædje (“The news reporter”) between 1904 and 1911 and published in 1912 the novel Beaive Alggo (“Daybreak”). In 1949, Qvigstad received the manuscript of Om sjøsamene (“About the Coastal Sámi”) and translated it. In 1950, it was published with a preface and notes by Qvigstad. He comments that he encouraged Larsen to write this manuscript but does not refer to his Veiledning. Nevertheless, the content and order of the topics presented by Larsen leave no doubt that his manuscript is composed of answers to Qvigstad’s questions. Anders Larsen’s description of dwelling, clothes, food and cooking and the like is a first-person account of an experience-based knowledge.

A similar manuscript was discovered in 1994 by Lena Antonsen in the archives of the Museum of Ethnography in Oslo (Thomassen, 1999:6). Ole Thomassen (1844-1926) wrote in 1896-98 a description of the situation of the coastal Sámi and sent it to Qvigstad. Thomassen was both an informant and collaborator of Qvigstad. His contributions can be found in Friis and Qvigstad’s publications. Peder A. Mikalsen (1870-1904) furnished shorter contributions about the situation of the coastal Sámi in the 1880s and later (Thomassen, 1999:8-9). He worked as a teacher and had studied in Romsa in 1897, where he most likely came in contact with Qvigstad.

In his own publications, Qvigstad did not refer to his list, but a closer look at his works reveals that he followed it closely when recording. Both Lappische Wetterkunde (“Sámi weatherlore”) (Qvigstad, 1934) and Lappischer Aberglaube (“Sámi superstition”) (Qvigstad, 1920) are presented in sections that match questions from the fieldguide’s check list. Similarly, Qvigstad published booklets about sieidi and reindeer diseases. His Opptegnelser fra samernas liv (“Records of Sámi life”) (Qvigstad, 1954) is a list of answers to the questionnaire, illustrated by short stories.

Topics brought up in Lappiske eventyr og sagn correspond to the ones in the last section of the list, about superstition. We can read stories about animals, the fiend Stállu, invisible beings, ghosts, Christmas, premonitions… It is obvious that he followed the same question list when recording data during his fieldwork.

The 26 points in the fieldguide dealing with superstition are more vague topics than specific questions. The informants might have answered in many
different ways when they were asked to tell about Stállu. By asking his informants general questions, we can imagine that Qvigstad must have heard and collected much more than he first meant to. In Lappiske eventyr og sagn, he published different versions of the same stories. The four-volume publication may be the result of this method, in that Qvigstad may have amassed a lot of unpublished material that he did not choose to publish at first, but finally decided to publish in the four volumes. The late publication of Lappiske eventyr og sagn - in the late 1920s - contains material collected already in the 1880s. We can imagine that Qvigstad heard and noted carefully and thoroughly stories that by their content did not fit directly with his expectations. Nevertheless, he apparently published most of them.

As mentioned above, it was not uncommon to work according to a question list. What was particular for Qvigstad is the fact that he apparently used the same list through all the years he collected Sámi material, and that he recorded narratives about so many topics.

At the end of his working life, he had managed to collect most of the material he wanted to document. In a radio interview in 1939, he tells that “as for legends and tales, you probably cannot find anything new in the field, only versions of already documented narratives if you ask older people. Regarding superstition about death, there are still things to be collected” (NRK, 1939).

Field research

As Lars Ivar Hansen points out, Qvigstad’s method was based on a positivist empirical orientation, which emphasized the significance of data collection (Hansen, 1992). This implied that fieldwork played an important role in his research method, in linguistics as well as in folklore. His acquaintance with the language, the geographical conditions of the field and the situation of the Sámi also indicate that Qvigstad was one of the first researchers conducting his own fieldwork.

Already in the 1880s, Qvigstad traveled through Norwegian Sápmi, met informants and collected narratives. He had collaborators, but he was mainly his own collector. In the Nordic countries, the first organized seminar in fieldwork methods occurred in 1965 (Kvideland et al., 1989:6). If his fieldwork cannot be compared with Malinowski’s (1884-1942) participant observation, he conducted nonetheless fieldwork on many occasions.
In the field, he used a collapsible table (Qvigstad, Notes) and we can imagine him listening meticulously and writing down the narratives informants would tell him. The extensiveness of the material he produced indicates that he must have spent hours by his table and must have had a routinized method for writing.

These instances of direct fieldwork are, however, exceptions and Qvigstad did not collect all the materials by himself. Regarding his major publication, *Lappiske eventyr og sagn*, he was helped by persons with Sámi background who interviewed other Sámi and submitted their work to Qvigstad. In each of the four volumes, he provides in the foreword information not only about the informants, but also about the interviewers. All collaborators were males, most of them teachers. Among his collaborators, we find Isak Saba, member of the Parliament, and Magnus Olsen from the Romsa teachers’ college. The writer Matti Aikio and the priest G. Balke also contributed to the collection. Thanks to his fieldguide and the list of questions, he had the possibility to send collaborators into the field with explicit guidelines about what was to be collected.

The informants

The first volume of *Lappiske eventyr og sagn*, concerning the Varanger region, is a compilation of stories told by nine informants (eight men and one woman), all coastal Sámi excepted one Skolt Sámi. The narrators were born between 1835 and 1875.

The second volume (Troms and Finnmark) is the result of interviews undertaken with 39 informants, one anonymous, 32 men and six women. They represent several generations, with the oldest born in 1811 and the youngest in 1902\(^1\). The majority was born between 1820 and 1860. Most of the narrators were coastal Sámi.

Qvigstad begins the third volume (Lyngen) with a geographical, demographical and historical presentation of the research area. He stressed the great deal of cultural contacts between Sámi, Finns and Norwegians that had occurred in the region. Most of the stories were collected by Qvigstad himself, from 14 informants (twelve men and two women), most of whom were born between 1840 and 1880, all settled coastal Sámi.

The fourth volume is partly a completion of the third on Lyngen, and a continuation with stories of the last region studied by Qvigstad, Nordland.

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\(^1\) These informants are “youngest” and “oldest” among those whose birthdates are recorded.
Besides the informants from the third volume, stories were told by 18 other narrators (15 men and 3 women), most of them born between 1840 and 1880.

Of all informants, almost 84% were males and 15% were women (a few remained anonymous). One can wonder if the overrepresentation of male narrators can be explained by the choice of the informants, or by what Qvigstad had at hand. It would be hazardous to conclude from these figures that the tradition of storytelling was exercised mostly by men. Britta Pollan has reacted to this unequal representation of gender in the sample:

Sannsynligvis har kvinnene vært langt mer active i formidling av fortellertradisjonen enn hva Qvigstads samling reflekterer. Overvekten av manlige fortellere har nok sammenheng med at det er men og ikke kvinner som står for insamlingen (Pollan, 1997:31).

Women have probably been much more active in the transmission of storytelling tradition than is reflected in Qvigstad’s sample. The overrepresentation of male storytellers certainly has to do with the fact that there were men, and not women, who were in charge of the collection.

As Pollan states, it is evident that the fact that women are underrepresented does not reflect the factual situation of Sámi storytelling tradition at the time. The fact that all interviewers were males can partly explain the fact that so few women contributed to the collection. They might have not been willing to be interviewed. The male interviewers might have sought male informants in the first place.

Comparisons between Qvigstad’s field research and the Dálvadas project conducted in Finland in 1967-75 can be drawn. Both projects aimed at interviewing as many informants as possible and at collecting Sámi narratives of different types. The interviewers of the Dálvadas project used question lists in order to collect folklore according to topics set up by the fieldworkers. Difficulties that occurred in the meetings with informants might also have been the same. Nyberg, Huuskonen and Enges (Nyberg et al., 2000) note that the Dálvadas research group did not always have the possibility to choose their informants because of practical matters. For instance, “few interviews were conducted with young women from the village who had small children” (Nyberg et al., 2000:517). We can reasonably assume that Qvigstad had the same problem at some point in his fieldwork. The reason why he had few women informants can partly be
explained by the difficulty of meeting them. The way he conducted his fieldwork, by meticulously writing sometimes long narratives, must have taken hours. Willingness to contribute to Qvigstad’s collection is another factor that has to be taken into account. Being interviewed for hours by a Norwegian teacher, former headmaster of the Romsa teacher’s college and cabinet minister is likely to have frightened away some of the community members.

We know little about the way Qvigstad chose his informants. Britta Pollan reveals that if Qvigstad collected most of his data during fieldwork, some informants were students at the Romsa school where he worked (Pollan, 1997:31). Information about Qvigstad’s choice of informants can be found in one of his lectures.

De bedste fortællere er døde, og man må henvende sig til folk på over 50, helst over 60 år for at få høre noget. Den yngre slekt har andre interesser og er optat av matstrævet. […] Det hensigtsmæssigste ville være om man kunde få folkeskolelærere av lappisk herkomst til at optegne hvad de selv vet eller kan få høre av andre. (Qvigstad, 1925b:76)

The best informants are dead, and one has to turn to people older than 50, preferably older than 60, to obtain something. The younger generation has other interests and is occupied in making its daily bread. […] The most appropriate would be to induce schoolteachers of Sámi origin to document what they themselves know and what they may hear from others.

This quotation indicates that Qvigstad accorded authority to the teachers. They were considered a reliable source of knowledge. The majority of his collaborators were teachers, as were some of the informants.

A rapid look at the sample shows that of the 81 informants, 34 were older than 50 at the time they told the legends and tales collected by Qvigstad and his collaborators. The year of birth of 13 informants is unknown, and we can not be sure that he gave priority to older storytellers in practice. Moreover, in the last volume of Lappiske eventyr og sagn, four stories were told by a nine year old, and one by a 13 year old! The accessibility of informants may have been a predominant factor in Qvigstad’s selection of storytellers, rather than the criteria he mentioned in his text of 1925.
The second volume - where the repertoires of the storytellers analyzed in Chapter Four are presented - comprises stories from 39 Sámi informants gathered by about ten different persons. The fieldwork had been conducted between 1878 and 1926, that is to say a long period of time. As mentioned above, the informants were also distributed between different generations. The youngest one, born in 1902, was 24 years old at the time the interviews took place; while the oldest one, born in 1811, was 84 years old when he was interviewed.

Oral tradition and storytelling are characterized by their dynamic qualities; much had happened at that time, and tales and legends have been affected by external social change. But, as mentioned above, the ideas of Qvigstad’s time focused on stability rather than on changes. This attitude corresponds to the approach of the Finnish school, depicting folklore as frozen items. Qvigstad’s narrators were apparently not encouraged to tell stories about their present or about cultural change. Sámi stories were considered as history, not present or future. Consequently, narratives of change were seen as non-folklore, so that folklore could be imagined as an unchanging heritage from the past. Even later, when admitting that folklore still was alive, scholars kept considering that the function of folklore was to maintain culture, and neglected its embedded quality of expressing social change (Bascom, 1954).

Most of the informants were coastal Sámi. Some were nomads, others lived a sedentary lifestyle, and a few were school teachers. The different occupations can be seen as variation in social and cultural background, which are meaningful factors in tradition. With different backgrounds, informants must have had different acquaintance with narrative tradition and different views on storytelling. This provides us with a variety of data covering a huge range of local traditions. Nevertheless, they are presented by Qvigstad as homogeneous.

Qvigstad’s way of working and collecting data reveal his agenda. He was striving to collect as much material as possible in order to set up an encyclopedia. He kept records of words by dialects or topics, place names and so on. His lists of inhabitants by area seem to indicate that he wanted to establish a kind of census of the population in different areas of northern Norway.

But Qvigstad’s principal agenda was to record Sámi material that he considered to be vanishing. He saw it as his duty to leave to the world a collection of Sámi traditions and dialects’ description so that there would be a trace of this people after it died out.
MEETING THE INFORMANTS

After this first look at the background, position and fieldwork of Qvigstad, I will now attempt to reconstruct how his meeting and relation to his informants might have occurred.

Nyberg, Huuskonen and Enges (Nyberg et al., 2000) have pointed out how interviewers influence the material they collect. The different identities of Sámi and non-Sámi collectors who carried out the Dálvadas project in northern Finland showed noticeable differences in the data they obtained. The position of the collector as insider or outsider affected the form and the content of the interviewees’ answers. In a similar way, we can imagine that Just K. Qvigstad, as a Norwegian and outsider, influenced his informants and consequently their narratives. Narrators might have chosen topics that would please the collector. Also, they might have avoided topics to which he might take offense. The scarcity of stories about Norwegians, priests or erotic relations can be interpreted as the informants’ choice not to bring up these topics in their meeting with Qvigstad (Wighus, 1976:54-56).

It does not leave any doubts that fieldworkers come into contact with taboo topics. Pentikäinen, for instance, observed a reticence when conducting interviews in 1965-67 about the eahpåraš (“dead-child”) tradition:

We also noticed that the æppar tradition, especially when it was one’s own experience, was a supra-normal theme which they did not like to discuss. Other highly delicate matters were churchyard earth, which was used in Finnmark by witches to induce certain illnesses, offerings made to seita-stones and their own encounters with ghosts. (Pentikäinen, 1968:307)

Differences between narratives told by Turi and those told by Qvigstad’s informants reveal discrepancies that can be interpreted as related to the audience. Johan Turi wrote about Norwegians, settlers and other Sámi – he even mentions their names on some occasions – whereas the other storytellers did not tell about relations with other actual groups. Qvigstad as a Norwegian may have been a preventing factor for narratives about Norwegians.

Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj has also observed how the audience of a performance or an interview plays a significant role for the narratives:

My conversations with Juho Oksanen demonstrated that when there were several listeners and the situation was not an interview but a
social gathering, the narrator presented the shortest versions of his stories. The trusting atmosphere prevailing during the interview created intensity and drive, the pauses in the discourse vanished almost entirely, the narrator made fewer comments, the tempo was faster, his voice became louder and he laughed more forcibly (Kaivola-Bregenhøj, 1999:24).

In the case of Qvigstad, a look at the different repertoires indicates that some informants might have felt comfortable with him and easily told narratives, whereas other more uncomfortable only told a brief version. As we will see in Chapter Four, Ellen Utsi accounted many narratives, longer on average than other informants, as for instance Per Bær whose narration seems to indicate some reticence.

Beside these aspects over which he did not have power, Qvigstad collected material scrupulously and with accuracy, combining different methods in order to gather as much material as possible. Although he accorded great value to oral material (Wighus, 1976:48), he also received and published written material, contributions from informants. He used teachers and students from the Romsa teachers’ college as informants. According to Wighus, he paid some Sámi to come to Romsa and conducted interviews there when he could not travel (Wighus, 1976:48-49), information that is not revealed in Qvigstad's publications. The fact that he would have paid some persons for telling stories is interesting, insofar as it would imply that the stories were told as a service to Qvigstad, and there is a possibility that due to the involvement of money, the narrators may have felt a greater pressure to please his expectations.

In Lappiske eventyr og sagn, Qvigstad refers to Friis and Balke as collaborators. They had collected a great amount of Sámi material and some of their unpublished narratives have been added by Qvigstad to his own material. Thus, Qvigstad seems to have applied different methods for collecting: interviews in Romsa or in the field, in addition to the use of a question list, written documents, letters and data collected by others.

In his publications, Qvigstad shows respect for his informants. After each story, he provides us with the names of interview subjects, alternately withholding such information at the request of informants wishing for anonymity. In his forewords, he provides information about the year of birth, their occupation (nomad, settler, …). By referring to numbers, he indicates who carried out what interviews.
Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman have, in an article about the collaboration between Franz Boas (1858-1942) and his collaborator George Hunt (Briggs and Bauman, 1999), highlighted the partiality behind the collecting of texts, recordings and artefacts from Kwakwaka’wakw communities. Franz Boas expected a certain kind of material, which stressed the traditional aspects of Native American culture and toned down aspects of contacts between different cultures. This point of view influenced strongly the collecting of texts and artifacts, to the extent that he “ordered” it from George Hunt and refused what would not fit his expectations, even threatening him when not acquiring what he wanted. Briggs and Bauman have analyzed Boas and Hunt’s crucial roles in the process of collecting material in terms of entextualization, detextualization, decontextualization and recontextualization. These concepts are valuable in an attempt to approach the role played by Qvigstad when collecting tales and legends in Sámi communities.

Qvigstad’s classification by themes follows the standards of the Finnish school. By doing this, Qvigstad also entextualized Sámi narratives; he reconstructed the text with an imposition of standards. Wighus has compared original manuscripts and publications and noticed some discrepancies. The comparison between original and translation shows that at certain points in the translation, Qvigstad left out several sentences that he considered superfluous or redundant.

In the preface to the first volume of *Lappiske eventyr og sagn*, he recounts for difficulties in translating the Sámi text into Norwegian.

Oversettelsen er så nøiaktig som mulig, når den ikke skulde bli altfor slepende og unorsk. Ofte har jag brukt pronomen istedefor å gjenta substantivet; på andre steder har jeg for tydelighets skyld måttet gjenta substantivet, hvor fortelleren nøide sig med pronomen eller kun verbet i en bestemt person. (Qvigstad, 1927:foreword)

The translation is as accurate as possible, when it did not risk being too drawling or incorrect in Norwegian. I have often used the pronoun instead of repeating the substantive; elsewhere, I have repeated the substantive in order to clarify, where the storyteller only used the pronoun or the verb in a particular person.

The English translation of the narratives as it appears in the next chapters is based on the North Sámi text and is as close to the original as possible in order
to highlight the storytellers’ narrative strategies. However, Qvigstad’s comment on his translation into Norwegian highlights the peculiarities in Sámi storytelling, as we will see in Chapter Four.

As previously mentioned, Qvigstad furnishes information about the informants – their names, occupations, year of birth and location. He also lets us know who collected the material and when. But we do not know the exigencies Qvigstad had on his collaborators, or if they modified the material collected in order to please him, like Hunt did with Boas (Briggs and Bauman, 1999). The material has undergone a decontextualization, a process of erasure through the toning down or disappearance of background information. This strategy allows the ethnographer to become invisible and make the material appear more “authentic.” Although Qvigstad does not appear in the stories published, as an interviewer, he must have influenced the storyteller. A story implies an adaptation to the audience, but we do not know to what extent he influenced the narration, for example by asking questions. The relation between the informant and the interviewer also has an effect on the process of storytelling.

The concept of decontextualization emphasizes the disconnection of the stories from the background. For instance, the classification of the stories can be made after formal criteria (imposed genres) instead of following the native classification and genres. One drastic change imposed by Qvigstad is this disconnection of the narratives: the texts are not presented in the continuity they were told, but as separate stories.

Qvigstad published tales and legends in four volumes categorized by the region in which they were collected, without consideration of genre or chronology. This choice shows Qvigstad’s frame of interpretation and reveals what Briggs and Bauman call recontextualization. He chose to present the stories according to their geographical location and their theme, with focus on the cultural homogeneity. The ideological context of the era and his position toward the future of the Sámi culture also affected his work. His preference for elder informants was influenced by his idea that the Sámi culture was vanishing. Other publications show more distinctly how Sámi were portrayed from a romantic perspective. Qvigstad’s *Lappische Heilkunde* (“Sámi medical knowledge” (Qvigstad, 1932)) recounts the traditional knowledge of the Sámi as unscientific and naïve, in comparison to medical knowledge.

Mathisen has also underscored how narratives “had been ‘decontextualized’ and made into ‘tale types’ or ‘combinations of motifs’ in the research process.” It constructs an “image of folklore as an essentialistic, homogeneous and authentic
product of culture” (Mathisen, 2000a:191), in accordance with the ideas of the Finnish school. The title “eventyr og sagn” itself implies a recontextualization of the narratives. The texts are interpreted as “tales” and “legends”, and following the patterns of classification of European folklore. The title “Sámi tales and legends” does not include any notion of traditional knowledge, despite the fact that oral tradition was the main means of transmission of such knowledge.

Richard Bauman has emphasized how narratives fall upon a process of objectification when undergoing a transformation from performance to publication. “One dimension of objectification is accomplished by setting off each text with a title […]” (Bauman, 1999:114), he observes, and a “further dimension of objectification is represented by the rendering of each text as a unitary narrative with a single plot” (ibid:115). The texts we find in Lappiske eventyr og sagn have undergone this process. Qvigstad has set titles and the narratives are presented as separated events, though we know he could collect several stories from a same informant within a short period of time. The connection different texts may have had to one another has been erased.

Another frame of interpretation that may have influenced Qvigstad’s choice of informants and geographical location is his consideration of Laestadianism. He wrote in 1925:

Hvor læstadianismen råder, ansees eventyr og sagn som noget unyttig eller syndig. Det vil ikke lønne sig at sende ut mænd for kun at samle folkeminder (Qvigstad, 1925b:76).

Where Laestadianism reigns, legends and folk tales are regarded as worthless or sinful. It is not worth sending men out to collect folkloristic traditions.

Some areas were excluded from fieldwork, since they were not considered interesting from a folkloristic point of view. Laestadinism set a strong mark on Sámi beliefs and culture, and it has undoubtedly affected the community’s approach to traditional tales and legends. But the fact that Qvigstad rejected the area as a field of research may have neglected a few valuable storytellers. In other words, Qvigstad recontextualized storytelling and considered it within a certain frame, from which he concluded that collecting folkloristic traditions in certain areas was impossible. This point of view, however, is not in accordance with what other researchers have observed. Robert Paine has given the example of a coastal Sámi village where Laestadian Sámi in fact did take an active interest
in folklore, adapting legends in ways that reflected their religious views (Paine, 1994). What Qvigstad meant is probably that the presence of Laestadianism would reflect cultural change and variation, aspects that he would have wanted to downplay. He was interested in stasis within what he considered a vanishing culture. Storytelling that would have been “contaminated” by new religious values was therefore of no significance to him.

Qvigstad’s biases and overall attitude affected his choice of informants, and must have also had an effect on the persons he interviewed. But also his authority must have influenced the relation between Qvigstad and the Sámi storyteller. When he collected the major portion of the material for Lappiske eventyr og sagn, he was an old man, established as a researcher and somehow quite famous in Romsa. He played a significant role in the local community and had had an important position on the national level as a member of Wollert Konow’s cabinet in 1910-1912 (Nissen, 1953:3).

The power relationship that existed between the storytellers and Qvigstad was unbalanced at several levels. As a Norwegian, he represented the majority, mainstream and normative group. The Sámi had been oppressed for a long time, and they were expected to adjust to Norwegian norms in their contact with the authorities. The meeting between Qvigstad and his informants must have occurred in a similar way: they probably had to (or felt that they had to) adjust to him and his expectations.

On another level, we can guess that his position as the director of the Romsa teacher’s school also played a significant role in the context of the interviews. This old man asking questions of the Sámi must have been considered a school teacher rather than a peer, which would have affected the content of the data collected. It implies that they might have made efforts in order to answer adequately, regarding both the language and the contents.

All these aspects must be taken into account when studying narratives published in Lappiske eventyr og sagn. Contextualizing Qvigstad’s work lets us assume that the stories he collected were affected by his positionality and authority. In the light of this attempt at contextualization, we have to define the implications of the interview situation for today’s researchers – and this present study.
Implications of the Field Work on the Material: 
The Researcher’s Dilemma

The Sámi legends and tales collected by Qvigstad represent the most extensive collection of its kind. It is obviously a very significant source of knowledge about the Sámi tradition of storytelling at the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Writing about Lappiske eventyr og sagn, Ørnulf Vorren states that the narratives are primary sources put in writing as they were told (Vorren, 1992:4).

My attempt at contextualizing the production of Lappiske eventyr og sagn has highlighted how narratives might not be as faithful and accurate to the storytelling tradition as Vorren seems to believe. The issues discussed above have pointed out that Qvigstad provided us with some information about the background of the data collected, but also that we are lacking other essential information. Further, the ideological context affected the choice of informants, the way the data were collected and consequently the material. Qvigstad - with other collectors of Sámi narratives - has contributed to the essentialization of representation of Sámi culture in the telling of their narratives (Mathisen, 2000a:187). The collection does not render truly and faithfully Sámi culture, but responds to a political and ideological project.

The lack and imperfection of the process in which the material was collected have to be taken into account by the researcher, but the value of the narratives should not be reduced. Håkan Rydving calls attention to how material collected by missionaries was often affected by a one-sided emphasis on some aspects, since it was collected according to a specific agenda (Rydving, 2000). He underscores how important it is to be aware of the exaggeration and emphasis made by the authors. Qvigstad was influenced by the ideology of his time, and it is important to be aware of this aspect when studying his publications. Compared with the accounts of missionaries, the material collected by Qvigstad has the advantage of containing information about its provenance. Rydving highlights that “localizing the information is a key to the analysis” (Rydving, 2000:29). Sápmi is a large territory, and there are huge variations between different Sámi communities. Therefore, it is essential to know where the material was collected as well as the origin of the informant.

Knowledge about the time when the collecting took place is also essential. It enables us to understand the data within the political and ideological frame of the era under focus. If Qvigstad did not pay much attention to chronology when
presenting his material, we can be grateful to have information about the year the data was collected and the year of birth of most of the informants.

Another issue when studying the reliability of Qvigstad’s collection is the linguistic aspect. He transcribed the North Sámi material as meticulously as possible, as he states in the foreword of the first volume of *Lappiske eventyr og sagn* (Qvigstad, 1927). In his material at the Norwegian Folklore Archives, he noted that he normalized the manuscript “to some degree” (Qvigstad, NFS 10). His correspondence and collaboration with Konrad Nielsen also indicates that he adjusted to some extent the language of the narratives to a written form. We do know that Qvigstad had studied North Sámi, but it is difficult to know how well he understood the linguistic variations in the areas he studied. Nor can we know if the informants adapted their language so that Qvigstad could more easily understand it, or modified it so that it would better suit a teacher’s ears. In other words, more has to be known before one can use Qvigstad’s data as a thorough source of information about the North Sámi language at the time the interviews took place.

*Lappiske eventyr og sagn* can also be interpreted in terms of insider/outsider relations. Qvigstad was not part of Sámi culture, but he was both interested in and knowledgeable about the culture and the language. His publications offer no analysis; Qvigstad carefully tabulated the data he collected without revealing his opinion or interpretations. But how faithful was he to the stories? Today, we do not know if he wrote everything he heard or if he censored some of the narratives. He did, nevertheless, publish almost all material he collected, even if archived materials reveal that he chose not to publish some variants of narratives he had already documented (Qvigstad, NFS; Wighus, 1976).

With a great deal of uncertainty about Qvigstad’s method, we face the dilemma of how to use his material. There are, however, ways to reduce this degree of uncertainty. One of them is intertextuality: by comparing similar stories from different sources, it is possible to overcome the problems of entextualization and detextualization to some degree. The Sámi author Johan Turi, for instance, wrote stories he was acquainted with through a collective storytelling tradition. A comparison of his stories with the ones Qvigstad collected enables us to sort out aspects that may emerge as a reflection of the relation between informant and interviewer.

Another way to avoid a misinterpretation of the stories is to use a method that emphasizes the production of narratives. It implies taking into account the background of a story, that is to say its production and distribution.
CONCLUDING REMARKS

Johan Turi, Per Bær, Isak Eira and Ellen Utsi came from the area of Guovdageaidnu and even though they moved within the north Sápmi region during their lifetime, they originate from the same storytelling tradition. Also, their narratives were collected and published at the beginning of the twentieth century. This common denominator of the corpus provides a point of departure for the analysis.

Both similarities and discrepancies between these storytellers’ repertoires become visible in the analysis of the texts in the second part of this study. As pointed out in this chapter, the narratives also present particularities related to their context of emergence that must be taken into account in their analysis. If linguistic features, for instance, can be useful in the study of Turi’s text, for example, their application in the analysis of the other storytellers’ texts would be too hazardous, since we lack of information about the original orally narrated text.

I intend to show how Qvigstad’s material, though the ethnographer’s role in the narrative event, expresses dynamism. The narratives he collected reflect a storyteller’s relation to an outsider and to the social context. Therefore, I consider these texts highly valuable in the study of the expression of social change through storytelling. Qvigstad’s collection represents a testimony of an earlier time that is too valuable not to be included in the study of Sámi storytelling.

Rather than assuming the stability of culture, I rather describe folklore and narratives as a way to respond to cultural changes. It incorporates new elements to conventional ones and makes it something of its own.

The dynamic aspect of narratives is a gateway into a storyteller’s expression of social change that can be accessed thanks to the concepts of genre and polyphony as analytical tools. The study of narratives collected by Qvigstad from Ellen Utsi, Isak Eira and Per Bær enables us to approach the position of three of Turi’s contemporaries toward the storytelling tradition and toward the sociocultural and political context of their time.

The presentation of the contextual background of emergence of the texts makes one become aware of the force of the various influences coexisting in northern Sápmi at the time these storytellers lived. This intense time of change has undoubtedly affected the community members, which comes to expression in their narratives. After I have established the contextual aspects of the corpus in this first part, the second part of the study focuses on the repertoires in relation to their context.
Part II

CHAPTER THREE:
POLYPHONIC NARRATIVES

Storytelling reveals meaning without committing the error of defining it. - Hannah Arendt

Muitalus sámiid birra is a seminal work for the Sámi and for Sámi literature. But the analysis of Johan Turi’s first book reveals that it is also an arena of polyphony. This chapter focuses on the coexistence of socio-ideological languages in Muitalus. As we will see, the immediate context as well as the political discourses that existed at the time he was writing emerge in narration. The other focal point of the analysis is on Turi’s strategies in his writings. The skillfulness of the narrator becomes evident when we focus on the strategies of elaboration of authority and of management of degrees of responsibility.

INDIGENOUS AUTHORITY

Johan Turi opens his book with a short text introducing himself and his goal with Muitalus. These very first lines let us know the perspective he adopts in his narratives:

Mon lean okta sápmelaš, guhte lean bargan visot sámi bargguid ja mon dovddan visot sámi dili. (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:11)

I am a Sámi who have busied myself with all manner of Sámi work, and I know all about Sámi life.¹

¹ The translation into English of Johan Turi’s text is based on Turi’s Book of Lappland (Turi, 1931a). However, I have opted for my own translations when necessary in order to underscore more accurately the linguistic and rhetorical strategies of Turi. Such nuances have been lost in the English translation by E. Gee Nash, based on the Danish translation, and not on the Sámi original text. Translations as well as argumentations on linguistic aspects of the Sámi texts are the result of discussions with Professor Mikael Svonni.
This statement establishes an authority based on his position as a community member, on his experience and on his knowledge. These are complete, Turi stresses, by repeating *visot* (“all”). This statement leaves no doubt to the reader about Turi’s competence for writing such a book.

As we can read in the foreword of *Muitalus*, he had a clear ambition when writing the first book in Sámi by a Sámi.

Mon lean jurđđašan, ahte dat livččui buoremus, jos livččui dakkár girji, masa lea visot čálojuvvon bajás sámi eallin ja dilli, vai ii dárbbαš jərrαt, got lea sámi dilli, ja vai eai beasa botnjat nuppe ládje, dakkárat gudet hálidit sámiid nala gielistit, ja botnjat viso beare sámiid sivalažžan, go leat riiddut dállolαččaid ja sámiid gaskkas Norggas ja Ruotas. (Turi, [1910] 1987-a:11)

I’ve thought that it would be a good thing if there was a book which told everything about Sámi life and circumstances so that folk didn’t have to keep asking ‘What are Sámi circumstances?’ and so that folk shouldn’t come to twist everything round till the Sámi are always slandered, and always made out to be in the wrong when there’s trouble between the Sámi and the settlers up in Norway and Sweden.

Considering the lack of knowledge about the Sámi displayed by government officials, he wanted to present the situation of his people. His ambition is thus to give a complete presentation of the situation of the Sámi, and his book aims to fill in an empty space that, according to Turi, needed to be filled up. “[D]at livččui buoremus” (“it would be best”), he writes, revealing his will to improve the situation of the Sámi. His goal therefore becomes more than to write a book of general public interest on Sámi history and culture, Turi also has a political aim. *Muitalus* is an attempt to make a contribution for his people.

In this first text, Turi presents himself as a protagonist, using the first person *mon* and presenting his rationale for writing such a book. He writes in a rather literary style, addressing a reader. Turi calls attention to his background as a Sámi and does not refer explicitly to any other sources of knowledge than himself. There are two main socio-ideological voices coexisting in this prefatory note. The first, “indigenous,” voice expresses the collective Sámi tradition to which he has access as a Sámi whereas the second addresses the political issues and concerns in Sámi politics at the time Turi is writing. He takes full responsibility.
in these narratives by being present as a protagonist and source of knowledge, and not only as a storyteller. He conveys his emotional and ideological opinion to the audience.

The section of the book that follows the introductory text resembles a school manual. Turi teaches us about Sámi history, traditional knowledge, reindeer herding, and other traditional folkways. He begins this section with a reference to the oral tradition of which he is part: “Boarráseamos muitalusat sámiid birra, dat maid nubbi sápmi lea muitalan nuppi sápmái” (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:15) (“The oldest stories about the Sámi, that have been told by one Sámi to the other”). Here, Turi refers to the source of his knowledge. Storytelling was an oral tradition in the Sámi community, and the stories he is going to share with us are part of it. Thus, he does not appear as a subjectivity telling about his own experience. He presents his muitalusat (“stories”) as extracts from a broader pool of knowledge.

In his first text about the origin of the Sámi, Turi uses different degrees of presence. He is explicitly present when using the first person and telling us about what he thinks and beliefs (“mon jurddašan,” “mon doaivvun” (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:15) (“I think”)), but chooses at some point to disappear by using the impersonal third person without pronoun: “ii leat gullon” (“No one has ever heard”).

The study of modality, i.e. “devices which allows speakers to express varying degrees of commitment to, or belief in, a proposition” (Saeed, 1997:131), highlights the relation of a speaker (writer, storyteller…) to a set of utterances. Modal verbs, adverbs and verb moods are common devices to express modality. Variations in modality, including instances in which Turi appears as a protagonist versus times when he disappears, reflects different degrees of responsibility.

Similarly, evidentiality “allows a speaker to communicate her attitude to the source of information” (Saeed, 1997:131). The storyteller can therefore let us know his attitude to the information as well as the source of his knowledge, such as first-hand knowledge or another source. Turi introduces, for instance, narratives about the origin of his people by telling us “Dás leat jubkelágáš muitalusat, muhto ii leat vissis leatgo jur nuolga, go eai leat čállojuvvon” (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:15) (“There are all manner of tales, but it is not certain that they are all quite true, as they have never been written down”). Here, he associates the written word with a guarantee of truth, whereas he questions the veracity of oral tradition. Although he had himself gained his knowledge through this oral tradition, he stresses the reliability of written texts. Turi’s irony reveals the dilemma that arises when addressing two different audiences. Since Muitalus was the first book written in Sámi by a Sámi, the muitalusat had never been written. The spoken word was central to the Sámi,
and Turi’s first attempt as an author implies that he had to adjust an oral tradition to the written word. The genre of Sámi narratives hence had to undergo an adaptation. The major change entailed was the adjustment from a direct, present audience to an indirect, unknown reader. Knowledge based on orality would probably not be questioned by the Sámi audience, but outsiders - the European readers whom Turi and Demant were aiming at - would be expected to attach greater importance to a written source. In the process of writing *Muitalus*, Turi is becoming an author. His comment increases the significance of his words. Implicitly, he is also telling us that once written, his stories will reach a new dimension. In Turi’s text, modality and evidentiality reflect how he at some points avoids taking responsibility for the stories he is going to tell. Rather, he refers to a remote authority and retells narratives that belong to the collective storytelling tradition.

Other linguistic tools provide us an insight into the attitude of the storyteller. The study of transitivity, “how events and processes are connected (or not connected) with subjects and objects” (Phillips, 2002:83), highlights the implications and effect that different forms can have on the audience. The use of the passive voice, for instance, is a way of manipulating transitivity. In North Sámi, there is no agency when using the passive tense. This means that the one who does the action (the agent) is not mentioned. Therefore, it is an efficient way of stressing an action without having to mention any actor. In the text about the origin of the Sámi, Turi tells us that “dat leat gávdnojuvvon mánga mearkka” (Turi, [1910] 1987-b:16) (“many proofs have been found”), using passive and consequently leaving out the agent. In this case, it results in a generalization of the situation: many different persons may have found many proofs.

Another strategy for spotlighting an event without having to mention a subject is to use unaccusative verbs, i.e. verbs that have a passive meaning. He uses this strategy when telling us about sacrifices:


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1 Mikael Svonni has pointed out the occurrence of non-agentive constructions (i.e. the agent of the action is not mentioned) is quite common in North Sámi (Kuutma, 2002:149; Svonni, 2001).

2 An unaccusative verb is a kind of intransitive verb, which is distinguished semantically by the fact that its subject does not actively initiate or is not actively responsible for the action of the verb. For example, *arrive, die* and *fall* are unaccusative verbs.
At that time the Sámi first began to make sacrifices to seites, in order to get more reindeer, or so that the herds should increase (Turi, 1931a:22).

The use of the unaccusative verb *lassáinit* ("increase") allows Turi to avoid explaining the direct cause and consequence relationship of the sacrifices without naming any actor.

Non-agency and generalization result in the elaboration of a discourse that focuses on an event or a process, while no actor is involved. By using this strategy of generalization, Turi credits the value of truth to the narratives he has been told and he is rendering us. As mentioned above, he introduces the section by sharing his doubts about the veracity of his knowledge due to the uncertain source of information. But later in the same text, he presents arguments and proofs for his statements, using strategies such as generalization and non-agency in order to enhance their trustworthiness.

Turi also uses a similar strategy and shifts between non-agency and agency in order to achieve different levels of involvement in his narratives, such as in a text about “the Sámi’s first flight.”


And these robberies happened many times. This is just one example of how it has gone in Sápmi. There have been many happenings that we have heard tell of, and many more that we haven’t; but I have no wish to tell of any more.

The use of the verb *dáhpáhuvvan* (“happened”) allows Turi to avoid naming explicitly any responsible actor. He then shifts to agency with the pronoun *mii* (“we”), which is inclusive, but Turi does not give us any details about this *we* (the whole community or a smaller group he is part of). At the end of the paragraph, he uses the first person *mon* (“I”), underlining his role as an actor.

A storyteller may choose to be a protagonist in the narratives or to remain anonymous. Turi chooses on several occasions not to be present in his narratives. He also tells about himself as a protagonist in the third person (“*Ja daid lea dát čálli gullan hupname*” (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:17)) (“and even this writer has heard it being
Avoiding the first person “I” allows the author to remain in the background of the narratives without becoming a central character. This strategy confirms his authority when referring to himself as an exterior source of knowledge, and it is a way of presenting a story as the truth, not as a subjective story.

A storyteller can also choose to present an action or happening as a generality by leaving out the subject. In North Sámi, it is not always necessary to mention personal pronouns; the verb is inflected differently for each person. It is quite common to leave out the personal pronoun in the first and second persons singular, dual and plural, without creating any ambiguity. But leaving out the personal pronoun in the third person gives a new nuance to the verb. If no subject has been mentioned in the sentence, a verb conjugated in the third person will be translated as “one + verb.” In this way, galgá (“one must”) creates a generalization. A verb inflected in the third person singular includes the speaker, whereas the third person plural is excluding.

When talking about the Sámi, his people, Turi chooses sometimes to use the third person in plural, i.e. an exclusive “they,” or sometimes the third person singular, i.e. an inclusive “one.” This choice of either including or excluding himself in the text can be explained in light of the content and topics of the narratives. While he presents his knowledge and experience as a proof of authority, Turi mentions the lack of knowledge that characterizes the Sámi dalle (“then”). He tells, for instance, about how the Sámi were afraid of the first settlers they met, and that they even scared each other because they did not know that there were other people living in Sápmi. He also explains how the Sámi did not know about God. When telling about this absence of knowledge, he uses an exclusive third person plural. When discussing more general facts, the origin of the Sámi people, he uses an inclusive third person singular. The actors are thus sâpmelaččat (“the Sámi”), presented from an insider perspective but with a certain distance. Thanks to these strategies, Turi stands out as modern and educated, questioning the veracity of the stories and underlining that the Sámi did not know about what nowadays appears obvious. Referring to the Sámi as “they” does not undermine his authority; he presents himself as a member of the Sámi community, but also as a member of the broader world.

These different aspects are expressed by different voices. The indigenous voice expresses the socio-ideological values of the community, whereas an erudite voice accords greater value to the written word. A religious discourse is uttered by the voice of a Christian who has been taught that God exists. Turi
expresses clearly his responsibility, telling us what he believes and what he is not sure about.

In this section about his people, he uses some devices characteristic of the oral tradition, including beginning sentences by *ja* (“and”). The use of different adverbial deixis like *dál* (“now”) and *dalle* (“then”) is a way of establishing contact with the public. He refers to the time of narration and therefore does not address the reader of a timeless book. These aspects are recurrent in narratives particular to an oral tradition. In other words, Turi minimizes the intertextual gap between his narratives and generic precedents. By using this strategy, he refers to a remote source of knowledge and his narratives stand out as collective knowledge and general “truth” - and not as subjective statements.

As for Turi’s narratives about reindeer herding and migration, they are presented from the perspective of someone who has personally experienced the situation. The audience/reader is among the Sámi while they are moving, following the reindeer caravan, building the tents and so forth. As in many of his narratives, Turi begins with a general presentation, followed by more specific examples. His experience of migration with reindeer allows him to give details of such things as childbirth on the migration route and the care of infants. Turi is not explicitly present in these texts; the narratives are described as general knowledge. The examples as well as the detailed information he furnishes the reader about reindeer names and other bodies of inside information give Turi the opportunity to demonstrate his knowledge and therefore reinforce his authority. He explicitly underscores his competency by repeating “Daid lea dát čálli ieš bargan visot, mat leat ovdalis muitaluvvon” (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:43) (“And I who write this have worked at all things I described above” (Turi, 1931a:59)). Whereas the first person “I” and the active form have been chosen in the English translation, Turi actually refers to himself as a third person (“this writer”) and refers to his narratives with a passive verb (“what has been told previously”). This choice of passive form refers to a broader source of knowledge. If the phrase *mat leat ovdalis muitaluvvon* can be understood as a reference to what he has written earlier in his book, it can also refer to stories Turi has heard from others. With this strategy, he refers both to himself and to a remote source of knowledge, presenting his narratives in a broader cultural context. In other words, Turi takes personal responsibility for his statements and reinforces his authority. As for the study of modality, we can notice that his voice (the personal perspective of his narratives) becomes conflated with the voice of the community.
Muitalus includes other texts about migration and more specifically children during migration. Turi’s narration of these topics is descriptive. From an insider perspective, he depicts in detail the different steps during migration. There is a recurrent discourse about arduousness, the danger of the situation, and even risk of death in his narratives about working with reindeer. This discourse also occurs in other narratives throughout Muitalus. Turi compares how things used to be dološ áiggiid (“in the old times”). He gives us a nostalgic overview of the changes that have taken place in Sápmi. In these narratives, he uses present tense and creates a generalization. The stories he reports are thus about commonly occurring things, not specific experienced events. He is present emotionally by expressing nostalgia, but refers to a remote source of knowledge, toning down his responsibility and adjusting more closely to the collective frame of storytelling.

In a text about reindeer and reindeer diseases, Turi reinforces his authority by presenting specific knowledge. He goes on in a text about the enemies of the reindeer and stresses the value of this knowledge by telling “mii ii leat tållojuvvun ordal’ (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:36) (“something that has never been written before”). He calls the attention of the reader to the exclusivity of this knowledge. At the end of the same text, Turi steps forward in order to denounce the injustice his people have been subjected to when Norwegians decided which land the reindeer may graze on and demanded that the Sámi pay for the use of land. Land rights became an issue with the colonization of Sápmi, and Turi’s narratives are here again an expression of this social change that was taking place in Sápmi. By being emotionally present in the text, Turi express his responsibility in narratives. The stories he tells us are not only general information about the Sámi, but also his own opinion and attitude toward what is happening. A socio-ideological language about land rights in relation to an indigenous discourse about traditional attitude to land reveals the coexistence of two voices. This polyphony can be understood as a strategy applied by Turi in order to enhance his mastering of the different perspectives on the issue of land rights. By being emotionally present, he lets the reader know where he stands in the discourse.

In a part entitled Duoddariid olmmoš (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:61) (“The people of the mountains”), he tells about the Sámi tent, funeral care and Sámi work with the reindeer. In this section, Turi uses the present tense. He addresses a direct - present - public. His style is descriptive. Here, the voice of the storyteller is prominent. But Turi chooses to speak from the perspective of an indigenous narrator, a community member referring to traditional knowledge.
His attempt is to provide all possible information, as he stresses in the subtitle “Muitalit visot mii gullá sámi bargui gidđat” (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:63) (“Here I will tell about everything that is connected with the Sámi’s spring work”). In these texts, he uses the third person plural and refers to the Sámi as “they.” In other texts, he uses the third person singular in an impersonal form. This impersonal form is inclusive, which may imply that Turi feels closer or more comfortable with some tasks than with others. At the time Turi wrote Muitalus, he was no longer a reindeer herder, as we can read in Emilie Demant Hatt’s foreword to the English edition:

Turi has age-old hunting blood in his veins. [...] Some years ago he gave up working with the herds, to follow his bent, which was hunting and killing wolves, those deadly enemies of the reindeer; and he has certainly killed an amazing number of wolves, and other beasts of prey (Turi, 1931a:9).

We can then assume that Turi felt more comfortable and personally attached when narrating about hunting than reindeer herding. His choice of pronoun can be interpreted as a way of creating a certain distance from a topic which is not any longer part of his daily life. He does not present the facts as personal experience, but rather as general knowledge that every community member possesses and that he wants to share with us. By referring to a remote authority instead of his own experience, Turi minimizes the intertextual gap and comes nearer the collective Sámi storytelling tradition. The responsibility in these texts is not as explicit as other narratives about the community. Turi rather refers to a remote source of knowledge and thus evades the issue of authority.

By using adverbial deixis, he establishes contact with the audience. He refers to dál (“now”), i.e. the time of narration in relation to the time of the narrated event. This means that Turi is present as a narrator, but his stance remains within this role.

One section of the book deals with hunting and fishing. As Demant informs us in her prefatory note, Turi was a skillful hunter and it was his principal activity after he left reindeer herding. In this chapter, he tells us about different hunting methods, beginning with a general presentation and continuing with more specific examples. The genre of this text follows the pattern of Sámi storytelling, muitalus. Dialogues and variation in rhythm reveal the voice and the technique of an experienced narrator. He provides us with detailed information about the origin of contemporary aspects of hunting and he remains emotionally present.
The source of his knowledge is obviously a remote authority. The mythical aspects of the stories let us know that Turi has derived his information from collective storytelling.

Turi’s narration about animals in this section is fascinating. The description of the bear, for instance, is a personification of the animal as a being that “understands,” “loses his senses” when he gets drunk, knows that brothers can trust each other and that hunters who are not brothers should not be feared (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:92). Turi calls him áddjá, grand-father, old man. Turi’s personification of the bear is so convincing that the translator E. Gee Nash uses the pronoun “he” when referring to the bear. This animal was traditionally a central figure in Sámi mythology and beliefs. The story told by Turi about how a bear and a woman had a child together actually refers to a myth about the origin of the Sámi. The bear was considered holy; specific rites had to be fulfilled for the hunt to succeed and afterwards, in order to manage the tremendous power of the dead animal (Fjellström, 1755 [1981]).

Narratives about the wolf reflect the specific relation Turi and his people had to the predator. Turi describes the wolf as a person, with shamanic powers, preferences and will (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:55-56). Mythological accounts explain the bond between the wolf and human beings.

The wolf and the bear were two significant animals for the Sámi, and it is not surprising that Turi devotes half of his section, “About trapping,” to them. His authority as a Sámi and a hunter is reflected by the use of different terms for “bear” and “wolf,” showing how he masters the language and the nuances that are required for a good hunter.


And he who will hunt wolves skillfully, he must know all the wolf’s names in the Sámi dialect of that tract where the wolves are.

In this way, various terms like gumpe, ruomas and návdi are used in one and the same text (Svonni, 2004). Similarly, he refers to the bear as bierdna, guovža, muoddá-áddjá (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:95). Noa words, culturally determined to be free from any taboo, were commonly used during hunting, especially when hunting such a powerful animal as the bear or such a predator as the wolf.
This variation in terms was nonetheless neglected in the 1965 edition of *Muitalus sámiid birra*, published at a time when efforts were taken to create a standard language. A single official North Sámi orthography was established in 1947, and attempts were made to homogenize grammar and vocabulary. Nuances such as the use of different terms designing the wolf or the bear were downplayed, and only the standard terms *guovža* (“bear”) and *návdi* (“wolf”) remains. Consequently, Turi’s mastering of the richness of Sámi vocabulary disappeared in 1965, but fortunately reappeared in the 1987 edition.

Although the title of this section is *Bivdooahpa birra* (“About trapping”), it does not only deal with animals hunted for survival, but also with other animals central to Sámi life. Johan Turi completes this section with a text about the dog, and how it began to work with the Sámi. Once a wild animal, the dog chose to stay and work with the Sámi instead of facing a hard life in the wild. Emilie Demant Hatt added in the published edition a note about how she had heard this tale before from other storytellers, and that Turi had modified it and added details.

As regards minor details this story is the outcome of Turi’s own imagination. [...] I asked Turi to write down this tale of the dog... he too was familiar with it... but, as, at that time, Turi had plenty of leisure and was in the mood of it, he dresses up the tale with many details that he had discovered himself (Turi, 1910:246).

If we interpret Demant’s comment in terms of intertextual gap, we could say that Turi was maximizing this gap when he wrote this text. His subjective perspective is, according to Demant, strongly affected by the content of the narratives. She mentions having heard this tale from others, but we do not know which aspects have been added by Turi. She does not reject Turi’s version of the myth, but she does make the reader aware of the stretching of the gap. Her note recontextualizes not only Turi’s narratives but also Sámi narratives in general. Johan Turi retells a piece of the collective storytelling tradition, but the process also embraces his subjectivity.

Throughout this chapter, Turi’s description of animals often refers to a human world: for instance, they used to speak.

In the old days, all the animals and the trees and the stones and everything there is on earth could talk, and just so will they talk on the Day of Judgment.

They also have feelings and understanding as we have. The wolves can be transformed human beings and Turi underscores the resemblance between Sámi and animals.


The fell ptarmigan is much smaller than the forest ptarmigan - just as the Sámi are smaller than the folk who dwell in houses.

We can also read how “Sámi have the same nature as reindeer.” In Turi’s narrative, in accordance with the broader Sámi storytelling tradition, human beings and animals are closely related.

The section “About trapping” features much more information than the title would have us believe. Turi begins this part of Muitalus as a manual about Sámi hunting methods, but we also find several texts about animals, their origin, their relation to the world and to the Sámi as well as pieces of the Sámi storytelling tradition. The topic of trapping seems to include for Turi a whole relation to nature. Mythological and religious aspects are interwoven into this chapter. Turi tells us myths about the bear and the wolf.


Beargalat (the Devil) made the wolf - Ibmel (God) breathed life into him through his nostrils -. And therefore the wolf will only do evil like Beargalat.

The religious discourse expressed in those narratives reflects the socio-ideological language instituted by the strong presence of the Church in Turi’s community.

In this section of his book, he lets us know how the Sámi, the animals and even legendary and religious beings like the nilda, God and the Devil are connected to each other.
And the noaide could still more easily change into wolves folk who had killed innocent people, as often happened in the old days when so many ruoššačudit wandered about up here and killed the Sámi and took their possessions, money and reindeer, and ate up as many of the latter as they needed. And the Sámi at that time had to hide themselves in holes in the rocks. And they often went to ulda’s houses, and as the ulda knew that the Sámi were in flight, they were very kind and gave them this advice: “Put your tents under the earth, so that the ruoššat can’t find them, and we can help you and come to speech with you,” said the ulda. And the ulda gave them this advice too: “You can turn the ruoššat into wolves when they have eaten your reindeer raw, like wolves do” (Turi, 1931a:131).

Unexpectedly, Turi is not present as a protagonist in these stories about trapping. Being a hunter, he must have had many accounts about hunting experiences. He does not use the first person nor does he refer to himself; he does not tell about his own experiences. The knowledge he conveys to the reader through his muitalus as well as the legends he tells us are presented as part of the collective Sámi tradition, and not as subjective reports, even if the detailed narration of skiing to catch a wolf gives no doubt to the reader that Turi has experienced this hunting method. But he remains in the position of a narrator and lets the voice of his collectivity speak up, playing down his subjectivity.

This aspect can be understood as a strategy of adaptation to the expectations of the European reader (and to those of Emilie Demant). Collective storytelling seemed to have been praised highly compared to personal experiences, as
Demant’s comment in the above mentioned footnote reveals. Turi presents the stories in this section as general knowledge, thereby minimizing the intertextual gap. Consequently, the chapter appears as a part of a collective tradition, thus enhancing his authority as a bearer of traditional knowledge.

We can therefore notice a missing voice in Turi’s section about trapping: his own. It might have been toned down somewhat under the process of recontextualization in the publication of the book. But it is also a strategy that gives more emphasis to Turi’s emotional and subjective voice when it is eventually allowed to emerge. As we will see later, it is in these occasions that political issues are brought up, and not within hunting stories.

Turi’s manual about traditional Sámi knowledge goes on with a section “About doctoring.” After a short introduction detailing the Sámi people’s lack of access to modernized medicine, Turi provides us information about common diseases and remedies for each of them. The general introductory information clearly confirms that his addressees are outsiders. In addition to pain, frostbite, stoppage, swelling, bleeding, jaundice and cough, Turi tells also about less common sicknesses like fear, devils or specters. Among the remedies Turi lists, the frog appears to be a helpful animal in many cases, though it also can be poisonous. Lice, quicksilver, incantations and the shaman’s drum are other helpful tools. Turi’s acquaintance with the “doctoring” inherited from his community is part of a long tradition and practice of healing. He underscores his mastery of these methods, but refers nevertheless to a remote source of knowledge, limiting his presence to that of a storyteller.

He uses the third person singular and plural; he is not taking open responsibility for his knowledge but refers to a remote authority: the collective traditional knowledge. At some point, though, he underscores that this knowledge is a privilege:


And when those who know all about everything that is described in this book - and there are not many who know these arts - do not recognize folk’s sickness, then they are apt to think this is a fatal
sickness, or that specters or ghosts have been set upon the sick person, and that it is the work of noaide folk.

This sentence reveals Turi as a community member with specific knowledge and skills. In his second publication *Lappish texts*, he confirms more explicitly his extended knowledge about noaide (shamanic) art.

Samet doivu dale ja væhaš balli mus, ate mon læm noaide ja sattam dakkat, maid sidam. Ja dat læi goit vaivve munnji, go dat dam jakkit ja sittit, ja ii mus læm ila buorre vaibmo siin vuosta (Turi, 1918:144-145).¹

The Sámi believed me at that time to be noaide, and able to perform what I wished and they were a little afraid of me. It was troublesome for me, though, that they believe that and ask [help] of me. Neither had I had the very best disposition toward them.

He goes on to describe how he helped a woman, doctoring against devils and ghosts. He does not let the reader know if he is a shaman, but illustrates that he possesses required knowledge and occasionally practices shamanic methods. Being a Christian, Turi could not have admitted that he was a shaman. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Christianization in Sápmi had been vehement and at the time of Turi’s writing, shamanism was still strongly stigmatized.

We know that Turi chose not to include texts about noaidevuhta in his first book, as Emilie Demant Hatt informs the reader in the preface of *Lappish Texts*:

A large part of the present material has been in my possession since 1908 when I collected the material for Johan Turi’s “Muittalus Sámid Birra”. This is the case with most of that which belongs to “noaide-art” and “medicine”. I could not publish this at that time, because Johan Turi had handed over to me his noaide-knowledge as a gift which I personally might use, but with injunction not to publish it, because then it would “lose its power” (Demant Hatt in Turi, 1918:4).

She also tells how, nine years later, Turi agreed to let this manuscript be published in *Lappish Texts*.

¹ I have chosen to render the quotes in the orthography used in *Lappish Texts* (1918), although different from the one used in *Muitalus Sámiid birra* from 1987.
The issue of *noaidevuohta* was, as illustrated above by the historical and religious context, an uncomfortable topic to write about. Not all community members were acquainted with *noaide* knowledge, which implies that Turi would inevitably be ascribed personal responsibility for his statements. This kind of knowledge was too far from common to be referred to as a part of the collective traditional knowledge. In *Muitalus*, Turi chooses not to take great responsibility on certain topics, as for instance *noaidevuohta*. Later, in 1918, he dares to step forward personally in a more direct manner, agreeing to publish narratives on such a delicate topic. This change of attitude may partly be explained by the fact that his authority was, by then, established.

The chapter “About doctoring” is therefore the arena of polyphonic utterances. Traditional knowledge is presented by an indigenous storyteller, but is also nuanced by a broader European perspective. Turi explains for the outsider that Sámi knowledge of folk medicine was a necessity due to their life conditions and the lack of access to medical care. In this way, he begins his chapter from the perspective of the expected knowledge of an audience of outsiders. Here, too, however, we can also discern a third, silent voice. The socio-ideological language that could have been uttered by a *noaide* competent community member is referred to, but does not get to speak. This silent voice is nevertheless present and plays a significant part in the chapter. Such silence is a reflection of the context of the time and of the taboos arising from it. In this case, the choice of Turi not to let this voice speak up can be considered a case where he can not take responsibility for his statements. Turi shows respect for the *noaide* knowledge, but also expresses implicitly that the Christian voice is louder and does not allow him to tell about *noaidevuohta*. This silence also reveals Turi’s personal dilemma between two socio-ideological worlds.

The religious voice emerges every now and then throughout *Muitalus*. Johan Turi was a Christian, and strains of Christianity in his narratives reveal that he was well acquainted with the Bible. For instance, he refers to Cain and Abel, to the Devil as *Ipmila buoremus engel* (“God’s best angel.”) Also, his narration of a wedding in the section *Sápmelaš lávlluid* (“About Sámi Songs”) illustrates the foreignness of the Christian socio-ideological language. Máhtte, the bridegroom, misunderstands the priest when reading the ceremonial statement “I take Marja, and I will love her for better or for worse.” He believes the priest means that he wants to marry the bride himself and Máhtte leaves the church, weeping. Turi adopts the perspective of an external narrator in this section, and comments that “Máhtte was making a fool of himself” and that he “had read terribly little in
books” (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:172). Turi’s position does not only inform the reader of the intricate relations between the Sámi and the priests; it also confirms Johan Turi’s acquaintance with such situations and with Christian socio-ideological language.

Johan Turi’s writings also include narratives about the legendary figures of the Stállu, ulti and ēndit. Stories about Stállu are widespread throughout Sápmi, and most Sámi are still familiar with narratives about this evil ogre, who hunts the Sámi and eats human flesh. The ulti are underground or invisible beings who can be both helpful and harmful to the Sámi (Cocq, 2004). They have had a close relation to the Sámi from the beginning: Sámi learned yoik and noaide knowledge from them. Narratives about these beings commonly describe beautiful ulti-girls and reindeer, and what to do when one sees one of them and wants to approach them. The ēndit or ruoššat, were plunderers, enemies of the Sámi. Stories about these characters can be found in most collections of Sámi folklore. Those narratives belong to the collective Sámi storytelling tradition. Turi minimizes the intertextual gap between genericity and his narratives, reproducing for the audience stories he brings in from a collective repertoire of narratives.

We find a religious discourse in several of Turi’s narratives. In the text about Christmas (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:43), elements of the storytelling tradition such as the ogre Stállu and Christian elements coexist. This interdiscursivity and polyphony clearly express the changes that had been going on in Sápmi for decades. Turi, like many storytellers, has incorporated religious elements into traditional ones. In these narratives as well as in previously mentioned examples, religious and traditional discourses coexist. The polyphony of the texts is a reflection of what had been going on in the Sámi community.

Stállu, the central figure in Sámi storytelling, is mentioned already in the very first texts of Muitalus, although Turi also devotes a later section of the book to narratives concerning this being. He adapts his texts to an outsider audience and gives the reader background information about Stállu as well as more specific narratives about him. Stállu narratives are also the opportunity for Turi to tell the reader about the origin of places names. Turi addresses both an outsider audience lacking previous knowledge about Stállu and insiders when referring to specific places. He describes his local environment through discussion of geographical features and their mythological explanations.

The narratives about Stállu and ulti are directly adapted from the oral tradition in which Turi takes part. Johan Turi’s style in this part of the book is closer to an oral performance than a literary text.
At some point, Turi leads the reader back to the time and place of the narration by referring to the immediate context. This implies that he maximizes the gap between genre and text, leaving the generic pattern and recontextualizing the storytelling to the time and place of the narrating event. This can be seen in the following example:

\[\text{Ja dološ ággiin ledje bohccot olu stuoribut go dál (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:80).}\]

And in the old times the reindeer were much bigger than they are now.

There, he refers both to the time of the narrated event and to the time of narration, making a link between then and now. At different points in his text, he refers to the temporal context of the event in relation to his immediate context. He compares for instance the situation of the reindeer 40 jagi dás manjás (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:81) (“40 years ago”) or go rehkenastojuwo 25 jagi manjás guvlui (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:81) (“if you go back 25 years”).

Turi is taking us back and forth between the time of the narrated event and the time of narration. This does not only affect the storytelling process, but also the relation to his addressees who turn into actors. By taking active control of temporality, Turi calls attention to the narrator’s role and thus highlights himself as the creator of the text. He establishes a dialogue with the audience, by referring to its temporal and spatial context. This gives him greater authority as a person and a storyteller, and enables him to express personal opinions.

In narratives closer to the oral tradition, we can observe shifts in rhythm, in which background information is given in a slower rhythm, whereas a shorter rhythm marks a specific important happening. Turi begins his text about Riihmágållis, “the biggest Stállu,” with long descriptive sentences and clauses.

\[\text{Ja son leai akto, ja son leai siivu, ii son vašuhan sámiid, iige dahkan bahås geasage. Ja son leai maiddá noaide, muhto sámit eai goit jåhkkán buori, ja hupme gaskaneaset, got galggalii oazžut das heakka eret. Ja dat sáhka manai guhkás Sámieatnama mielde, nuorttas ja oarjjás gulaskuddama dihte, dos livččo dakkárat, mat duosttale soahtái deinna Riihmágålláin (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:144).}\]

And he was alone but he was friendly, he did not hate the Sámi, and did not do them any harm, and he was noaide. But the Sámi did not believe any good of him, and they talked among themselves
as to how they should take his life. And this talk went out over the whole Sápmi, from the east to the west as to whether there was anybody strong enough to fight Riibmagállis.

When it comes to the action, the narratives gain a faster pace:


And when it burnt a glowing white, then he stuck it through two of them, the quick one and the iron-cunning one. But he let the strong one live, only breaking his one arm. And then he ordered the strong one: “Blow up the fire, so that I can see what you are like, between your eyes!” And when he saw, he said: “Ho, ho, you are not like me!” because it was twelve inches between his eyes. And so Riibmagállis ordered the strong one: “Go home and come back with some more men!”.

Shorter sentences and clauses as well as the use of dialogue contribute to the elaboration of a faster rhythm in storytelling.

Another aspect of the oral muitalus genre can be noticed in the way Turi begins and ends the narratives. When he introduces a story, he does so directly with a titular device such as Muitalus dan birra, got geavai dan stálui [...] (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:141) (“The story of what happened to the Stálulu...”). Turi also ends consistently in an abrupt way, such as when he tells about calving:


And about this there is not much more to tell.

This brevity in opening and closing features shows that the focus of the muitalus genre is on the narrated event. Whether there are shorter or longer stories, they consist in the narration of the event, with only a brief marking that the story begins and a short coda closing it.
Similarly, narratives about the *ulda*, in the same section of the book, are also characterized by shifts in rhythm.


And the *ulda* are dressed like the Sámi, and they watch their reindeer and shout, and the dogs bark and bells clang, but you don’t see anything. And if one says to another: “Listen, do you hear that?” Then you don’t hear anything more.

The same stylistic strategies as in the text about *Riihmagallis* can be observed here: a longer descriptive sentence followed by a shorter one with brief dialogues creating a faster pace. Repetitions and parallelism are used to stress the action. The present tense and the impersonal third person create a generalization, presenting events in narration as commonly occurring events. For instance, he tells us that sometimes, when you meet the *ulda*, ”*ii oidno ii miige*” (“nothing can be seen”). This creates a generalization: a happening is not presented as something that happened once to someone, but as a common situation that can happen to anyone. Turi’s use of present tense in his *muitalusat* about *ulda* compared to the use of past tense in his *muitalusat* about *Stállu* can be understood as a way of telling us that *Stállu* might not exist anymore, but *ulda* do.

Turi is not directly present in the narratives - not as the first person -, but he establishes personal authority by referring to insider knowledge and textual authority with repetitions. His use of modality here enhances his role as a storyteller and source of knowledge.

By providing the reader backstage information, that to which protagonists in the narratives do not have access, Turi establishes a point of contact with the audience. These narratives are rather an oral performance than a literary work.

In this section, the voice of the collective tradition is prominent. Turi’s subjectivity is toned down, he relates narratives he has heard probably already as a child. Nevertheless, his narratives about *Stállu* are strongly locally contextualized. Turi refers to his immediate physical environment. This aspect confirms his already established identity as a community member, and hence reinforces his authority.
Turi includes several yoiks in *Muitalus*: a yoik about the wild reindeer, about the joy of coming to the mountains at spring (Turi, [1910] 1987:77), and about the wolf (Turi, [1910] 1987:99). Traditional Sámi singing is an important element of the oral tradition, and it is not surprising that Turi devotes a chapter to it. Much more than a song, yoiking is storytelling. It is a personal way of expressing a relation, feelings or a remembrance of something. As in most of the sections in *Muitalus*, Turi begins with a general presentation addressed to a reader who lacks any knowledge about the topic. This section about yoik includes a text about young boys and girls, two couples, and yoiks about their love, sorrow, hate and happiness. The narratives are about these two couples and how they get married and about their lives. Turi explains and exemplifies courting and wedding traditions, where oral narratives and yoik songs are interwoven. The story about these young persons and their weddings contains many details and some reported speech. Nevertheless, Turi is not present in narration. He refers to a remote authority; his narratives become thus part of the collective storytelling tradition. The sequential device *ja* (“and”), the short sentences, the division of action into episodes and the abrupt ending result in the same structure as is found in the narratives about *Stállu, ulla* and the *čudít*. As for these narratives, Turi minimizes the intertextual gap and the yoik texts emerged as brought in from the collective tradition. The predominant voice in this text is indigenous, embracing songs and narratives with elements of legends also highlighting the relation of the community to the environment. But a religious voice can also be heard, expressing the encroaching role of the Church on Sámi life.

Johan Turi was also a skilled illustrator, and the 1910 edition of *Muitalus* includes 14 of his drawings. His representations of the nomadic life with the reindeer, hunting, functional star maps, and social situations such as courting and church meeting provide us dynamic illustrations of Sámi life. Turi’s pictures are actually narrations as much as his texts. For instance, his representation of a migration with ink and paper renders such a movement that the pictures reveal as much detail as the words of his narration do, with equal passion and beauty. The reindeer caravan draws from and melds into the shapes of the landscape and each character in the illustration contributes to the creation of a dynamic picture (Turi, 1910: Picture I).
Picture IV, entitled “An Autumn Camp,” contains many details aspects of Sámi daily life. All actors are in motion, throwing a lasso, holding, milking, or slaughtering reindeer or simply passing the time or playing. Clothes, tents and bells around a reindeer neck give many useful details to the reader who wishes to identify the different actors (Turi, 1910: Picture IV).
As I have demonstrated, Turi’s narratives are imbued with dexterity. But he was not only a skillful artist: the topics he chooses and the strategies he uses reveal his position as a community member. A further analysis of his narratives enlightens his role as a social agent.

**Social Agent**

Storytelling as a social practice provides narrators with a range of possibilities in which to select, exclude, adapt and hence create. Narratives as events are both part of a discourse at the intersection of a collective social practice as well as a subjective expression of it. Johan Turi, as a storyteller, is here considered a social agent taking a position in a context of social change. *Muitalus* articulates discourses about social norms, relations and conflict, and illustrates other pressing issues concerning the Sámi.

The discourse articulated in *Muitalus* conveys moral norms. For instance, Turi gives both good and bad examples of reindeer herders, and tells as well about reindeer thieves. In these narratives, he describes for the reader characteristics and behaviors. An angry and impatient reindeer herder would not be successful, and an irascible hunter lacks understanding about animals. Examples of correct behavior and negative character traits illustrated by specific cases are reflections of the social norms prevalent in the community.

In the same way that he describes qualities of a good reindeer herder, he gives us examples of hunters:


But the wolf hunter who often kills wolves, he does not scold the wolf, nor curses it either. He knows that the wolf only does what he must.
Figure 5 Illustration by Johan Turi in ”Muitalus sámid birra”. Picture 4 “An autumn camp”, Nordiska museet. Photographer Birgit Brånvall, ©Nordiska museet
Turi’s comments are pieces of advice on how to behave. He expresses a social ideal of the “good” hunter (and consequently a good community member) and also the traits one would find in a hunter considered “bad”.

Such social norms become apparent in Turi’s narratives, and he lets us know his attitude toward it. His report of the revolt in Guovdageaidnu in 1852 is an example. He devotes a section of Muitalus to this significant event in the history of the Sámi. In a descriptive style, Turi gives us first background information of the events from his perspective. He tells us about the preacher Lars Levi Laestadius, who had a great influence on the Sámi and who gave rise to a religious movement. Turi’s voice in the first text of the Guovdageaidnu section, “Dat dāhpáhus mii gobččui Guovdageainnu villen, mii lea dápáhuovan dan jagi 1852” (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:181) (“The happening that is called the Guovdageaidnu error, which took place in the year 1852”) is rather religious. We can tell he has heard preaching at Church. Telling about Lars Levi Laestadius, he writes:


[H]e had not the Holy Spirit before he got it through a Sámi girl. And he himself read the scriptures, and made clear which was the way to Heaven, or to the grace of eternal life.

The second text, “Muitalus daid birra, mat manne Guovdageidnui, go ledje šaddan risttabassan Laestadiana sániin” (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:182) (“The tale of those who went to Guovdageaidnu, when they had become Christians, through the words of Laestadius”) relates the background and the beginning of the revolt, followed very briefly by a report of what actually happened there as well as the outcome of the revolt, the last part of which Turi dedicates the majority of this text. Turi lets us know that his father was one of the men who interrupted the violence and rescued the priest. Ole Olsen Turi becomes the hero of the story and Johan Turi writes proudly

Mon lean gullan su iežastis mángga geardde, mon lean su bárdni, ja son lea daid muitalan mángga lohkameahttun gearddi, visot daid dāháhusaid (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:183).

I have heard that from him himself many times; I am his son, and he has told this countless times, all these happenings.
Turi recounts discussions in direct speech, as if he had been there. We understand that he reports the words of his father. The quotations do not only confer greater authority to Johan Turi’s narration, but they also emphasize the role of his father as a protagonist. A third text “Lasii muitalus, got Guovdageainnu bearrát eai nagadan vásttostit daid jallas sámiid, mat sin cábme ja manjožassii godde” (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:184) (“Still more about how the Guovdageaidnu gentlemen could not stand out against the simple Sámi who struck them and finally killed them”) finally relates the revolt itself and the violence that occurred. Turi lets us know the gravity of the acts without daring to reveal all of the details.


And the priest was tortured so terribly that one cannot write of it.

He ends the section by naming himself as a protagonist, in the third person.


And the priest became such a good friend to Thuuri that he wished to be god-father to his son. And so he came to be, and he was god-father to this writer, namely this Pastor Hvoslef.

This statement does not only notify the audience of Turi’s relation to the protagonists of this significant event, it also confirms here his position as a Christian. In this text about the revolt, Turi clearly expresses his point of view. A religious discourse tells about the actors as villeheagga (“crazy-witted”) and Turi provides the reader with an interpretation of the event. He presents the role of Lars Levi Laestadius as significant calls attention to how his words were misunderstood. Other factors that have been pointed out as central to the revolt, like communication problems because of language, drunkenness, and economic problems as a consequence of the closing of the borders (Zorgdrager, 1997) are toned down by Turi.

Sequential devices such as ja (“and”) at the beginning of many sentences, and the use of dialogues and a faster rhythm when reporting an action follows the genre of oral storytelling. But Turi maximizes the gap between genericity and
his narratives by referring to his father as the source of knowledge and by letting him become a protagonist.

Turi seems particularly concerned by the issue of law. On several occasions, he mentions that it is important to follow the law. Besides the message he discusses about social norms and behavior - for instance with the example of reindeer herders and hunters - he also refers to a broader judicial context, the one uttered by the authorities. In the section about the revolt in Guovdageaidnu, for instance, his interpretation of the reasons for the uprising gives both a religious perspective and a judicial one - although he presents the latter with some irony.

In another text, he tells about the “snake stone.” The one who manages to catch it, “son ii vuittáhala lágas ii goasge” (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:111) (“he will never be overcome by the law”). He goes on:


Law is considered something that cannot be ignored or avoided. In this context, lábka (“law”) appears as something some possess while others do not, rather a form of noaidervuhta or traditional knowledge than knowledge in the judicial sense.

Accounts about the relations with settlers and other new arrivals in Sápmi often present the Sámi as victims of injustice. In a text entitled Sámiid vuosttaš ballán (“The Sámi’s first flight”), Turi tells about the first encounter with the “other,” i.e. with the settlers, referred to as “they,” a third person plural. He relates in different episodes how Sámi had to flee again and again. He is not explicitly present but he lets us know on which side he stands despite the fact that he also refers to the Sámi as “they.” He does not include himself in the story and it is only in the second half of the text that he expresses himself in the first person and takes a step forward. He then refers to his source of knowledge. At the end of the text, he is directly present and reinforces on this occasion his authority by mentioning that he knows much more than he can write “Ja livččo olu dáchpábusat, maid lean ieš oaidnán, muhto in olle visot čállit” (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:20) (“And I could tell of many such happenings which I have seen myself, but I have no time to write them all down”). When Turi takes a place in the narratives with the pronouns mon (“I”) and mii (“we”), he also speaks up in terms of emotion.

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1 Another storyteller, Per Bær, interviewed in 1924 by Qvigstad, tells about a snake stone that makes the one who gets it wise (Qvigstad, 1928:470).
and responsibility. He expresses his aversion to telling about certain events that the Sámi have experienced.


But I have no wish to write of any more, because it is ugly to speak of such things.

He goes on writing that “muhto go galgá visot čállit, de ferte čállit visot, fasttiid ja čábbáid” (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:19) (“yet when you will tell of everything, you must write both the ugly and the beautiful”), notifying the reader of his idealist goal.

Turi expresses explicitly in his narratives his attitude to the events. He is emotionally present and he takes a position. This emotional presence reveals the subjectivity of the voice speaking in this text. Turi is not only reporting historical events, he is also taking a position for his people against the injustice and the violence they have suffered. The voice we discern utters an indigenous discourse about the other. Outrage over injustice, fraud and murders are expressed by a voice concerned about legal issues.

Narratives about reindeer also include a text dealing with conflicts between settlers and Sámi (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:45). Colonization implied an increased competition for land, and it was not uncommon that Sámi become involved in quarrels, disagreements or judicial disputes when reindeer damaged hay (Lundmark, 1998). Turi gives us examples of how quarrels took place. In his narration of the events, he clearly presents his standpoint by depicting the Sámi as victims, in much the same way as in his text about the “first flight.” Turi’s emotional presence and his explicit manner of letting us know where he stands enhance the responsibility he takes in his narratives. At that point, he does not write a manual of general knowledge about the Sámi. His goal is to tell the reader about the injustice his people has endured, and we can feel in the narratives his revulsion about what has happened.

In another text about the settlers (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:52) we can read how they learned hunting methods from the Sámi. Turi is critical when telling about the hunting and fishing techniques of these newcomers. He underscores the advantage of Sámi methods and tells of several occasions in the same text in which settlers had gained methods and reindeer from the Sámi. Turi’s critical view of the settlers is confirmed by a comparison with Stállu.

And it happens that they [the settlers] can eat the flesh of animals that they hate, like old-time Stállu: they hated the Sámi and they ate their flesh.

Stállu, the mean ogre enemy of the Sámi, is characterized in traditional narratives as stupid and easy to dupe. He does not only eat human flesh, but other aspects of his behavior are often also depicted as abnormal. A comparison of the settlers with Stállu is therefore a subtle suggestion that the former would not be more human than the latter. Turi goes on:


And there is still a little of Cain’s blood here and there, and a little in such trappers who can love and hate at the same time (Turi, 1931a:74).

In the Bible, we can read the story of Cain, the first murderer, and his brother Abel, the first innocent victim. Turi compares here the settlers and the Sámi with these biblical characters, suggesting that crime and injustice is occurring. The fact that Cain was a farmer and Abel a herder only reinforces the force of the comparison.

Turi illustrates the conflict between settlers and Sámi with two metaphors. One originates from traditional Sámi storytelling, the other from the Bible. These two metaphors belong to two different socio-ideological languages, and therefore represent two voices. The fact that Turi use both of them in an equal manner reveals his position toward both of them. He is as much a tradition bearer as a Christian. The double voiced discourse also yields Turi’s dilemma when writing for two different audiences. The first illustration probably does not say much to an outsider audience but is more pertinent for the community members who know about Stállu. The second metaphor is thought to be explicit for all readers, since Turi expects them to be acquainted with the Bible.

He refers indirectly to the reindeer by bahádabkit (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:52) (“evil-doers”). In the light of what Turi has told us previously in Muitalus,
we understand that the animals considered “evil doers” by the settlers are not predators, but reindeer. Not naming the animals can be a strategy to avoid directly accusing settlers of reindeer theft. Turi is clear in his statement, but by not using the exact term, he keeps from employing a voice of direct confrontation. He does not have to take direct responsibility for his accusations, since he does so in an implicit way.

The same text also brings up the topics of drunkenness and swindling. It happened that Sámi were cheated out of reindeer when they were drunk. Turi denounces here the swindling perpetrated by the settlers when offering strong spirits to the Sámi and duping them under drunkenness to hand over individual reindeer or even entire herds. Turi expresses social criticism as he calls attention to two problems that afflict his people: alcohol abuse, described by Turi as influenced and exploited by the settlers, and swindling.

In this text, Turi makes use of strategies of non-agency and describes the Sámi as objects of accusative verbs:

Ja láddelaččat leat ožżon bohccuid sámiin, go leat buktán viinni, maid sii ledje ieža vuoššan gortniin, ja leat jugahan sámiid (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:52).

And the settlers have got reindeer from the Sámi, when they have come with snaps that they themselves have distilled out of grain, and have made the Sámi drunk.

The use of the causative verb jugahit emphasizes the passivity of the Sámi, who are not drinking, but “made drunk.”

Relations between settlers and Sámi were not always antagonistic (Nordin, 2002), but Turi’s experience reveals the disputes going on in Čohkkiras at that time. He refers to the Sámi in the third person, “they,” remaining in the position of a narrator, not a protagonist. At the end of the text, he refers to his own words with a passive phrase mat leat ovdalis čállojuvvon (“that has been written before”), which even refers to a broader source of information. Turi is nevertheless present emotionally by describing the Sámi as passive victims and the settlers as active perpetrators.

Turi often chooses to subtly embed delicate subjects in his narratives. In this way, a section called “Bohčima birra” (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:30) (“About milking”) is actually about reindeer thieves, the subject of which was a burning issue at that time. The dislocation of the Sámi from Guovdageaidnu further
south to the Čohkkiras area not only meant that Sámi families had to leave their villages and grazing lands, it also resulted in conflicts between the Sámi already in Čohkkiras and the new arrivals. Turi’s parents were among those who had to leave Guovdageaidnu, to end up in Čohkkiras. Turi’s text, “About milking,” describes the tense atmosphere that developed between the two groups as a result of Čohkkiras Sámi accusations that Guovdageaidnu Sámi were reindeer thieves. Turi defends the Guovdageaidnu Sámi and provides clues as to the identities of the true culprits. He uses a passive form, avoiding any reference to himself (or anyone else) as the source of the story. In one example, he even gives the name of the thief, whereas he chooses not to in a second example:


And if it was to be told of another man, whose name shouldn’t be given.

Different voices coexist, one accusing directly, the other one providing more general discussion on the sources behind this conflict. This polyphony reflects negotiations for avoiding conflicts, but the voice of “justice” makes him on some occasions choose to name the thief he is telling us about. Turi has to deal with a dilemma, since it is his own people he is speaking of and they are part of the audience. Since he is concerned with legal issues, however, he also wants to take a stand and denounce illegal and immoral behaviors. Turi defends and condemns, taking a clear position in the conflict between reindeer herders.

A discourse about threat and danger is recurrent in Turi’s *Muitalus*. He mentions threatening situations in narratives about encounters with other people. The enemy is represented in different shapes in Turi’s narratives: at times, it is the mean giant *Stállu*. In other stories, *čuđit* or *ruoššat* are the bad ones that persecute the Sámi while still others present the enemies as Norwegians. One characteristic is that menacing figures come from outside the community. The Sámi are the ones who have to take flight and even run for their lives. The representation of danger and threat to the community strengthens the message conveyed to the in-group. The significance is that a threat, a danger is expressed to the group as a whole and not to any one individual within. Narratives illustrate how the group solves a problem and gets safely out of danger by cooperating and fighting together. Consequently, such narratives stress the importance of solidarity and the collective strength of the Sámi community.
Turi does not only condemn and denounce the injustice the Sámi suffer; his narratives about injustice, enemies and danger are only a first step in his agenda toward a political solution to the situation of the Sámi. Johan Turi was also a politically conscious community member, and the reader can recognize such statements in the narratives. Particularly interesting in this respect is his position on education for Sámi youth. In a short text about Sámi schools, he takes the opportunity to present his arguments for and against education at school. Even though he opens the text with a positive argument “Viđa jagi skuvllat leat buorit geafes sámiide” (“Five years’ schooling is good for poor Sámi”), the sum of his arguments appear to conclude that it is better for Sámi children to participate in Sámi life than to go to school. In accordance with previous texts in which he strives to present himself as educated, he states that it is necessary for children to learn to read, write and count so that they will not be duped by tradesmen and farmers. We have to remember that Turi’s father was a school teacher, and even if Turi had to work at a young age instead of going to school, he must have heard positive comments about institutional education. Perhaps surprisingly, Turi’s arguments against school are reminiscent of those presented by Swedish politicians as part of the “Lapp-shall-be-Lapp” ideology. At the beginning of the twentieth century, influential politicians were convinced that it was not proper for Sámi to live in the same way as Swedes, whose lifestyle was considered more civilized. These ideas had concrete consequences for the Sámi in questions of accommodation, education and reindeer husbandry. According to this logic, it was considered inappropriate for Sámi children to be taught in mainstream schools, with more fitting accommodations found in a Sámi style tent (Kvist, 1994). Turi’s following statement is an echo of a contemporary political opinion.


And when there are no schools in the Sámi’s own tent, then they have to go to where there are schools, even if it isn’t altogether good.

He also mentions that school might change the “nature” of the Sámi into that of a peasant. The idea of a nature or temperament that must be preserved follows also the perspective of “Lapp-shall-be-Lapp” proponents. Turi’s arguments for and against school are an attempt to manage different voices: the school teacher’s,
the politician’s and that of Turi himself: a Sámi boy who grew up without much formal education but who ends up as an author. This example of polyphony reflects the intense context of social change going on at that time and his management of these voices reveals Turi’s relation to the different influences.

At the end of the section Duoddariid olmmoš, we find a text entitled “Dás vuollelis muitaluvvo sámiid birra lassí, ja goase oäiveäšši birra” (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:80) (“Here is told something more about the Sámi, and this is almost the most important thing”). This is one of the few texts in Muitalus where Turi mentions his concern about the future of his people. He is quite pessimistic when discussing the situation of the Čohkkiras and Gárasavvon reindeer herders. As he tells us:


When the Crown has taken the ground from the Sámi and given it to the settlers, then the Crown no longer has any power over that land.

Already in the late eighteenth century, Sámi land was regarded as property of the Crown. The historian Lennart Lundmark reports how Sámi herders had to yield to settlers the land they had inherited from their ancestors (Lundmark, 1998).

The problems of grazing rights and land ownership issues (still of immediate interest 100 years later) arouse great concern in Turi’s mind.


Now the Crown must open for the Sámi that which is shut, if it intends to let the Sámi go on living in their own way; or else it must give them other means of making a livelihood, so that the Sámi shall not be too much oppressed. And I who write this know it all, I do not need to ask anybody about it, and, I can prove that this is true, if needed.
He refers to himself as the source of information, and emphasizes his responsibility by using the first person. He begins the polemic by writing in a rather impersonal manner, continues with the use of the third person, and finally steps forward in a powerful way, as a storyteller, a source of knowledge and an authority. This text is rather a political work than part of the Sámi storytelling tradition.

Turi closes his book with a section that stands out from the rest of the manuscript. His *Muitalus sámieatnama dovdameabttun elliid birra* (“Telling about the unknown animals of Sápmi”) does not follow the same pattern as the other stories, but is instead a political speech that denounces the way the Sámi have been treated as a minority. In this chapter, we meet Turi the politician. He tells of the injustice suffered by his people and of his concern for their future. Turi enables himself to take this position by establishing his authority throughout the book, convincing the reader page after page that his knowledge and his place in the community legitimate his political opinion.

In this section, he maximizes the gap between text and genre to an extreme point, describing the present situation and ending with his expectations for the future. If the structure of most texts follows the pattern of oral storytelling (short orientation and closing coda, focus on the narrated event), the section about the “unknown animals of Sápmi” has a literary structure. The rhythm is different, marked by longer sentences and clauses. He uses future expressions and conditional mood and the text does not consist of different episodes but is composed as an argument. In this specific text, Turi does not enter into dialogue with the audience but presents his point of view to a reader.

A comparison between narratives in which he minimizes the gap and the polemic texts clearly shows that Turi is changing style in the last text of his book. He shifts from oral storytelling to literary argumentation. The use of different strategies and genres reflect the various purposes of Turi’s writing. His management of the elasticity of the intertextual gap and his relation to the collective tradition are skillful ways of assuming different degrees of responsibility. He is more careful in choosing his words when presenting his own point of view – he does not explicitly name the Sámi and the Swedes or Norwegians, but talks about “unknown animals” and “human beings.” The first-person elements decrease in this section; his use of tense and mood is not the same as in other texts. Johan Turi reports a quotation from these *olbmot* (“the men”), but without reference to the source of this utterance. We understand that he relates arguments commonly told to the Sámi or those which he has interpreted as being the standpoint of these men. He goes on with a response to this argument. There are consequently
two voices in the text, one that is related to the oibnoit, and the other for which Turi takes responsibility. The arguments presented by Turi follow a crescendo. He starts by explaining the behavior of these men as a lack of knowledge about the situation of the Sámi but continues with a discourse of rejection, violence, threat and finally a warning against the extinction of the Sámi people. But he also expresses a wish that his people may find a leader, and a prayer that God may protect them. Thus, a religious voice closes this political speech.

This very special text was apparently not meant at first to close Muitalus. In the original manuscript, it is placed in the section Bividooahpa birra (“About trapping”) (Turi, Notes and Manuscript). Turi’s metaphor of the “unknown animals” was thus subtly placed among other texts about animals. The fact that this text closes Muitalus creates a more powerful effect on the reader. The political dimension of the pamphlet is enhanced by this position.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The presence of different voices in Turi’s Muitalus sámiid birra and his management of different narrative strategies is a reflection of diverse goals. The polyphony in Turi’s first book is the result of a great ambition: to convey knowledge about his community to the outside world and to deliver a message to the government. But Turi might also have had a more personal aim: to establish his authority as an indigenous writer in his community and for European readers. If Muitalus was his first publication, it was not the last one and Turi kept writing travel books and diaries.

The texts presented in Muitalus also reflect Johan Turi’s position at the crossroads of many different influences: the context of social change in which he was living as well as issues related to his personal background. Turi gives us to understand that he was well acquainted with noaide skills, but a religious - Christian - voice emerges simultaneously throughout the whole book. He addresses several audiences and therefore juggles different discourses in order to reach a diversity of readers.

Also, Turi expresses a double affiliation. In his foreword, he announced that his book concerns mainly the Sámi of Čohkkiras, where he lived since 1883. He originally came from Guovdageaidnu, and his affiliation to the Guovdageaidnu community is apparent when he brings up topics such as theft and other conflicts between different Sámi groups. Relocation had implied conflicts between the native group and the newcomers, and it was not uncommon that Guovdageaidnu
Sámi were accused by the Čohkkiras Sámi to be reindeer thieves. In this context, Turi defends the Guovdageaidnu Sámi and expresses his affiliation with this group.

Relocated Sámi made proof of strong attachment to their roots and even children several generations later used the same gákti, traditional Sámi costume, as their ancestors. As for storytelling tradition and variation, Turi was influenced both by his parents from Guovdageaidnu and by the tradition of the Čohkkiras community where he spent most of his life. An example of Turi’s resultant hybridized repertoire is the story of Riinhmagállis, introduced by Turi as “the biggest Stállu.” The story of Riinhmagállis seems to originate from the Čohkkiras area, where he is not considered to be a Stállu, but is said to have been a Sámi (Svonni, 2006). Johan Turi’s narratives illustrate the existing heteroglossia in the North Sámi area at the beginning of the twentieth century. In the next chapter, the study of three other repertoires presents other polyphonic strategies.
Chapter Four: Silenced Storytellers

“Despite the impinging or competing demands of others, and the overwhelming force of that which simply happens to us without our cognizance or choice, each of us expects to call some of the shots, to resist being merely a piano key moved by the will of others or the inscrutable workings of fate, and move as an equal among equals, in a world that is felt to be as much one's own as it is beyond oneself” (Jackson, 2002:126).

The second volume of *Lappiske eventyr og sagn* is composed of narratives by 39 informants, nine of whom originated from Guovdageaidnu. The three Guovdageaidnu informants contributing the most narratives are Ellen Utsi, Isak Eira and Per Bær. This chapter presents an analysis of their repertoires as published in *Lappiske eventyr og sagn II*. The study of the 80 stories they contributed is placed in relation to the ethnographer and the context of production of the narratives. The decontextualization and recontextualization of the texts imposed by Qvigstad is taken into account when analyzing the corpus. As we will see, the heteroglossia that surrounded the narrators emerge in the different repertoires in various ways, witnessing of the individual strategies of each storyteller.

Apart from a few exceptions (e.g. Bolstad Skjelbred, 2001; Mathisen, 2000a), storytellers interviewed by Qvigstad have until now remained almost anonymous. Narratives, in accordance with Qvigstad’s aim and the ideology of his time, are presented as autonomous texts arising from a cultural context defined by the scholar. Narrators were perceived as passive tradition bearers and the specificity of the narratives as well as the individual narrative strategies have been underemphasized. The perspective adopted in this chapter breaks away from this discourse of the past, by presenting and interpreting the narratives published in *Lappiske eventyr og sagn II* as the production of specific narrators in relation to specific contexts. Similar to our analysis of Johan Turi’s *Mualalus sámiid birra*, the concepts of intergenericity and polyphony are keys that enable us to approach Ellen Utsi, Isak Eira and Per Bær’s attitude toward the socio-ideological context of their time.
MEETING JUST K. QVIGSTAD

The exact circumstances of the interviews conducted by Qvigstad are unknown, but the presentation of the sociocultural and political background in northern Sápmi and the contextualization of *Lappiske eventyr og sagn* (see Chapter Two) enable us to approach the relation between Qvigstad and his informants.

In the foreword to *Lappiske eventyr og sagn II*, Just Qvigstad lists the names of the persons he collected narratives from. One of the names on the list is Elen Jonsdatter Ucce, labeled “nomadelapp,” born in 1902. She contributed no less than 40 narratives, more than any other informant in the volume. She is the only woman from the Guovdageaidnu area that Qvigstad interviewed for *Lappiske eventyr og sagn*.

Ellen Utsi was 24 years old when she was interviewed by Qvigstad. Besides the narratives published in *Lappiske eventyr og sagn II*, several of her accounts can also be found in other of Qvigstad’s publications (Qvigstad, 1932) as well as in archives (Qvigstad, NFS, Notes).

The relation between the interviewer and the interviewee, especially with regard to power relationships, has implications on the interview situation and informant’s confidence in narrating (Kaivola-Bregenhøj, 1989; Nyberg et al., 2000). Ellen Utsi’s position as a young unmarried Sámi woman meeting the 73 year old headmaster indicates an obviously imbalanced power relationship. The age and position of Just K. Qvigstad accorded him an authority that must certainly have influenced the young woman. Previous meetings with the headmaster may have contributed to establishing a relationship with her interviewer. Already as a child, she had to go to Romsa for medical care and she would have met Qvigstad during one of her stays in Romsa (Bolstad Skjelbred, 2001). Such implies that Ellen Utsi knew Qvigstad prior to the interviews that took place in 1926. We also know that Qvigstad accorded her a certain authority by putting her in contact with the Norwegian linguist Konrad Nielsen, and Utsi thus became an informant for Nielsen in the creation of his North Sámi dictionary (Bolstad Skjelbred, 2001).

Based on these aspects of the relation between Just Qvigstad and Ellen Utsi, we can assume that a reciprocal trust contributed to a comfortable interview situation for Utsi. The extensiveness of her material corroborates this

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1 Qvigstad employs the orthography Elen Uce. I have chosen to use the spelling Ellen Utsi, that follows the more recent Sámi orthography. It is also the way her name is spelled in other publications.
assumption. She provided Qvigstad with numerous narratives, many of which were quite lengthy.

Unfortunately, we find no indications about where the interviews took place, or whether all contributions were documented orally. We know that Qvigstad collected written material from some of his informants and we cannot neglect the possibility that the lengthy narratives of Ellen Utsi were given to Qvigstad in written form.

Among the main informants in *Lappiske eventyr og sagn II*, two men from Guovdageaidnu provided Qvigstad with 20 narratives each. One of them is Isak Isaksen Eira, presented in the foreword as a “nomadelapp.” Born in 1891 in Guovdageaidnu and interviewed by Qvigstad in 1921, Eira contributed narratives that Qvigstad published not only in *Lappiske eventyr og sagn*, but also in booklets about the diseases of the domesticated reindeer (Qvigstad, 1941), healing (Qvigstad, 1932) and further general information about the situation of the Sámi (Qvigstad, 1954). His young age in relation to Qvigstad, who was by then 68 years old, as well as his background as a reindeer herder, seems to indicate that the relationship with the retired headmaster was imbalanced regarding their negotiation of authority. The context of the interview, though, might have contributed to empower his role as a storyteller. As a matter of fact, we know from Qvigstad’s correspondence with the Swedish linguist K.B. Wiklund that he conducted fieldwork in Finnmark in 1921 (Qvigstad, 12.8.1921). We can assume that it was during this trip that he met Isak Eira and interviewed him, which indicates that the interview took place in the storyteller’s environment, and further implies that Eira was at the time of narration in the home milieu of his narratives. The narration would therefore have occurred in a natural - not a foreign - context.

The other male informant, who contributed twenty narratives of his own, was Per Andersen Bær. Born in Guovdageaidnu in 1847, he later settled in Kvænangen and in 1884 in Kistrand (Porsanger) (Qvigstad, 1928:foreword). He was interviewed in 1924, at the age of 77. Places like Kvænangen and Kistrand, the storyteller’s home milieu, recur in his narratives. Details seem to indicate that interviews were conducted in Porsángu. In a story about *noaide*, Bær mentions that the protagonist was “dabbe Porsangost” (Qvigstad, 1928:484) (“here in Porsángu”). The deictic adverbial therefore implies that Per Bær was in Porsángu when telling this story.
The brevity of his contributions, in comparison with those of Ellen Utsi and Isak Eira, as well as his language and rhetorical strategies, are signs that the stories were told orally to Qvigstad. Footnotes and explanations between brackets reveal the editor’s difficulties in adapting the oral performance to a written form. The clarifications noted by Qvigstad indicate that background information occurred parallel to the main story. In a written form where no pitch of voice, gesture or body language can underscore the different levels of narration and metanarration, Qvigstad had to reformulate the story.

Per Bær belonged to a different generation than Ellen Utsi and Isak Eira. Changes regarding school and contacts with other groups had occurred after he had grown up, meaning that he grew up in a different context than Utsi and Eira. Another distinction is the fact that Per Bær had lived a longer life than the two other storytellers; his life history and experiences are other elements that influence his storytelling. Further analysis of these three storytellers’ narratives will show how these different influences affected their repertoires.
Regarding Per Bær's age, he belonged to the kind of informants Qvigstad was particularly interested in. At the time of the interviews, Qvigstad was 71 years old, only a few years younger than his informant. The issue of positionality and authority was therefore different in this case than for Ellen Utsi and Isak Eira. The fact that Per Bær's father had written an essay may also have enhanced the authority Qvigstad accorded to his informant. Anders Bær and his wife were condemned for their involvement in the Guovdageaidnu Uprising of 1852, and he wrote his memoirs of the event and its background, probably on the recommendation of the Norwegian writer and linguist Jens Andreas Friis, after Bær was reprieved in 1863 (Steen, 1986). Qvigstad had translated the essay into Norwegian (Baer, 1926), and thus had some previous level of acquaintance with Per Bær.

A first look at the material Qvigstad collected reveals that the narrators acted differently in their meetings with the schoolmaster. The narratives told by these three informants differ in length. Ellen Utsi’s repertoire presents stories longer than two pages, of which one was six. In the case of Per Bær, on the other hand, we find narratives shorter than a half page - only two are longer than one page - and there are no long stories at all in his repertoire as published in Lappiske eventyr og sagn. Isak Eira’s repertoire includes a few long stories, of which one was six pages long, but eleven of them are shorter than one page. Such considerations may indicate that the interview situations affected the storytellers differently. After a closer look at the material, I will discuss this aspect below in relation to Qvigstad’s field method.

As for the sociocultural and historical background of these storytellers, the lives of Utsi, Eira and Bær present many similarities with Turi’s life. Like Johan Turi and his family, they were affected by border issues and lived between different countries and cultures. The Laestadian religious movement and the revolt in Guovdageaidnu in 1852 were of concern for the inhabitants of the region. Utsi and Bær’s parents were Laestadians (Steen, 1986). As for schooling, Turi and Bær grew up at a time when children of reindeer herders attended school sporadically, if at all. Part of Ellen Utsi and Isak Eira’s schooling occurred at a time when Norwegian was the primary language of instruction (see Chapter Two). As the study of their narratives will show, their repertoires had also been influenced by published books and readings.

The narratives published in Lappiske eventyr og sagn II are presented by Qvigstad under different headings. The three selected storytellers are representative of the volume in that they bring up recurrent topics. Common themes characteristic of
Sámi storytelling of the region and evidenced in the repertoires of Utsi, Eira and Bær are stories about ghosts (*baldunas, vaiga*), subterranean/invisible beings (G 1301-1400, M 401-500), haunting infants (C 1050), sacrificial stones, dangerous diseases (Q 1-100) and enemies such as *Ställu* (E-1501-1600) or *čudit*. Two of the three storytellers told numbskull tales, accounts of omens of death (A 101), hidden treasures (P 1-200), the *smiergåhittu* (creature theft of milk or butter) (C 333) and the *noaide* (shaman) (D 1031-1040).

The narratives compiled by Qvigstad also witness the extensiveness of contacts between different ethnic groups in Northern Sápmi, an aspect that Reidar Th. Christiansen observed in *Migratory legends* (1958).

In Northern Norway, the influence of traffic along the coast is still more evident [than in Western Norway]. At the great seasonal fisheries storytelling was formerly the customary form of entertainment during the many endorsed periods of idleness. Men came to these fisheries not only from Norway but from neighboring countries as well, from Sweden and Finland and even from the northern districts of Russia. In spite of linguistic difficulties stories easily passed between peoples and thus it is only inevitable that Lapps, Finns, and North Russian tribes would soon come to possess a common stock of folktales (Christiansen, 1958:8-9).

The fact that the Sámi lived a semi-nomadic life increased the chances for coming in contact with other groups and influences. These contacts naturally resulted in exchanges, such as the borrowing of cultural elements from one group to another. It is hazardous to attempt to touch upon the issue of origin and borrowing of folklore elements; it is the reciprocity of contacts between the different groups in Sápmi that should be accentuated - a significant aspect that has been disregarded. Collections of folklore often have focused on the national origin of narratives and neglected their local and cultural source. Johan Hveding’s *Folketru og Folkeliv på Hålogaland I-II* (Hveding, 1935, 1944), for instance, has been considered a collection of Norwegian folklore (e.g. Bolstad Skjelbred, 1998) though the narratives were collected in Nordland and Troms regions where the extensive Sámi population cannot be neglected. On the other hand, Sámi narratives have often been considered to have borrowed elements from Norwegian folklore. More recently, the influence of Sámi mythological elements on, for instance,

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1 Motifs classification refers to Marjatta Jauhiainen’s *Suomalaiset uskomustarinat* (Jauhiainen, 1999).
Nordic mythology has been underscored (e.g. Kusmenko, 2006), questioning the conventional idea of a one-sided influence.

An attempt to classify Sámi narratives according to the Aarne’s *The Types of the Folktale* or Christiansen’s *Migratory legends* highlights the multiplicity of influences on storytellers. Similarities with the broader European storytelling tradition can be found in some of the repertoires, but it is nevertheless obvious that motifs from Norwegian tales coexist with Sámi ones and that the Finnish tradition also has influenced storytellers. It would be restrictive and mistaken to consider Sámi storytelling to be a loan from neighboring cultures, as Qvigstad presents it to be. Sámi narratives are genuine insofar as they emerge as their own peculiar form and are part of an interpretive tradition (see below, Chapter Five).

The repertoires of Ellen Utsi, Isak Eira and Per Bær are characterized by a broad range of narratives with regards to genre, theme, length and perspective. We find folktales\(^1\) as well as traditional Sámi narratives. Despite the presence of many different subjectivities and influences, their narratives follow the pattern of Sámi storytelling we have observed in Johan Turi’s *Muitalus sámiid birra*. The structure follows an oral *muitalus* narrative style, with no specific codas, a quick beginning and abrupt end.

The presentation of narratives in the following sections as “Traditional knowledge” and “Extended Repertoires” emphasizes parts of the storytellers’ repertoires that are common to the broader storytelling tradition and parts that witness of an adaptation of narratives to Sámi repertoires.

**Traditional Knowledge**

Most of the texts included in *Laapiske eventyr og sagn* are traditional Sámi narratives in the sense that the narrated events take place in a Sámi milieu and contain elements that can easily be identified as Sámi, as for instance the ogre *Stállu*, the underground and invisible beings *ul'da*, *eabpáraš* (unbaptised dead children) or *baldunas* (ghost). These accounts occur as variants in the repertoires of many storytellers.

In a similar manner as Johan Turi, the three informants interviewed by Qvigstad use different strategies in order to establish authority and give their

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\(^1\) Folktales are to be understood in this context as narratives occurring in non-Sámi settings and evolving protagonists foreign to the Sámi milieu.

\(^2\) Informants from the Gouvdageaidnu-Kárájohka area interviewed by Qvigstad have reported about beings with similar characteristics by different names: *ul'da, bal'de* or *gufittar* (Cocq, 2004).
narratives credibility. Their positions as storytellers and community members also are reflected by the way they narrate.

As highlighted in the previous chapter, generalization is one of the strategies that Johan Turi uses in order to enhance the trustworthiness of his narratives. Similar aspects can be observed in the repertoire of other storytellers. We find in the narratives of Utsi, Bær and Eira a strain of school manual style, as in Muitalus sámiid birra. Ellen Utsi, for instance, gives the audience recommendations about what to do in specific situations. In a story about a vaiga (“ghost”), she ends with general advice regarding a situation when one hears such a ghost.

Go gulla vaiga, de gal’ga čur’vet čorbma čada dasa; de i gul’lu šat (Qvigstad, 1928:358).

When one hears a vaiga, one must call it out through the fist; then, you do not hear it anymore.

The text ends abruptly with this advice. This strategy enhances her authority by presenting her statement as general traditional knowledge.

Generalization also can appear at the beginning of narratives. In a text about courtship and relations between boys and girls, Ellen Utsi begins with the statement “Dat læ maiļmis nu atte” (Qvigstad, 1928:496) (“It is such in this world, that…”). She is not present as a protagonist or a storyteller in the narrative, but her degree of commitment to the statement is not questioned. This also creates a presentation of the narratives as truth. The use of present tense enhances the generalization of the event, presented as a commonly occurring situation. The narrator’s mastering of traditional knowledge positions her as a community insider, thus increasing her authority.

The context of collection of the narratives must be considered here a factor of influence on the structure of the narratives. The relation between Qvigstad and his informants might have implied that they felt a need to demonstrate their knowledge regarding traditions, those items which Qvigstad was particularly interested in. Ellen Utsi’s narratives can also be understood as a strategy to position herself in the community in the eyes of the interviewer.

In a similar way, Isak Eira also uses strategies of generalization when telling about ghosts.

Go nok’ka amas baikidi aw’din dar’fegodidi jaw’regaddin, gost lavijet daw’ja baldunasat, ja jus he’ve dain al’git ija orrot sæwdnjaden, de gal’ga nok’kat alohi aive uk’si oivid […] (Qvigstad, 1928:348).
When one lies down to sleep in an unknown place in an empty turf tent by a lake, where there usually are baldunas (ghosts), and if it happens that one has to spend the night there when it is dark, one should always sleep with one’s head toward the door [...].

The use of the present tense and the third person singular verb of necessity (gal’go) creates a generalization of the event. The third person singular is inclusive, making the storyteller present in some degree within the narration itself. After this general advice, Eira continues with a specific instance that happened to someone who did not act as recommended. He ends the same story with a final sentence in present perfect tense:

Muttu son balla dam goadis, ja dal dast ballet vel ærat nai, guđet læt gullan su færana (Qvigstad, 1928:352).

But he is afraid of this tent, and actually others are afraid too, those who have heard what happened to him.

Narration in the present also enhances the pertinence of the event for the listeners. Eira establishes a relation to the audience by creating a link between the time of the narrated event and the time of narration. When referring to others “who have heard what happened to him,” he also includes himself. He speaks from an insider perspective; he is not present as a protagonist, but is emotionally present. This is a strategy for taking responsibility: he lets us know where he stands in the story. Doing this, he also ascertains himself as a credible spokesman for other community members with similar experiences.

Ellen Utsi tells in Lappiske eventyr og sagn a number of narratives recurrent in Sámi oral tradition. Stories about eahpáraš, unbaptized dead children are recurrent motifs in Sámi storytelling (Pentikäinen, 1968). When recounting narratives in accordance with the broader storytelling tradition in an impersonal manner, Utsi expresses the voice of the community. She establishes an authority as a community member by demonstrating her knowledge, for example when generalizing narrated events.

At some points, however, she chooses to perform her narratives in a more personal manner, referring to a specific source of knowledge, naming protagonists or reporting events she has personally experienced. She furnishes the names of the persons involved within the narratives, as well as the places where the events occurred. The same persons and places are mentioned in several of her narratives. On some occasions, she identifies the source of her
knowledge. A note lets us know that she has heard a story about an eahpáraš from her grandfather (Qvigstad, 1928:338).

![Figure 7 Morten Clementsen, Ellen Utsi’s grandfather. Photographer: Sophus Tromholt. 1882-1883. Courtesy of University of Bergen Library, Picture Collection](image)

This reference to a close source places her narratives in the tradition she is part of. She emphasizes that her narration is about traditional knowledge: she knows what to do in the case of an encounter with an eahpáraš and she has learned it from her grandfather through storytelling. Her authority as a community member is highlighted when referring to acquired knowledge. In a story about a fight between two noaide, she refers to her father as the source (Qvigstad, 1928:490). The presence of her father and grandfather’s voices testifies to a strong storytelling tradition. As a child, she heard narratives that she included in her repertoire. Also, through reference to her father, she distances herself from responsibility for knowing and telling noaide tales. By referring to her father, she identifies the man from whose repertoire she has acquired the narrative. Utsi establishes an authority not only as a community member, but also as a storyteller by maximizing and minimizing intertextual gaps. Referring to her father and
grandfather is also a manner of testifying to continuity: she presents herself to the audience as a link in a tradition. But she also tells about events she has experienced and steps forward as a subjective individual, as, for instance, in one of her stories about encounters with *ulda*.

[D]e ai’cajin olbmu væl’lame nubbe bæl’de roggi, ja mun doi’vun: dat læ alhma olmuš; dat læ mu isit, gæn lut’te mun leggjin bal’valusas, ja mun vul’gen dokko. Go ol’lejin dan rog’gai, de gać’čen, ja de im bæssan sagoide. De jawkai [...]. Mi gawnaheimet: dat i læt alhma olmuš, muttu dat læ muttin dėin Addama čik’kun manain, guđet goć’čujuvvujit ul’dan (Qvigstad, 1928:436).

Then I saw a man lying on the other side of a pit, and I believe it is a real man; it is my master, for whom I was on duty, and I went there. When I came to this pit, I fell and I could not get him to speak. Then he disappeared [...]. We found out: it was not a real man, but it was one of Adam’s hidden children, called *ulda*.

By telling us about her encounter with *ulda*, she takes a position and lets us know where she stands in the tradition, establishing authority by highlighting her knowledge as experienced.

The narrators communicate with the audience thanks to different techniques and devices. In this way, the presence of Qvigstad as an audience member - and consequently, his voice - can be observed in some of the narratives. This aspect can be noticed in the case of Per Bær. He told several narratives about ghosts beginning with general advices.

Go olmuš læ vaz’zimen mærragaddist, sæwdnjaden ærenoamažet, ja gulla juoi’da, maid dow’da i læ rivtis, de gal’ga bak’kudet dam: ”son ad’da dudnji rafi; adde donge sudnji rafi!” De i gul’lu mikkige (Qvigstad, 1928:390).

When one is walking on the shore, particularly when it is dark, and hears something that does not feel real, one has to say: “I give you peace; you give me peace, too!” Then there is no more [strange] sound.

This explanatory introduction addresses an outsider. Bær tells Qvigstad general information that is not necessary to tell a community member but that an outsider
audience may not know. Narratives are adapted to the audience. This strategy also emphasizes Bær's knowledge and establishes consequently his authority.

Narratives about traditional knowledge are often placed in the temporal context of the audience. When general pieces of advice are given for situations that can occur at any time, present tense is employed and more specific examples show the continuity of an event. Ellen Utsi adds comments that enhance the aspect of immediate interest for the present audience. In narratives about the mean ogre Stállu, she tells how, even today, we can observe physical evidence of an event that is replayed through narration. Utsi relates the story of a family of Sámi children whose parents are not home one Christmas Eve. The children, relishing the “free” time, pretend to be reindeer, engaging in noisy, boisterous play. The activity turns to tragedy when one of the children is cruelly slaughtered by the others. Shortly after, Stállu arrives and kills the rest of the children. The narrative ends with the description of the place as it remains today, the protagonists being transformed into stones that can be easily observed by passersby.

Durkihan-varis læt stuora gæđgit, mat læt dego guok’te goaði, ja smavva gæđgit, mat læt dego boć’cut, mat livvadit macco oivid. Dat læt sikke vil’ges gæđ’git ja čap’pes gæđgit (Qvigstad, 1928:670).

On Durkihan Mountain, there are two big stones that look like two tents, and little stones that look like lying and resting reindeer with their heads turned backwards. Those are white and beautiful stones.

She establishes a relation with the audience by shifts in tenses. The narrated event is told in past tense whereas the last sentence is in the present. She thereby describes the present situation for the audience, relating the past event to the time of narration. This control of temporality establishes her authority as a storyteller.

This story about Stállu at Christmas Eve is a cruel version of a very similar narrative in Muitalus sámiid birra, added in a note in the second edition of the book. Demant Hatt writes that at first, Turi found it unnecessary to include the narrative, but upon hearing a more complete version later, he wished to report it in the second edition of his book (Turi, 1910:241). The recurrent motif of Stállu at Christmas Eve also emerges in one of Isak Eira’s narratives.
Ruot’ta-ækket gal’get alohi rad’djuuvvut ja suoppalas’ujuvvut visut ris’sigierragat ja buok smakkot čoak’kai, amas stallo, go ik’ku vuoddja, buvahallat hergidis daida ris’segežidi (Qvigstad, 1928:716).

On Christmas Eve, the tips of twigs and the wood chips must always be carefully removed and swept up so that Stállu, when driving by at night, would not have his reindeer suffocate in the branches.

The generalization represents the voice of the community conveying traditional knowledge as it did to younger members.

Per Bær tells about Stállu in a different sense. He describes how someone can “send a Stállu” after one’s enemy. This story is one of the narratives where the lack of context renders more difficult an interpretation of what Qvigstad wrote down. These narratives are part of noaide knowledge rather than Stállu lore. Bær is emotionally present by stating that this skill is employed by “baha olmuš” (Qvigstad, 1928:638), bad people. With this statement, he takes responsibility and lets us know his position on the practice as he wants us to understand it.

Another recurrent motif in Sámi storytelling, as evidenced by the three informants, is that of subterranean/invisible beings. Qvigstad published six narratives by Ellen Utsi about ulda. She reported narratives of their origin, a marriage between men and ulda-girls, about ulda’s animals, about an encounter with mystical girls - intertextuality lets us know they are ulda - and with an unknown man who is finally identified as an ulda.

In Muitalus sámiid birra, Turi gives us a version of the origin of the beings.


And they are descended from the race that our first forefathers bound under the earth.

In Ellen Utsi’s version, another socio-ideological language emerges through the names of characters from the Bible. A religious voice is central, conveying social norms and values:

Addames ja Ævas leggie ollo manat, ja de Ibmil bodi oap’palad’dat sod’nu, ja Ævva doamai bassat daid manaides, muttu i ol’len bassat visut. […] (Qvigstad, 1928:392)
Adam and Eve had many children, and then God came to visit them, and Eve hurries washing the children, but did not get all finished.

She hides the children she had not washed, and God punishes her by declaring that the children who are hidden will remain invisible. It ends with the short sentence “Ja das dat let šad’dan ulldat” (Qvigstad, 1928:392) (“and from this, the ulda came to be”) (jf AT 758/ F251.4).

Per Bær reports a similar story about the origin of the balde (ulda) that he had heard from a man from Børselv (Qvigstad, 1928:394). This man told Bær that he read in the Bible how Adam and Eve were ashamed for having so many children and hid some of them. God declared that the ones who were hidden would remain hidden.

While Turi tells the beings are “under the earth,” ulda are “invisible” according to Utsi. Narratives about ulda and balde do not provide a homogeneous explanation of the state of the beings. They have in common that they can only be seen by people on rare occasions.

Sámi elements blend together with religious ones. The strong presence of the Church in the North Sámi area is revealed by the tones of a religious voice together with a more traditional Sámi voice.

In a story told by Utsi about a marriage between a boy and an ulda-girl, an event taking place in a Sámi milieu, the narrator instructs us about relations within the group and with others: reindeer herders and settlers, humans and other beings. In a similar manner, an event surrounding two men who saw a fairy cow also has strong normative implications. One of the protagonists takes the cow but then gives it back to its owner. She (an old ulda woman) makes him rich as a way of thanking him. This text contains elements in common with Migratory Legend ML 5090 and ML 6055, though in a Sámi milieu and with reference to Sámi circumstances. Isak Eira relates similar accounts about encounters between Sámi and ulda. The narrators convey information at different levels. They let us know what to do in such a situation according to traditional knowledge they have inherited from the community. Also, they convey the community’s social norms and values. In Chapter Six, we take a closer look at the socializing aspects of narratives about ulda and other beings.

Ellen Utsi’s narratives about ulda are based on her experience. She tells of an encounter with an ulda-reindeer as well as two narratives relating contacts with ulda in which she is a protagonist. This perspective confirms how she presents
herself as a link in the storytelling tradition she is part of. She completes her repertoire and passes it on.

Per Bær tells about how the beings can take children. The protagonists are not named; solely the title given by Qvigstad indicates that the story is about guftitar, underground beings. Intertextuality, with the example of Johan Turi, also gives the reader a hint about who the beings in question are. Narratives are presented as illustrations of commonly occurring events and refer to traditional knowledge about how to behave when ending up in such a situation.

[De fallagodi hal’di ak’ko duoida: “Bottet gëč’čat daid!” Dot guovtis miluhallaba vuol’git gëč’čat; muttu dat goalmad duot’ta gar’dnjelin duom guok’tas atte i mannat gëč’čat (Qvigstad, 1928:406).]

The balde woman invited them: “Come and look!” The two of them wanted to have a look, but the third one nudged them with her elbow, so that they should not go.

The third girl knows that if they accept something such as food or cloth from the balde, they will not be able to come back to their world. This information is not given explicitly to the audience; there is no backstage information but that which is to be understood through intertextuality.

Narratives about sieide, places of sacrifices, presented by the three informants illustrate traditional knowledge and explain how to behave toward these sites. Ellen Utsi gives us the example of Onnegæđgi, a sacred stone. She tells the story of different persons who asked the stone for help and describes the place in present tense. In the narration of specific events, she gives the audience the name of the protagonists and lets us know how each person thinks.

[S]on lei gafestallame; de jurdaša: son dat gal vuol’ga gëč’čalit, jogo læ newri hal’dui ad’dujuvvun nu stuora fabmo, atte væddja jou’daid (Qvigstad, 1928:514).

He was drinking coffee; then he thought: he is going to see if such power has been given to the evil one that he is capable of realizing something.

She adopts an insider perspective and leads the audience into the thoughts of the protagonist. The voice of the narrator and that of the protagonist coexist in these examples. Utsi not only informs us about the person’s intentions, she also
takes responsibility and adopts a position toward the voice of the protagonist by informing us of the consequences of his acts: his lies or lack of honesty result in the failure.

Stories about sacrificial sites reveal another pedagogical strategy of Eira. He told a story about a man who was helped by a *sieide* and acted with respect toward this sacred place. The account is followed by general advice about how to behave toward a *sieide*:

[S]iei’di vækkeha manga have, jus darbaha olmuš væk’kin; muttu olmuš gal’ga os’kot, ja olmuš gal’ga ad’dit, jus loppida mai’dege (Qvigstad, 1928:518).

The *sieide* helps many times, when someone asks for help; but one has to believe, and has to give when he promises something.

Eira continues with a counterexample: the story of a man who took artifacts from a sacred place and consequently got sick. Different voices create a dialogue in the narrative. The voice of a believer answers one more skeptical; the narrator is also present and takes a position by telling what one should do. He does not employ the first person pronoun, but tells us in an impersonal manner what is right or wrong. The voice of the community expresses norms for how to act properly. At the end of the story, Qvigstad’s voice speaks up through a note about the location of the stone, referring to his publication about sacred stones. Another detail in this note is an explanation certainly furnished by Eira: we are told that the man took the artifact in order to use the pattern for handicraft. This detail does not appear in the Sámi text, only in the Norwegian translation, but it is highly relevant when trying to understand the narrator’s relation to the narrated event. His knowledge about a personal aspect such as the intention of the protagonist reveals that he stands close to this very person. Thus, Eira uses the same strategy as Utsi: the audience is allowed to observe how the central character thinks.

Narratives about *sieide* are common in Sámi storytelling tradition. Per Bær tells the story - similar to that in the repertoires of Ellen Utsi and Isak Eira - regarding a person who becomes sick after taking something that had been given to the *sieide*. This story may also be part of family lore; the protagonist is the brother of the narrator’s grandfather. In this case too, a footnote about the location of the stone has been added by Qvigstad who was interested in sacred stones and refers again to his publication on the topic (Qvigstad, 1926).
On some occasions, the storytellers reinforce the trustworthiness of their narratives and consequently their authority by mentioning the names of the protagonists. The names are generally given at the beginning, as in the following example by Ellen Utsi:


There was an old sexton in Guovdageaidnu who harvested at Njuikonjæggi. He had a maid whose name was Alet.

Later in the story, she mentions the name of “the old sexton.” “Luk’kara namma lei Gudnar Lemet Morten” (Qvigstad, 1928:334) (“The sexton was called Morten, son of Klemet Gunnersen”). It appears that he is Ellen’s grandfather.

This indication lets the reader know that Ellen Utsi was well acquainted with the persons in the event she is going to tell about. By naming her grandfather, she reveals indirectly her source of information. In another story, she chooses to end a story by referring to the names of the protagonists:

Dan nissuna namma lei Susanna; mannaguovto namma lei Mik’kil ja Maret (Qvigstad, 1928:336).

The name of this woman was Susanna and the children were Mikkel and Marit.

Storytellers choose different strategies. While Ellen Utsi mentions names in some of her narratives, Per Bær chose a number of times not to include the names of the protagonists. However, Qvigstad added at several occasions a note at the end of the text, revealing the name of the person in question. The lack of information concerning Qvigstad’s fieldwork methods does not allow us to know if the notes correspond to answers to questions that he asked, or if they are metanarrative devices by the storyteller.

Not mentioning the names in the body of the narratives is a way of generalizing an event, whereas a story becomes more specific and bound to a context when we are furnished with the names of the protagonist. In either case, the footnotes suggest that Qvigstad did not show much consideration for the narrator’s strategy. In some of the narratives, the notes containing additional information appear only in the Norwegian translation. One of Ellen Utsi’s
narratives about ghosts is actually the account of something that happened to her father (Qvigstad, 1928:352). His name and year of birth appear in an endnote by Qvigstad, but not in the text. She might have chosen to present the event as a general happening and not as a specific event. Her decision not to name her father minimizes the intertextual gap and places the story in the broader storytelling tradition.

In one of Per Bær’s narratives, the Norwegian text differs from the Sámi one in that the protagonists are not named explicitly in the original version (Qvigstad, 1928:474-475). However, in Qvigstad’s translation, the names of the protagonists appear as soon as the narration begins. This discrepancy highlights Bær’s strategy. In his version, the focus is on the event, whereas Qvigstad’s rendition makes it a specific occurrence that concerned two specific persons. Bær’s illustration of a situation that might occur at any time is transformed through the translation into a onetime event. Names and point in time when the event took place are given in a note, and we can assume that Bær told Qvigstad this background information. Qvigstad then decided to include it in the story without interfering with the main body of the narrative in the Sámi version. These discrepancies in translation can be observed at several occasions: in another text, Per Bær begins the story with an anonymous protagonist:

\[
\text{Dat lei bællešaddut niei’da (guokte nub lok’kai jakkasaš)} \ldots \text{ (Qvigstad, 1928:404)}
\]

There was a half grown up girl (twelve years old)

In the Norwegian text, Qvigstad provides in a note the name of the girl and of her father and writes that the event happened 20 years earlier (Qvigstad, 1928:407). Similarly, he writes at the end of another story that the event narrated happened 40 years previously and gives us the names of the protagonists and actual place of settlement of one of them (Qvigstad, 1928:407). Bær had chosen not to name his characters in the main body of the narratives. However, he refers to specific places, and thus to his experience and local knowledge.

\[
\text{Si leggje gæse-aigi sui’dnimie (suinid čuop’pame) dobbe Læi’be-vuonast baggjin (Qvigstad, 1928:406).}
\]

They were reaping during the summer in Olderfjord valley.
He asserts his knowledge and competency by opting for an insider perspective. With this strategy, he enhances the credibility of the narratives. References to specific places recreate the natural milieu in which the narrated event is said to have occurred. It is an effective way of convincing the audience of the story’s veracity. Isak Eira also uses this technique when telling about how a wise man manages to defeat a disease.

De li ok’ta boareslagan viisis, jier’bmas sabmelaš, mi lei vuoggiime Bos’sogop’pai gukkes raidoin (Qvigstad, 1928:522).

There was an old wise, intelligent Sámi who was going to Bos’sogop’pi with a long caravan.

This storyteller furnishes details and communicates backstage information to the audience. Also, by appraising adjectives such as “wise” and “intelligent”, the narrator is foregrounding an opinion, stance. This is not only relevant for the credibility of the storyteller, but also for the effect of the narratives on the audience. This very story deals with an important matter: the protection of the community from contagious diseases. Motifs from the Migratory Legend ML 7080 emerge here in a Sámi milieu with reference to Sámi circumstances. Sápmi had been struck with contagious diseases including smallpox and the bubonic plague in a similar way as the rest of the Fennoscandinavian peninsula, but demographic studies have shown how regions were hit differently depending on both means of contagion and cultural patterns (Sköld, 1996). Diseases have left historical traces that are reflected in storytelling. While assembling material about healing, Qvigstad collected many narratives about diseases, their origin, symptoms and remedy (Qvigstad, 1932). Diseases were often depicted in Sámi narratives as supernatural spirits, human beings and other creatures (Rathje, 1991:95) which can be observed in the narratives of Eira, Bær and Utsi.

Eira describes how the plague hides, as if it was a person or an animal, such as when the protagonist dumps the sledge in a torrent.

Ja njoammo-daw’da, mi lei nadahæme daid dulljid sis’te, šaddai maida mannat dam gor’žai, ja deına lagin son duš’šadi ja goddi dan rot’todawda (Qvigstad, 1928:524).

And the contagious disease, who was huddled up between the fells, ended also in the rapids and in this way, he destroyed and killed the pest.
Per Bær also tells about how to defeat contagious diseases.

Ruob’ba-daw’da (boak’ko-daw’da) čuovvo olbmuid faro mield deihe galvo sis’te gerres sis’te. Go olbmuk fuomašek dam, de si vuggjek sud’degad’ai ja čas’kit dam gerresa luovos hærgis ja ho’gadek sud’dai (sud’derai’gai); de i dat bæsa vii’danit (Qvigstad, 1928:522).

Childhood diseases follow people or goods in a sleigh. When people notice it, they go to a hole in the ice, take off the sleigh from the reindeer and sink it in the hole. In this way, the disease cannot go any further.

His knowledge is presented as a general truth. When “teaching” about such a significant topic, the narrator’s authority is crucial.

Ellen Utsi also tells a story about a contagious disease, the Spanish flu:


The one said to the other: “I am going to Guovdageaidnu to kill all the youth.” He said to the one with a bloated red face: “You go to the remote villages, you are able to go to the Sámi villages.” Then the other one said: “He would probably not kill all of them.” Then they parted, and the first one went in the direction of Guovdageaidnu and the other went eastwards. The old woman [who witnessed the dialogue] said: “A disease is coming now that will kill the youth in Guovdageaidnu. But it will not be as severe for those who live in Sámi tents.” Then the Spanish flu arrived.

Ellen Utsi’s narration was written down by Qvigstad in 1926, about eight years after the Spanish flu hit Sápmi. According to Lindow (1978), narratives about diseases - such as the great plague in Swedish legends - illustrate both “folk beliefs about
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disease, retention of historical events in oral narrative, and traditional attitudes toward catastrophe” (Lindow, 1978:31). The fact that diseases are personified serves as a metaphor for the process of infection. The progress of the contagion is explained by patterns of human migration (travel and visits), rendering the uneven penetration of the disease in towns and in Sámi villages as the result of human intentions and behaviors.

In Utsi’s text, we can discern a double-voiced discourse. Traditional knowledge puts in plain words the propagation of the disease with a distinction between two persons and two routes. Medical discourse is also expressed about a contagion by two protagonists who represent carriers of the contaminant.

Traditional knowledge is also expressed in reference to historical events. Narratives about ruoššat refer to historical conflicts between Sámi and another ethnic group. In storytelling tradition, this motif has become a symbol for enemies (cf Johan Turi’s narratives in the previous chapter). The repertoires of the three selected narrators do not provide exceptions to this tradition. Isak Eira, for instance, told Qvigstad a story about how ruoššat were killed by a man and his wife. The place is named and the narratives refer to an event that would have occurred in a past time, when ruoššat were arriving and competing with Sámi for land and goods.

Per Bær relates the historical background and conflicts with ruoššat as an explanation for hidden treasures:

Dalle go vainot leggje, de læt ruoššat rievidam ollo ruđaid ja silba ja golli, atte vit’ta logi olbma guod’dimnoaddi lei, ja dat læ oarjabel’dé Guow’dageino varri, maid goččudek Raisduoddar-hal’di, ja læk dam varrai čiekkam (Qvigstad, 1928:466).

Back in wartimes, the ruoššat stole a lot of money and silver and gold, they were in bands of 50 men. And west of Guovdageaidnu there is a mountain called Raisduottarháldi, and they have hidden it [the stolen goods] on that mountain.

The term “vainot” (“wartimes”) may refer to as far back as the eighteenth century (Laestadius, 2002). Bær conveys knowledge he has inherited from the community and passes it on through storytelling. This piece of his repertoire is part of the collective tradition.

We find three stories in Ellen Utsi’s repertoire about how enemies are defeated. One is a version of the Pathfinder (ML 8000), which details how a
single man manages to lure and defeat a band of čuđit. In two other narratives about enemies, she tells about heroes who defeat many ruoššat and consequently protect their village. The narrators are not directly present in the narration; they do not refer to a source of knowledge but let the audience understand that the narratives are part of the broader collective tradition.

Narratives about noaide, the shaman, or about noaidevuohta, shamanic knowledge, are also reported in Lappiske eventyr og sagn by the three selected informants. As presented in Chapter Three in the case of Johan Turi, this topic was, to some extent, taboo. Ellen Utsi and Per Bær nonetheless told Qvigstad stories about noaide. The study of these specific narratives reveals the use of strategies meant to nuance this sensitive topic.

Per Bær tells two narratives about how a noaide can transform someone into a wolf, and how wolves can be transformed back into humans. In one of the texts, he gives us the name of the protagonist who was turned into a wolf. Bær refers to his father as the source of the telling. The noaide has a minor role in the story and the focus remains on the man who became a wolf and then human again (Qvigstad, 1928:468). A second story about a similar topic does not mention any names. Bær does not refer to any noaide in the text, but tells how a wolf turned into a man after eating cooked meat (Qvigstad, 1928:470). In these examples, he is relying on intertextuality, assuming that a Sámi audience would nonetheless be able to recognize the events as noaidevuohta. In both narratives, he avoids describing the actual act of transformation. He lets the audience presume to know what happened without taking responsibility for explicitly relating the part played by the noaide in the event.

Bær also reported stories about two specific noaide known in the community. In one of these, his uncle is a protagonist. The noaide named in the text lived during the nineteenth century (Qvigstad, 1928:726) and was dead at the time Qvigstad collected the narratives. In the same way, we can suppose that a similar reason lies behind Turi’s choice to publish texts about noaide in 1918, whereas he had asked Demant Hatt not to publish them eight years earlier (Svonni, 2001). The distance in time explains why narrators may tell about these persons, whereas it would be taboo to bring up narratives about living noaide. Nevertheless, Per Bær does not explicitly describe the event: the story about his uncle’s tour with a noaide is ambiguous.

1 The legend became internationally known thanks to Nils Gaup’s film Ofelaš, “The Pathfinder” (1989).
De muttimin i oi'dnu geres ige ieš, muttu dušše hær’gi manna owdas; de muttimin fastaih i oi’dnu hær’gi, muttu dušše geres ja ieš, ja dat manna ieš aldes dokku (Qvigstad, 1928:480).

Then sometimes neither the sledge nor himself can be seen, but only the reindeer before him; then sometimes the reindeer cannot be seen, but only the sledge and himself; and it goes by itself.

The use of the passive verb *oidnot* (“to be seen”) is a non-agency strategy that allows Per Bær to avoid telling what is going on and the roles of the protagonists in the event. He ends the story with the voice of his uncle.

Muttu i son daggar ammat sida gal (Qvigstad, 1928:480).

But he did not care about such a duty.

This last statement lets the audience understand the position of the uncle and of the narrator’s voice about *noaide* knowledge. Bær chose to highlight his attitude toward such a taboo topic by implicitly joining the voice of his uncle.

In another text about a Norwegian *noaide*, Goven, the man in question, is not presented as a powerful shaman; his tricks are easily rendered inoperative by another man:

De goit li biddjam ruok’tot Goveni dam mud’dui: go son li fawlist, de bosso bođi nu lakka, atte gosi gomihi, ja čuovoi gidda gad’dai sul’lui (Bil’lavuon-sul’lui). (Qvigstad, 1928:486).

Then he [the man from Balsfjord] had sent back the evil to Goven: when he was at sea, a whale came so close that it almost overturned the boat, and it followed up to the shore of the isle (the Isle of Billefjord).

Qvigstad also recorded from Bær a story about a fight between three young *noaide*, two boys and a girl, all of them flying *noaide*. The narrator describes the milieu and situates the event in space. Dialogues and details create the impression that the narrator is well acquainted with the event. But the storyteller has situated the text in another geographical environment; the protagonists, originally from Gárasavvon, travel throughout the text, flying to the sea and then to Guovdageaidnu. The remoteness of the narrated event is a strategy that allows Bær to tell about a topic that, if occurring in his home milieu, would be
taboo. This example as well as the stories in which Turi and Bær choose not to mention the name of living noaide indicate that remoteness in time and space is a significant aspect of storytelling taken into account by the narrators.

One of Per Bær’s texts about the ruoššat enemies is also imbued with noaide lore (Qvigstad, 1928:574). He reports how a band of ruoššat was killed thanks to a priest who, by writing a letter and walking into a lake, creates a strong wind which blows away the ruoššat. The narrative’s apparent inconsistencies indicate that the events described are metaphors. Narratives about the ruoššačuđit refer to a time long past and the character of the priest would have appeared in the story at a more recent stage. The protagonist is more likely to have been a noaide. The power of the letter written by the protagonist could symbolize words, kind of magic formulae of a shaman. Considering the religious climate at that time, with the rise of Laestadianism and the Guovdageaidnu Uprising in mind, Bær’s attitude toward religion and Norwegian authorities may have been implicated.

It could be a reason why he employed vagueness in all narratives concerning noaide lore; he chose to employ ambiguity when telling of taboo subjects. He gave neither interpretations nor explicit information in any case and left interpretive responsibility with the audience. However, this choice is in accordance with Turi’s attitude to the same topic, and is also to some extent related to the sociocultural context they lived in.

The other storytellers also contributed narratives about noaide and noaidevuohta. Ellen Utsi reported a fight between two noaide (Qvigstad, 1928:490). She does not situate the event in time and space, asserting authority by referring to her father without taking responsibility. In another text, she tells about the ability to kill someone by sending evil/ill will (baha bidjagat) (Qvigstad, 1928:498). She recounts examples of people killed in this way, but does not explicitly tell the nature of this ability. The elusiveness of the narratives is a strategy for avoiding responsibility.

Smiergáhttu is another phenomenon that can be associated with noaide lore. Ellen Utsi and Isak Eira told Qvigstad narratives about how people have seen smiergáhttu, a creature created and sent by someone to steal milk or butter. In both cases, the storytellers do not give details about the protagonists. Utsi tells us it happened to “Ok’le olmai Guow’dageino” (Qvigstad, 1928:500) (“a man from Guovdageaidnu”), and Eira refers to something that “muttin dalos Laddis muttered van la ow’dal” (Qvigstad, 1928:502) (“has been recounted before about

1 Per Bær’s parents were Laestadians who were condemned for their involvement in the Guovdageaidnu revolt (Steen, 1986:63).

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a farm in Kvænland”). As in the previous example, non-agency and lack of
details in those narratives can be interpreted as strategies for distancing the teller
from narrative responsibility. The storytellers’ similar choices of such strategies
in connection with narratives concerning noaide and noaidevuohta should be
understood in the cultural and ideological context of the time. For the same
reason that Johan Turi did not want his texts about noaide lore to be published in
1910, Utsi, Eira and Bør opted for strategies that nuance a delicate topic.

Among other topics in Lappiske eventyr og sagn, Per Bør told Qvigstad three
short stories about the sea snake that attacks boats and sailors. He does not refer
to any source of information, but mentions the names of places and protagonists.
He is not present as a first-person witness or a protagonist in the narratives.
His sailing experiences and the contacts with other fishermen must have been
sources of inspiration for many narratives. The importance of contacts indicates
that different voices coexist in the repertoire of Bør, particularly in narratives
about the sea. The encounters with the sea snake are told as three different
events experienced by different protagonists. Nevertheless, the consistency of
the narratives does not let strong influences from definable sides emerge. Bør
does not refer to any source of information, but presents his narratives as directly
taken from his private repertoire.

Isak Eira, for his part, uses different strategies to express his relation to
the source of his narratives. When telling about the land of Barbmoriika, where
small people with great respect for birds live, he refers vaguely to “la muitalus”
(Qvigstad, 1928:711) (“there is a story”). This form allows him to refer to a
remote source of knowledge without revealing it more specifically. The broader
storytelling tradition he is part of appears here as the natural milieu of inspiration
for his repertoire. At some point, he refers to the source of his narratives by “mon
lean gullan” (Qvigstad, 1928:476) (“I have heard”), but is otherwise not present in
the narration. By using this strategy, he presents himself as a second source of
information. He refers to a broader source of knowledge, which allows him to
establish an authority as a storyteller and community member without taking full
responsibility for the content of his narratives.

While narrators minimize intertextual gaps in impersonal narratives,
following a generic pattern of narration, Utsi, for instance, maximizes the
intertextual gap when she refers to events she personally experienced. We find a
higher degree of presence in narratives based on her own experience. She uses
devices in order to emphasize the credibility of the narratives. Her authority as
a community member and storyteller is a more important issue in these kinds
of stories than when telling pieces of an extended repertoire (see below). By referring to specific places and periods of time, she also establishes a relation with the audience. She begins one of her narratives with “Samma aigi” (Qvigstad, 1928:362) (“at the same period of time”). The preceding account in the volume is told by another informant and the reader does not get to know what she refers to due to the decontextualization Qvigstad imposed the material. In a similar way, a protagonist is named in two different texts found in the book (Qvigstad, 1928:362, 498), but no time deixis gives us a hint about the temporal context. Similarly, Isak Eira begins a text with “De lei samma olmai?” (Qvigstad, 1928:358) (“It was the same man”). He refers to the protagonist of a story we have not been told. Qvigstad has, in a footnote, reported the name of this very person and referred to the protagonist of a later story.

Eira’s repertoire in Lappiske eventyr og sagn includes only one personal experience narrative. In one of the texts, he reports how he lost his voice after he had tried to shout when he heard bells presumably from an ilda reindeer herd (Qvigstad, 1928:352). The narration of this experience follows narratives about baldunas of more general character. With this personal narration, he maximizes the gap and steps forward. But in the context, among other accounts of encounters with ghosts, he positions himself as a part of the storytelling tradition.

The study of the elasticity of the intertextual gaps also reveals that the narrator often opts for a higher degree of presence in narratives taking place in a home milieu, whereas his/her presence in a folktale is not as significant. We can understand the viewpoint of a storyteller even when he/she is not obviously present in narration. As we will see in the next section about the storytellers’ narratives of folktale types, they may also follow a pattern but swing between different genres.

EXTENDED REPERTOIRES

We find in Lappiske eventyr og sagn II narratives that take place in a non-Sámi milieu. Utsi and Eira let Qvigstad write down stories about, for instance, kings and princesses in a fairy world. These renditions of folktale types are slightly different in structure and longer than other narratives in the informants’ repertoires.

Qvigstad referred to Antti Aarne’s Verzeichnis der Märchentypen (Aarne, 1910)(translated and enlarged in 1973 by Stith Thompson as The types of the Folktale (Aarne, 1973)) in the case of nine narratives by Utsi and Eira. This reference to a folktale classification scheme confirms Qvigstad’s devotion to
the historic-geographic method. He was looking for similarities between Sámi storytelling traditions and those of other cultures. This perspective also seems to have affected his interpretation of the Sámi material. He gave titles to most of the narratives in the Norwegian translation. No title appears in the Sámi text, but those chosen by Qvigstad seem to have been influenced by Aarne. The heading "The brother and the faithless sister," for instance, creates a context for interpretation of the narratives that undermines the Sámi elements of the text. This title refers to a folktale in Aarne’s classification content that does not match Utsi’s narration. As a matter of fact, the extended part of the informants’ repertoire is a polyphonic arena where Sámi voices speak along with those of others.

In “The girl who jumped in the water and became a golden wild duck,” the protagonists illustrate this polyphony.

Navešæn-nieida gawnadi gonagasbardnin, ja gonagasbardni liikui dasa saga, go dat lei nu fiinis ja čabbit ja sivvui oaidnit (Qvigstad, 1928:62).

Navešæn-nieida met the son of a king, and the king’s son liked her, because she was nice and beautiful and pleasant to look at.

*Navešænnieida* and *Abčesænnieida* are Sámi characters that occur in different kinds of storytelling. They symbolize an opposition between positive and negative values, where *Navešænnieida* stands for the positive and *Abčesænnieida* for the negative. Kings and princes, on the other hand do not appear as often in Sámi storytelling. Motifs from the Sámi tradition and from the world of the folktale coexist, reflecting the intersection of different traditions.

A similar example is illustrated in the story “The brother and the faithless sister.” A rather long story told by Ellen Utsi gives an explicit illustration of the broadness of the collective store of narratives available to storytellers in the North Sámi area at the beginning of the twentieth century. The story begins in a Sámi milieu.

Dat lei muttin ad’dja ja ak’ko; sud’nus lei ok’ta bar’dni ja ok’ta niei’da ja god’desarvis ja al’do. Si orru dar’fegoadis guk’kin eret olbmuin (Qvigstad, 1928:142).
There was an old man and an old woman; they had a son and a daughter and a wild reindeer bull and a wild reindeer cow. They lived in a turf tent far away from people.

After the death of their parents, the brother and the sister leave their home. At one point in the story, while the boy is taking water from a lake, the story turns unexpectedly into a folktale by its content.

De algi hubmat dat guolli; guolli logai: “Jus luoitat luvvos su, de son næv’vo, mervt don galgat.” Bar’dni loppidi luovos luo’tit. Guolli mui’tali bar’dnai: “dan jawris lei ok’ta miek’ki, maid leggje golbma ċuodi olbmü biw’dan; muttu i ok’tage læn ožžun. Muttu don galgat mannat ja struv’vestit golma gerdi ja njamistit juokke go struv’vestat, de dat gęppo du gitti dego subi las’ta.” (Qvigstad, 1928:142).

The fish started talking; the fish said: “If you let me go, I will give you advice about what you have to do.” The boy promised to let it go. The fish told the boy: “In the water there is a sword that 300 men have tried to get, but nobody got it. But you will go there and spin it three times and suck every time you spin; then it will become light as an aspen leaf.”

The fish’s speech indicates to the audience that the narrated event takes place in another world. The story continues in the same vein. When they arrive at a house occupied by thieves, the Sámi milieu has completely disappeared. The sister who pretends to be sick asks her brother to bring her lion milk that would cure her. As the story progresses, the brother meets a talking lion, a talking bear and a princess; the story has evolved into a folktale. An obvious intergenericity manipulates the frames of two storytelling traditions. The Sámi voice dialogues with the one of a European tale telling tradition. Utsi was influenced by different traditions, which is reflected both in the form and in the content of her narratives.

The story of “The boy and the Lamp (Aladdin)” contains elements common to the folktale AT 561 to which Qvigstad refers. The son of a poor woman falls into a hole and finds three stones, a ring and a lamp whose spirit turns his wishes into reality. Thanks to the objects and the spirit of the lamp, the boy becomes richer than the king. In terms of intergenericity, Utsi minimizes the

1 Though Qvigstad refers to Aarne Verzeichnis der Märchentypen (1910), I refer here to the English translation The types of the folktale ([1928] 1973).
inter textual gaps and renders this narrative faithfully as a folktale. It begins with an underprivileged family and ends with a marriage to the king’s daughter. In this narrative, the Sámi milieu and motifs are not salient at all.

In “The Seven Sleepers”, Ellen Utsi tells the story of seven girls who fall asleep for “as long as the world exists” (“Ja uđdet nu gukka go mañlmi čuożžo” (Qvigstad, 1928:174)). The text is short and the lack of context in Lappiske eventyr og saga makes it almost incomprehensible. The title, “The Seven Sleepers,” appears in Aarne’s classification of folktales, but does not help us to understand the content or the message in Utsi’s text. The only motif in common with AT 766 is the protagonists’ extended state of slumber. Qvigstad refers in an endnote to his own publication about names of the starry sky (Qvigstad, 1921:8). The story refers thus to the Firmament and describes the Pleiades. Johan Turi has an illustration in Muitalus sámiid birra depicting the constellations. He designates Rovkot (“skin rugs”) (Turi, 1910:269) as the Pleiades, which correspond to the story told by Ellen Utsi. A study of the Sámi’s conception of the sun, the moon and the stars by the Swedish scholar Bo Lundmark (Lundmark, 1982:103) shows in the same vein that Rovkot or Råuko can be considered a noa word for the Pleiades. The placement of Utsi’s text in Qvigstad’s volume, among folktales, and the title are therefore misleading: she recounts a piece of traditional knowledge about astral lore, not a folktale. Qvigstad’s voice dominates over his informant’s when he imposes the context in the publication.
Figure 8 Illustration by Johan Turi in “Muitalus sámid birra”. Picture 13. Star map (detail). On this detail of Turi’s rendering of the night time sky, one can discern Kuvo-so-nasti [Guovssunásti] (“Morning star”), Sarva (“Bull Moose”), constellation comprising Cassiopeia and other stars (Emilie Demant in Turi, 1910:265), Kala-bardnit [Gállá bártnit] (Orion), čuoigahaegit [čuoiggaheaddjit] (“the skiers”, reindeer herdsmen, i.e. Castor and Pollux) and Rovkot [Rougot], mieae-tora (“a small herd of reindeer calves”, i.e. the Pleiades). Photographer Birgit Brånvall, ©Nordiska museet.
Ellen Utsi related for Qvigstad the story of “The wandering Jew” (Qvigstad, 1928:174). A man in America meets a wanderer who presents himself as the shoemaker of Jerusalem. Qvigstad refers to Moltke Moe in an endnote. A similar text is presented by Emilie Demant Hatt in her collection of narratives Ved ilden (Demant Hatt, 1922:53), but no references are made to the storyteller. The story is also a mediaeval legend listed in The Types of the Folktale (AT 777). Different voices can be heard in the Sámi version: religious elements and traces of contacts with other storytelling traditions emerge. It reflects the heteroglossia at work in Ellen Utsi’s Sápmi and expresses the context of social change in which she grew up. Even though the first-person element does not appear and the narrator is not present emotionally, responsibility in Utsi’s narration is observable in the polyphony of the texts and in the fact that she performed those folktales in her mother tongue for Qvigstad and included them in her repertoire.

The story of “Anders Buhara” is also polyphonic. Utsi tells about a boy who is predicted to become king and therefore is abandoned on the king’s order to a certain death (Qvigstad, 1928:204-210). He is rescued and the prophecy is eventually realized. Qvigstad refers to Aarne’s classification of folktales (AT 930) and to a Finnish version. The Finnish tale was published in 1920 by Eero Salmelainen in his collection Suomen Kansan satuja ja tarinoita (Salmelainen, 1955) (“The Finnish people’s folktales and legends”), and the author specifies that the story was collected in Tuukos and Kuorevesi, Häme in 1850. Polyphony is manifest in the Sámi version not only in terms of socio-ideological languages; the story is symptomatic of the polyphonic Sápmi in which Ellen Utsi and her contemporaries lived. The name of the protagonist in Finnish, Punhaara, means a forked branch or cleft in a tree. The boy received his name from the place where he was abandoned. The name has remained in the original tongue, though the story was documented in Sámi. Another Sámi version is related by Per Turi in Lappish texts (Turi, 1918:204). The versions share the Uriah letter motif, episodes of action and the outcome for the boy, but there are remarkable discrepancies regarding the protagonists. Utsi tells about a king who wants the boy to be killed, and robbers who rewrite the letter he carries and consequently change the boy’s fate. In Per Turi’s narratives, however, there is neither a king nor robbers. The evil character is instead a fox skin trader and “people” switch the letter the boy is carrying. This version is closer to that collected and published in Salmelainen’s Suomen Kansan satuja ja tarinoita. The story recounted by Utsi downplays the traditional milieu, and the protagonists - the king and the robbers - go with a folktale type.
Among the folktales told by Isak Eira, we can read stories classified in Aarne and Thompson’s *The Types of the Folktale* and that for instance H.C. Andersen and Asbjørnsen and Moe have published. The story of “the Boy who catches the Princess with her own words” (Qvigstad, 1928:174) is a Sámi version of a narrative edited by the Danish author H.C. Andersen under the title *Klods-Hans* (“Jack the fool”) (Andersen, 1855) and by the Norwegian writers Peter Christen Asbjørnsen and Jørgen Moe (*Norske Folkeeventyr*) (Asbjørnsen and Moe, 1843). Likewise “Big Lars and Little Lars” (Qvigstad, 1928:288) was published in 1835 in *Eventyr fortalte for Børn* (“Fairy tales for children”) (Andersen, 1835). The books of these three authors were based on collected material from oral tradition, which implies that contacts between their field of study and the Sámi storytelling tradition cannot be excluded. Eira does not refer to the source of his knowledge of these narratives. Similarly as when reading Utsi’s folktales, we notice a shift in perspective in comparison to narratives of traditional knowledge character; he narrates from an outsider’s perspective.

Similarly, the story “Birches that grow together over the lovers’ graves” (Qvigstad, 1928:224) does not take place in a Sámi milieu. Eira tells us about two young people whose love for each other was not accepted by the boy’s father. They kill themselves but the father refuses to bury them in the same grave. Two birches grow on each grave together from each side of the church. The father cuts them down with an axe, hurts himself and dies. The birches grow together again. The narrative takes place in a non-Sámi milieu and is told from an outsider perspective. However, the birches might be a partial localizing of the tradition (cf AT 970). Eira ends the story by stepping forward with metanarrative comments.

Dat soagit leggje mær’kan dasa, ate soai læba rakkistan nu saga goab’bag guoimiska (Qvigstad, 1928:228).

The birches were the sign that they had loved each other so much.

By ending with this clarification, the storyteller places himself outside the narrated event. This foreign perspective of the narrator creates a link with the audience, whom he addresses in this metanarrative comment. He maximizes the gap and steps forward as a storyteller.

Other stories of the folktale genre have been adapted to a Sámi context, such as “The Soup in the Spring” (Qvigstad, 1928:278). Qvigstad refers by an endnote to AT 1260, which is actually entitled “The Porridge in the Ice Hole”
and the characters of the protagonists are not significant motifs. In Eira’s version, however, the story is about the *ruoššat*, enemies of the Sámi. The Sámi voice is predominant in this account, where the numbskulls are the *ruoššat*. This example shows how folktales classified as part of a broader European tradition are rendered more specifically Sámi through explicit cultural localization. The fact that *ruoššat* are the enemies in the story gives the narratives an aura of historical legend. Thus, the folktales related by a Sámi storyteller in Sámi language become part of the Sámi storytelling tradition.

In “The man in the Moon” (Qvigstad, 1928:322), Eira tells of a thief who while painting the moon with tar, gets stuck and still can be seen there. Qvigstad refers to a folktale classified by Aarne (U 8). A similar text can be read in *Nomadskolans läsebok*, a school manual for the instruction of Sámi children at nomadic school (Wiklund, 1917-1929). In this version, the son of a thief was caught by the moon – and still today, can be seen there with his bucket. The short story told by Eira does not depict the stage of the event and consequently does present an adaptation to a Sámi milieu. In this text, the narrator is not present in narration.

Per Bær’s repertoire of narratives as it appears in *Lappiske eventyr og sagn* differs from that of Utsi and Eira mainly through its lack of folktales. Narratives which he told Qvigstad present Sámi motifs and events that took place in a Sámi milieu. We know that Ellen Utsi read a great deal (Bolstad Skjelbred, 2001) and we can assume that she came in contact with many folktales. In the beginning of the twentieth century, there were many different influences in Northern Sápmi but things were different when Per Bær grew up. One reason why he did not include folktales in his repertoire may have been that he had not come into contact with items of European literature or storytelling to the same extent as his younger counterparts.

Social change appears in Bær’s repertoire in a different manner: reflecting his life experiences, motifs of the sea or fishing appear in seven of his twenty narratives in *Lappiske eventyr og sagn*. He extended his repertoire in terms of local tradition, from Guovdageaidnu to Kvenangen.

Ellen Utsi came into contact with different storytelling traditions both at home and at school. She widened her repertoire with stories she had read and traditional narratives she had heard from her father, grandfather and probably other relatives. Isak Eira was a few years older than Utsi but grew up in a similar context. Home and school were certainly sources of information and inspiration for his repertoire. He was in contact with different storytelling traditions, and
versions of European folktales are presented alongside more traditional Sámi narratives.

The repertoires of Sámi narratives have been broadened, thanks to storytellers like Ellen Utsi and Isak Eira. The coexistence of elements from various traditions bears witness to the specificity of Sámi storytelling. They are examples of a multicultural, polyphonic Sápmi, situated at the intersection of different countries and cultures. Their repertoires are expressions of the management of this diversity.

Intergenericity reveals that the intertextual gaps are tangibly broadened. The storyteller is not present in the narration and the narrated events are by no means personally experienced events. They are told from an outsider perspective differentiated from the pieces of the repertoire that are marked as traditional knowledge.

We must keep in mind that Qvigstad wrote down the texts and therefore, specific devices might have been neglected during the process from performance to print, consequently remaining inaccessible to us today. In the next section, I attempt to approach these devices based on hints that occasionally emerge from the narratives.

FROM PERFORMANCE TO PUBLICATION

The publication of *Lappiske eventyr og sagn* implied an adaptation of the material into a written form. Qvigstad had chosen not to normalize the narratives to a large extent, and narratives strategies of oral storytelling appear in the printed material.

A mix of direct and indirect speech in dialogues occurs in many narratives. Qvigstad has, in the foreword to *Lappiske eventyr og sagn I*, called attention to the problematic use of pronouns he came up against when translating the material collected. When commenting on his translation into Norwegian, he mentions that “in the Sámi text, a blending of direct and indirect speech often occurs” (“*I den lappiske tekst forekommer ofte sammenblandning av direkte och indirekte tale*” (Qvigstad, 1927:foreword)).

In the story of “The Boy and The Lamp”, for instance, Ellen Utsi makes use of indirect speech in dialogues, as when the king addresses the boy. At this stage of the story, the farmyard created for the boy by the spirit of the lamp had been stolen by another man who had taken the lamp.
Gonagas suttai bardnai ja logai bardni nu gielisin ja beitulažžan ja dajai bardnai: “Jus dat gardin i læt fas ittin sæmma sajis go læ lemaš, de son godda bardni” (Qvigstad, 1928:138).

The King became angry with the boy and called him a liar and impostor and told him: “If the yard is not back here tomorrow like it was before, then he will kill the boy”.

In this example, the third person in the quotation refers to the king, the character who is actually speaking. The pronoun “he” is employed where an “I” is expected. The recurrence of such a use of personal pronouns indicates that the first person element does not occur unless the narrator is the protagonist in the event.

Per Bær’s narratives as published in *Lappiske eventyr og sagn* seem to indicate that they were collected orally. A number of explanations, synonyms and repetitions let us imagine how he told Qvigstad his narratives and what different pitches of voice and gestures may have communicated nuances to his listener. Qvigstad’s attempt to render these aspects in a written form results in a number of brackets and notes.

De čali goalmad breve, ja dêina gali nu gukkas go vuovsoi (raddi raddjai), ja luiti dokku merri (Qvigstad, 1928:574).

Then he wrote a third letter and walked into the water with it as far as he could reach the bottom (up to his chest), and dropped it in the sea.

The clarification between brackets can be understood as a gesture that Bær used in narration. Also, on several occasions, Bær used synonyms and repetitions. This aspect occurs for instance in a story about encounter with an *ulda*.

De dat æmid falla sudnji borrat; muttu i son garo borrat, dainago som moai’ta (vikko), atte i dat læ rivtes dallo (Qvigstad, 1928:404).

The housewife invited her to eat; but she did not want to eat because she suspected (had a feeling) that it was not a real house.

The terms “moai’ta” and “vikko” are synonyms. This redundance indicates a strategy of oral character. With these details, the narrator reflects a concern for the audience and for being understood. Qvigstad was an outsider; despite his knowledge of the Sámi language, the informant may have perceived that he –

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as an audience – needed additional explanations. Also, this clarification could have had expressive purposes which Qvigstad did not recognize. Information in footnotes and between brackets indicates that Qvigstad received background details alongside the main story. In a written form where no pitch of voice or other device can highlight the different levels of narration and metanarration, Qvigstad had to reformulate the story. Therefore, in most of the narratives told by Per Bær, there are explanations between brackets in the text as well as notes at the end of the narratives.

In the repertoires of Utsi, Eira and Bær, we find stories that appear awkward at first sight. The lack of context and the shortness of some of the narratives may reflect the collection method. As presented in Chapter Two, we know that Qvigstad used a fieldguide. Many topics in the questionnaire correspond to headings in the classification of the Sámi storytellers’ narratives. The shortness of some stories seems to indicate that they could be answers to questions. For instance, Eira told three short narratives about Christmas. The structure as well as the perspective point toward responses to Qvigstad’s fieldguide. The texts consist of three short paragraphs of one to two sentences, all about the same theme but without direct connection to each other. The use of the pronoun “they,” a non-inclusive third person plural, indicates that the narrator tells us there what others do, and not about himself.

Similarly, a look at Qvigstad’s *Veiledning til undersøgelse af Lappernes Forhold* (Qvigstad, 1896), (“Fieldguide for the study of the situation of the Sámi”) reveals that he was also interested in collecting information and narratives about what he called “superstitions.” Topics brought up by the informants are listed in the *Veiledning*, and we can assume that the storytellers answered the ethnographer’s inquiries. One of the aspects of the question list is precisely asking about superstitions in relation to Christmas (IX.10 Superstition about Christmas Eve, Christmas Night and some days of the year (Qvigstad, 1896:15)).

In an account of a nightmare, Bær reports a story without context and obvious relevance to the volume. In Qvigstad’s field guide, the question IX.15 concerns dreams and nightmares. In a similar way, a text about *smiergáhttu* (Qvigstad, 1928:500-502) is probably an answer to IX.12. “Superstitions about *smieragatto*” (Qvigstad, 1896:15). In another instance, a short story about the thunder and two brothers is presented without context. When taking into account the question IX.7 “Superstition about the Northern Light, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Thunder, the Lighting, the Rainbow, Falling Stars, the Meteors, the Comet,” the
story in itself acquires new meaning in the volume. The question list sets a new context for interpretation – the one established by Qvigstad.

Storytelling is a social interaction between the narrator and the audience. As illustrated in Chapter Three, different addressees could be identified in Johan Turi’s *Muitalus sámiid birra*. As for the situation in which Eira, Bær and Utsi presented their repertoires, the audience the selected storytellers addressed is reflected in the narratives. Per Bær, for instance, addresses himself evidently to an outsider, as his explanations and choices of terms reveal.

Must li siessa, ač’čerokki oabba (Qvigstad, 1928:468).

I have an aunt, the sister of my deceased father.

Kinship terms are precise and explicit in North Sámi, and the term *siessá* means specifically “paternal aunt.” The clarification that *siessá* is his father’s sister is a redundancy that indicates that Bær is addressing an outsider. In the context of collection of the material as we assume it took place, this aspect seems to indicate that Per Bær was addressing Qvigstad alone. Unlike Johan Turi who addresses different audiences, Per Bær’s narratives are context-specific. This also indicates that Bær, unlike Turi, did not expect to be read by a Sámi audience.

Some of Per Bær’s narratives can seem awkward to the reader. In his narratives about ghosts, a story that is expected to illustrate encounters with ghosts turns out to be a joke, and is not a story about ghosts after all (Qvigstad, 1928:392). Similarly, a story about the snake stone begins with a general presentation of this specific stone but goes on with an account about someone who is bitten by a snake, but has nothing to do with the snake stone in question. These examples, as well as the shortness of Bær’s narratives in comparison to those of other storytellers, indicate an unwillingness to tell Qvigstad about the topics the headmaster is asking about.

Qvigstad’s voice is present throughout the whole volume, speaking through titles, footnotes, endnotes, and also through the strategies of the storytellers for clarifying or hiding aspects and topics. By imposing his standards upon the narratives, the storytellers have been, to some extent, silenced. Nevertheless, their preferences in repertoires and strategies reveal their choice of responsibility in narration and their relation to the heteroglossia of their society and day.
CONCLUDING REMARKS

Analysis of the repertoires of Ellen Utsi, Isak Eira and Per Bær highlights the coexistence of different socio-ideological languages. In traditional narratives as well as in folktales derived from other sources, they express their subjective positions as community members.

The different voices bear witness to the strong presence of the Church alongside the traditional beliefs expressed in narratives. A story told by Ellen Utsi about the origin of the wolf includes mention of both God and näwre, a Sámi character that represents the Evil One (Qvigstad, 1928:330). Ulda are presented as characters from the Bible (Qvigstad, 1928:392). Anachronistic contexts such as the central role of the priest in Per Bær’s narratives about the ruoššat reveal the coexistence of recent and ancient elements in Sámi storytelling. Social norms and values are also explicit in narratives, as seen when Utsi tells us about the potential marriage between a Sámi boy and an ńula (Qvigstad, 1928:412).

The variations within the repertoires also witness the influences of different languages and of the existence of different voices in the contexts of Utsi, Eira and Bær. Narratives told in North Sámi show elements from a Finnish tale - such is the case of “Anders Buhara” - and linguistic influences from Norwegian. The coexistence of Sámi motifs and European themes in some of Utsi and Eira’s stories confirm that they were at the intersection of different traditions. Narratives that follow the form of a folktale often combine different motifs. Kings and princesses meet Sámi figures such as näwre or Čhčēąnnieida, a lion appears in a Sámi environment. This coexistence of motifs characteristic of different traditions shows to what extent Sámi storytelling and its practitioners were at the junction of different socio-ideological languages.

The lack of contexts in which the narratives are presented imply a certain intricacy. Some of the narratives have suffered of the process of decontextualization inflicted by Qvigstad. As pointed out in Chapter Two, “Contextualizing Lappiske eventyr og sagn”, Qvigstad had elaborated his own frame of narrative interpretation, classifying them according to his own criteria, to which geographical origin was central. For instance, it is the frame imposed by Qvigstad that lets us understand that an account by Bær actually is about gufihtar (Qvigstad, 1928:404-406). The narrator himself does not give any name to the protagonists. In the light of other similar stories, Qvigstad has reconstructed a context and places the narratives under the category “Goveterna tar barn” (“Gufihtar take children”). The narrative strategy used by Bær in order to mystify the beings is consequently destroyed.
Objectification is a step in the process of recontextualization that “is accomplished by setting off each text with a title […]” (Bauman, 1999:114). “A further dimension of objectification,” as Bauman states, “is represented by the rendering of each text as a unitary narrative with a single plot” (Bauman, 1999:115). Qvigstad’s role in that process has meant that his voice speaks loudly and at some occasions louder than the ones uttered by the narrators.

The study of the narratives gives us leads concerning the missing context. When the storyteller refers to protagonist of a previous story, presented later in the volume, we gain insight into the detextualization process that took place between the performance and the publication. Details reveal that Qvigstad has modified the order in which the stories were told when publishing *Lappiske eventyr og sagn*. He cut and pasted narratives in the volume irrespective of the contexts in which they were told. These details also confirm the consistency and continuity of the stories, which has been neglected by the process of publication. When reading *Lappiske eventyr og sagn* today, we can easily get the impression that these are unconnected narratives, sometimes difficult to understand because of the lack of consistency. In order to be understood and fully appreciated, narratives must be considered in their contexts, i.e. in relation to their authors.

Alongside Qvigstad’s omnipresence in the material, the heteroglossia present in Sápmi at the time of the interviews is clearly expressed in the repertoire of the chosen storytellers. Despite Qvigstad’s effort to put forward the stability of folklore, an analysis of the narratives of Sámi storytellers exposes the multiplicity of influences and discourses in Sápmi at the beginning of the twentieth century. The polyphony of the storytellers’ repertoires bears witness without a doubt to the social transformation taking place at the time. Each of the narrators expresses in a different way a relation to this context, allowing some voices to speak louder than others. These choices partly reveal their subjective relation to the changes occurring around them.

The individual repertoires should nonetheless be viewed in the context of the tradition they belong to. In the next chapter, we approach Turi, Utsi, Eira and Bær’s relations to the collective storytelling tradition.
CHAPTER FIVE:
SUBJECTIVE NARRATION AND COLLECTIVE TRADITION

Truth does not make sense. (Trinh, 1989:123)

In Chapters Three and Four, we focused attention on the repertoires of four Sámi storytellers, studying their peculiarities and individual strategies. In this chapter, the specific repertoires are approached in relation to the North Sámi storytelling tradition at the turn of the twentieth century - the tradition to which the narrators Turi, Utsi, Eira and Bær belonged. If each repertoire expresses individual narrative interests, choices and strategies, they are also part of a collective tradition.

TRADITION AND VARIATION IN NARRATION

Turi, Utsi, Eira and Bær originate from the same geographical area of Guovdageaidnu. Semi-nomadism, dislocations and other circumstances meant that they spent their lives in different places. Consequently, in addition to the storytelling tradition they grew up with, they were influenced through the years by different traditions they came in contact with.

The geographical delimitation of a folklore item was one of the concerns of the Finnish school. The point of departure of this historic-geographic method is, however, problematic and even inaccurate when dealing with Sámi material. Many community members - and storytellers - did not spend their whole lives in their native region and the adaptive character of narration runs counter to the static criterion of geographic localization aimed at by the scholars of the Finnish school. As observed in the study of the different repertoires, North Sámi narrators had been in contact with other storytelling traditions, thus broadening their personal repertoires.

Narratives are expressions of personal variation and adaptation. The Swedish folklorist Ulf Palmenfelt has shown how collective storytelling tradition
and subjective repertoires are related and influence each other. The relation between collective and personal storytelling must be seen as following a cycle, in which elements are borrowed, adapted and reinjected (Palmenfelt, 1993b). Central European narratives, for instance, may contribute to the broadening of Sámi narrative tradition. So, too, one finds the presence of Sámi elements in Norwegian storytelling. Bearing in mind that, as Honko has pointed out, “variation does not take place in a vacuum; a change in one integer may induce changes in others” (Honko, 2000:17), we find that adaptation and the borrowing or lending of elements that occurs in narration contributes to the modification and development of a collective store of narratives.

The immediate context in which a folklore item emerges should be viewed as the crucial point of departure for its understanding. Dan Ben-Amos (1971; 1984) underscores that the existence of folklore “depends on its social context” (Ben-Amos, 1971:5). Folklore is “a communicative process” (ibid.:9), he states, that should “be considered a sphere of interaction in its own right” (ibid.:15).

The concept of tradition has often been discussed in relation to variation (Ben-Amos, 1971, 1984; Glassie, 1995; Hampaté-Bâ, 1981; Handler and Linnekin, 1984). Handler and Linnekin view tradition as “an interpretive process that embodies both continuity and discontinuity” (Handler and Linnekin, 1984:273). From this perspective, the “ ‘traditional’ is not an objective property of phenomena but an assigned meaning” (ibid.:286).

Such views on tradition illustrate a shift in focus. In the field of folklore research, tradition had previously been considered invariable and autonomous. Elias Lönnrot (1802-1884), author of the Finnish epic Kalevala, represents this standpoint:

In Lönnrot’s view, individual ideas and impressions pass from one person to the next like water vapor in the air, until, at last, they coalesce, falling to the earth, like rain, in the form of a completed song. (DuBois, 2006:20-21)

Lönnrot’s metaphor pictures the somehow naïve and romantic perception of tradition that imbued his era. With Alan Dundes, I reject the “tendency to treat ‘lore’ as though it were totally separate from ‘folk’ ” and “submit that the folk should be put back into folklore. I am interested in folklore,” he says, “because it represents a people’s image of themselves” (Dundes, 1980:viii).

In 1985, the Danish folklorist Bengt Holbek observed that folklorists were “leaving behind the conception of the storyteller as a mere ‘bearer of tradition’
(an expression that always reminded me of ‘carrier of contamination’), he says. “We are instead beginning to see him – or her – as a fellow human being” (Holbek, 1985:22). Holbek discusses further this shift in perspective and underscores how “we have begun to realize that storytellers are people just like ourselves. They have feelings, intentions, artistic ambitions, etc.; they intend what they say to mean something, not just to be samples or pieces of evidence” (Holbek, 1985:23). The metaphor of a “bearer of tradition” was formulated by the Swedish folklorist Carl von Sydow in 1931 (Ben-Amos, 1984; Sydow and Bødtker, 1948) in an attempt to argue for the significance of the narrator and contexts (Dégh, 1969:48). The concept has nonetheless been used in a manner that proves inappropriate to the extent that the performer is relegated to the background and specificities of this performer’s knowledge and performative competence are neglected. A “bearer of tradition” gives a static representation of tradition, not a living one. Furthermore, this concept is imbued with connotations such as passivity and unawareness.

This approach has affected folklore research (DuBois, 2006:169). The anonymity of the storytellers who provided “lappologists” and other ethnographers with narratives has resulted in the negligence of variation and subjective strategies. This bias endured longer in the study of narratives than in research on lyrics; it was easier to acknowledge that songs had an artist, whereas it was perceived that narratives could be uttered by anyone as part of a tradition.

Although some folklorists had adopted a performance oriented perspective previously, they did not receive attention in Western Europe and North America before the 1970s. The Russian scholar Mark Azadovskii is a striking example: his essay *A Siberian Tale Teller*, written in 1926, emphasized the relationship between the backgrounds and experiences of storytellers and their repertoires. First published in Russian and in an extended version in German, it was translated into English as late as 1974. In the 1920s, Azadovskii pointed to the problems and negative effects of the research on *Märchen* in Western Europe, which neglected the dependence of the stories on the narrator and its environment. Among Russian folklorists, on the other hand, the relation between narratives and their performers was already an issue of significance (Azadovskii, 1974). According to Dégh, Azadovskii’s monograph has had a significant impact on folklore research internationally (Dégh, 1969:55). Nowadays, this perspective has gained more consideration. Performance centered approaches focus attention on context and variation and highlight the role of the performer, his/her preferences and choices.

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The issue of variation has also long been recognized by folklorists. The Finnish scholar Lauri Honko writes:

The need to distinguish between intercultural and intracultural variation in folklore is obvious. Only the latter represents living tradition and real culture. The former is applicable for orientative purposes, especially for delineating folklore phenomena, i.e. for showing what kind of narratives exist in different cultures, for example. That is why I have called such variation “tradition-phenomenological” [...] Phenomenological comparison may reveal basic features of folklore, but they are transcultural and unable to inform about intracultural variation. The comparisons by the early folklorists and more recent symbolists may be too optimistic in this respect (Honko, 2000:15).

Honko has studied the factors of variation that influence the pool of tradition. Components such as the internalization of traditions, individual selections, adaptation, situation of performance, strategies of performance and publication, the audience or the context of collection determine the shaping and wording of narratives (Honko, 2000:20). Variation is in fact the evidence of folklore: where there is no dynamics and no variation, there is no folklore.

While scholars from the Finnish school focused on intercultural variants, the study of intracultural variations has the capacity to reveal individual strategies and subjective aspects. From this perspective, storytellers are perceived as active artists - not passive “bearers of tradition.” The relation between narratives, narration and context in terms of heteroglossia, intertextuality, interdiscursivity and intergenericity should be taken into account, as well as the narrator’s relation to these contextual elements.

Considerations of folklorists on tradition and variation make obvious that folklore has to be defined in context. The contextual aspects always differ to some extent, as does the folklore item. Once again, any attempt to understand a narrative or a performance should take into account the context in which it emerged.

From a similar perspective, Gun Herranen has studied a blind storyteller’s repertoire (Herranen, 1989) and underscored the adaptation of narratives to the immediate environment and the emergence of folk tales. Tradition and creativity characterize the repertoire of a blind Finnish storyteller, who adapted folktales he heard to his home milieu (Herranen, 1989:68) thanks to strategies of what
Honko would call milieu-morphological adaptation (Honko, 1981:20). An adaptation of the repertoire to the milieu turns foreign narratives into familiar ones. Narratives can thus become part of the lore about a specific place, person or character. We have observed numerous parallel examples in the narratives of Utsi, Bær and Eira described in previous chapters.

In her study *Ten Traditional Tellers*, Margaret Read MacDonald has observed how narrators extend their repertoires by including narratives that become part of the traditional store.

We can assume that a traditional teller is sharing tales passed on within his own culture. Yet tales cannot be confined. If a teller hears a good tale from another culture, his storytelling instinct may well be to add that tale to his repertoire (MacDonald, 2006:203).

There is no hermetic partition between living cultures. Interchange is a natural component in the constant process of elaboration taking place in culture and tradition. It is not the origin of a legend or a tale that is significant, but rather its adaptation and incorporation into a repertoire.

Tarkka points to the intrinsic relation between variation and intertextuality, when “variation is not interpreted as a sequence, a genealogy or a hierarchy, but as a network” (Tarkka, 1993). Consequently, texts should not be approached as isolated items; in order to make use of the analytical concept of intertextuality in a fruitful way, we should focus on the study of repertoires.

**Variation and Authenticity**

The issue of variation in narration also brings up the question of authenticity. Ethnographers such as Qvigstad and Demant Hatt sought access to tradition by collecting samples that could be considered “true” to it. As mentioned in Chapter Three, Emilie Demant Hatt commented on Turi’s narration and presented in notes her attitude toward the variation she found in some of the stories, more specifically in the case of the story about the dog. It is “the outcome of Turi’s own imagination,” she writes, because “Turi had plenty of leisure and was in the mood of it, he dresses up the tale with many details that he had discovered himself” (Turi, 1910:246). Despite this comment, she does not reject the version given by Turi and considers that “[a]s all these details are so truly Sámi in spirit, they cannot be said to detract from the value of the tale” (Turi, 1910:246). Her note nevertheless reflects both her attitude to folklore as well as Turi’s relation
to the collective tradition of which he was part. We also understand clearly from the comment that Demant was interested in the collective Sámi storytelling tradition rather than in Turi’s personal narratives. Indirectly, she states that he acts as an artist, and not as a tradition bearer when writing this tale. She feels a need to inform the reader about the variations Turi “imposes” on the text, as if it would be misleading to present it as part of tradition without warning about the subjective details found in Turi’s version. She also makes assumptions about what a “typical” story is. In another ethnographic work, she published a short story of the “how the Sámi acquired the dog” (Demant Hatt, 1922:28-29). A note indicates that she collected the text in Pite Lappmark, but she does not refer to the storyteller. Demant Hatt’s attitude toward the storytelling tradition is expressed in the foreword of her ethnographic publication *Ved Ilden* (“By the fireside”):

Den fulstændige publication af hele stoffet vil let blivet tynget af de mange detaljer, forskellige varianter af den same historie, noter og lignende, som ikke kan have interesse for den læser, der kun søger at få billede af lappisk tankegang og nyde den charme, der kan være over eventyr og gamle tiders tro. (Demant Hatt, 1922:forord)

The complete publication of the whole material would become too weighty due to many details, different variants of the same story, notes and such, that cannot be of interest to the reader who only tries to get a picture of Sámi mode of thought and enjoy the charm that can be found in tales and beliefs of the old times.

As an ethnographer at the beginning of the twentieth century, Emilie Demant Hatt’s attitude toward tradition saw variation as present but extraneous to the heart of the tradition. But this perception may have a negative effect: the effort to focus on authenticity may threaten tradition, rather than preserve it as the claimers of authenticity often advocate. Scholars and readers may actually neglect variation and thereby contribute to the creation or reinforcement of stereotypes. As Handler and Linnekin (1984) argue, “one of the major paradoxes of the ideology of tradition is that attempts at cultural preservation inevitably alter, reconstruct, or invent the traditions that they are intended to fix” (Handler and Linnekin, 1984:288).

This perception has been challenged in modern folklore research. Variations in narration no longer raise questions about the authenticity of narratives. A
successful adaptation, that follows the “interpretive tradition,” does not jeopardize the authenticity of a performer, as DuBois’s example illustrates. Writing of the repertoire of the Finnish kantele player and singer Kreeta Haapasalo, DuBois notes:

Performing a published song did not mark Haapasalo as inauthentic […] By doing so, she demonstrates her unity with the canon of Finnish songs as then known and also met the aesthetic tastes and expectations of the paying audience. (DuBois, 2006:109)

The “interpretive tradition” significant to the understanding of a song or a text includes, among other aspects, a generic axis of interpretation, a “constellation of formal and contextual features that permit a knowledgeable audience member to recognize, categorize and appreciate a lyric performance as an exemplar of tradition” (DuBois, 2006:142). In the case of Sámi narratives, an adjustment to the muitalus genre recognized by the audience is a form of successful adaptation. In the four repertoires presented in the previous chapters, certain adjustments in response to the addressee are noticeable. While writing Muitalus, Johan Turi had in mind two audiences and adapted his narration to their often divergent expectations. The polyphony of his texts demonstrates his ability to address both insiders and outsiders. In the case of the storytellers interviewed by Qvigstad, the blending of genres is also an indicator of adjustment of the narratives to the headmaster, an outsider with the expectations of an insider.

**INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRES AND COLLECTIVE STORE OF NARRATIVES**

Johan Turi, Ellen Utsi, Isak Eira and Per Bær were part of the North Sámi storytelling tradition, which implies that they were acquainted with recurrent Sámi topics and stories as well as with the existing generic frames of Sámi narration and interpretive tradition. A narrator may then choose within a pool of tradition, in negotiation with various influences and factors that affect the storyteller and the narrative event.

A collective storytelling tradition is characterized by specific frames. There is a reservoir of narratives where each storyteller finds inspiration. Similar narratives can thus be found in different repertoires, expressing the local situation (Palmenfelt, 1993a). Concordant contributions from different persons within a community confirm the existence of a collective store of accessible topics and
elements in the storytelling tradition. In the repertoires of Turi, Utsi, Eira and Bær and in other collections of Sámi narratives, we find concordant stories about encounters with enemies: *Stállu*, *ulda* and *čuđit*. Such stories take place in a Sámi milieu such as the mountains or the forest and follow a specified pattern of narration.

*Stállu* is one of the main characters in Sámi storytelling. He resembles a person, although he is taller and larger than common human beings. According to some accounts, he is part-human, part-demon. *Stállu* is the enemy of the Sámi: he wrestles them, kidnaps children and eats human flesh. In narratives, the human being usually wins, often thanks to ruse. *Stállu* has a dog, which must also be killed; otherwise, he can revive his master. *Stállu* readily captures Sámi girls for wives, but the human being can fool the stupid ogre. Several narratives end by tricking *Stállu* into falling into a hole in the ice covered with snow or leading him to the forest or the mountains naked to freeze to death. In some narratives, *Stállu* has a wife, whose name is *Luhtak* or *Ruhteke*. She uses an iron pipe to suck life or blood from her enemies (Itkonen, 1963). *Stállu* is often depicted as mean and cruel, but his foolishness is interpreted through the nuanced feelings of the audience. In some narratives, the audience is led to feel sorry for him and he becomes almost likeable. In other stories, his cruelty and deviance causes repulsion.

This ambiguity in the representation of characters in storytelling can also be observed in narratives about underground/invisible beings. The *ulda*, also called *hálde* or *gufibtta* are helpful to the Sámi but narrators also caution against extensive contact with them. They have a lot in common with the Sámi and have transmitted knowledge to them about for instance, yoik, *noaide* art and healing, but we are told that they can be harmful if illtreated or disrespected.

A third group of characters frequently represented in Sámi storytelling tradition is the *čuđit*. They usually attack the Sámi in groups. The terms *ruoššat* (“Russians”) or *garjilat* (“Karelians”) suggest a relation to an ethnic group from Russia. However, narratives by Kola Sámi storytellers identify these enemies as Swedes or Finns… (Alymov in Rantala, 2006). Bearing in mind these variations within Sápmi, any conclusions on a factual ethnic affiliation of the *čuđit* seem hazardous. Nonetheless, such narratives could be reflections of conflicts experienced by the Sámi in contact with other ethnic groups in the past (Laestadius, 2002:253-254).

These attributes of the central characters, based on their occurrence in Sámi storytelling tradition, imply that the audience would have a set of associations
when hearing the names Stállu, ulda or čuđit. A range of variables exists concerning the beings that the storyteller may play with. The generic frame is perceived as a tacit understanding between the storyteller and the audience. When he/she introduces the character Stállu, ulda or the čuđit in a narrative, the knowledgeable audience expects the event to take place in a certain milieu. From the perspective of typical Stállu lore, for instance, we can imagine that a story about Stállu in an urban milieu would feel jarring and not necessarily be accepted by a traditional audience.

Such a collective tradition also includes social norms and values. Relations between people, perceptions of proper and inappropriate behavior as well as attitudes toward social norms are cultural patterns that are reflected in the Sámi storytelling tradition and repertoires. As Palmenfelt has underscored, the local situation is another component of a collective store of narratives. In the case of North Sámi storytelling at the turn of the twentieth century, issues such as the theft of reindeer and relations between herders and settlers are significant topics brought up in narratives by Turi, Eira, Bær, and others.

The collective storytelling tradition also implies some limits to what can be narrated and how it may be expressed (Palmenfelt, 1993b:222). Taboos and inappropriate subjects are defined by social norms imposed on any storyteller as a community member and a social actor. Things that cannot be told and stories considered deviant in a specific context are implicitly defined by the collective tradition. Turi chose, for instance, not to publish his texts about noaidenobta in 1910. In the same way, we can assume that the storytellers Qvigstad met avoided certain topics. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the brevity and seeming incoherence of some narratives may indicate an unwillingness to elaborate on certain subjects.

The collective tradition also includes a set of expectations about how to tell a story. We have shown in the previous chapters how an oral pattern of the muitalus genre remained in written form, characterized by a quick beginning, an abrupt end and no specific coda. In the case of narratives closer to a folktale genre, there are few recurring devices that could be paralleled with Central European formulae such as “once upon a time”\(^1\). Nevertheless, in the repertoires under focus, devices characteristic of the Sámi storytelling tradition are more obvious in narratives about Stállu, ulda or the čuđit. Turi’s narratives about these characters, for instance, follow a traditional pattern, whereas sections about historical events

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\(^1\) However, a closer study of the linguistic structure of Sámi folktales would be necessary in order to highlight characteristics specific to the genre.
or facts about the Sámi are written in a distinctive way. Sentences are longer, the structure of the texts is more explicit, the use of verbs, tenses and moods is more various than in the previously mentioned narratives.

Folktales and narrative events that clearly are not presented as reality, featuring no truth value in them, allow a narrator to talk more freely. Ellen Utsi’s text “The faithless sister,” for instance, brings together elements from various genres and influences. The coexistence of imaginary protagonists and speaking animals would not have been allowed by the set pattern of a typical Stállu story, for instance.

An approach focusing on narrative strategies reveals the negotiations taking place between a storyteller and the collective tradition of which he is part. Folklore - and in this case storytelling - is constantly changing, and each performance contributes to this transformation, as the Norwegian folklorist Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred observes:


In this way, folklore creates openings for constant new and varied opinions and attitudes. Every narrative is part of a cultural and collective repertoire, but is brought to the fore in interplay with every individual’s repertoire of knowledge and experience.

Every storytelling event implies for the narrator an adaptation from the collective tradition he/she is part of to a personal subjectivity. Different factors determine this adaptation between collective and personal storytelling. First, narratives are personal comments about the historical context (Palmenfelt, 1993b). They express social change and bring up phenomena and problems of immediate interest for the narrator. The study of the four selected Sámi storytellers has underscored how the specific context in which they lived emerges in the texts. Turi brings up on several occasions relations with settlers, a topic of significance for the herder of the area subsequent to the colonization of Sápmi. Relations are also brought up by Utsi, in terms of relationships between youth in the multicultural community she lived in. Attitudes toward the religious discourse that imbued the tellers’ community are also expressed through narration.
The interests and life history of the storyteller are other factors that influence the repertoire. The narratives which Per Bær told Qvigstad illustrate this point. In seven of the twenty narrated events, boats and fishing experiences occur. This reflects Bær’s own milieu, since he had lived by the sea and was involved in maritime livelihoods. In a similar manner, Turi, a hunter and a former reindeer herder, devotes a significant part of his book to these topics. The opinions, feelings and personality of the narrator also play a role in his/her choice and elaboration of narratives. As observed in Chapter Three, in some sections of his book, Johan Turi expresses his disagreement and fears about the policies imposed upon the Sámi by the state. Narration is a way of making a statement and of taking position. Turi’s role in the community as a raiser of political consciousness explains the social criticism in several of his narratives.

An active community member and storyteller develops a repertoire through stylistic and rhetorical strategies, and through the adaptation of the collective tradition to reflect interests and subjectivity and to respond to the immediate context. The youngest storytellers Utsi and Eira included, for instance, folktales with kings and princesses as protagonists. These elements are missing in the repertoire of Bær, who had less familiarity with folktales published in school books and who thus relied more centrally on the traditional narrative repertoire of the community. Often, such personal shaping becomes clear when we compare different versions of the same narrative or topic told by different individuals, as discussed in earlier chapters. Generational and gender factors can be seen when comparing tale content and emphasis.

Specificities also lie in the strategies used by the narrators to engage in dialogue with the audience. Turi, for instance, plays toward the reader on different degrees of responsibility and takes positions on specific issues. A few texts can be considered as polemics and are written as argumentation with a balanced degree of emotionality and responsibility. In these texts, he communicates to the audience his point of view. In others, he refers to previous narratives with the phrase, “got lea ovdalis muitaluvvon” (“as it had been told before”). Using a passive form allows him to keep a degree of anonymity and to refer to a broader collective source of knowledge for justification. By using this strategy, he appears as a link in a chain of knowledge transmission, and not as its direct source.

Shifting perspective is another strategy that reveals the narrator’s relation to the narrative event. A storyteller may opt for a different perspective in narratives taking place in a non-Sámi milieu. Whereas she is involved in several narrated events as a protagonist, Utsi is impersonal when telling folktales and legends.
She is not present either as a narrator or in terms of emotional investment. The sparing use of the personal pronoun “I” in her narratives indicates that the storyteller only opts for the perspective of the first person when she is the protagonist in the narrated event. This characteristic is shared by the other narrators as well.

As for the structure of the narratives, Isak Eira follows the same pattern as observed in other narrators’ stories: he does not make use of any introductory device and only a short coda may conclude the narration, such as “De nogal” (“And it ended/that was the end”) (Qvigstad, 1928:428). The narratives have, nevertheless, a didactic structure insofar as the audience or the reader can easily distinguish where in the story the narrator stands. The storyteller can be part of the event as a protagonist and recount an experience, or the narration can be accounted from the perspective of a central character. In Isak Eira’s narrative about a man who falls ill after borrowing artifacts from a sacred stone, the audience is informed of the intention of the protagonist, thus taking us into the character’s psyche (Qvigstad, 1928:521).

The issue of responsibility in narration has great relevance in the study of social change. The storyteller expresses through narration his/her attitude toward the sociocultural context. The way Turi, for instance, chooses to relate cultural and social aspects reveals his opinion about what is going on in his community. The text concerning Sámi schools reflects different attitudes toward the educational system, and Turi’s narratives about conflicts with the settlers aim at increasing the reader’s awareness of the issue of land rights in Sápmi. In the case of the narratives in Lappiske eventyr og sagn, the degree of responsibility in narration may have faded away through the process of decontextualization. Some narrative strategies might not appear in the material, which renders the question of responsibility difficult to determine. Nevertheless, a comparative approach to the different repertoires reveals such storytelling strategies. As mentioned earlier, Per Bær makes use of variation in transitivity in narratives about noaide where his uncle is involved. Awkward or oblique answers to Qvigstad’s questions can also be interpreted as strategies for not telling the headmaster about specific topics. In the case of Ellen Utsi, her narratives in themselves are a means of taking position. In the context of her time, telling stories about noaidevuohta and supernatural beings was a manner of positioning herself in relation to the Laestadian discourse in practice around her. Despite a strong normative religious frame, she provides Qvigstad, himself a representative of the religious authority,
with narratives that are considered inappropriate by others (Bolstad Skjelbred, 2001).

Storytelling is, I argue, a means of taking position in a specific context. Turi, Utsi, Eira and Bær were at the intersection of different influences. Johan Turi’s repertoire expresses in an explicit manner his attitude toward the political background. The circumstances and processes prior to the publication of these different repertoires partly explain the variation. Interviews conducted by a Norwegian teacher were less likely to take up subjective opinions about the political context than Turi’s texts to be published in a book for a European audience.

These examples illustrate how a pool of tradition is embodied in individual repertoires as well as how a narrator’s repertoire is reciprocally a contribution to the collective tradition.

INTERPLAY AND RECIPROCITY

When considering the narrator as a social actor, narratives become expressions of a context. The storyteller’s individual background as well as the tradition he/she is part of are factors that influence the repertoire. Therefore, the approach of storytelling as the illustration of a broad tradition expressed by undefined tradition bearers is misleading. The repertoires of Johan Turi, Ellen Utsi, Isak Eira and Per Bær are the result of interplay between the adaptation of the collective tradition and the storyteller’s subjectivity and personal preferences. From this perspective, Palmenfelt underscores the dynamic and cyclic process of storytelling:

The inherited text (or, to use another word, tradition) is picked out of the collective store by the individual meaning but still within a collective frame. Telling a legend means at one and the same time actualizing an existing story, updating its load of meaning, and restoring it to collective memory. Tradition is at one and the same time the starting point, the act, and the result of the act (Palmenfelt, 1993a:166).

His perspective on tradition as an act presents the narrator as an actor. The active contribution of the storyteller underscores the role played by the community members in the elaboration, change and maintenance of tradition. In the case of the selected storytellers, we have seen how interplay and reciprocity with the
collective store have contributed to the elaboration of specific repertoires. But these factors also contribute to the extension of the pool of narratives. Narrative events do not only have significance for the immediate audience; they also have an impact on the collective store.

In the case of the North Sámi storytelling tradition, the stories written by Turi and those collected by Qvigstad involved an adaptation of a living oral tradition to a written form, but they also sought to help maintain the *muitalus* genre by putting in print stories that were originally told orally. Thus, the vibrant oral Sámi storytelling tradition is materialized in a written - long-lasting - form, which may serve as a pattern for other storytellers.

Today, in the early 2000s, we can observe that *Muitalus sámiid birra* has had a tremendous significance for Sámi literature. Turi the *storyteller* is referred to as the first Sámi *writer*, and he has demonstrated that Sámi language was as valuable as Swedish, Norwegian or Finnish for writing a book. At a time when the Sámi were considered inferior, the publication of *Muitalus* in itself was a political statement.

Turi and Demant met fortuitously in 1904, and this would be a decisive turn not only for the Sámi hunter and the Danish artist, but also for the Sámi community. It is not a matter of chance that *Muitalus* emerged at that time and that Turi became a writer. He wanted to write a book about his people and he took the opportunity to do it with the help of Demant. As for the Sámi community, early political organizing taking place in Sápmi made apparent the need for a spokesman, a role Turi was pleased to assume. In Europe, an interest in the unknown, exotic and the folkloric in general had created a perfect context for the reception of such a book.

As for the narratives in *Lappiske eventyr og sagn*, they have been republished on different occasions, and Qvigstad’s work remains a major reference in Sámi folklore research. Selected pieces of the collection have been reedited in 1993 in North Sámi (Svonni, 1993), in Norwegian in 1997 (Pollan, 1997) and recently once more in North Sámi (Gaski, Solbakk and Solbakk, 2004); parts of the volumes have also inspired publications on Sámi legends and folktales (Birkeland, 1988; Stalder, 1972). Hence, the significance of his work is certain. The multiple editions of Qvigstad’s material represent an acknowledgement of the value of the narratives. The titles chosen by Gaski and Solbakk, *Min njálmmálaš ārbevīrru* (“Our oral heritage”) and Pollan, *Samiske Beretninger* (“Sámi stories”) define the narratives collected by Qvigstad as part of the collective tradition. The active role of the informants and the voice of Qvigstad have been downplayed, but thanks
to these publications, the contributions by the storytellers belong nowadays to the pool of tradition of the North Sámi community.

The Sámi storytelling tradition from the beginning of the twentieth century was principally characterized by its spoken form. The pattern of *muitalus* narration can be observed in texts by Turi, Utsi, Eira and Bær. In his book, Turi follows the standard of the collective Sámi storytelling tradition while writing his narratives for the first time in order to establish his authority as a community member and a storyteller. His *muitalusat* incorporate all aspects of this collective tradition: not only the content such as descriptions of the characters *Stállu*, *ulda* and *čuđit*, but also the genre’s typical narrative patterns, such as the use of sequential devices, reference to contemporary time and place, and enumeration of the consequences of the narrated events for contemporary readers. The adaptation of oral storytelling to a written form and a printed book has given the narratives a new status. As Turi knew, a written report was considered more trustworthy than an orally told story among the broader European society (Turi, 1910:1). His “Story about the Sámi” reached an immense audience and gave him a central position in the history of Sámi literature, notwithstanding - or thanks to? - the oral character of the original material. In a similar way, the publication of the narratives of Utsi, Eira, Bær and Qvigstad’s many other informants have turned these community members into central storytellers whose repertoires are preserved.

Thus, the role of a narrator goes far beyond a performance. When the narration is over, the dynamic process of elaboration and renewal of the tradition is still going on, a process which print can augment in powerful ways. The effect of a storytelling event on the audience continues long after the voice of the narrator has fallen silent.

**Receptionalist Approach**

Elisabeth Fine’s discussion of the folklore text (Fine, 1984) gives topical interest to the concept of restitution, i.e. the prospect for transcribed and translated texts to be turned again into performance for the native group, and to the concept of projection: the text, if a successful projection of performance, should be able to provide the professional audience the perspective of the native audience. According to Fine, goals are central in folklore research:

Folklorists have made the important contribution of distinguishing between emic and etic knowledge of performance, insisting that analysis should begin with understanding the emic features deemed
The emic should be brought to the fore when interpreting narratives. In the same way that Fine underscores the importance of a faithful transcription and translation of a folklore item attentive to audience concern (Fine, 1984), I believe that the scholarly examination of narratives should keep sight of the same goals. A scholar’s interpretation should be based on the perspective of the audience.

From the perspective of such a receptionalist approach (Dundes, 1966; Foley, 1991), the four repertoires at focus are interpreted based on the interpretive tradition of the community. The reception of the narratives as published reflects their significance. Despite initial Sámi misgivings about the texts’ contents and accessibility to outsiders, Johan Turi’s book is recognized today as a seminal work in the community, and the author is remembered as the first Sámi writer. As for Qvigstad’s publication, we lack information about the initial reception of *Lappiske eventyr og sagn* by the Sámi community at the time it was first published, but the repeated publications of the collected stories and the many references to the scholar’s work indicate that the four volumes are central in Sámi storytelling today.

Considering the central role of the selected repertoires in the North Sámi tradition, their analysis should be advantageously completed by an approach on the community’s storytelling on the collective level, as Palmenfelt indicates:

> The most significant characteristic of all folklore, which separates it from every other kind of historical source, is its dual quality of being at the same time collective and individual. (Palmenfelt, 1993a:157)

The analysis in the two foregoing chapters has underscored the individual quality of folklore. In accordance with Palmenfelt’s comment, the analysis of the individual repertoires will be completed in the next chapters by the study of narratives at the collective level with a focus on the implications of storytelling for the community in a context of social change.

The preceding chapters focused attention on the storytellers’ repertoires according to an analytical framework of “composition” where the narratives are the focal point. *Muitalus sámiid birra* and *Lappiske eventyr og sagn* were not performed for any attending audience apart from Emilie Demant Hatt and Just K. Qvigstad. The analysis of the narratives as part of a collective tradition and in terms of
intertextuality, on the other hand, allows us to adopt a receptionalist approach, since we know the addressed audience, i.e. the community. Therefore, the following chapters focus on the perspective of the audience and the analytical framework shifts to one of “reception,” where “the traditional audience can be seen as an active participant in the achievement of meaning” (DuBois, 1996a:236).

While the second part of this dissertation (Chapters Three, Four and Five) focused on subjective storytelling with the example of four repertoires and their relation to the broader storytelling tradition, Part Three (Chapters Six and Seven) will approach the implications of the narratives for the community from a perspective which is complementary to the one emphasized in Part Two. Chapters Six and Seven will focus attention on the normative and defensive aspects of Sámi folklore with particular reference to the North Sámi storytelling tradition at the turn of the twentieth century.
Part III

CHAPTER SIX: NORMATIVE FOLKLORE.
NARRATIVES AS A GUIDE TO SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

If you don’t know the trees you may be lost in the forest, but if you don’t know the stories you may be lost in life. - Siberian proverb

Aspects of social change in narratives have been highlighted by the study of polyphony in the performance of subjective storytellers. Also, social change is reflected at the level of the community by the elaboration and maintenance of discourses about social norms and values. With the four previously studied repertoires as a point of departure and other Sámi narratives as comparative material, we now shift focus toward the possible effects and implications of this discourse for the community.

These are approached with consideration of the three aspects of the constitutive effects of discourse distinguished by Fairclough: “identity,” the “relational” and the “ideational” (Fairclough, 1992:64). This chapter focuses on the construction of social relationships facilitated by discourse, while the focal point in Chapter Seven is on the construction of social identities. The third aspect, the construction of systems of knowledge and belief through the narratives, is related to the two preceding ones and emerges in both chapters.

In this chapter, we focus on narrative expressions of social relations and examine the ways in which social norms emerge in storytelling, with emphasis on relationships and ownership - topics of significance for any community which come to expression in Sámi narrative tradition in particular. The key aim here is to explore how norms of ownership and relationships within the group and with outsiders are expressed in narratives and to discuss the implications of these for the discourse of the community.
Comparative material enables us to appreciate the extent of topics and motifs in Sámi storytelling. Lars Levi Laestadius (1800-1861) a minister of Sámi origin, wrote in 1838-1845 *Fragmenter i lappska mytologien* (1959) ("Fragments of Lappish Mythology"), in which he combines already published materials with his own observations and fieldwork. Most of his sources remain anonymous, but he refers in most cases to the geographic origin of the narratives he reports. His views on folklore were influenced by his background as a pastor and by his interest in the religious aspects of what he defined as “mythology”: “a general popular belief in supernatural beings and forces” (Laestadius, 2002:62). Also, Eliel Lagercrantz (1894-1973), a professor in Sámi languages at the University of Helsinki, collected Sámi narratives and yoik. A significant part of his material is published in *Lappische Volksdichtung I-IV* (1957-1966). Comparative material has also been published by Jens Andreas Friis (1821-1896), author and linguist, professor at the University of Kristiania in Sámi languages and mythology. His work *Lappisk Mythologi. Lappiske Eventyr og Folkesagn.* (Friis, 1871) remains a classic on the topic, referring to other classics including Laestadius. The narratives in these publications bear witness to the extensiveness and distribution in time and space of narratives such as those collected by Qvigstad. In this and the following chapters, examples will be drawn from a number of different narrators, although primarily from the four repertoires discussed in previous chapters.

### The Meaning of Folklore

Many Sámi narratives exemplify relations. Richard Bauman has underscored the relationship between storytelling and life.

> Oral narrative provides an especially rich focus for the investigation of the relationship between oral literature and social life because part of the special nature of narrative is to be doubly anchored in human events. (Bauman, 1986:2)

Since narratives and social life are closely related, we can argue that folklore in general and storytelling in particular must be regarded as a significant part of the reality in which people live.

Storytelling emerges from social life and is constructed, reproduced and adapted by social actors. Social change implies a need to talk about new situations and phenomena, to form discourse. Narratives are consequently imbued with topics of concern for the community.
This perspective has immediate implications for our receptionalist interpretation of the narratives. As the Finnish scholar Lotte Tarkka observes:

The borderline between the text and the world is a mirror that reflects on both its sides. Metaphorically speaking, the space of interpretation lies on this very zone. (Tarkka, 1993:168-169)

The issue of meaning in the folklore text has been debated by Lauri Honko (1984). According to Honko, a folklore text is empty; “it only acquires meaning in context, in use” (Honko, 1984:99). He allocates great significance to the performance context and observes that the “chances of extracting the meaning of contextless texts” are weak (Honko, 1984:100). The importance of the recording and documentation of the context of performance as well as the performance itself does not leave any doubt. Nevertheless, this does not imply that recorded texts from the past, lacking documentation about the context in which they were performed, are valueless. Even when we lack the context of performance, it is still possible to access the meaning of the folklore text - for instance, by identifying the performer, the author, the audience and taking into consideration intertextuality. These possibilities to recontextualize the texts should not be underestimated.

However, whenever striving to interpret the meaning of a text, a genre or a repertoire, we have to keep in mind the dynamism and the variations of the material, as the Finnish scholar Lotte Tarkka points out:

The idea of original and fixed meanings makes no sense in a context that sees meaning as relational, not substantial. One must contend with the fact that we have no unmediated access to the text as a universe of meanings that existed for the “folk”: it is only available to us as written traces of their representations - or, in Martti Haavio’s (1961:4) words, as “reminiscences of their shadows”. The constructed text is not an exhaustive presentation of the intertextual universe, but it is all we have. (Tarkka, 1993:172-173)

Taking into account these precautions concerning interpretation, I make use of the analytical concept of intertextuality and focus my analysis on the interplay between context and narratives in order to approach part of the meanings of the folklore texts for the community in which they emerged.

As regards a receptionalist interpretation of North Sámi storytelling, specificities in folklore communication should be taken into account. Previous
research in Sámi folklore has underscored the secretive aspects of performances and texts. Harald Gaski has observed this characteristic in yoik texts and performances:

    A subtle use of double meaning in the yoik poetry made it possible to communicate on two levels at the same time, so that one type of message was conveyed to a Sámi audience and quite a different one to outsiders. (Gaski, 2000:196)

In a similar manner, aspects in narratives indicate that “folklore can function at many different levels in the community” (Mathisen, 1993:40). Turi’s text about “the unknown animals of Sápmi” remarkably illustrates how the use of metaphor allows a narrator to tell something and mean something else at the same time, as discussed in Chapter Three. Also, the use of noa words, discussed in Chapter Three allow one to avoid taboo words like the name of the animal while hunting and is an instance of indirectness. Furthermore, a high degree of intertextuality that requires the reader to be well acquainted with other narratives, is another aspect of the continual transmission of information in an oral tradition. This characteristic indicates that Sámi folk narratives express messages on an implicit level.

The sociocultural and political context must also be taken into account in the frame of interpretation. Connections between Sámi narratives and factual context have been observed by the Finnish scholar Lassi Saressalo. His interpretation of legends from the “Kadja-Nilla corpus” views narratives “as reflecting the social conflict prevailing in the community” (Saressalo, 1989:134), i.e. those occurring between rival fishermen or between cattle breeders and reindeer breeders. As for our corpus, the previous chapters have highlighted the emergence of factual issues in the texts, such as social conflicts and political issues described by Johan Turi. Other recurrent topics may be interpreted in this sense as well. The nature of ownership, the problem of theft, and the issues of social relations between youth as well as mixed marriage are topics of significance that emerge in the material from the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Such recurrent topics are the products of social contacts and illustrations of a community discourse on these important concerns.

Following Fairclough's model, we approach the consequences of the narratives at the level of social practice. This highlights the fact that the implications of the discourse for the community members are the focal point of the study. Therefore, the analysis of discourse expressed in the narratives
is followed by a discussion of the implications that those discourses might have had or been intended to have. The framework of interpretation follows a receptionalist approach which strives to focus on how the addressed audience - the community - would have interpreted the narratives. 

**CHANGELINGS AND CLOSE ENCOUNTERS**

Many narratives express the vulnerable position of children and youth. In the second volume of *Lappiske eventyr og sagn*, we find 26 narratives about this topic. Qvigstad published six variants of texts about changelings and seven about haunting dead children. About thirteen other texts relate situations where children or youth are seduced and endangered.

We can read in different repertoires how *ulda* take Sámi children. They exchange them for their own people, often elders. A text on the topic, documented by Qvigstad in his discussion with Johan Kitti, a Sámi storyteller from Loppa, gives an example of such a case.

Æd’ni fuomaši, atte su manna læ lonohuvvum; son valdi golbma stuora rissi ja ris’segodi manas nu arbmohæmit, atte son bar’gogodi jabma gilli. Go goalmad ris’si nokkagodi, de bodi ak’ka ja boad’jni sisa ja dajaiga: ”Ale givsed mon’nu boares ačči; da læ mannad; valde ruok’tot,” maid son maidai dagai stuora iloin. (Qvigstad, 1928:410)

The mother noticed that her child had been exchanged; she took three big branches and started to beat the child without mercy, so that he started to scream as fit to die. When she was going to beat him with a third branch, a woman and a man came in and said: “Don't torment our old father; here is your child, take him back,” which she did with great joy.

Kitti does not furnish any reason as to how or why the child has been replaced. Rather he tells us how to act in order to retrieve the child. Turi reports in a general way that children are endangered when left alone without adequate protection.


And the worst is to leave a child alone if it has no stamped silver about it. (Turi, 1931a:194)
Beautiful Sámi children can be exchanged when they are left alone. As it appears in Turi’s text, the most important preventative measure is to place an object of silver in the cradle. Silver had great value for the Sámi, not only economic, but also symbolic. Certain silver artifacts were intended to protect people. At birth or baptism, objects of silver remain a common gift (Fjellström, 1986:504-505). Laestadius, true to his role as a minister, emphasizes the importance of baptism as a means of protecting children.

The greatest danger of children being switched is before they are baptized, since the underground beings [ulda] do not tolerate the sign of the cross or its name (Laestadius, 2002:130).

A comparison with other narratives such as Johan Turi’s, makes evident the different frames of explanation and understanding of the phenomena based on elements of the common tradition. The minister Laestadius emphasizes the religious interpretation of the folk belief, with baptism as the ultimate protection. Turi, Christian and well acquainted with Sámi traditional beliefs, presents silver as the ultimate protection for children against exchange. Turi also describes the appearance of the changeling in comparison with the other Sámi children.


And when the child is exchanged it still looks the same, but it does not grow or talk as a child ought to grow, and it does not walk, and it does not have the same nature as an ordinary child; and it is much uglier too, and its eyes are uglier.

Despite the fact that the child has been replaced by another or by an old person, he/she does not look drastically different. The baby in question will grow up, but in a different way than other children.

Narratives about changelings indicate that some people succeed in making contact with underground/invisible beings. These beings live in a different world but can cross the frontier to come into ours, whereas we cannot actively decide to go into their world. When Sámi people meet ulda in the stories, the encounter occurs through the initiative of the beings or by mistake. For instance, youth can
suddenly be transported to another dimension, as Mattis Isaksen in Kárásjohka told G. Balke:

Gufit’ári gáskás læ máidai muttomák buorep já muttomák bâhap. Guok’te nieidá læiga vaz’zemen Jawrašluokka âld Assebavtest. De fak’kistâgâ jawkehi nub’be niei’dâ, gen nâmâ læi Mag’ga, já ač’če læi Er’ke.[…] Nubbe beive bodi niei’dâ dâinå ač’če sobbin ruok’toot; muttu Mag’ga, gutte læi olles dærvas ja čabbâ niei’dâ, læi saga bileduvvum gufit’árin, arte il’la son satti sar’dnot já vazzi nu arket, ate olbmuk il’la mat’te oaidnet su vaz’zemâ. Mag’ga muitâli uc’canâš su diles birrâ gufit’ári lut. Son læi oaidnam, go olbmuk ocece su já muttomin vaz’ze aibâs lákkâ mædda su. (Qvigstad, 1928:398-400)

Among the gufíhtar, there are some good ones and some bad ones. Two girls took a walk on Jawras hill at Assebakte. Then one of the girls suddenly disappeared, whose name was Magga and whose father was called Erik. […] The next day, the girl came home with her father’s stick; but Magga, who had been a fully healthy and beautiful girl, had been badly injured by the gufíhtar, so that she could hardly speak and walked so miserably that people could hardly bear to see her walk. Magga told a little about her situation at the gufíhtar’s. She had seen when people looked for her and sometimes walked quite close to her.

The sudden disappearance of the girl and the fact that she could see but not be seen by humans intimate that she would have been confined in a world to which people do not have access unless the underground/invisible beings allow them to. The kidnapped girl is not only in the world of the gufíhtar, beings that have much in common with ilda, she also stands outside the human world and is prevented from returning. Her disappearance and vulnerability is concretized by the confirmation of the existence of another world that is linked to the human one but that is out of our control. The topic of kidnapping and disappearance into another world has been observed elsewhere in folklore in relation to perceptions of space and time (Asplund Ingemark, 2006; Bolstad Skjelbred, 1998). In most narratives, such situations are about young women getting lost and running a risk of remaining in the world of the underground/invisible beings. They appear more vulnerable than men or older women, and the narratives about the risk they run enhance their value for the community. The discourse emerging from
these texts indicates that the loss of children and young women has serious consequences for the community.

Narratives about danger posed to children become part of a discourse about need to protect the youngest members of the community. The status of children also becomes expressed in narratives about the *eahpáraš*, the spirit of a dead baby that takes contact with living people. Stories tell us the cases of unbaptized, murdered or abandoned children that became *eahpáraš* (Qvigstad, 1928:51, 89).

Muttomin gäl šád’da, go nai’tálkættes niei’dá mana vuos’taí le, âtte mæc’eai månna čikkuses riegadá’t’ek já manas dobbe sor’bmek. Dággar niei’dá i goas’sege buozá riegadá’t’em-dawdá. Dát sor’bmejuvvum manna šád’da æpparâž’zán. (Qvigstad, 1928:332)

It happens sometimes, when an unmarried girl is expecting, that she goes in the woods secretly to give birth and kill her child. Such a girl is never sick when she gives birth. The killed child becomes an *eahpáraš*.

Juha Pentikäinen has observed how ritual actions or charms were described in *eahpáraš* material, of which the “greater part […] consists of rite description” (Pentikäinen, 1968:320). The narratives tell the ritual solution to the haunting of dead children: one must go close to a church and baptize the child by saying the Lord’s Prayer backwards or by giving it a name (Qvigstad, 1928:332-344).

Æpparas læ daggar mi rič’čo ja bal’dal ol’muit, ja dat sitta nama allases. Go olmus gulla, de gal’ga ris’tadet. Gerrek mui’tali: dat lei važ’žimen muttin jaw’regaddin; de gulai go rieččogodi dego njuorak manna. De son har’vedi, att dat læ æpparas, ja de manai dokk lakka ja ris’tadi Ačče ja Barhne ja Bassehægga nammi ja namman bijai Kjersti ðeihe Nils. (Qvigstad, 1928:340)

*Eahpáraš* is one that screams and scares people, and desires a name. When people hear it, they must baptize it. A woman related that once she was walking by a lake, when she heard [something that] started screaming like a young child. Then she recognized that it was an *eahpáraš*, and she went close to it and baptized it in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost and gave it the name Kjersti or Nils.
In this version, baptism is presented as giving access to the other world, without which dead children cannot leave our world.

Friis interprets the eahpáraš tradition as having a specific function:

Denne Overtro, skabt af den brodefulde Samvittighed, har maaske ofte netop virket til at hindre Barnemord i hine Ødemarker, hvor det saa let kan skjules. Moderen vover ikke at ombringe Barnet, da hun er overbevist om, at dette vil røbe hende. Læstadius forteller, at det har hændt, at man har fundet et ombragt Barn, hvis Tunge var afskaaret, for at det ikke skulde skrige som Apparaš. (Friis, 1871:105)

This superstition, generated by a guilty conscience, must have often had the effect of preventing infanticide in the wilderness, where it could easily be hidden. The mother does not dare to kill the child, since she is convinced that it would expose her. Laestadius relates that it has happened that a murdered child has been found whose tongue had been cut, so that it could not scream as an eahpáraš.

Friis does not specify if his interpretation is based on a factual problem with infanticides or on a factual need to warn against and prevent them.

Taking into account other narratives about kidnapped children and changelings, it is my opinion that the eahpáraš stories should rather be considered part of the discourse about the vulnerability and the value of children. The occurrence in significant proportion of narratives about changelings, endangered youth and haunting dead children in the repertoires of different storytellers indicates that children were a topic of importance. These stories can be interpreted as filling an explanatory function, characterizing situations in which the social order was perceived as jeopardized. Children that look or behave differently are explained as changelings, while our frame of interpretation today might explain their difference with a medical diagnosis (Lindow, 1978:12). Yet in either case, the concern for children as a valued resource for the community remains the same. Narratives possess in such cases an explanatory function; they give people a possibility to explain what happens in a situation that deviates from the norm and they underscore the value of the norms to the community at large.

In the Sámi case, the vulnerability of children refers to factual dangers of living in an environment where the landscape and the weather can be hostile - dangers that are also pedagogically articulated in narratives. Perils related to the environment,
such as the risk of getting lost in the forest, falling from a cliff or drowning in a river are topics that are brought up by the narrators (Balto, 1997:97). Lindow proposes that the Swedish folk belief in *bergtagning*, “taking into the mountain” would explain why or how a person was lost, which was “not an uncommon occurrence among a rural population whose density was among the smaller in Europe and who lived in a land rich in thick forests, with occasional forbidding mountains” (Lindow, 1978:34). Lindow refers to legends about *bergtagning* in Sweden in general, but his description applies to the landscape of Sápmi as well. Moreover, child mortality was high at a time when medical care was precarious and large inaccessible, in Sápmi. Childhood diseases and death in childbirth were common. Narratives achieve the materialization of a danger. The value conferred to children and young women in the narratives can be seen as an expression of their vulnerability (Lindow, 1978:12-14). The concern for community members and especially for children is also articulated in narratives about relations between youth and potential marriages, as we discuss below.

**COURTING AND MARRIAGE**

As illustrated in the repertoires of Johan Turi, Ellen Utsi and Isak Eira, social relations between youth was a topic frequently discussed in storytelling. Ellen Utsi’s repertoire includes several narratives about youth and courting. On several occasions, she tells how dangerous such activities can be. She gives an example of a girl who was killed by a suitor she refused.

> Dat lei muttin nieid’a, gen namma lei Owleś El’le; sus leggje ollo irgit ja son i val’dan daid. De lei muttin ir’gi Suomas ere, gutte bijai bahaid nieida ala, ja nieida buoc’cai ja buozai gæsi; čak’čat jami. (Qvigstad, 1928:498)

> There was a girl whose name was Elen Olsdatter; she had many suitors and she did not accept their suits. There was a man from Finland, who put the evil on her, and she got sick and was ill during the summer; she died in the autumn.

“To put the evil on someone” is a power that *noaide* - and, according to this narrator, deceived suitors – can use to make someone sick. In the case of the girl mentioned by Utsi, she died as a result of the revenge of the suitor from Finland who had been turned down.
Besides the narratives recorded in *Lappiske eventyr og saga II*, another text told by Ellen Utsi was published in 1953 in a *Festschrift* for Qvigstad (Qvigstad, 1953). In this particular story, Utsi tells about a girl and two boys and the process of proposal, engagement and rejection of the engagement. Utsi tells about a specific event but passes on to tell about the customs and consensus concerning proposal:

Moar’si čajehi iežas vaimo datto ja olgus ilmohi su rakkisvuoda daggo bok’te, atte luiti irgi vuojana læŋkain, dego virulašvuotta leige samid gaskas. (Qvigstad, 1953:7)

The bride showed her mood and love (to the other) by undoing the harness on her fiancé’s reindeer, as is the custom among the Sámi.

This significant symbolic act in the process of proposal has also been underscored by Turi.

Ja sámiid vierru lea juo dološ áiggis leamaš, ahte go bárdni boahtá soadnjuide, de galgá nieida boahtit ovddal ja luotit irggi hearggi luovos, ja dat lea mearka ahte áigu váldit. (Turi, [1910] 1987 - b:165)

And in the old days it was already customary, when a young man came courting, for the girl to go to meet him and unharness his reindeer, and that was a sign that she would take him. (Turi, 1931a:205)

Utsi also mentions sharing as a way to express openness to a marriage proposal:

Dat gaf’fe galgai mak’sit dan: gi jugai, dat lei mielastis; mutto gutte i juga, dat lae vuos’ta. (Qvigstad, 1953:7)

The coffee would mean: the one who drinks is willing; but the one who does not drink is against it.

Traditional knowledge of behaviors and social norms plays a significant role in ritual aspects of life. Community members have to learn social norms of behavior in specific situations. From this perspective, storytelling is part of the central process of socialization. Telling a story about couples, as Utsi and Turi do, is a way to teach the youngest community members about expected conduct.
Narratives teach ritual actions and cultural patterns - central aspects of social communication - in a pedagogically effective manner.

Turi completes his narration with a pictorial rendering of the courting process. His depiction presents a young man coming by sledge to the *goabti* ("Sámi tent") of his fiancée, who is coming toward him as sign of acceptance. Relatives and other members of the community are gathered by the tent to assist in the process. Among the crowd, Turi has written a character marked with the letter B. It is *Beargalat*, the devil:

The devil is always around at such a feast because at a betrothal there are always so many folk ready to do ill and spoil the luck with their evil tongues. (Turi, 1931a:283)
Courting is often associated with danger in narratives. The peril is not necessarily represented by external characters or factors. The state of mind in itself is, according to Turi, a risk factor. He warns his readers about this delicate phase in another text.

And in courting times the mind is often a little wild, especially in those who have that sort of blood. There is a reason why some folk have such weak blood that it is easy to upset them. They are of such an amorous nature that they cannot think of anything else at the time. And that is why it is as if they lose their wits. (Turi, 1931a:206)

Here, loss of self-control and composure is the main danger. Social norms ritualize the process, perhaps in an attempt to limit the risks run by the youth at that stage of their lives. Bringing up the perilous aspects of courting in narratives is an element of socialization that enhances the significance of social norms. Not acting according to the rules means taking risks.

Narratives about relations between youth emphasize to a great extent the danger the situation represents when telling about social relations between Sámi youth and non-Sámi. Some narrators tell more implicitly about relations and courting between Sámi youth and other beings.

The beings of superhuman power - *ulda, gufibtar* - are said to be very beautiful girls. Many stories tell about how young boys become charmed by their beauty.

The *gufibtar* are at all times beautiful persons, and the girls are often seductive and irresistibly beautiful.
Loss of control is underscored by the power of the beings whose beauty can bewitch the boys. Turi also mentions this risk.

And ullda are very handsome, those that folk have seen. Now and again a boy has seen an ullda girl, and she was so beautiful that he wanted to get nearer to her, and when he got nearer he thought, “If only she were mine!” Then the girl disappeared, and the young man stood alone, and was very unhappy. And the next day he went back to the same place, and then he heard an ullda girl joiking and it seemed to him that it was the same girl. (Turi, 1931a:196)

They are so beautiful and irresistible that it is difficult for boys not to try to get close to them. Such a tendency is illustrated in the following example, recounted by Erik Mikkelsen, interviewed by Qvigstad in 1893, in which a boy sees two beautiful girls and wants to kiss them.

Then he snuck up behind them and hugged the one who was seated. Then [the girl] began to cry: “you shamed her, when you put your hand on her; she is not able to be there anymore.” The boy also cried.

Eira also gives the example of an ullda girl who cannot go back home as long as she has not got her belongings back:
Then the boy took the scarf and the belt and went home and went to bed.

When midnight had passed, the same girl came and stood by the doorway; but the girl did not come in, and she kept asking for her silk scarf and her belt. When he refuses the third time, she tells him:

[Son] mualt, "Ač’ći ja æd’ni læba mu bæl’kan juo golbma bæivi damditti go len lap’pan sil’keliini ja boakkana, ja don fer’tet ad’dit ruok’tot, dœnago ač’ći ja æd’ni goihge bæl’kiba mu dal vel bahabut, jus mun in gawna lii’nan ja boakkanan.” (Qvigstad, 1928:428)

She told: “Father and mother have scolded me for three days, because I have lost my silk scarf and my belt, you have to give them back, otherwise father and mother are going to scold me even worse, if I don’t find my scarf and my belt.”

When he finally gives back her belongings, she goes back to her family. Her contact with the boy and the symbolic fact that he keeps items of woman’s clothing implies that she is trapped between the two worlds. Her parents would not allow her to give part of her femininity, in the guise of a scarf and a belt, to the boy.

Touching a young girl thus has serious consequences for youth: it would presuppose marriage. Moreover, marriage between a Sámi and an uld requires an adjustment between the two different worlds. In another text, Utsi tells us how the uld girl has to leave her world and stay in the human one:

De cik’ci bar’dni dan nieida gitti, nu atte varra vel idi, ja go varra itta uldas, de šad’da ul’da albma olmužen (Qvigstad, 1928:412).

Then the boy pinched the girl hard, so that blood appeared, and when blood appears on an uld, then she becomes human.

This story - and several other similar ones as well - ends with the marriage of the couple. The act of touching the girl and her bleeding can be interpreted as metaphors for intercourse. Once “touched”, the girl is “caught” in the world of the boy and they would have to marry. This indirectness allows the storyteller to
play on a double level of intimation where a younger audience member would not have the same understanding of the metaphor as (young) adults might.

Such narratives provide guidelines for young people. Consequences of relations are illustrated with ulda as protagonists. Such stories can be understood as an oblique manner of bringing up a delicate topic. Narratives about courting and relations between youths in which non-human beings are involved enabled narrators to tell about intimacy in a different way than in narratives about factual persons. Norms and values are expressed on a general level in a subtle manner.

The discourse emerging in narratives about courting and relationships between youth indicates a need to tell about this particular phase of life and to warn about the risks that courting and sexual contacts might entail. The examples and advice that emerge from the texts also articulate a discourse concerning exogamic relationships and their risks. Narratives do not only express the consensus for how to act in courtship; they also express norms and values about whom to engage in such relations. The topic of exogamy surfaces in many texts in a powerful way, which can be understood in the light of the context in which the narratives emerged. As presented in Chapter Two, the colonization of Sápmi started already in the seventeenth century. By the end of the nineteenth century, the consequences of this process were obvious. One of its many effects was the increase of contacts between different ethnic groups. Settlers of Norwegian, Finnish, Swedish origin and non-herding Sámi shared the natural and cultural landscape with Sámi reindeer herders. The socioeconomic consequences of the immigration and presence of other groups in Sápmi in modern times have been discussed in studies about herding (e.g. Nordin, 2002). The colonization of Sápmi had further noticeable social implications. Close contacts with other groups brought up ineluctably the increased occurrence of mixed marriage.

In many narratives, relations between youth are approached in terms of exogamy. Utsi’s report of a marriage between a young boy and an ulda girl does not only focus on the fact that they are from two different worlds. The story begins with the encounter between two boys and two girls, and the question arises about who could marry whom.

Then one girl pushes the other one and says: “There is your beau.” The other one says: “He is not my beau. He is a Sámi and he does not care about me, a farmer’s daughter; he’s yours, since you have reindeer”.

Endogamy is thus articulated as a norm. After the boy has touched the girl and she has become human, the divergence of their livelihoods appears to be a potential hindrance to their marriage:

De lokka bar’dni: ”Alma moai nai’taled’ne.” De lokka niei’da: ”Alma don læt sabmelaš.” De vas’tida bar’dni: ”In mun læt sabmelaš; mun læn dalo-olmuš.” De šiettaiga soai nai’talit. (Qvigstad, 1928:412)

Then the boy says: “Surely, we should get married.” Then the girl says: ”But you are a Sámi.” Then the boy answers: “I am not a Sámi; I am a farmer.” Then they agreed to get married.

Finally, once it turns out that both are farmers, they can get married. Interestingly, narratives about courting or marriage with ulda concern Sámi boys. As for Sámi girls, cases of intercourse with an outsider involve Stállu and are not as joyful as the relations of Sámi young men with ulda. In these Stállu courtship cases, exogamy is described as dangerous for the young people in question and for the whole community. Drastic situations and cruelty are not uncommon in narratives about Stállu and Sámi girls. The relationship between a Stállu and a Sámi girl begins most of the time when Stállu takes her prisoner, or in some cases, seduces her into a relationship. The father is sometimes forced to marry off his daughter against his will. In any case, he will do whatever is in his power to prevent a wedding or a further sexual relation. The narratives illustrate the devastating consequences of such a relation or marriage, and murder is often the solution portrayed.

One obvious danger which can affect the group is the disappearance of a community member. Daughters are stolen, captured and taken away by Stállu. They have not been warned about these strangers and unconscious of the danger, they are lured away. The disappearance as such is already a problem that must be solved with the help of the family or the group. But the greatest danger is that Stállu marries the daughter and that they live as husband and wife. Insinuations about sexuality and fertility indicate that it is childbirth which is the greatest threat to the community. In one of the stories, Stállu dies in consequence of
burns to his genitals on the night of his wedding. Turi tells of a bride’s spilling of a cookpot:

Ja go son álggii luoitit, de moarsi dohppii gievduvuossái, ja álggii loktet veahkkin, ja loktii nu bajás, ahte leaiásii irggii ohcii duoldi liepma, ja bulii čoavji ja visot bállut (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b).

But when he was about to lift it, the bride seized hold of the handle, as if she would help him, but she lifted it so high that the boiling fat poured down inside the bridegroom’s furs, and his stomach and testicles were burnt (Turi, 1931a:177).

A similar account, from Ofoten, is reported by Friis. The bridegroom is seriously burned on his genitals and dies from his injuries (Friis, 1871:101).

Another story ends with Stállu freezing to death. The father of Stállu’s Sámi fiancée fools the ogre and disappears with the girl. Out of his mind with rage, Stállu runs out naked in the cold and dies. The girl and the other members of the siida find him later.

Ja de sii gávdne, go leai galbmon, ja bierggasriehpu leai galbmon skihččát, ja dat su moarsi gal i liikon go oinnii, ahte lea galbmon su irgi. Ja go son oinnii dan biergasa, got dat lea galbmon, de son dajai: ”Vuoi, vuoi, got lea galbmon bierggasriehpu!” Ja son goase čierru. (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b)

So they found him where he was frozen to death and his “tool” was frozen stiff. And his darling didn’t like it at all when she saw her betrothed lying there frozen, and she said, ”Oh my, oh my, how his tool is frozen!” and she nearly cried.

Through the depiction of the girl’s reaction, focus is not laid on the death of the Stállu fiancé, but on his loss of sexual potency. The use of unspecific terms such as bierggasriehpu (“wretched ‘tool’”) in this example can be understood as a strategy that allows the teller to talk about sensitive topics even though children might be listening. In a similar manner as with the metaphor of blood mentioned above, the narrator manages to address different audiences (children and adults) and convey appropriate messages to both of them at the same time.

The consequences that a marriage could have for the community become more obvious in narratives about a child born of such a relationship. In a story
recorded by Qvigstad in 1882, Ole Naustnes tells about a tragic event experienced by a Sámi girl married to a Stállu. Chased by Stállu's dog, which eats human flesh, the Sámi mother must cut her child, Stállu's son, in two parts:

De oai'na, go bæna boatta manjin ruotta. De i adman eža radi; de fer’ti dan manas gas’kat čuop’pat ja bal’kiset nubbi lakki dan bædnagen, atte bæna deina addjanešgoatta. […] Das oai’na niso, go vast bæna boatta manjin ruotta. De bal’kesti dan nubbi lakki dan manastis. (Qvigstad, 1928:640)

Then she sees that the dog is running after her. She has no choice; she has to cut the child and throw one half to the dog, in order to keep away from the dog. [...] Then the woman sees that the dog is once again coming after her. So she threw the other half of her child.

When the Sámi woman comes back to the Sámi community, no one seems to grieve for the child. The peculiar ending of the woman's escape underscores in a symbolic way the notion that a child born of a relationship with a Stállu was considered only half-human.

A similar text is reported by Laestadius in his Fragments, based on a story he had heard in Lule Lapland. In contrast to the former text, this narrative focuses on a Stállu girl who marries a Sámi man. When Stállu's daughter hears her parents planning to eat her up for dinner, she escapes and goes to a Sámi camp. Years later, the girl, now married to a Sámi man, goes back to her parents with her husband and their baby. They are welcomed by the Stállu family, composed of Stállu, his wife Lutak - known for sucking life out of her enemies with an iron pipe - and their son.

The mother-in-law [i.e. Stállu's wife] also seemed pleased of their arrival. She embraced her grand-child, who was lying in a birch-bark basket or komsio (Sámi cradle), and said to the mother “Dear child! May I take care of this one while you are setting up the goahti?” The baby's mother could not deny a grandmother the happiness of taking care of her grandchild although she had a foreboding that something bad would happen. The bloodsucking Lutak now went to her own tent with the baby, immediately broke its neck, and started eating. (Laestadius, 2002:248)
The young couple nevertheless stays at the Stállu camp for the night. The Stállu family prepares to kill them at night.

When the sky was turning red, the Stállu came along, together with his older son armed with a spear, for he planned to stab both daughter and son-in-law to death. They ran at the son-in-law’s goabti, which was still standing, striking wherever they thought the sleepers were lying. The boy even said, as he struck with his spear, Taale maaka tsåkkai taale åbba tsåkkai, that is, “Here is to the heart of my brother-in-law, here is to the heart of my sister”. Soon the bloodsucking Lutak came with her pipe and shouted Älloti ti maanatja malatjit kålkåtallo! [“Don’t let the child’s blood leak out!”]. The hag was probably planning to make blood sausage. (Laestadius, 2002:249)

The cruelty and cannibalism underscore the Stállu’s lack of humanity. They intend to eat their own daughter and grandchild. The daughter who has married a Sámi man has human feelings. Her affiliation with the Sámi community seems to have rendered her humane. Such tales also underscore, by way of contrast with Stállu, the proper relations between family members.

Although this last text originates from another area, similarities with the Stállu lore of the North Sámi tradition corroborate the message that stories about relationships between Sámi and Stállu communicates, i.e. the danger such relations imply for the community. We can read in another story that there still exist people that are partly Stállu.


Now, almost all the Stállu are gone; but there are still some Sámi who are of Stállu ancestors. And that happened in this way, when a Stállu married a Sámi woman, then some folk became half Stállu and half human-being. And they are a little different from other folk in looks and nature.
The story tells us that this is the result of marriage between Sámi women and Stállu, and suggests that such narratives are considered to have truth value.

Murders and cruelty are often the solution to problems caused by a relationship between a Sámi girl and a Stállu. The legend discussed above, in which the mother must kill her child and give it to Stállu’s dog, continues this way:

De niso časki doina stuora niibin suorbmait gas’kat. De bagi stallo mannjai ja čur’vo: ”Niso, buvte deke mun suor’malakkit!” Daddja niso: “Mon im buvte galle.” (Qvigstad, 1928:640)

The woman cut his [Stállu’s] fingers with the big knife. Then Stállu came back and shouted: “Woman, come here with my fingers!” The woman said: “I won’t.”

Cruelty, mutilation and murders are recurring topics in Stállu stories. The discourse seems to be that violence within a family is perverse and destructive, while violence directed at some threat to a family member, or to the family as a whole, is justified.

In almost all cases, exogamous relations involve Sámi boys and ulda girls, while the relationships with Stállu concerned Sámi girls. A noticeable difference is also the fact that while the relationship with a Stállu is characterized by danger and cruelty, relations with an ulda girl often have a happy ending. A noticeable reflection of gendered norms lies also in the fact that the girl who marries a Sámi becomes human through her attachment to the Sámi community. The ulda cannot return to their world and have to remain in the Sámi world. In the few narratives where Stállu is said to have a daughter, she also becomes human when affiliated with the Sámi. She does not hesitate to mutilate (Laestadius, 2002:249) or even kill her father (Lars Jonsen in Qvigstad, 1928:42) in the interest of protecting her new family. On the other hand, a Stállu marrying a Sámi girl does not change in nature and remains the same. The discourse about the status of men and women in the community indicates reference to a model where the woman would be expected to change loyalties and adjust to the man’s relatives once married.

Although these narratives deal with beings with superhuman powers, the discourses about ulda and Stállu differ significantly from each other; and represent different degrees of otherness. Stállu is presented as an outsider whose behavior is in many aspects directly opposed to the norms and values of the Sámi, but the
ulda have much in common with the Sámi and represent a parallel rather than an opposed lifestyle.

Intertextuality gives us information about common aspects and variations in narratives about the underground or invisible beings. Johan Turi writes that we do not know who they are. He uses both terms olbmot (“persons”, “humans”) and eallit (animated things) to describe them. He makes use of the pronouns sii, applied to animated beings or dat, both used for animals and things, when referring to ulda.

Their origin is told to be the same as that of the Sámi. Turi explains that they belong to the family that the first parents put underground ("Ja dat leat dan sogas, maid vuosttaš váhnemat leat bidjan eatnama vuollái." (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:153) (“And they are descended from the race that our first forefathers bound under the earth” (Turi, 1931a:193)).

As pointed out in Chapter Four, the repertoires of Utsi and Bær include texts about the origin of ulda; they were children of Adam and Eve that God made invisible since Eve had hidden them. The origin of ulda, be it based on a biblical explanation or a less explicit one as in Muitalus sámiid birra, indicates that they are of the same origin as the Sámi. Ulãoa have a lot more in common with the Sámi, as Turi tells us:


And they [the Sámi] first learned joiking from the ulda.

Not only is the traditional Sámi song of superhuman origin.

Ja soames sámit leat oahppan olu noaidegoansttaid ulddain. (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:158)

And some Sámi have learned many noaide arts from the ulda.

The valuable knowledge of noaide, the shaman, has been transmitted by the ulda. It is unique knowledge, a privilege that not all Sámi possess. The noaide occupied a central position in the siida (Mebius, 2003); his relation to the ulda indicates that they held a significant status for the Sámi. Their appearance is also reminiscent of the Sámi.

Dânà læ sikke boc’cuk, gusât jà sawžâk, dâđemiel’dé go si læ jogo bàddje-olbmuk dâhje as’se-olbmuk. Si vaddjolek Same-
They have reindeer, cows and sheep, depending on whether they are either reindeer herders or farmers. They go about in Sámi clothes in Sámland, with a lasso and reins slung over the shoulder like reindeer herding Sámi. They use tobacco like ordinary people.

Sámi ethnic markers, aspects highlighted as representing Sámi identity, can also be found among ulla. The gákti, traditional Sámi clothing, is strongly connected to origins, since the pattern, shape and details provide information about the wearer’s geographical origin, among other cues, for knowing viewers. Reindeer herding and consequently the ownership of reindeer has always been associated with the Sámi. The narrator also tells that there are different kinds of ulla, just as there are different groups in Sápmi. Some are settlers and farmers, other reindeer herders. The ulla world is thus presented as a reflection of the Sámi world – comprehensible but inaccessible to us.

These aspects indicate that ulla are not outsiders. Therefore, a marriage between Sámi and ulla can be accepted, whereas relationships with a Stállu must be prevented. Stállu is described as an enemy and characteristics define him as the Other.

If these narratives exemplify relations to other beings or people, the corpus also express and illustrate relations within the community, as we discuss below.

**Respect**

Narratives that bring up examples of relations with beings of superhuman power often include rules that pertain to relations within the group. They tell about respect and social norms. The identity of the other does not always emerge clearly; it is often ambiguous. The being can in such cases be understood as a metaphor for anyone within or outside the group.

We are told for instance about a distant kingdom, Barbmoriika, where the birds fly in autumn. This is the home as well of the people of Barbmoriika, whom few have visited. The narrator Isak Eira tells us how these people show great respect for the animals, do not break the bones of the birds they eat, and gather all of them after they are consumed. He also tells how these people welcome their visitors, eat carefully, and thank each other (Qvigstad, 1928:710). The
narrator presents in his text this secret, far-off place as a model for ideal social encounters.

In a similar way, the same storyteller tells us in another text about how to behave toward animals. One should never mistreat an animal; or else the “stem mother” of this animal could retaliate. Eira as well as Utsi begins with the example of the frog, which, according to Turi, plays a significant role in healing. But Eira also illustrates the way to treat animals with the example of the rat, an animal without specific significance (Qvigstad, 1928:476). The bear ceremonial practiced by the Sámi in former times after bear hunting (Fjellström, 1755 [1981]), as well as Turi’s accounts of wolf hunting corroborate that Sámi showed great respect to all animals, even predators that could cause the loss of the herd and jeopardize the family’s means of subsistence. Through narratives, we are given general rules about how to behave with didactic illustrations. The stories exemplify the consequences of cruelty toward animals. They indicate that all beings - frogs, rats, animals, humans - should be treated respectfully, otherwise we could also be treated badly in retaliation.

In one of the narratives in *Lappiske eventyr og sagn*, we find an example of what happened when reindeer were mistreated. In “The origin of wild reindeer,” we are told the story of two persons who had reindeer. The animal which was cared for well became a tame reindeer, whereas the one which was mistreated fled and became wild (Qvigstad, 1928:328). This illustration presents to the audience the consequences of mistreating animals. In this specific case, the way the “evil” person acts has consequences for the ecosystem and subsequent generations. Similarly, the account of the origin of *ulda* also expresses strong social norms about behavior. *Ulda* were created as God’s punishment after Eve had hidden some of her children for Him (Qvigstad, 1928:392). Storytelling is a means of expressing social norms as regards relations with one another. Animals or supernatural characters, - God, Eve or *ulda* - are didactic devices that illustrate relations and respect on a more general level. Norms of right and wrong are communicated while avoiding an authoritative tone.

Verbal behavior is also important. Several narratives emphasize the value of words. Turi mentions, for instance, that *ulda* like people who speak in an appropriate way.

*Ja eai ulddat liiko juoke olbmui, sii liikojit dakkárii, geas leat čáhppes vuovttat ja leat rehalaččat, ja máhttet humahallat nu ahte sii liikojit.*

(Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:156)
The *ulda* do not like all kinds of folk, they like those who have black hair and are honest and can talk well, so that it pleases them.

*Ulda* might prefer a certain way of talking, but this comment also emphasizes the significance of knowing when to talk and when to remain silent. In the same text, Turi tells how one should remain silent when one hears *ulda*.

> Ja jos nubbi nubbái dadjá : ”gul, mii dat gullo!”, de ii gullo ii miige.  
> (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:156)

> And if one says to another: “Listen, do you hear that?” Then you don’t hear anything anymore.

*Ulda* disappear as soon as they hear a voice, which indicates that they give attention to words. Speech appears as having a significant role in social relations. When Turi tells about how one has to talk in a way that is appreciated by *ulda*, he might also refer to a rule of conversation among Sámi. This can also indicate a preference of language - Sámi - or a way to speak and behave. Turi underscores the importance of words at specific occasions. When sacrifices are performed, giving and wording are both central. One should think about the *ulda* and give them something, stating “*Mon attán dan didjiide*” (“I give you this”) or “*Jugis don nai mu gáfes ja veabket mu ain*” (“Drink of my coffee and keep helping me”).

Several stories underscore the significance of keeping one’s word. To not respect what one has agreed to, as well as to tell lies, would have serious consequences. As mentioned previously, informants told Qvigstad narratives about how to behave toward a *sieidi* and illustrated what could happen if one did not show proper respect. Qvigstad collected twelve texts about sacred places which he published in *Lappiske eventyr og sagn II*. The storytellers emphasize the significance of proper behavior in these places, both in terms of acts, thoughts and words. Anders Larsen is one of the narrators reporting the case of someone who got in trouble because he lied to the stone:

Once a man promised, when he passed by [the sieidi]: “If I get a halibut, then you will get the intestines.” He caught a big halibut; but when he came before the stone, he said: “I give you some shit, but no intestines.” And then came a storm, so that he barely survived, although the weather had been calm and nice just before. This misfortune he received because he swindled the sieidi.

Telling the truth and keeping promises can be interpreted as different ways of showing respect. We are told that ulda can be both helpful and harmful to people. One has to make proof of respect through sacrifices and by taking into account their potential presence when setting up camp (e.g. Friis, 1871:41; Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:157). Just like the sieidi, they are part of the environment that we, people, must adapt to. Narratives can be viewed, in this sense, as part of the socialization process of community members, and articulations of social norms for the group.

Words have certain power. Spoken words are said to have great significance when encountering or addressing the ulda as highlighted by invocational and ritual aspects. Narratives about how speech defeats enemies also indicate that written words are powerful as well. One such story is the report of a man who defeated the ruoššat thanks to the letters he wrote. Lars Levi Laestadius gives us an account from Finnmark of this event that he dates from the sixteenth century:

When the Russian ship was spotted, the preacher wrote something on three successive slips of paper and threw the papers into the sea. After he had done this a third time, a storm rose from the west and tossed the boat back onto a steep, craggy shore off Sverholt. From there the men were hurled into a cavern in the mountainside from which they could not escape. (Laestadius, 2002:262)

The written words stand in this story for a powerful weapon against the enemies. An account of the event was recorded by Qvigstad from Per Bær (Qvigstad, 1928:574) as discussed in Chapter Four. The Swedish scholar Harald Grundström also collected a similar story in Lule Lapland (Grundström: archives).

In all these examples, the main focus lies on respect. One message articulated is that making proof of respect brings with it the chance of benefitting from the help of others. In this way, group cohesion and collaboration are presented as the norm or ideal. Storytelling also warns of the consequences of acts of disrespect, such as lies or swindling. As in the following examples about theft, narratives
illustrate through other beings ideal human behavior, elaborating a discourse about morals and expected behavior.

**TO TAKE AND TO GIVE**

Ownership becomes a theme in Sámi storytelling through narratives of gifts, wealth, swindling or stealing. The topic of theft has been observed in the study of Turi’s texts. Reindeer theft occurred, causing great suspicion between the Sámi groups. The issue of responsibility in storytelling has noted the delicacy of this topic. Turi uses metaphors and various degrees of responsibility when approaching the subject, as discussed in Chapter Three. The difficulty of bringing up such a sensitive matter would explain the use of secretive strategies, expressing a message in covert terms.

Property and its eventual loss is articulated in other repertoires, in a more indirect way. Isak Eira, for instance, told the story of a man who saw an *ulda* cow. His friend tells him what to do in order to appropriate the animal.

Moai vul’ge dan gusa lusa, ja don galgat gee’cat alohi aive dan gusa nala, ja go moai botte nu lakka, atte moai naguded’ne bal’kestit ni’n’bi, nu atte manna baggel dan gusa ċielgi gidda nubbe bællai, de mun die’dan, atte jus łe uldaid gussa, de moai ož’žu dan alcesæme, go led’ne nu dakkan. (Qvigstad, 1928:428-430)

We go to this cow, and you must look only at this cow, and when we come so close that we can throw a knife over the back of the cow to the other side, then I know that if it is an *ulda* cow, we will get it for ourselves, once we have done this.

Doing so, they obtain the cow and milk it. Later, an old woman comes asking for her cow back.

De oazžoi boares ak’ko dan gusa, ja déina lagin oazžoi uldaid-ak’ko iežas gusa, go dæivai daggar burid olbmuid guow’do, mah addiga ruok’tot burin mielain.(Qvigstad, 1928:430)

Then the old woman got her cow back, and this is why she got it: because she had met good people who gave it back to her willingly.
The event and its outcome are described with a certain valuation in terms of right and wrong. Value is put in the designation of the men as “burid olbmuid” (“good people”) and of the man’s act when giving back the animal with “burin mielain” (“with good will”). The orientation toward the issue of ownership in terms of norms and morals indicates that the narrator, Eira, expresses the same message as Turi. He avers indirectly that it would be wrong to keep an animal that belongs to someone else, and that what has been taken should be given back.

Utsi told Qvigstad a similar story about a man who finds an ulda cow. The protagonist is rewarded when giving the cow back to its owner, an old ulda woman. He first lies and says he does not have the cow, but changes his mind when the ulda tells him he will receive a gold ring if he gives it back (Qvigstad, 1928:432). In this narrative, the greediness of the protagonist contrasts with the act of giving back the animal to the owner. The narrative actually ends with the protagonist becoming as poor as he originally was because of his greed and pride.

These narratives bring up this topic of animal theft in a different manner. They provide an explanation to the disappearance or finding of cattle, and legitimate a possible appropriation of animals without making it appear as an act of stealing. At the time the texts were recorded, reindeer theft was clearly an issue and caused conflicts between Sámi groups and between Sámi and settlers. The story of the ulda and the cow can be interpreted as a metaphor for the herding Sámi and their reindeer. The fact that the narratives feature an ulda woman and a cow - an animal that is not related to the Sámi as strongly as the reindeer - is a way to bring up the delicate issue of theft in the community in an implicit way. Examples illustrated in a metaphorical way may serve as models for proper behavior and articulate norms and values about how to act with other persons’ property.

Other forms of theft are reported in Sámi narratives. Smiergáhttu, for instance, steals milk or butter. Utsi is one of the narrators who tell of a specific instance when someone discovered a smiergáhttu. The character in the account decided to exterminate the creature which intended to steal.

De njagahi muoraža gitti ja manai ja čaksi jamas dan. Dat lei smiergat’to. Ja bijai dolli, ja jur tagavidu buoc’cai nubbi dalo æmit ja šaddai hui hæitot. (Qvigstad, 1928:502)
Then she came stealthily and took a piece of wood and went to beat it to death. It was a smiergåhttu. And she put it in the fire and suddenly the woman in the other farm became ill and very sick.

The thieving woman is thus punished for her wrongdoings. The consequences of stealing are told in an explicit manner. In narratives where the owner of the smiergåhttu is found, he/she gets sick or dies. An evaluation is thus formulated which sets values in terms of right or wrong.

The motif of the smiergåhttu is mentioned by Lars Levi Laestadius. He reports that a smiergåhttu is created out of drops of blood with the help of the devil (Laestadius, 2002:131). The involvement of the devil in the process enhances the Christian values condemning stealing. The theme of the smiergåhttu or “buttercat” in folk beliefs can also be found in other traditions where stock farming plays a central role (Sydow, 1935:127; Tatár, 1987). The protagonists, the environment and the religious values in different narratives about the smiergåhttu witness the heteroglossia that existed in the spatial and temporal context of emergence of these narratives. Sámi narrators lived at the crossroads of different cultures and influences, and the socio-ideological languages related to Sámi beliefs and the natural milieu coexist with other socio-ideological languages related to settlers, Norwegian farmers and Christianity.

Another, more drastic, example where wealth and property motivates immoral acts is reported by Utsi.

Mi læt gullan: das owdeš aigi sis’te læt adnan olbmut ollo goanstaid riggostuvvan varas. Dat læt adnan gir’kosad’duid, maiguin jugahit olbmuid, vai bissut riggisin, ja dat gal’ga fuol’ki læt, gesa jugahit. (Qvigstad, 1928:500)

We have heard that in the old times, people have used many tricks to become rich. They have given people sand from the churchyard to drink in order that they might remain rich; it has to be a relative to whom the drink is given.

The potion made of “churchyard sand” is meant to kill the one who drinks it. The explanation given of the act is the intention to take someone else’s property. The narrator does not refer to any specific protagonist, time or place, and remains vague in the description, avoiding responsibility for the information detailed in the text. This imprecision could indicate that the narratives are more about the eagerness to become rich than the means of achieving it.
Longing and hope for wealth become expressed in narratives about hidden treasures in Sápmi. According to Bær, treasures that originally belonged to the Sámi have been hidden by *ruoššat*.

Dalle go vainot leggje, de læt ruoššat rievidam ollo ruđaid ja silba ja golli, atte vit’ta logi olbma guod’dim-noaddi, lei, ja dat læt oarjabæl’de Guow’dageino varri, maid goččudek Raisduoddar-hal’di, ja lač dam varrai čiekkam, ja hir’bmad stuora gæ’d’gi lae nal’dë. (Qvigstad, 1928:466)

Back in war times, the *ruoššat* stole a lot of money and silver and gold, so much that it took fifty men to carry it, and there is a mountain west of Guovdageaidnu, which is called Ráisduottar-haldi, and they hid [the goods] on that mountain, and there is a terribly big stone on it.

According to Bær, many are those who have seen or heard about these treasures, and only a few have succeeded in obtaining one. By stating that the treasures originally belonged to the Sámi, Bær justifies treasure hunting as recovery of stolen property.

The correlation between taking and giving - reciprocity - becomes expressed explicitly in narratives about *sieidi*, sacred stones or sites of sacrifice. Several narratives report how someone who took an artifact from a *sieidi* became seriously ill but recovered after having replaced the stolen object, like in the following example by Bær.

Mattis Mattisen Hætta (dat lei mu ad’djarokki viel’lä) vazzi muttimin dam guora ja valdi čorvid. De son gosi raimahalla daiguim; de riemai degó mænahuvvat, ja čalmek sewnjude. Son fer’ti mac’cat doal’vot ruok’tot sæmma gæ’dge gurri. (Qvigstad, 1928:512)

Mattis Mattisen Haetta (he was the brother of my deceased grandfather) was once walking there [by a stone] and took some horns. Then he became almost scared of them; he began to fall into a swoon, and it went dark before his eyes. He had to go back and return the horns to the same stone.
Similarly, Eira told how a man who took a buckle and a spoon from a *sieidi* site could not sleep. He had to return them to the stone so that he could sleep again (Qvigstad, 1928:520). Utsi told of a woman who made the same mistake:

I son maššsan; de valdi son baste ja vulgi. Go leiga oll’en ruok’tot, de buoc’cai ja šaddai hui häitot. (Qvigstad, 1928:516)

She could not resist; she took the spoon and went home. When they had come home, she became sick and very ill.

The *sieidi* and their power make clear that it is wrong to take something from sacred places. Consequences are articulated tangibly through illness. These examples illustrate socially condemned behavior such as theft and the importance of respecting sacred ground, even if it belongs to the old religion of the pre-Christian past.

In a similar fashion as in narratives about *ulda* animals, the behavior of the protagonists in the texts about *sieidi* sites can be understood as metaphors for social relations. They illustrate a relationship in which one takes from one another and does not show respect, and consequently ends up in a difficult position. The major difference between narratives about *ulda* and *smiergáhttu* compared to those about *sieidi* regards the forms of respect they illustrate. Taking, borrowing or stealing from a *sieidi* site point to respect toward the former religion rather than toward other community members.

“Lappologists” and scholars in history of religion have documented and analyzed such a conception of exchange with specific reference to the bear ceremonial (e.g. Bäckman and Hultkrantz, 1978; Fjellström, 1755 [1981]). Bear hunting was practiced by the Sámi, but the bear itself was considered as a loan from nature, and its bones had to be buried and positioned in the grave in the same order as they would in the corpse. This ritual act aimed at the reconstitution and restitution of the animal after its consumption. The act of returning the bear through its burial articulates the Sámis’ traditional conception of property. In a time of intense social change such as when the narratives under focus emerged, various discourses on property were articulated, and may variously express the same discourse.

Narratives where ownership and theft are illustrated express a view of the concept of property. Characters like *smiergáhttu* and *ulda* as well as objects such as *sieidi* provide examples of proper behavior when giving or taking. The characters and specific situations in the texts illustrate relationships that can, in
a metaphorical way, be understood as advice and guidelines for social relations between community members. Views of property are to some extent culturally determined, and the transformations occurring in the Sámi community at the time the narratives were collected can be considered as factors influencing relations toward property. At the end of the nineteenth century, significant changes that affected the Sámi at different levels were taking place: industrialization hastened reindeer herders in their shift toward a monetary economy; in northern Sweden, the construction of the railway contributed to the increase of sedentary life. Bad winters in the 1930s resulted in the loss of major portions of herds (Ruong, 1982a:116ff). These changes in economic systems can also be considered as triggers for social changes in the community, for instance concerning gender relations (Amft, 2000) or values regarding property. Legislation over reindeer herding, for instance, inscribed a new approach to the concept. In Sweden, the Reindeer Grazing Act of 1886 entailed a collectivization of grazing lands, formerly specific areas for family groups. Therefore, a transition from open land access to a judicially regulated collective access occurred. Although the Sámi may have been familiar with the concept of private property regarding land (Korpiaakko-Labba, 1994), the traditional relationship to nature was nevertheless not based on the concept of ownership. Game or water were not considered to belong to anyone other than nature itself. Property appeared as an imposed value that came with the settlers along with laws governing land ownership and payment for land and resource exploitation.

The Sámi multimedia artist Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (1943-2001) describes in an exceptional and expressive way the meeting between different approaches to nature and property. His famous poem in the anthology Ruoktu Váimmus (1985) (“My home is in my heart” (1994)) gives us indications of the emotional implications of this meeting for the Sámi.

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\begin{align*}
\text{Mu ruoktu lea mu váimmus} & \quad \text{My home is in my heart} \\
\text{ja dat johtá mu miede [...]} & \quad \text{it migrates with me [...]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ja don čuoččut mu seaŋggas} & \quad \text{You are standing in my bed} \\
\text{mu hivsset lea duoid miestagiid duohkin} & \quad \text{my privy is behind the bushes} \\
\text{beaivi lea mu lámpu} & \quad \text{the sun is my lamp} \\
\text{jávri lávgunlihtti} & \quad \text{the lake my wash bowl}
\end{align*}
\]
How can I explain that my home is in my heart and it moves with me
that others live there too my brothers and sister

They come and ask where is your home they come with papers
and say this belongs to nobody this is government land
this is the law it applies to you too

This poem, written in 1985, refers to the issue of land rights legislation that had weakened the rights of the Sámi. The question was of immediate relevance at the time Valkeapää wrote his poem in the context of the Skattefjäll affair (1966-1981), a longstanding trial centered on the issue of land rights. The Sámi did not win the case, but their position was strengthened nonetheless (Ruong, 1982a:209-211). The poem remains of immediate interest at the beginning of the twenty first century, as a trial between land owners and reindeer herders in the province of Västerbotten attests¹. Also, it witnesses the historical aspects of the issue in the aftermath of the Reindeer Grazing Act of 1886.

Discourse about ownership and theft most likely did not emerge for the first time in Sámi narratives at the time when Qvigstad made his collections as a direct consequence of the previously mentioned changes concerning the Sámi community. But the extent of the occurrence of the motif in Sámi storytelling tradition at the beginning of the twentieth century indicates a need to articulate and reproduce discourse on this issue.

¹ A judgment in favor to the reindeer herders was established at the second instance in September 2007.
Besides the political consequences of property rights, the relational aspects of the increase of contacts between different social and ethnic groups must also have influenced the views of the Sámi on property in everyday life. Storytelling helps produce and reproduce discourse about ownership and theft. Problems of reindeer theft as well as other forms of swindling intensified tensions between Sámi groups and individuals. Relations in Sápmi did not only concern majority and minority groups or farmers and reindeer herders. Different Sámi groups had to share the land as a result of coercive translocations. Border regulations forced Sámi from the northern part of Sápmi to move southward. As illustrated in Turi’s *Muitalus sámiid birra*, friendly relationships between the Sámi groups could be jeopardized because of theft and suspicion.

The Sámi were also sometimes victims of swindling on the part of settlers (e.g. Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:28), which had consequences on their attitudes toward property. In Sámi narratives such as the examples previously cited, we can discern a discourse about delimitations of what is “mine” and what is “yours.” This discourse expresses a need to articulate relationships in the community regarding ownership. For the North Sámi community, such a discourse would implicitly refer to the traditional means of relating to nature - like hunting and the bear burial - in terms of borrowing rather than owning.

**Implications**

As regards the implications of this discourse on social practice, we can assume that storytelling in its content and didactic effects must have exercised a noticeable influence on community members. Narratives as illustrations of behavior, for instance in relation to property, encourage certain practices and condemn others. Norms become clearly expressed in the texts in terms of right and wrong. This dichotomy, also expressed in religious discourse, takes shape in a didactic and appealing way through storytelling. The normative aspect of folklore, and more specifically narratives, becomes evident in narratives about social relations, protection of the youngest community members, respect and ownership.

The analysis of narratives that depict relations between youth highlights different ways of bringing up the topic of intergroup contacts through storytelling. Texts about social norms within the community emphasize the significance of being acquainted with the process and the rules to follow when courting, proposing and marrying. The illustration of a relation with an *ulda* teaches the consequences of premarital sex. As for the stories reporting relationships with
Revoicing Sámi narratives

Stáltn, they metaphorically illustrate exogamy. Youth and marriage are of concern since they have implications for the future of the community (Kvist, 1988). The texts have to be understood in the context of their time, when exogamy was an uncommon phenomenon.

Mixed marriage did occur in Sápmi, and other data let us know how it was perceived. A Sámi informant, Anders Bergqvist from the Sámi village of Offerdal, born in 1901, reports in an interview the view about such relationships when he grew up:

Lapp skulle gifta sig med en lapp, att gifta sig med en svensk/svenska ansågs som mycket opassande. Det ansåg i varje fall de gamla. Men ändå fanns det bondflickor som gifte sig med lappojkar och blev de bästa husmödrar man kan tänka sig i ett samiskt hushåll (Andersson, 2000:40).

A Sámi should marry a Sámi; to marry a Swedish man/woman was considered very inappropriate. That is at least what the elders considered. But anyway, there were peasant girls who married Sámi boys and became the best housewives one can imagine in a Sámi household.

Ellen Utsi, who expresses in her narratives mistrust about relations between youth of reindeer herding families and settlers, articulated many years later her stance on the topic in relation to her own life. In an interview in 1981, she tells about a Swedish man who proposed to her.

Han ville at vi skulle gifte oss. Jag tvilte på om det kunne gå bra, han var inte same. (Berg, 1981:77)

He wanted us to marry. I hesitated about whether it would work out, he was not Sámi.

It happened about 20 years after Qvigstad recorded her narratives. In 1946, she married this man and they moved to Guovdageaidnu (Berg, 1981:77).

Based on interviews conducted with reindeer herders born at the beginning of the last century in the North Sámi area, Amft draws the conclusion that endogamy was the norm among reindeer herders and that exogamy was looked upon with disapproval (Amft, 2000:148ff). The material she collected from Sámi
informants indicates that exogamy was still rather uncommon at that time; it is only in the late 1900s that the phenomenon became more widespread.

Through storytelling, a discourse about relationships is articulated. Norms of right and wrong in terms of taking or stealing as well as the ideal of endogamy emerge from the texts. The problem of theft and the phenomenon of exogamy created a need to tell - and produce discourse - about these experiences which threatened the social order.

The influence of the Church in the expression of discourse about social norms and values concerning stealing, lying and related themes is not to be neglected. The norms and values expressed in narratives reveal a heteroglossia of different socio-ideological influences. Religion and traditional folk beliefs both become expressed in storytelling. The polyphony expressed by the narrators and the high degree of interdiscursivity witness social change regarding norms and values that had been going on in Sápmi at that time.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The study of normative discourse in narratives underscores the social aspects of storytelling. Legends, when approached in terms of intertextuality and collective tradition, draw attention to topics of significance for the group in which they emerged. Concern for children and youth, issues of marriage and choice of a partner as well as relation to property appear as central topics in the discourse of the community. The effects of this discourse concern moral and proper behavior within the group. Narratives are illustrative guidelines for community members. The interdiscursivity that emerges in the narratives witnesses the coexistence of different discourses at the same time, which expresses change.

Narratives express values of significance for the group; embodied norms are illustrated pedagogically in narratives. Social relationships within the group and with others are exemplified in the stories, emphasizing the role of storytelling in the education and the socialization of community members. This also confirms the didactic role of storytelling. In a pedagogical way, narratives teach a social language and generate membership in the community.

However, storytelling does not necessarily correspond to factual reality. With Dundes, I believe that “Folklore furnishes a socially sanctioned outlet for cultural pressure points and individual anxieties” (Dundes, 1980:x). Significant topics can emerge in allegorical or even speculative ways. A story still has to be entertaining; it is not only meant to teach or provoke. Skillful narrators play with
the borders between fiction, narration and reality. The statements and messages expressed in narratives create a discourse about a norm, an “ideal-type” that does not necessarily mean a single alternative, but rather a reference to keep in sight.

In the next chapter, other social aspects of folklore are analyzed, more precisely discourses about the Other and their implications for Sámi identity.
CHAPTER SEVEN: DEFENSIVE FOLKLORE.
THE ENEMY AS FACTOR OF COHESION IN SÁMI NARRATIVES

“Speech may create peace, as it may destroy it. It is like fire.” - (Hampaté-Bâ, 1981:171)

While the previous chapter was concerned with social norms and relations in narratives, the present one centers on narratives about enemies with focus on hostility and danger and their effects on Sámi identity. The extensiveness of narratives about enemies and the extreme violence expressed in certain texts make the choice of a specific chapter dedicated to the topic obvious. A discourse about hostile beings and violence is produced and reproduced, expressing a need to define the group and the Other. This chapter investigates the construction of collective identity through discourse and highlights the implications that narratives can have on the creation and preservation of a group identity. Narratives comprise a defensive discourse that enhances the need of the group to protect itself - literally and metaphorically - and emphasizes the importance of solidarity and cohesion.

With the intention of avoiding the academic cliché of the Other (Conrad, 2000), i.e. the generalization of a character, for instance Stállu, and interpretation of this representation as the ethnic Other, the variation in characters should be taken into account. Hence, we rather view narrative enemies as roles rather than predetermined protagonists. Ambiguity and variation are two components of folklore, therefore the approach of a discourse about membership and otherness in narratives should be based on discourse analysis and not on a genre study.

FOLKLORE AND IDENTITY

Violence and cruelty in storytelling are not specific to Sámi folklore. As Barbro Klein observes, “evil” is a prominent theme in folklore:

Folkloren är full av ondska. Myter, sägner, sagor, sånger, vitsar och gåtor världen över är skräckkataloger fulla av kannibalism,
barnamord, tortyr och rasism i våldsamma former. Samtidigt associeras ofta folklitteraturen till det som är vackert, bra och identitetsskapande i en positiv bemärkelse. (Klein, 1993:129)

Folklore is filled with evil. Myths, legends, tales, songs, jokes and riddles all over the world are catalogues of horror filled with cannibalism, infanticide, torture and racism in violent forms. At the same time, folk literature is often associated with something beautiful, good and shaping identity in a positive sense.

Despite cannibalism, infanticide, torture and racism, or rather thanks to these themes, violent narratives can be viewed as “shaping identity in a positive sense” when approached as a defense strategy.

Many traditional North Sámi narratives focus on how the Sámi managed to face difficult situations and defeat strong enemies. The ogre Stállu and the plunderers čuđit are recurrent characters in Sámi storytelling. Storytellers report how Sámi were plundered and even murdered, and how the protagonists had to fight to survive and protect the group. Narratives also paint a portrait of the Sámi and of their enemies.

Previous research has underscored how folklore produces discourse about the Other. External relationships become apparent in storytelling, in the case of the Sámi through hostile characters. According to DuBois, some narratives create a native discourse of insider/outsider conflicts. The minority status of the Sámi in northern Scandinavia, northern Finland and the Kola Peninsula has meant an imbalanced relationship with the majority, with a consequential need to defend and protect itself as a culture and as an ethnic group (DuBois, 1995). The emergence of historical events and aspects in Sámi narratives has also been approached by Stoor. In his study of narratives about a church set on fire by Swedes, causing the death of the Sámi congregation within, Stoor proposes that the story may express the relationship between the Sámi and the empowered majority (Stoor, 2004). It is certain that aspects of significance in the history of a minority, power relations, and its management have left traces in the storytelling tradition.

Accounts of relations can be based on factual or fictional situations. The description as such gives us a report of how Sámi have experienced, worded and transmitted knowledge about encounters with others. Regardless of whether these encounters actually took place as described in the narratives, they give us
important information about the way the Sámi constructed a response to the Other.

The role of storytelling in the formation of cultural identity has been observed elsewhere (Arvidsson, 1999:32; Mathisen, 1993). The conception of identity, Mathisen states, has two major connotations: “the feeling of continuity” and the implication of “being different from others” (Mathisen, 1993:37). The elaboration of a discourse about “contrasting identities” and “dichotomization of values” plays a significant role in the “marking of symbolic boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’.” (Ibid.)

Research on ethnicity has emphasized the role of contacts in the elaboration of ethnic identity.

Ethnicity emerges and is made relevant through social situations and encounters, and through people’s ways of coping with the demands and challenges of life. (Eriksen, 1993:1)

Storytelling expresses “social situations and encounters” and illustrates “ways of coping with the demands and challenges of life.” Therefore, processes of elaboration of ethnicity can be observed in narration.

In the corpus under focus, the elaboration of a Sámi identity in narratives is achieved through a presentation of the enemy as an outsider and of the Sámi as a homogeneous united group.

THE ENEMY

The enemy is represented in North Sámi storytelling in different forms. In some narratives, it is the mean giant Stállu. In other stories, an ethnic group called čuđit embodies the evil persecuting the Sámi. Other stories present the enemy as Norwegians.

The factual origin of the characters in Sámi narratives has been discussed by various scholars. The character of Stállu has been given an historical explanation (e.g. Kjellström, 1976:76); according to some it could refer to the Vikings (Laestadius, 2002:252); a psychoanalytical interpretation of the character has also been given (Lagercrantz, 1950). According to Saressalo, “the staalo represents an outside threat that cannot be directly concretized” (Saressalo, 1987:256).

As for the čuđit, also called ruoššat (Russians) or garjilat (Karelians), their connection to an ethnic group from Russia is unclear. Laestadius points to a historical background for these characters.

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The Lapps’ Tjudeh- and Karjel-stories have the firmest basis in history. The Lapps have had skirmishes with these people, and there are still signs of them everywhere in Lapland. The Tsunds and the Karelians were enemy raiders who came to Lapland in groups of hundreds and robbed the Lapps’ property. Because of these enemies Lapps had to crawl into earth excavations and live in them (Laestadius, 2002:253-254).

Laestadius is careful in his affirmations but believes that čudit was a general name used by the Sámi that covered different enemy groups such as Karelians, Finns and Russian groups (Laestadius, 2002:254). According to DuBois (1995), these enemies are the expression of the “historical struggle for land among Sámi, Russians, Finns, Karelians and Scandinavians” (DuBois, 1995:68).

If we can agree that history leaves traces in storytelling, it would nonetheless be hazardous and difficult to draw any conclusion about the factual origin of the enemies present in storytelling. In an analysis of the discourse expressed in narratives, the emergence of the characters is actually not of immediate interest. Regarding the historical value of legends, folklorist Lindow (1978) points out that the facts behind the construction of a legend are less interesting than the relevance it has for the community in which this legend is told.

Today no one would doubt that legends sometimes do contain material that is anomalous because retained from an earlier cultural stage; but the legends themselves are told because they are relevant to the culture of the storyteller and his listeners. (Lindow, 1978:25)

In accordance with this perspective, a receptionalist approach focusing on what the stories meant for the North Sámi community in the early 1900s allow us to understand their implications in context. The ethnic or national identity of the enemy is therefore of less significance than what it might represent for the audience. The Other is not an explicitly identified ethnic other. Furthermore, the ethnic other is not always an enemy. Narrators also tell the case of Sámi and Norwegians who collaborate and defeat the čudit together (see e.g. Qvigstad, 1928:566). Stállu, čudit and other protagonists represent a danger and are described as enemies because of their behaviors.

In the case of Sámi storytelling, common traits of character facilitate the identification of the enemy. One peculiarity of the enemy is that he is always
someone from outside the community, and he speaks a foreign language. As Johan Turi puts it:


And the Sámi understood everything the ruoššat said. And those were the last ruoššat.

The outcome of the narratives indicates that Turi’s use of the term “ruoššat” does not refer to people living in Russia. We can not really know which language they spoke, but Russian and Sámi are not linguistically closely related, and the comprehension of each other’s languages would require special acquired knowledge and prolonged contact.

In another story by Ole Naustnes in Qvigstad’s publication, we can read:

De gulla duot niso dan guovto sagait, go dak sardnuigan suomagilli. (Qvigstad, 1928:638)

The [Sámi] woman understood what they were talking about, since they [the Stállu family] were speaking Finnish.

The multilingual context of the narrator and his context are reflected in this text.

Lagercrantz reports a story where Stállu is said to speak “his own language” (Lagercrantz, 1959:40-41), without further information about the language in question. The fact that Stállu speaks a different language than the Sámi is emphasized, underscoring that he is an outsider.

Also the čuđit are described as speaking Finnish by Anders Nilsen (Qvigstad, 1928:562). An anonymous storyteller interviewed by G. Balke, one of Qvigstad’s coworkers, makes use of code switching, reporting the speech of the enemy in Finnish (Qvigstad, 1928:558). He illustrates how his character can cross over between the world of his people and that of his enemies. Code switching also places the narrator and the group he represents in a dominant position by demonstrating how the character manages the language of the enemy, while nothing indicates that the enemy understands Sámi language. This aspect places the Sámi character in an advantageous position in terms of power relations. The fact is that multilingualism was, and still is, quite common among Sámi, who mastered not only their own language, but also languages of the majority.
Sámi living at the junction of the northernmost borders could master Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish in addition to North Sámi. In narratives, multilingualism is portrayed as a positive quality, reversing the attitude of condemnation toward minority languages found commonly in the political discourse at the time, discussed in Chapter 2.

There are, however, exceptions to this multilingualism in narratives. In the following example told by Ole Tappio, two brothers do not understand the language of the enemy:

\[
\text{Čok\'kadeddinæska gullâvâ, go olbmuk hallek lákkâ, ævage ad\’de, m\åid gielaid halâšek; mánnâvâ suoli lágbûuidi oaidnim ditt, gek dák læk, josgo máid bahalâżžaid. Čudek čok\’kánám stuorrâ čorâ ovtâ såddjai borâdit. (Qvigstad, 1928:556)}
\]

While they were there sitting, they hear people talking near to them, and they do not understand what language they speak; they go closer in secret to look who is there, whether it was some evil ones. The ěudít, a big herd, had stayed to sit and eat at this same place.

The unknown language, as well as the ones who speak it, is perceived as a danger.

This distinction defines a difference between the groups, and thus an ethnic boundary. Therefore, marking the difference reinforces membership within the Sámi group by emphasizing what they have in common. From this standpoint, the identity of the enemy is of minor significance. It can be considered a single role, since it has the same characteristics and is depicted similarly in the different legends, that is, as the personification of extrinsic danger.

A common characteristic is that this enemy is an intruder. He fishes and settles down in the Sámi’s traditional areas.

\[
\]

\[
\text{Stállu lived by that same Stallojaure. And he had a wife and a son and a daughter, and they caught fish and wild reindeer and the Sámi’s reindeer.}
\]
Turi tells us in another legend how newcomers settle down in Sámi areas, forcing Sámi away from their dwelling places (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:18). The Sámi must retreat, or become drawn into a fight where at least one person loses his life.


And when the Norwegians could not frighten them any farther away they began to steal everything they could find: cheese, milk and skins and cows. And one and another Sámi they killed.

The enemy is described specifically, and it is noticeable how different from the Sámi he is in his behavior.

The intrusion and persecution by the enemy cause the Sámi to hide, as several accounts in Qvigstad’s *Lappiske eventyr og sagn II* report. Sámi families go into hiding underground for fear of the čuđit, as in this example by Ole Johnsen:

Boares aike mui’tale dak buorrasak, makka leddjen dan aike ællemen, go gar’jelak botte svenska baddjel hui Nor’ji: de ballagotte sabmelažžak hæggainasak ja battaresgotte Orruhi dan aske nala, ja si balle godit allasasak ædnaman sisa, nuvt att sisamanno sin goade sisa lai jaw’regadden čaččarajen, nuvt att gar’jelak æi gaw’nam sin. (Qvigstad, 1928:604)

In the old days, the old ones who lived at the time when the Karelians came from Sweden to Norway used to tell: then the Sámi got scared for their lives and fled to Oros up on the plain between two mountains, and they dig themselves tents on the ground, such as the entrance to the tent was at the edge of the water by the shore of the lake, so that the Karelians did not find them.

The enemy’s behavior is also repellent. In one of the stories, we are told how Stállu suggests that his wife use meat to clean the baby’s excrement, while they are eating. The mother of the child, a Sámi woman Stállu has managed to seduce, decides then to escape and returns to “her own people” (Qvigstad, 1928:638). A similar story is reported in Lagercrantz’s *Lappische Volkdichtung* (Lagercrantz, 1958:218). Lagercrantz’s publications also contain a text where Stállu urinates in the cooking pot (Lagercrantz, 1959:27).
The deviant behavior of *Stállu* and the revulsion his manners incur highlights clearly that he belongs to another community or world. Simple hygiene rules are unknown to the being, who consequently cannot be considered a peer.

Deviance in behavior is not only related to *Stállu*, but also to other enemies. In another legend, this time about the *ruoššat*, the enemy is presented as repulsive and violating normality.

> Ja de okta ruošša algii baiket, ja de soitii baiket jur goađe nala. Ja de manat oidni, atte olmuš baika ræppenis vulus; de manat čurvut, ate “ale baike siin malesgieudnai!” (Turi, 1918:95)

> And then a *ruošša* began to defecate; and then he happened to defecate right upon the *goabti*. And when the children saw that a person was defecating down through the smokehole they shouted “Don’t crap in our cook-pot!”

The characteristics of the Other provide an inverse image of the characteristics that a normal community member is expected to possess. By pointing out what is wrong or distasteful, the opposite qualities are reinforced.

The Sámi and *Stállu* are described positively or negatively in turn through certain characteristics. Intertextuality underscores that a subject “the Sámi” and a subject “the enemy” are created in narratives through recurrent characteristics. The elaboration of these subjects contributes to the articulation of a discourse about the community members and others - consequently about the Other.

The *Stállu* tradition is characterized by a narrative outcome to the advantage of the Sámi and the defeat of the evil ogre. In most of the narratives, *Stállu* is overcome by Sámi ruse. The foolishness and ignorance of *Stállu* become evident in narratives with recurrent motifs such as when he mistakes a dressed tree stump for his girlfriend or in texts where a smart Sámi boy convinces him to pour melted tin in his eyes so that he would have better sight. Similarly, the *čuđit* are easily fooled by the Sámi. A lonesome anti-hero (a young boy or an older woman) lures a band of enemies to follow a torch down a hill in the dark, causing them to plunge to their death (Qvigstad, 1928:528ff; Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:150-151).

The subject constructed in narration, the Sámi, is presented as possessing different qualities that make them able to overcome the enemy. First of all, they are clever. Although outnumbered, they manage to defeat all the enemies, who are depicted as ignorant and naïve. The Sámi possess something that the enemy lacks and which is priceless: knowledge. Many narratives refer to the knowledge
of the elders. The father is the one in possession of the knowledge about what has happened to the disappeared daughter and about how to defeat Stállu. Stállu, on the other hand, is always depicted as stupid, ignorant and unaware of what is going on. The wisdom of the older Sámi is emphasized in comparison to the stupidity of the enemy and the naïveté of the younger Sámi. Knowledge is presented as something exclusive that some possess while others do not. In one of the legends, Peter Nilsen tells us:

Ja nieita ahčip ar’vadalla: ”Stallo læ ma da vuolkatam; æ val barhne ar’vida maidak.” (Qvigstad, 1929:538)

The girl’s father thought: “Stállu is gone with her; but the boys do not understand anything.”

As soon as he notices that the girl is missing, he understands what has happened.

There is a didactic aspect in the emphasis on the value of knowledge. It is presented in narration as something needed and useful. Many narratives bring up elements of traditional knowledge, which are necessary to the membership in the community. The storyteller, too, is a source of knowledge in this context, and the audience, by listening, gains access to this valuable commodity.

In the narratives, the Sámi know who the enemy is, where he is and how to overcome him/them.

Ja go ruoššat bohte deidda báiikkiide, de sii gudđe ovvta gávvilis noaiddes gerega, jur dakko gokko dihte boahtime. (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:152)

And when the ruoššat came to that spot, the Sámi left a wise old noaide woman, just where they knew that the ruoššat would come.

The stories intimate that the Sámi can overcome the enemy thanks to the knowledge they possess.

In contrast to the enemy, the Sámi are not aggressive and evil, but rather frightened and wishing to avoid conflicts:

De bohte meara mielde deike dán nuortadavvečihkii ja de balde sämiid eret mearragáttii. Ja de sämit báhtare vuovdegииrrаgiiiddа.
(Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:17)
The settlers began to come along the sea-coast up to this north-east corner, and they frightened the Sámi away from the sea-coast and the Sámi fled up into the highest forests. (Turi, 1931a:23)

Narratives report how Sámi had to compete for land, or more exactly how they had to forfeit their land to newcomers. In another text, we are told:

Ja sii árvale álgit soahtat, muhto cai dat duostan. (Turi, [1910] 1987-b:18)

And they consulted together as to whether they could start to make war [on the Norwegians], but they didn’t dare.

Thus, Sámi become refugees and victims. But eventually, they have to face the conflict, and most of the time, they manage to overcome the enemy.

The fight against enemies can be considered an educational process in order to access knowledge. The role of legends in the process of learning is also meant to have significance. They warn through examples of the consequences of a lack of knowledge.

In order to overcome Stállu and save the daughter, the young Sámi men must fulfill certain criteria, such as showing courage. In a story by Peter Nilsen, we are told how a father tests his sons in order to find which of them is the most courageous:

De bieddja ahčip bal’dim-ræi’dagau čahče-rudni-guorrai, maina gehččalet gal’ga gai’ka barhnit, guhtel so dal buošemus, ja de raddja vuorrasamus barhneu cači viežžat; malistet gal’ge ehkides. Ballai vuorrasamus bar’ni ja bodi cačitaga. De raddja gas’kalabmusau; sæbma dahta dagai, ballai. De raddja nuoramusau; de dat čapmi giepneu dan bal’dim-ræi’dui; vuossi vel giehtai bači. De ahčip avvusi. (Qvigstad, 1929:538)

And the father puts a scarecrow next to the water hole that was made in the ice, with which he wanted to test all his sons, to see who was bravest, and so he sends the oldest one to go get water; they were to cook dinner in the evening. The oldest son was scared and came back without any water. So the father sends the middle son; he did the same, he was scared. So he sends the youngest one; and that one hit the scarecrow with the water bucket. He rammed
the water bucket into the scarecrow; but the handle was left in his hand. And then the father rejoiced. The most courageous will assist his father in the rescue of the captured daughter. Strength is another quality that the Sámi and Stállu compete over. One of the legends tells about a wedding between Stállu’s son and a Sámi girl. During the ceremony, the girl’s brother and the young Stállu compete to determine who is strongest. The contest eventually leads to the death of Stállu’s son. A recurrent topic in narratives is the competition between Stállu and his farmhand to prove who is strongest. The farmhand is victorious thanks to his ruse, while Stállu is duped (see e.g. Qvigstad, 1928:242, 246, 250, 634).

In most stories, Stállu is described as irritable and ill-tempered. Rage, and above all lack of self-control, is presented as a negative quality. It is rage that leads to Stállu’s death, as when he forgets to dress and runs away in the bitter cold chasing the Sámi. Turi writes:

Ja de son suhtai nu, go stálut leatge leamaš hilbadat; go suhtte, de eai diehtán, maid galggai vuohččan dahkat (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:148).

And then he grew angry, as Stállu did whenever enraged; when they grew angry they didn’t know what they ought to do.

Rage seems to be deplored since it implies a lack of self-control, which holds fatal consequences. These examples indicate that great value is attached to qualities such as unity, courage, strength and wisdom by experience, whereas deviant behavior is part of the enemy’s character.

The Other is not only different in character and behavior. Several aspects in the narratives indicate that the enemy - be it Stállu, the čuđit or others - does not belong to the human world. Consumption of human flesh occurs in Stállu narratives, presenting Stállu as an animal rather than a human being. He is known for kidnapping and eating Sámi children.


And Stállu killed human beings and ate human beings, and human beings feared Stállu. (Turi, 1931a:174)

In some texts, we can read how Stállu wants to eat his/her own children or grandchildren. Also, Stállu is often lured into eating repulsive sorts of food
but does not notice it, for instance, a sausage made of *Stállu*’s own dog’s blood (Qvigstad, 1928:258-260) or of ashes (Qvigstad, 1928:252, 254). The use of different types of food to characterize the protagonists and antagonists indicates a distinction between human and non-human (Lévi-Strauss, 1979).

The topic of food in relation to the human and the beastly also occurs in other narratives. The person who is kidnapped by the *ulda*, for instance, should not eat their food, otherwise he/she will be unable to return (Qvigstad, 1928:408ff). However, according to Qvigstad’s informant Erik Mikkelsen, some have tasted their food and thought that “it tasted like dirt” (Qvigstad, 1928:418).

A dividing line between human and non-human also seems to be related to Christianity. In a text about giants, the children of the giants are promised to get to eat “the flesh of a Christian” (Samuelsen in Qvigstad, 1928:478), making clear that the giants and the Christians belong to opposing worlds. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the *ulda* do not take baptized children. Baptism and Christianity in general mark a boundary between the human world and others - supernormal beings, animals, enemies.

John Lindow (1978) presents an interesting analysis of the different characters in Swedish legends in terms of unknown and familiarity, where “the key word is ‘stranger’” (Lindow, 1978:55-56). In Sámi legends, we can likewise distinguish degrees of otherness. The *ulda* share common characteristics and origin with the Sámi, they live on familiar grounds. *Stállu*, on the other hand, lived at undefined places and could be encountered anywhere in forest or mountains. As for the *čuđit*, it is unclear where they come from and belong to. The level of danger and fear described in narratives seems to be proportional to this degree of otherness.

The elaboration of the subject “the enemy” in narratives is reinforced by the construction of a discourse about violence and fear, as we discuss below.

**VIOLENCE AND FEAR**

Mutilation, impostures, pillaging, theft, persecution, murder: many narratives present a form of violence as a prime element of the story. The victims of this violence can be the Sámi or their reindeer.

Ja go sámit bohte dan várrái, de stálut dahke ein soames bahá sámiide, muhtumin gode bohccuid, ja muhtumin skihppáhalle sámit dan váris. (Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:138)
And when the Sámi came to that mountain, then Stállu always did some harm to the Sámi, sometimes they killed reindeer, and sometimes Sámi fell sick on that mountain. (Turi, 1931a:175)

The risks for injuries caused by Stállu represent a threat to the community. To kill reindeer is a highly significant act, since the animals are essential to the Sámi livelihood.

Cruelty against the Sámi is expressed in many narratives, in various ways. A text recorded by Balke illustrates the brutality expressed in narratives. The storyteller accounts for the outcome of a fight between Stállu and a man.

"De op’piti son vuotalai, jà de goddi stallo dâm olbmu jà valdi jà njuovai sust nakki jà valdi su hamà mieldis jà manai ruok’tut. (Qvigstad, 1928:628)"

Then again he was defeated, and then Stállu killed that man and took and flayed his skin and took his skin and went home.

This example, which is not the only text about Stállu flaying the skin of a man in Qvigstad’s publications, inverts the social order that regulates relations between men and animals. Here, the man - the victim - is hunted, caught and slaughtered as an animal. Stállu behaves like a man would do with his prey. The story is a frightening expression of an encounter with Stállu: the Sámi are cast in the role of a hunted animal.

Most narratives end with the death of the enemies, killed by the Sámi as a final expedient. Turi tells the story of an impostor who swindled Sámi families. Once the villain is exposed, the deceived families gather and confer with each order to reach a solution.


And they found that the best thing to do was to hang him on a tree. (Turi, 1931a:191)

“The best thing” is here an extreme means to extricate the community from a dangerous situation. In another legend, cruelty does not end with the death of the enemy, it goes further:
Then he made a fire and there he roasted Stállu's flesh. And then he tied it together with twined birch branches; and after this, he carried it to the little Bolno lake and lowered it with stones. (Turi, 1918:186)

The task is not only to kill Stállu, but also to make it impossible for him to come back to life again, since he has supernatural powers and cannot be easily killed.

In another legend, the whole Stállu family has to be destroyed. Once Stállu has been killed, it is his wife's turn to die.

Then Laura pushed the red-hot spear down in the old woman's throat. [...] And finally there was the dog to kill. (Turi, 1918:93)

Violence is looked upon neither positively nor negatively. There are no adjectives or descriptions of reactions that tell us what attitude to take toward the violence. In the legends, murder, manslaughter and mutilation are presented as normal. This can be a way of accentuating how serious the situation is.

Danger is not always articulated. Some legends tell about how Sámi had to kill the Other (ruoššat, čuđit, Stállu) without any explanation of the reason why they have to be killed or why they represent a danger.

Once when the Sámi knew that the ruoššat were in the neighborhood, they prepared a trap across a crevasse, they made it of fir branches, and put many big stones on them, and it was as easy to fire as firing a gun.

We get the impression that it is established that the others are dangerous and therefore have to be killed. In these legends, the focus is on the means of preservation, not on the threat. The unexpressed threat can also be interpreted as a
message addressed exclusively to community members. In this way, intertextuality gives the explanation to those who need to be warned. The audience is expected to already know why the outsiders are dangerous and must be killed. Given the abundance of narratives about these enemies in North Sámi storytelling tradition, a Sámi audience would possess this knowledge.

Enemies are presented as purely evil. As Anders Nilsen told Qvigstad, the čuđit kill for the sake of killing:

De buođi gar’jelčutti; de occek ol’muit hævahik. (Qvigstad, 1928:600)

Then the čuđit came; they looked for people to kill.

This theme is found in other narratives, likening the čuđit to a predator rather than a human being with motive and purpose.

De læi doluš aigest ok’ta ruoššačutti, mi manai birra mailmi ja goddi olbmuid juokke baikest, gosa son bodi. De bodi dat ruoššačutti ovta gawpugaž’ži, mi læi sierra sajest, ja goddi buok olbmuid dam gawpugist. (Qvigstad, 1928:546).

In the old days there was a ruoššačutti, who roved around the world and killed people everywhere he went. Then this ruoššačutti came to a small town that was isolated, and killed all people in that town.

The representation of danger and threat to the community strengthens the message expressed in narratives. The significance is that a threat, a danger exists. No matter how it is related to reality, this discourse is crucial for the construction of the group’s identity and constitutes a unifying process.

Warning about danger can be interpreted as a way to underscore the importance of solidarity as a strategy for survival. The legends illustrate how the group solves a problem and gets safely out of danger by cooperating and fighting together. Resorting to violence portrays the Sámi as strong, tough and dangerous themselves. All are united for a final expedient, no matter how extreme it might be, underscoring the preeminence of solidarity.

Few narratives end with the death of the Sámi protagonists. If they usually manage to defeat and kill all enemies, storytellers have told cases where Stállu or the čuđit are the victors. Peder Steinnes told Qvigstad the story of two brothers who were killed by the ruoššat.
Revoicing Sámi narratives

Ruoššak, liddje nu gavvilak, ja dat buotte jiuowl-ija, maŋ’ga ċuodi, ja leiga jukkamażżak violjašguovtis. De buotte sisa; de nub’bi viel’ija (boarrasæbo) huomehii, ja i adnam ieža værjo go klum’pælæli. Dëîna cabmi maŋ’ga ċuodi jamas, ja nub’bi i bittam likkadet. De ruoššat besse god’dik ja god’dë goabbačit ja buol’dë vel da baiki. (Qvigstad, 1928:592)

The ruoššat were so sly and came at Christmas Eve, many hundreds, and the two brothers were drunk. They came in; one of the brothers (the older one) noticed it and did not have any other means of defense than a clog. He hit to death many hundreds with it, and the other one did not manage to get up. Then the ruoššat managed to kill him and killed them both and also burned down the place.

In this episode, it is the enemy who is sly and clever, and the brothers are tricked because they are drunk. In another text, cowardice is given as the cause of the defeat and consequently of the death of the protagonists.

Nuvt saddai dat vuoc’če boanta, dëînago son i ballam vuocčemen dan halla ol’ma njal’mai. (Qvigstad, 1928:566)

In this way, the shooter became rich, because he was not afraid to shoot the big man in the mouth.

The story tells us how the Sámi protagonist who was afraid of shooting is killed, while his courageous counterpart has victory through action.

Narratives create discourse by portraying “the enemy” and by depicting violence and danger in narration. The elaboration of a second subject, “the Sámi,” also contributes to this process.

GROUP COHESION

The subject “the Sámi” emphasizes the preeminence of the group in contrast with individuals. One example is the story of the Pathfinder that can be found in 14 variants in Qvigstad’s collection, told by different Sámi storytellers from the area of Troms and Finnmark. The narrators tell in different ways how one person, in most of the cases a Sámi boy, manages to kill a group of čudit/ruoššat by having them follow a burning torch in the dark down a steep hill. In some versions, the protagonist is an old woman or an old man. The enemies fall and almost all of
them die immediately, but a few are still alive when the Sámi character comes to ascertain the outcome of their fall. They recognize him and threaten him by shaking their fists. The Sámi group is rescued thanks to the protagonist, who prevents the enemies from reaching the Sámi camp. This hero is never a strong protagonist, but an inexperienced boy or an elder. He is unproven or weak, but he rescues the group. This underscores that it is not physical strength that defeats the enemy, but ruse and cunning. The stupidity and simplicity of the enemies enhance the cleverness and wisdom of the Sámi.

The story of the Pathfinder is internationally known thanks to the Oscar nominated film by Nils Gaup (1989). Besides Qvigstad's informants, other variants can be found in different publications, for instance in Lagercrantz's *Lappische Volksdichtung* (Lagercrantz, 1958:170-171, 1959:102-103). Lars Levi Laestadius refers to a story published in the Norwegian *Budsticken*-periodical (1824) according to which “a Lapp guided 150 Swedes to Tysfjord during the time of Fredrik III; he had deceived them into falling off the cliff and all had been killed.” A note by Deinföll refers to “a mountain, *Qvaenflovet*, which is said to have been named after this event” (Laestadius, 2002:260). He also mentions other similar stories from other areas. No matter what actually happened historically and the location of the event, the theme of the Pathfinder is central in Sámi storytelling. The significance of these narratives and their recurrence emphasize the need to tell about a hero whose cleverness and courage prevent the community from being plundered and possibly killed. Mathisen (1988) interprets the story as a north Norwegian traditional narrative. A young Sámi man is the hero, and there are no čudit but Swedes and Kvens in the north Norwegian examples. The story defines an ethnic boundary between the Sámi and the settlers. Mathisen suggests a multiplicity of possible historical episodes that actualized and reactualized the story of the Pathfinder (Mathisen, 1988:86).

The heroes in *Stållu* and čudit stories achieve and express group cohesion. The characters and the community are presented in a specific way, not as individuals, but as a closely united group. In the stories about how to overcome *Stållu*, there are no singular heroes. The father, his sons and other members of the community help each other in order to rescue the kidnapped daughter. All participants have different important roles. The account is reported from the perspective of the enemies and not from the perspective of the “main” character, as we might expect. In the narratives, the Sámi community is characterized by cohesion and solidarity. In case of danger in general, or on a specific occasion like the assault of the čudit or a marriage with *Stållu*, the entire community becomes involved
and solves the problem together. This view on cooperation and solidarity can be interpreted as a reference to the \textit{siida}, the traditional form of social organization characterized by a strong degree of cohesion and cooperation between all members (Ruoug, 1982a:38-39). This reference might be viewed as the expression of a discourse about cohesiveness and a call for the significance of that value. In fact, the representation of the Sámi in storytelling refers most of the time to a closely united group. In the \textit{čudit} stories where one person kills a band of enemies, the main character takes risks in order to save or protect the community. Solidarity is emphasized by the gratitude of the group and it goes without saying that everyone helps when it comes to the rescue of a community member. In the \textit{Pathfinder} stories and many other \textit{čudit} stories, the central protagonist is thanked or expects to receive the gratitude of the group for his courage. In several texts, the “hero” is angry at the community members who are not conscious of the danger he spared them from, as in this text from an anonymous storyteller from Talvik:

\begin{quote}
De celki son: “Illolekkek di eín vela, go jammin læ din oävi bajjel?”
(Qvigstad, 1928:530)
\end{quote}

Then he said: “Do you still only rejoice, while death hangs over your heads?”

This comment highlights the fact that the protagonist acts in order to protect the group. It also expresses the expectation from the main character that the group shares the fear caused by the threat. The community members who are celebrating display a lack of solidarity, which irritates the young boy who took the risks in order to protect the group.

In Sámi narratives, solidarity is often described as a solution. The heterogeneity of the Sámi society is not emphasized in the legends. There are few stories from the North Sámi area that report relations and contacts with other Sámi communities. Discussion of strained relations between Sámi communities may also have been constrained by taboo and self-censuring, particularly in narratives performed for outsiders or intended for publication. This apparent homogeneity in narration portrays the Sámi as a united group, and does not take into account the huge linguistic, cultural and social variations that exist within Sápmi. Community, solidarity and cohesion are emphasized. The Sámi are presented as a group rather than as individuals and community members are depicted as dependent on one another. They complement each other with
different characteristics and qualities. Some are courageous, others are strong; the oldest ones are wise and possess useful knowledge. All these qualities are required in order to overcome *Stállu*, who represents a threat. The construction of such a subject underscores in the discourse the significance of solidarity within the society. The narratives have a happy ending thanks to everyone working together in order to prevent a destructive relationship from forming or continuing.

The subject of “the enemy” presented in the legends is not only a cruel being that eats people and has to be killed by ruse. Whoever *Stállu* or the *čuđit* were, they explicitly personify danger. As we will see in the next section, the implications of the discourse in narratives are manifold. Socialization of the community members, strategy of defense and empowerment are some of the effects of the discourse.

**IMPLICATIONS**

Stories about defeating enemies express several messages to the audience. They articulate social rules, norms and values of the society in which they were performed. The discourse is mainly defensive, even if sometimes the characters seem to act before receiving major provocation.

The didactic aspects of narration should not be neglected. Telling about the Other, danger and fear also plays a role in the education of the youngest community members. According to the storyteller Isak Eira, stories about how *Stállu* comes to take children if the place is not quiet and tidy at Christmas, have an effect on children.

Lavijet manaid bał’dalit juowlaid aige atte: “Jus dal it sævte valljit muoř’taga, de boatta stallo ik’ku ja šlubista vara oaiwis,” ja dale lave vel laikes manaid oaz’žot søk’tit muoř’taga, ja dale si læt hui jegulažžat. - Æi lave duos’tat manat stoakkat juowlaid aige. (Qvigstad, 1928:718)

They usually scare the children at Christmas time: “If you do not collect a lot of snow to melt, *Stállu* will come at night and suck the blood from your head.” Then, one usually gets even the lazy children to collect and melt snow, and they are very obedient. The children usually do not dare make noise at Christmas time.
This metanarration gives us insight both into how the community would have used and received such narratives.

The norms communicated to the community members are often illustrated by examples of bad behavior and their consequences. By doing so, narratives also contribute to another significant aspect of storytelling, that is warning against dangers. Situations when the *ulda* harm the Sámi by exchanging children, are obvious examples. This aspect highlights the didactic and explanatory function of storytelling, as observed by Linda Dégh.

The reason for telling a legend is basically not to entertain but to educate people, to inform them about an important fact, to arm them against danger within their own cultural environment. (Dégh, 1972:73)

The role of fear and threat in education has also been underscored by Jochum Stattin (1993). “In the pre-industrial society,” he states, “child care was often a problem to be solved by the household. The methods that were used for child education were fright and threat. The repertoire of diverse ‘invented’ beings and forms of threat rooted in tradition, which have a didactic function, was abundant” (Stattin, 1993:63). As for the role of Sámi storytelling in education, Asta Balto’s research on Sámi children’s upbringing has pointed out the significance of narration.


Narration is used a lot and in a rather systematic manner in upbringing and knowledge transmission between generations.

Storytelling, and more specifically narratives about enemies, express messages that are central for the community. The texts played a significant role by telling about the Other. They express a discourse about the Sámi as a group and thus contribute to the articulation of an ethnic identity. This process has been observed e.g. by Eugeen E. Roosens.

By its own nature, [ethnicity] offers a broad field for the use and manipulation of symbols. To begin with, the ingredients used in ethnic discourse seem quite natural: descent, biological origin, belonging together, land, culture and history all seem eminently real
and constitute what many people consider to be palpable realities. At the same time, they are all extremely vague in their definition. Nobody can deny that a given group of people has ancestors, that they have a past, a culture, a biological origin, or that they have been living somewhere, on some piece of land. These facts constitute the eminently solid, genuine, irreducible side of ethnicity, ethnic identity, and ethnic feelings. But who exactly these ancestors were, where they lived, what type of culture they transmitted, and the degree to which this culture was an original creation, and what their relationships were with other, similar ethnic groups in the past—all these are frequently open questions for the open mind. (Roosens, 1989:160)

These very topics of “descent, biological origin, belonging together, land, culture and history” are brought up in storytelling, as the characteristics of the enemy in narratives confirm: he is an intruder speaking a foreign language and challenging cultural norms of behavior. This aspect corroborates the significance of these elements for the community, also expressing a need to relate and articulate a discourse about ancestors and history, to define the group in its meeting with other groups. This need can be explained by the intensification of contacts at the time the legends were collected that called into question what had previously been considered natural and obvious.

In the corpus, the Sámi group is presented in the legends as threatened and scared but also clever, experienced and unified. The enemy is presented as evil and cruel but also naïve and repulsive through its deviant behavior. The most important condition of possibility of the discourse is the representation that the society is threatened. The stories articulate a problem and a solution, based on the discourse and its assumptions.

The stories articulate social rules, norms and values of the society in which they were performed. Legends do not only articulate a situation of threat and danger, they also propose and exemplify a solution to the problem the encounter may represent. The Sámi group manages most of the time to defeat the enemy thanks to their solidarity. In those cases when the enemy triumphs, it is usually due to the isolation of the Sámi protagonists and thus the inability of the group to come to the rescue. The sharing of a common culture figures as a means of preventing the danger.
A significant implication of the discourse expressed in the narratives is the indication of the group’s boundaries. Research on ethnic identity has underscored the significance of boundaries and relations to others in the process of articulating an ethnic identity (Barth, 1969; Eriksen, 1993; Roosens, 1989). While a boundary can be understood as a rigid, well-defined line, I understand the concept of ethnic boundary rather as a zone, a kind of no-man’s-land where two groups may experience differences that define them. In this case, the boundary is not a marking of the foreign and the Other. The boundary is, rather, a description of the experience of a confusion of identity. It is, from my point of view, within this zone that a discourse about “us” and “them” is created and that ethnic identity is defined. Many narratives are enacted within this “zone,” as regards such entities as relationships, marriages, abnormal behavior, and the like. Narratives about enemies bear witness to social contacts and express the need to define oneself and the other as distinct groups. This need was actualized, although not for the first time, at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the closing of the borders, the colonization process, and the influences of other cultural and ethnic groups increased in Sápmi.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The connection between folklore and social life ensures that the context in which these narratives emerged played a role in the elaboration of the discourse observed in them. Social change should be considered a catalyst for the assertion of a social and ethnic identity, and storytelling a collective expression of an attitude toward changes going on. From this perspective, narratives contribute to ethnogenesis, “the development and presentation of a self-conscious ethnic group” (Roosens, 1989:141). Narratives define the Other by specific characteristics, and thus define “us”.

The first fact of ethnicity is the application of systematic distinctions between insiders and outsiders; between Us and Them. If no such principle exists there can be no ethnicity, since ethnicity presupposes an institutionalised relationship between delineated categories whose members consider each other to be culturally distinctive. (Eriksen, 1993:18)

In narratives, the description of the enemy as different in behavior fulfills this function. A consequence of this discourse is the construction of group identity.
In Sámi legends, members are told in a subtle way: “you are first a community member, then an individual.” The description of the Other, the enemy, demarcates a boundary between “us” and “them.” Everyone who is told the stories is taught at once on which side of this boundary to stand. The deviant behavior exemplified in the narratives underscores the difference.

The Sámi, as a minority, have had to protect themselves from the incursion of the majority. Narratives contribute to this achievement by articulating a discourse about ethnic identity that is strongly related to the issue of power relations (Roosens, 1989:158). In storytelling, power relations emerge in terms of dominance and disadvantage - with respect to knowledge, strength, or the outcome of an encounter. The position of the Sámi group is defined in relation to other groups. Cultural aspects that had been stigmatized can be turned into positive qualities and strengths. As exemplified earlier in this chapter, having the command of another language other than the majority’s language becomes an advantage in narratives. The Sámi, in fact an oppressed minority, appear in a dominant position toward the Other in narratives. This inversion of the power relationships between ethnic groups - uniquely possible in narration - enhances the strength of the Sámi ethnicity.

The role of storytelling in the elaboration of discourse about identity indicates that folklore can be used as a defense strategy (cf Saressalo, 1987). Narratives about enemies are part of a strategy to protect the group. Sámi storytelling rather focuses on the experience of the community in its encounter with others in terms of feelings such as doubts and fear. The discourse which emerges from the texts is a warning about the Other, illustrating contacts with outsiders through extreme examples. Sámi narratives contain many reports of cruel means of defeating the enemy, but they are mainly defensive. We are told, through legends, that the subject the Sámi is mostly scared and that they want to flee from their enemy. But also, we are told how they defeat him. Narratives warn against outsiders to the community. At a time when contacts between different groups were increasing, it is understandable that there was a need to warn against the potential consequences of such contacts.

In an article about “changing codified symbols of identity,” Kristin Kuutma has observed the defensive aspects of the articulation of boundaries.

The discursive process of heritage identification, the negotiation and constitution of past and present selfhood for insider and outsider purposes, appears intently under the conditions of cultural
and political marginalization when a community feels endangered from without and sets out to define its cultural boundaries as a strategy of self-defence. (Kuutma, 2006:7-8)

Sámi folklore, and more specifically narratives, can be defined as defensive in the sense that a dominant discourse about group protection prevails. The defense strategies established in narratives depict endeavors to defend the group physically. This aspect can be interpreted as an allegory of defense of the group as an ethnic entity. Focus is placed on the articulation of who “we” are. Even if the discourse also includes offensive aspects - enemies are killed, sometimes by cruel means - the dominant discourse is still about protecting the group, both physically and in terms of social and ethnic identity.

The redefinition of an ethnic identity in response to external factors has been qualified by O’Brien (1986) as “defensive adaptation.” In a similar way, the significance of ethnic identity in a context of fear has been underscored by Eriksen:

> Ethnic identity becomes crucially important the moment it is perceived as threatened. Since ethnicity is an aspect of relationship, the importance of boundaries may thus be said to be conditional on the pressure exerted on them. On the other hand, we have seen that expressions of ethnic identity may also be regarded, rather than as psychological responses to threats from the outside or attempts to create order in the social universe, as symbolic tools in political struggles. (Eriksen, 1993:76)

With reference to North Sámi storytelling, discourse about ethnic identity can be regarded as a means of empowerment in a challenging political context.

Thus, more than a defense strategy, these narratives contribute to empowerment. These examples illustrate how the Sámi, a challenged minority, managed to articulate a discourse that allowed them to define themselves as a strong, united and empowered group. To have a language different from the Other is a strength, since the Sámi can understand the enemy, while he does not understand them. Also, the characters possess a knowledge that enables them to defeat the enemy. In the Pathfinder stories, the acquaintance of the characters with the landscape or the potential dangers is the key to the survival of the group. The Sámi were also empowered by the representation of a homogeneous united group; the multiplicity of Sámi groups is downplayed in narratives. Strengths are
highlighted; weaknesses are downplayed or turned into advantages. But most of all, the Sámi are presented as active agents in control of their situation.

The social processes that generate and maintain ethnic groups are one factor in the elaboration of narratives. Contacts with other groups give rise to a stronger need to define the group as an entity. Many people’s folklore includes stories about enemies, motivated by the occurrence of contacts with other people. In the case of the Sámi, storytelling expresses a situation of conflict and expresses the threat they experienced. It can therefore be considered a part of this process of developing a group identity. Thus, social processes of exclusion and incorporation and narratives should not be considered a cause and a consequence, but as having a dynamic reciprocal relation.

From this perspective, the study of folklore shows that storytelling plays a significant role in identity management. Folklore research, when taking into account the dynamic relations between groups as they are described in narratives, reaches a level of interpretation where the complex process of preservation and elaboration of an ethnic identity becomes apparent.
CHAPTER EIGHT: 
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The interrelation between personal repertoires and collective tradition is evident when considering the elaboration of narratives in relation to their contexts and to the tradition they are part of, as well as to the narrators’ own subjective experiences and preferences. The sociocultural and political context and the particular context of emergence of the repertoires have proven to be of great importance in the elaboration, significance and interpretation of folk narratives. But also, storytellers and their narratives have an effect on the collective tradition and on the community, as the study of repertoires and collective storytelling tradition in Part 3 illustrates. The roles and implications of narration in the individual processes of adaptation and resistance to social change as well as the central role of storytelling in the processes of socialization and ethnogenesis should not be underestimated.

REVOICING STORYTELLING

Many collections of folklore have dispossessed the narratives of their authors. Material amassed in archives or early publications have often neglected reference to their sources. In Qvigstad’s collections, we find the names and brief biographical details of the storytellers he met. This is more than his colleagues did: most of them only provided the location where the narrative was recorded, while the informant remains anonymous. Even though Qvigstad named his informants, he did not allocate significance to the source of the narratives when he edited the texts. Instead, he opted for a geographical and topical classification. In this sense, the storytellers have been silenced. My attempt in this study has been to refurbish North Sámi storytelling from the turn of the twentieth century with the voices of their narrators.

As I have argued above, narratives - though collected 100 years ago - should not be considered as museum artifacts, but as components of a dialogue. The voices of the narrators are utterances and expressions in a specific context. Storytellers express personal attitudes as well as their relation to traditions. It is
therefore inaccurate to approach narratives as expressions of a tradition without taking into account the individual who voiced the story.

The study of intertextuality reveals the interrelations and interaction between the different repertoires and the dialogic character of the Sámi storytelling tradition. Narratives are not monologues: they are embedded in a context of dialogue. Texts are elaborated in response to previous narratives and according to an expected audience.

From this perspective and with a recontextualization of the corpus as the point of departure of the analysis, I have underscored the great value of narratives, even when lacking information about the context in which they were performed.

**FOLKLORE AND TRADITION**

Contrary to what Emilie Demant Hatt and Just Qvigstad intended to prove, North Sámi storytelling tradition at the turn of the twentieth century was far from static and homogeneous. The variations observed in the repertoires under focus show how adaptation to individuality and contexts imbue narratives. Moreover, Sápmi was - and is - a multicultural landscape, a crossroad of cultures, traditions and influences. Johan Turi, Ellen Utsi, Per Bær and Isak Eira are some of the many narrators who illustrate the heteroglossia, the multiplicity of influences and the strong relation to tradition that existed in Sápmi at the turn of the twentieth century.

Heteroglossia and polyphony observed in North Sámi storytelling witness not only of the multiplicity of socio-political influences. They witness also of interethnic relations within Sápmi as a cultural landscape. Sápmi, as the home of a strong storytelling tradition, should advantageously be considered in global terms as a geographical multicultural area rather than an ethnic area. Narratives should not be labeled as genuine Sámi, Norwegian, Swedish or Finnish. Focus should rather lay on the skillfulness in adaptation that storytellers at the junction of cultural diversities have proved.

Moreover, narratives as texts compose repertoires and should not be considered isolated items. They are individual expressions as well as part of a collective tradition. The study of narrative strategies, polyphony and responsibility in narration by Turi, Eira, Utsi and Bær has shown the significance of contexts in the elaboration of narratives. An approach toward the texts as part of a collective tradition indicates that topics of importance for the community in which they
took place emerge metaphorically and that narratives play a central role in the articulation of social norms and the elaboration of identity. This approach has provided a comprehensive perspective on storytelling that places the narrator in a central position - as a social agent, a source of knowledge and a community member. This perspective has highlighted the multiple implications of the North Sámi storytelling tradition.

**MULTIPLE IMPLICATIONS OF STORYTELLING**

**SOCIAL NORMS**

Through storytelling, narrators express their attitude toward the context they lived in. In the case of Bær, Eira and Utsi more specifically, social change led to a questioning of the norms and values of the community they lived in. Through their repertoires, the role of Qvigstad and the influence of the Norwegian majority emerge. But also, the study of the narratives reveals the storytellers’ ability to adapt and transmit traditional narratives. Turi’s relation to this context is expressed through the polyphony of his repertoire as published in *Muitalus sámiid birra*. The collaboration with the Danish ethnographer had influenced some of Turi’s choices in narration, but his authority as a community member, a storyteller and a politically conscious actor dominates the repertoire.

For the storytellers, narration is a means of expressing oneself as an individual and a community member. Narrators express their relation to the social order of the community they belong to. All four repertoires are representative of the North Sámi storytelling tradition and of the dynamism and continuity of folklore. But also, the analysis of these repertoires highlights the close relation that exists between folklore and social life. Topics of significance in the actual context are brought up in narratives. Relationships within the group, attitude toward property, and recommendations regarding relations to outsiders are some areas of socialization that emerge in narratives.

**GROUP IDENTITY**

As highlighted in this study, narratives play a role in the elaboration of a group identity. The sense of belonging to a cultural group is enhanced by the sharing of a tradition, consisting among other things of a common storytelling tradition. Representations and discourses about relations to others contribute to the construction and maintenance of identity. In the case of North Sámi storytelling
at the turn of the twentieth century, the process of ethnogenesis appears to be connected to narration. Narratives are productive in the sense that they contribute to the elaboration of a coherent discourse about the Other, the unknown, a source of fear. Through allegories and metaphors, we are told in storytelling how to manage and deal with this otherness. The articulation of a united group as the adversary of this Other provides a means of identity management for a challenged ethnic group.

The elaboration of a hostile Other in discourse is a recurrent strategy in the attempt to create cohesion within a group. Narratives in media discourse, for instance, illustrate on a daily basis aspects of ethnogenesis through the expression of a need to define “us” and “them.” Aspects observed in North Sámi narratives at the turn of the twentieth century can thus be generalized to other forms of narration. Ethical issues are also brought up in narratives and discourses about threat and danger that we may hear whenever we turn on the television or radio. The need to create an enemy in order to reassert a precarious cohesion is a strategy widely employed.

**Empowerment**

A shift of focus from tradition bearers to subjective narrators enables us to perceive the storyteller as an empowered social actor. Considering Fairclough’s statement that “discourse contributes to the reproduction and to the transformation of society” (Fairclough, 1992:65), we may thus consider storytelling as an arena of reproduction and transformation for community members.

The role of storytelling in the process of empowerment has been highlighted by Jackson on an individual level.

I propose to focus on the ways in which storytelling [provides] strategies and [generates] experiences that help people redress imbalances and correct perceived injustices in the distribution of Being, so that in telling a story with others one reclaims some sense of agency, recovers some sense of purpose, and comes to feel that the events that overwhelmed one from without may be brought within one’s grasp. (Jackson, 2002:36).

Collective storytelling, as well as personal narratives, is also, I posit, a means for empowerment. The communicative quality of narration entails the spreading of the strength developed by specific narrators through their narratives.
The significance of *Muitalus* for Sámi literature is already established. But this seminal work can also, from the perspective presented above, be considered a milestone in the political organization of the Sámi community.

The relation between Qvigstad and his informants was imbalanced. The retired headmaster, representative of the Norwegian majority, was by his authority and positionality dominating the interview situation. The process of elaboration of stories, though, adapted from a collective store of traditional narratives to individual interests, preferences and standpoints, meant for Utsi, Bær, Eira and the many other storytellers an inversion of roles. In their meeting with Qvigstad, the storytellers’ knowledge was at focus and they were placed in a situation where their voices were heard. Not only the process of narration, but also their choices and the strategies they adopted implied an adjustment of the initial imbalanced relationship. From this perspective, storytelling is a means for empowerment that has significance not only for the individuals, but also for the community. Revoicing narratives means highlighting this empowerment.

**SOCIAL PRACTICE**

Interdiscursivity in the narratives at focus underscores the dynamism of storytelling. Narratives express a discourse that is both normative and innovative: the continuity in systems of knowledge and beliefs is expressed paralleled with new influences and by the coexistence of different frames of interpretation. Discourse is also both conventional and creative. *Muitalus* is a conventional form of storytelling, but personal discrepancies and extension of repertoire express creativity (cf Fairclough, 1992:237).

“Ideological and political effects of discourse” (Fairclough, 1992) can be noticed as regards construction and transmission of identities, social relationships, and systems of knowledge and belief through the narratives. Social, cultural and ethnic aspects of identity are articulated in narratives, in terms of relations, belonging, differentiations and identification. As for systems of knowledge, including traditional knowledge and medical knowledge, or references to origins, for instance, witness of the coexistence of several systems of knowledge. A high degree of interdiscursivity can be observed regarding systems of beliefs: Christian traditions and beliefs are mentioned side by side with beliefs in beings and power that refer to another tradition.

These aspects of discourse and social practice confirm the intense processes of social change going on in Sápmi at the time the narratives were collected. But
also and not least, they confirm the dynamism and capacity of adaptation of storytelling.

THE CONTINUITY OF STORYTELLING

The narratives mentioned above were collected at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Yet, they refer to a time long past and are components of a long tradition that keeps going on. This part of the storytelling tradition is still of immediate relevance today. Over a century later, similar stories are told and repeated.

The capacity of adaptation of legends has been observed elsewhere, emphasizing the broad range of possible applications of narratives in different contexts (Ingwersen, 1995; Stoor, 2004). The persistence of North Sámi traditional narratives through time has included modification and adaptation. Today, they occur in different shapes. The medium as well as the contents have been adapted to new forms of storytelling and a new audience. In the case of the Stállu lore, for instance, terrible parts of narratives have been censured in order to adapt them for children. In books for children (e.g. Birkeland, 1988), murders, death and cruelty have been replaced by an unclear and unsure ending; language use has also been adapted to a contemporary audience (Cocq, 2005).

Topics in storytelling emerge in different temporal contexts; thus narratives similar in content can express different discourses modified and adapted to contemporary circumstances. Traces of historical events emerge in narratives told at different periods of time. The Stállu and čuđit narratives, for instance, report a time long past, and we can assume that stories such as the Pathfinder have been told from generation to generation long before the informants Qvigstad met told their versions of the story. Legends about the čuđit and other narratives about enemies might not have the same warning functions that they had in the past; nevertheless they play a significant role for the contemporary Sámi community. The persistence of these narratives demonstrates their significance.

Narratives may change in content; the enemies may represent different dangers at different periods of time, the context may differ, yet narratives about the Other always draw a boundary between insiders and outsiders. Today, there might be other enemies, but the community might have the “same attitudes and same goal in telling today’s legends, anecdotes and jokes” (Saressalo, 1987:255). In the legends about the čuđit, for instance, the focus does not lay principally on
the threat, but refers to a common past. Therefore, these narratives still play a central role to the extent that they are part of a common history.

DuBois (1995) has underscored the role of landscape in the čudit stories. The hero in the Pathfinder manages to dupe the enemies thanks to his knowledge about the topography. The persistent attachment to the land is a key element of the storytelling tradition.

Koskimies’s Anar narratives help us understand why contemporary pan-Saami identity continues - and can continue - to look to the land as a central unifying and meaning making element (DuBois, 1995:75).

Land and landscape are significant issues for Sámi ethnicity with reference to origin, ancestors and rights. The continuity of this topic can also be observed, for instance, in the numerous legends that provide us an explanation about the name of a place or why a specific landscape looks the way it does. The shape of a lake is the opportunity to tell about Stállu; a red colored cliff gives us still an occasion to tell about the čudit (Stoor, 2004; Turi, [1910] 1987 -b:151) and how the Sámi defeated them.

Narratives describing the landscape and the origin of place names create a reference to a common history, and to ancestors. It is observable that the immediate geographic context plays a significant role in the corpus of narratives. Among the texts about the čudit, we can observe two main differences in the outcomes of the accounts. One ending tells how the enemies are killed by falling down from a precipice while the other outcome entails their being drowned. These differences in narratives correspond to different areas, landscapes and danger. Thus, the articulation of a danger and an implicit warning are included in the narratives, at the same time as it enhances the relevance and attraction of the narration for the audience.

The normative functions of storytelling illustrated in the narratives at focus can be observed in collective forms of narration elsewhere. Folk narratives express norms and values, ethics and morals. In contemporary legends and tales, principally adapted and addressed to children, aspects of socialization are explicit. A further study of contemporary Sámi narratives would be necessary in order to identify to what extent the ambiguity in traditional Sámi narratives has been downplayed by the adaptation of narration to a specific audience.

The didactic functions of storytelling with reference to the Sámi tradition have been observed by Asta Balto (1997, 1999). In her study of the upbringing
of Sámi children, she emphasizes the role of storytelling. Cultural transmission takes place through narration, where the atmosphere and excitement may be as important as the story itself (Balto, 1997:92). Narratives illustrate relation to nature and give bad and good examples of behavior. Balto’s research based on fieldwork conducted in the mid 1980s confirms the continuity of the normative aspects of storytelling.

As for discursive and social practices, the effects defined by Fairclough as construction of social identities, social relationships, and of systems of beliefs and knowledge (Fairclough, 1992:64) can be observed in many narratives in different times and places. Storytelling articulates discourses, and as such contributes to the elaboration of these aspects. Since we always are part of an ongoing process of social change, our needs to redefine our social identities, social relationships, and systems of beliefs and knowledge are constant.

**CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVES**

The storytelling tradition has been preserved and today, still, we can hear about the enemies of the Sámi in new forms and adaptations. Sámi children are well acquainted with, for instance, Stållu who is present in narration, in Sámi television shows for children, children’s literature and also at exhibitions, for instance at the Sámi museums in Jokkmokk, Sweden and Inari, Finland. Storytelling events are also organized at the Sámi museum Ájtte in Jokkmokk in the Stållu exhibition room during the winter market, a central annual event in Sápmi.

Aspects observed in the repertoires under focus in this dissertation may be discerned in contemporary storytelling as well. Narrative strategies, polyphony, normative and defensive or aggressive aspects of folklore can be observed in the narratives that surround us today. A further study of North Sámi storytelling today would reveal how storytellers may choose to relate to tradition and create innovations as artists or writers, how the contemporary global and multicultural context in Sápmi - the heteroglossia - might come to expression in narration, and if normative and defensive aspects of folklore emerge in a contemporary context.

**MANIFOLD FUNCTIONS OF STORYTELLING**

A shift of focus in Sámi storytelling tradition seems to have occurred. Cruel and salacious details in narratives indicate that some stories were not always intended
for children, but for a broader public. All generations used to be involved in storytelling events. Today, folk narratives are aimed principally to children. Books, readings of traditional legends on radio and television shows featuring storytelling are organized and intended chiefly for a younger audience. Therefore, these cruel and sometimes salacious details have been suppressed (Barnradion, 2003; Cocq, 2005). Given an increasingly narrowed definition of childhood and a shift of focus toward children in the Western world, storytelling has been considered a tool for entertainment and education. In oral societies, on the other hand, storytelling was part of everyone’s life. Narration did not concern the youngest members alone, all community members were involved in listening and telling stories. A further analysis of Sámi oral literature at the turn of the twenty first century would be necessary to approach the new functions of storytelling in the community today.

Nevertheless, a first look at folklore expressions and at the practice of storytelling in contemporary contexts indicates the continuity of the role of narration. The importance of narratives in politics has been established (e.g. Maček, 2000; Stokker, 1997) and deserves further study with respect to Sámi contexts in particular. Also, the role of narration in the process of coping with life crises has been observed (e.g. Jackson, 2002).

In another context, the importance of the spoken word and the validity of narration have received a new light. A trial in Umeå, Sweden, pitting land owners against reindeer herders on the issue of right of pasturage, has implied a shift of priority and indirectly acknowledged the importance of the spoken word as a source of historical evidence, compensating for the impossibility of providing written proofs of the land use patterns among Sámi in former times.

**Methodological Considerations**

The framework presented in this dissertation offers a solution to the challenge the folklorist faces when dealing with narratives recorded in the past - archived or published. Decontextualized material must be problematized before any attempt to interpret it is offered. The analysis of the contexts as a first step allows us to approach and recover contextually embedded meanings of narratives.

The study of material collected by Qvigstad shows that a further recontextualization back to the community’s and performer’s original context is possible to some extent, and enables us to interpret the narratives in their context of emergence. The receptionalist study of narratives in relation to the storyteller
and to the broader collective tradition provides us insight into individual attitudes as well as adaptive qualities of storytelling in relation to the performer’s ambient community and tradition.

Rather than a context of emergence of production of a repertoire, we should talk about contexts in plural. The sociopolitical context, the immediate surrounding context of the narrator, the storyteller him/herself, the context of narration and the addressed audience (in attendance or projected) are all components in the frame of interpretation. These contexts are productive and constitutive (cf Mathisen, 2007). Rather than an influence on passive bearers of tradition, the condition of existence of the narratives is the interplay between contexts, social actors, discourses and tradition. Therefore, these aspects should all be components in a frame of interpretation.

The concepts of polyphony, authority and responsibility appear valuable in narrative research given that they enable us to identify storytellers’ different socio-ideological languages, narrative strategies and relation to statements or facts. The interpretation of personal narratives in terms of intertextuality and polyphony, for instance, can prove successful. Thus, the application of such a methodology is not limited to folklore items. Narrative research in general is concerned with similar methodologies; contributions to one field can easily, and fruitfully, be adapted to others (Johansson, 2005; Skott, 2004). Media discourse is a further arena of intertextuality and polyphony where the analysis of these aspects can provide productive considerations.

As for folklore aspects, other cultural expressions such as yoiking or the use of traditional dress, may also be interpreted as arena for the interplay of subjective positions and collective tradition, discourse and social practices. Kristin Kuutma has recently described the yoik as a “signifier of a cultural heritage,” but yet “performed to express subjectivity at the same time” (Kuutma, 2006:11). “The established ethnic collective identity forms a common cultural estate on which individual performers base their artistic interpretation” (Ibid). She interprets the use of “codified symbols of identity” as related to ethnicity.

A STORY TO TELL, A WORLD TO CHANGE

The role of narration in general, considering its extensiveness, is obviously significant. In the case of communities where the spoken word prevailed and involved all community members, storytelling becomes a central issue. The North Sámi community maintained an extensive storytelling tradition, and a look back
100 years makes obvious the central role of its practice within the community. Folk narratives have been recorded and written down, bearing witness to that time.

In the North Sámi area, intensive social change was under way at the turn of the twentieth century. Previous research has underscored the implications of these changes on economy (reindeer herding, changes in systems of economy), patterns of settlement, religion and other aspects of Sámi life. When shifting focus on to people rather than on the external forces that contributed to these changes, the main question becomes how the social actors experienced these changes. Storytelling gives us insight into the way people experienced this process. Narratives describe reality and stories become fragments of life histories, worldviews.

With Ingwersen, I see narratives as a “response to history” (Ingwersen 1995:77). It is always complex to determine the historical verities in legends and folktales, but there is no doubt that they express a need to tell and evaluate experiences. Telling a story is a way to take a stand, to position oneself in the surrounding context of discourses and influences.
SAMMANFATTNING

I denna avhandling (Revoicing Sámi narratives) har jag analyserat nordsamisk berättartradition kring sekelskiftet 1900. Trots att det finns värdefulla berättelser i böcker och arkiv, har dessa ‘sagor’ och ‘sägner’ inte uppmärksammat utan har snarare betraktats som museiföremål och i stor utsträckning ignorerats. Man har inte alls beaktat berättarnas skicklighet och inte tagit hänsyn till deras vittnesmål i egenskap av sociala aktörer under en tid av intensiv social förändring.

Avhandlingens syfte har varit att undersöka förhållandet mellan berättare, kontext och kollektiv tradition ur olika perspektiv. En berättare är en aktiv samhällsmedlem och en artist som utformar sin repertoar i relation till kontexten och traditionen och bygger den på subjektiva erfarenheter och intressen. Enskilda personers berättelser kan i sin tur påverka den kollektiva traditionen och även samhället. Undersökningen har haft fokus på fyra nordsamiska berättare och deras repertoarer och min strävan har varit att ge tillbaka dessa bortglömda berättare sina röster.


ett receptionalistiskt perspektiv. Det politiska klimatet vid sekelskiftet 1900 innebar att den samiska kulturen och följaktligen den samiska etniciteten blev ifrågasatt som en konsekvens av koloniseringsprocessen samt av nationalism och assimileringssättgärder.


Qvigstad var ett barn av sin tid. Hans förhållningssätt till det insamlade materialet återspeglar dåtidens attityd gentemot minoriteter och även folklore.
Hans mål var att dokumentera ett språk och en kultur som han och hans samtida betraktade som döende. Under processen från insamling till publikation har materialet genomgått en dekontextualisering, dvs. sagor och sägner har skiljts från den kontext i vilken de skapades och dessutom har berättarens roll tonats ned. Qvigstads publikationer färgas av den historisk-geografiska metoden, som var utformad av den s.k. finska skolan, som lade tonvikten på de muntliga traditionernas stabilitet. De individuella variationerna har försummats. På så sätt kan man säga att han har berövat informanterna deras röster.


Dessa fyra berättare härstammade från samma geografiska område, Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino). Analysen av Turis, Utsis, Bærs och Eiras repertoarer visar på deras skickliga anpassning inom en stark berättartradition. Ett flertal röster möts i narrativerna, och de ger uttryck för den complexa kontexten nordsamiska berättare levde i.

Berättelser och teman som hämtas ur ett kollektivt förråd möter subjektiva element, kommentarer och värderingar och ger oss indikationer på hur olika personer tar ställning i en viss kontext. I avhandlingen beaktas och synliggörs narrativa aspekter som tyder på anpassning och förändring. Berättarna förhandlar mellan tradition, subjektivitet och aktuella frågor i dåtidens kontext.

Analysen av nordsamiska berättelser vid sekelskiftet 1900 omfattar också berättelsernas implikationer på en kollektiv nivå ur ett receptionalistiskt perspektiv. dvs. med utgångspunkt i det samhället berättelserna var ämnade för. Tredje delen av avhandlingen har gällt diskursens sociala och ideologiska konsekvenser som utformas via narrativer och har fokus på konstruktionen av sociala relationer och
av identitet (Fairclough, 1992:64). Bland de mest framträdande aspekterna kan normativa och defensiva diskurser särskiljas.


Även om nordsamisk berättartradition från början av 1900-talet har varit utgångspunkt och fokus för avhandlingen, bör kontinuiteten av en stark tradition understrykas. Traditionella berättelser lever än idag och har anpassats till en ny kontext och en ny publik. Dessa omfattar nya diskurser, men deras betydelse för socialisering och uttryck av den samiska identiteten förefaller alltjämt vara aktuell.

En kritisk diskursanalys av repertoarerna, dvs. en studie som tar hänsyn till kontexten då berättelserna uppstod, till textanalysen av narrativerna samt till deras sociala och ideologiska implikationer, visar att berättandet är en dynamisk process som bidrar till upprätthållande, produktion och ändring av diskurser. Ett
folkloristiskt perspektiv på materialet synliggör berättartraditionens individuella drag.

Genom att analysera repertoarerna med berättaren i fokus har avhandlingen visat hur folkloristisk forskning kan uppnå en större förståelse av en kontext på det sätt som samhällsmedlemmarna kan ha upplevt den. Undersökningen har även strävat att ge åter röster till de bortglömda berättare, således till dessa artister, individer och sociala aktörer vars subjektivitet negligerats.

Med denna studien har jag velat visa hur äldre material, trots bristande information kring insamlingsprocessen och trots dåtida forskares vinklade perspektiv, utgör en oersättlig och ovärderlig källa.
ČOHHKÁIGEASSU

Dán nákkosgirjijis (Revoicing Sámi narratives) lean mon guorahallan davvisámeigiela muitalanárbevieruid ovddit jahkećuodi álgogeažis. Vaikk leat gåvdnon olu mávssolaš muitalusat girjijin ja arkiivvain, de leat dát cukcasat ja máidnasat adnon vuorkádavvirin ja goasii oalat hilgojuvven. Muitaleddjiid čehppodat ja sin čilgehusat servodatolmožin dalle go servodat sakka rievddai eai leat váldojuvvon vuhtii.

Nákkosgirjii ulbul lea leamaš guorahallat dan gaskavuođa mii gåvdno muitalaeddji, konteavstta ja oktasās árbevieruid gaskkas sierra perspektiivvas. Muitaleddji lea aktiiva servodatlahttu ja maid artista mii rähkada su muitalusalid dakkár oktavuhtii masa gullet konteaksta ja árbevierru ja man vuoddun leat su iežas vásåhusat ja berośtumit. Oktonas olbmuind muitalusalat váikkuhit maid kollektiivva árbevieruid ja maid servodaga. Dán dutkama váldodeaddu lea biddjojuvven njéalji davvisámeigiela muitalaeddjái ja sin muitalusalaid dainna ulbmiiliin ahte dát vajálduvvon muitalaeddjit fas oččoše ruovttoluotta sin muitalusalaid.


Konteavstta duogáš gos muitalusalat iht lea deatálaš oasssi das mo deavsttaid galggašii áddet ja maid dat mearkkašit. Ideologalaš jurrđašanvuołgii ja politihkalaš doaibmabijut ja guoskevaš historjálas dähphuhasat mat báidnet mearkkašumi sosiopolitihkalaš dillái 1900-logu álggus mielddisbuŋte olu hástalusaid veahádat-álbmogiidda Sámis (Elenius, 2006; Kvist, 1992; Lundmark, 1998; Svonni, 2007).

Ássit ja gažaldagat mat lede āigeguovvilat 1900-logus ihtet muitalusain; addet midjiide gova das mo oktonas olbmuide dovdoñit nuppástuhttiin, gávnnadeamit ja riiddut mat lede Sámis. Danin lea muitalusalaid konteakstualiseren guovddážis
ovdal go lea ota vejolašge evttobit mo dait galggašii dulgot resepšuvnanisttalaš perspektiivvas. Politihkalaš dilli 1900-logu álggus mearkkašii ahte sámiiid kultuvra ja maid etnisitehta uhkiduvvui koloniserenproseassa, nationalismma ja assimilerendoaimmaid geažil.


Revoicing Sámi narratives

Qvigstad leai dalloş olmmoş. Su oaidnu dan čohkkejuvvo muitalusaide speadjalastá dalloş vuoodđodovdduid minoritehtaide ja maid albmotdiehtagii. Su ulbmiil leai dokumenteret giela ja kultuvrra maid son ju su aígásaš obbot jähkke leat jápmime. Čohkkken- ja állmuhanproseassa gaskkas leat muitalusat earuhuvvon konteavsttas: mãidnasat ja muitalusat leat sirrejuuvvon dan konteavsttas gos leat muitaluvvon ja dara lassin lea mui†aleddijj oassi uhciduvvon. Qvigstada állmuhemiid lea historjjálaja-geografalaš vuohki báidnan, dakkár maid n.g. suoma skuva leai ráhkidan ja dan vuohkái biddjojuvvui stoirimus deaddu muitalanárbevieruid stádisvuolta. Oktonas variašuvnnat leat hilgojuvvon ja danin sáhtta dadjat ah te son lea gidden informanttaid njálmmiid.


Buot njeallje muitaleaddjí lede etet seamma geografalaš bırrasis, namalassii Guovdageainnus. Turi, Utsi, Bæra ja Eirra muitalusçaakahkkálldagaid dutkan čajeha sin čeahpes heiveheami nana muitalanárbevirrui. Olu jienat leat mielde muitalusain ja dát govve dan mánggadáfot bırrasa gos sámi muitaleaddjí elle.

Muitalusat ja fástát, mat leat vižžojuvvon oktasaš vuorkkás ja leat seaghanuvvon subjektiivva elementtaigiuin, dajahusaigiuin ja árvvoštallamiigiuin, addet midjiiide soameslagán gova mo leai olbmuíd miella visses konteavsttas. Dán nakkosgirjjís váldojuvvojí vuhtíi ja odiñosin dähkkkojuvvovjet geahččanguovllut mat orru čäjehamin heiveheami ja nuppástuhttim. Muitaleaddjí šiehtadallet árbevieruid, subjektivitehta ja áigeguovdilis áššiid birra dáloš konteavsttas.

Davvisámegiela muitalusat 1900-logu állggu siskkildit maid muitalusaide implikašuvnnat kollektiivva dásis resépšuvnnaisttalš perspektiivvas, mii mearkkása ah te vuolggašadji lea servodat masa muitalusat ledje jurddašuvvon. Goalmmát oasis dán nakkosgirjjís gidáhallojuvvovjet diskurssa sosiala ja ideologalaš.
vääkkuhusat mat leat boahtán ovdan muitalusaid bokte ja väldodeaddu lea biddjojuvvon sosíala gaskavuođaid ja identitehta konstruksuvndnii (Fairclough, 1992:64). Deatáleamos geahččanguovlun sáhttá oaidnit normatiivva ja defensiiva diskurssaid.


Vaikko davvisámi muitalanárbevierru 1900-logu álgoos lea leamaš vuolggasadi ja masa lea biddjojuvvon vállddeaddu, de ferte deattuhit dán nana árbevieru joatkevašvođa. Árbevirolas muitalusat ellet ain otne ja leat heivehuvvon ođđa kontektstii ja ođđa publihkkii. Dát siskkildit ođđa diskurssaid, muhto daid mearkkašupmi sosialiserejimis ja sámí identitehta ovdanbuktimis orru ain leamen deatálaš.

Muitalančoakkálgaardaid dárkílis diskursaguarhallan, mii mearkkaša ahte dutkan válá vahtii konteavstta gos muitalusat leat muitaluvvon, muitalusaid
teakstagorahallama ja daid sosiála ja ideologalaš implikašuvnnaid, čájeha ahte muiatleapmi lea dynamalaš proseassa mii vevheha diskurssaad bisuheami, buvttadeami ja nuppástuhttima. Folkloristtalaš perspektiiva dahká oainnusin muiatlanárbevieruid individuála beliid.

Nákkosgirjís lean maid čájehan ahte go guorahallá muiatlančoakkáldagaid dan vuogi miede ahte muiatleaddji lea guvddážis, de dakkár folkloristtalaš duktama bokte sáhttá oazžut buoret ipmárdusa dan konteavsttas nu got servodatlahhtut vedjet leat vásíhan dan. Dán duktama bokte lean maid viggan addit ruovttoluotta muiatlasaid vajálduvvon muiatleddiide, namalassii daidda artisttaide, oktonas olbmuide ja sosiála oasseváldiide geaid subjektivitehta lea hilgojuvvon.

Dáinna duktamiin lean maid háliidan čájehit mo boarrásat materiálá, vaikko leat váilevaš diedut mo lea čohkkejuvvon ja dalloš duktiiid oiađninčiehka lea leamaš vuođđun, liikká sáhttá leat árvvolaš gáldun.

Translation: Mikael Svonni
RéSUMÉ

Revoicing Sámi narratives s’intéresse à la tradition narrative des sámis (lapons) du nord au début du 20ème siècle. Malgré une collection considérable de contes et légendes publiés et en archives, ces récits ont été considérés comme des objets de musée, ou ignorés. Le talent des conteurs et leur témoignage en tant qu’acteurs sociaux à une époque de changement social intense n’a pas été pris en compte.

Cette thèse se propose d’examiner la relation entre conteur, contexte et tradition collective. Les contextes dans lesquels des répertoires sont créés sont centraux pour l’interprétation et la compréhension des récits. Un conteur est un agent social et un artiste qui forme son répertoire en relation avec le contexte, la tradition, ainsi que ses propres expériences et intérêts. Des récits élaborés par une personne peuvent aussi influencer la tradition collective et la communauté.

Cette étude s’intéresse à quatre conteurs sámis du nord et à leur répertoire, dans un effort pour redonner à ces artistes oubliés et négligés leurs voix. Les personnes interviewées ont longtemps été considérées comme des « porteurs de tradition » plus ou moins anonymes dont les talents et stratégies narratives ont été négligés.

La première partie de cette thèse définit le cadre théorique et méthodologique dans lequel notre recherche s’inscrit ainsi que le contexte des récits. L’analyse se place sur trois aspects: le contexte dans lequel la narration a eu lieu, les récits, et leurs implications. Cette perspective s’inspire d’une étude du folklore plaçant le conteur au centre et intègre une analyse critique du discours selon un modèle développé par Fairclough (Fairclough, 1992). Une attention portée à ces trois plans nous permet d’appréhender la tradition narrative des sámis du nord au début de 20ème siècle en prenant en compte les aspects contextuels, textuels et discursifs.

Après un premier aperçu sur les contextes d’apparition spécifiques du corpus à l’étude dans cette thèse, nous passons à une analyse des textes où les concepts de genres et relations entre différents genres, intertextualité (Briggs and Bauman, 1992) et polyphonie (Bakhtin, 2004) constituent les outils que nous nous donnons pour approcher les stratégies utilisées par ces conteurs. Troisièmement, une étude des aspects discursifs de la narration pour la communauté complète l’analyse.

Le contexte d’émergence des récits est un point important pour la compréhension des textes et de leurs implications. Le contexte sociopolitique
Du début du 20ème siècle présentait de nombreux défis pour les minorités de Sápmi (Laponie) comme une conséquence d’attitudes idéologiques, de mesures politiques et d’événements historiques liés à celles-ci (Elenius, 2006; Kvist, 1992; Lundmark, 1998; Svonni, 2007).

Des questions d’actualité et la problématique de l’époque émergent des récits. Ces éléments nous laissent apercevoir comment ces conteurs vivaient le changement social qui les entourait ainsi que les rencontres et conflits qui avaient lieu en Sápmi à cette époque. Une contextualisation des textes s’avère donc centrale, avant que nous puissions proposer une interprétation des récits selon une perspective réceptionnaliste.

Le climat politique du début du 20ème siècle se caractérisait par une période de changement social intense en Sápmi du Nord. La culture sámie et en conséquence l’identité ethnique sámi étaient remis en question en suite du processus de colonisation, de nationalisme et de mesures d’assimilation. C’est dans ce contexte que Muitalus sámiid birra (Turi, 1910) (traduction française: Récit de la vie des lapons (Turi, 1997)) fut publié en 1910. Johan Turi, reconnu comme le premier écrivain Sámi, rend par son œuvre une description où aspects historiques, politiques, juridiques et traditionnels se rejoignent. Le livre suit un modèle de narration propre à la tradition orale sámi et le genre muitalus.

L’élaboration et la publication du livre de Turi en 1910 est le résultat d’une collaboration entre le conteur Sámi et l’ethnographe et artiste danoise Emilie Demant Hatt. L’ambition de Turi, d’écrire un livre pour informer de la situation de son peuple, est doublée d’un projet d’appel à la conscience du lecteur. Il décrit la vie des sámis et attire attention sur l’injustice dont son peuple est victime et sur l’urgence de la situation. L’étude de Muitalus sámiid birra met en évidence les stratégies de narration de Turi, où il alterne perspectives (européenne et sámie) et tons (ironie et sérieux). Ces stratégies lui permettent de prendre position en rapport au contexte dans lequel la minorité sámie se trouvait. Son récit est aussi une évidence de la façon dont il manie les nuances de langages pour se positionner : il passe de la voix passive à la voix active, choisit différents pronoms et conjugaisons pour exprimer tantôt présence et responsabilité, tantôt distance avec ses affirmations et discours.

Différentes «voix» ou «langages socio-idéologiques » (Bakhtin, 2004) peuvent être discernés dans l’œuvre de Turi. Muitalus est ainsi une expression polyphonique d’un contexte où politique, religion, tradition et nouvelles influences coexistent. Grâce à son talent de conteur, il varie ses degrés d’accord et de remise en question. Il établit une autorité en tant que membre de la communauté sámie et

Le travail de Qvigstad s’inscrit dans l’histoire idéologique et théorique de son époque, et son attitude envers le corpus de récits documentés reflète l’opinion envers les minorités et le folklore en vigueur à cette époque. Son but était de documenter une langue et une culture qu’il croyait en voie de disparition. Le résultat de son travail de terrain et d’entretiens avec des conteurs sámis a ensuite subi des modifications au long du processus de collection et publication. Les récits ont été décontextualisés, c’est-à-dire que les contes et légendes sont dissociés de leur contexte de narration et que le rôle du conteur est effacé. La méthode historico-géographique de l’école finlandaise a laissé son empreinte sur les publications de Qvigstad, qui mettent l’accent sur la stabilité des traditions orales. Les variations individuelles ont été négligées. De cette manière, on peut considérer que Qvigstad a dépossédé ses informants de leurs voix.

Les répertoires d’Utsi, Eira et Bær comprennent des histoires traditionnelles aussi bien que des récits de caractère innovatif. Ces récits, de même que ceux de Johan Turi, expriment la polyphonie qui reflète leur relation au contexte social et aux changements qui les entouraient. Ellen Utsi, 24 ans lors de sa rencontre avec Qvigstad (73 ans) en 1926, était un conteur talentueux qui associe dans son répertoire traditions sámies et influences variées autant en tant que langues que de genres. Les récits de Per Bær font preuve d’un ancrage profond dans la tradition de sa communauté. Son répertoire est le résultat d’une interaction avec Qvigstad, une négociation et adaptation entre sa volonté et les attentes du norvégien. Isak Eira, le troisième informant qui a contribué avec le plus grand nombre de récits dans *Lappiske Eventyr og Sagn II*, transmet par son répertoire des éléments de savoir traditionnel sámi et fait référence à diverses sources d’inspiration. L’étude de ces trois informants principaux met en évidence différentes attitudes et choix envers contextes et influences.

Ces quatre conteurs viennent de la même région de Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino). L’analyse des répertoires de Turi, Utsi, Bær et Eira montre une
possibilité d’adaptation étonnante de la tradition narrative. Plusieurs voix se rencontrent, exprimant la complexité du contexte dans lequel ces conteurs vivaient.

Récits et caractères prenant leur origine dans un « magasin » collectif rencontrent des éléments subjectifs, des commentaires, des valeurs qui nous indiquent comment différentes personnes se positionnent dans un contexte donné. Dans cette thèse, les aspects narratifs indiquant adaptation et changements sont pris en compte. Les conteurs négocient entre tradition, subjectivité et questions d’actualité dans le contexte de leur époque.

Ces répertoires s’inscrivent, d’après l’interprétation proposée dans cette thèse, dans le cadre de l’histoire sociale de Sápmi marquée par la colonisation et une politique assimilationniste à l’égard des minorités. Mais aussi, l’analyse des récits met en lumière des stratégies narratives et une tradition de techniques narratives et politiques de dissimulation de critique sociale.

L’analyse de conteurs sámis du début du 20ème siècle inclut l’étude de l’implication de leurs narrations au niveau collectif en partant d’une perspective réceptionnaliste, c’est-à-dire ayant son point de départ dans la communauté à laquelle ces récits s’adressaient. La troisième partie de cette thèse s’intéresse ainsi aux implications sociales et idéologiques d’un discours élaboré dans les récits. Ces discours et implications sont multiples. Parmi les discours principaux, ceux au caractère normatif et défensif sont proéminents. Les récits peuvent être interprétés comme essentiels dans la formation de discours sur les relations sociales. Des questions d’actualité qui se sont posées en conséquence de l’augmentation de contacts en Sápmi à la fin du 19ème siècle sont articulées dans les contes et légendes et nous indiquent comment les membres de la communauté vivaient et évaluaient la situation. Les normes concernant la relation à la propriété ainsi que les relations dans la communauté sont exprimées dans la narration et sont illustrées métaphoriquement. Vols et autres atteintes à la propriété sont exemplifiés. Les enfants et la jeunesse jouent un rôle central dans les récits où dangers et menaces sont décrits. Un discours d’avertissement est ainsi transmis, en même temps qu’il contribue à la socialisation des jeunes membres de la communauté. Les histoires sont des illustrations de réactions à une manière d’agir déviant de la norme et de ses conséquences. Normes d’endogamie et respect sont exprimées à un niveau implicite.

Les discours sur l’Autre, l’ennemi, et par conséquent sur le propre groupe peuvent être interprétés comme une stratégie de défense. Les récits articulent un discours qui souligne un besoin de protéger le groupe - dans le sens propre
du terme et métaphoriquement - ainsi que l’importance de la solidarité et de la cohésion. La tradition narrative peut de cette manière contribuer à un renforcement de l’identité et jouer un rôle important dans le développement et la préservation de l’identité d’un groupe. Les sámis en tant que groupe culturel et ethnique se trouvèrent au début du 20ème siècle face à un défi dans leur rencontre avec d’autres groupes. Un besoin de former un discours sur le propre groupe et sur l’altérité s’avéra alors nécessaire. Les récits forment aussi un forum pour l’articulation de relation de pouvoirs. Les sámis, en réalité en minorité, sont présentés dans les récits comme supérieurs et ayant l’avantage. De cette manière, la tradition narrative s’avère être une possibilité de remettre en question et de transformer les relations de pouvoir. Ainsi, cette étude souligne le rôle du folklore dans la gestion de l’identité de groupes minoritaires défis par des majorités dominantes.

La tradition narrative sámie du début du 20ème siècle constitue le point central de cette thèse. Toutefois, la continuité et la vivacité de cette tradition ne doit pas être négligée. Les récits traditionnels constituent encore aujourd’hui une part importante de la culture sámie et ont été adaptés à un nouveau contexte et un nouveau public. Ils embrassent et constituent de nouveaux discours, mais leur importance dans la socialisation et l’articulation de l’identité sámie semble toujours actuelle.

Une analyse critique du discours, c’est-à-dire une étude où le contexte d’émergence des récits, une analyse de texte des récits et de leurs implications sociales et idéologiques sont pris en compte, a permis de mettre à jour que la narration est un processus dynamique qui contribue à la préservation, la production et la modification de discours. Une approche intégrant une étude du folklore souligne les aspects individuels et subjectifs de la tradition narrative dans le corpus.

Cette thèse donne l’exemple d’une recherche sur le folklore qui, par l’analyse de répertoires plaçant le conteur au centre, atteint une compréhension d’un contexte tout comme les membres d’une communauté le vivaient. L’analyse s’efforce de rendre une voix à ces conteurs mis sous silence par un discours scientifique en soulignant les aspects subjectifs, politiques et artistiques de leur narration.

Cette étude espère aussi fournir un exemple de l’utilisation possible de matériel d’archives, malgré le manque d’information concernant le contexte de documentation et malgré l’attitude des chercheurs de l’époque.
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