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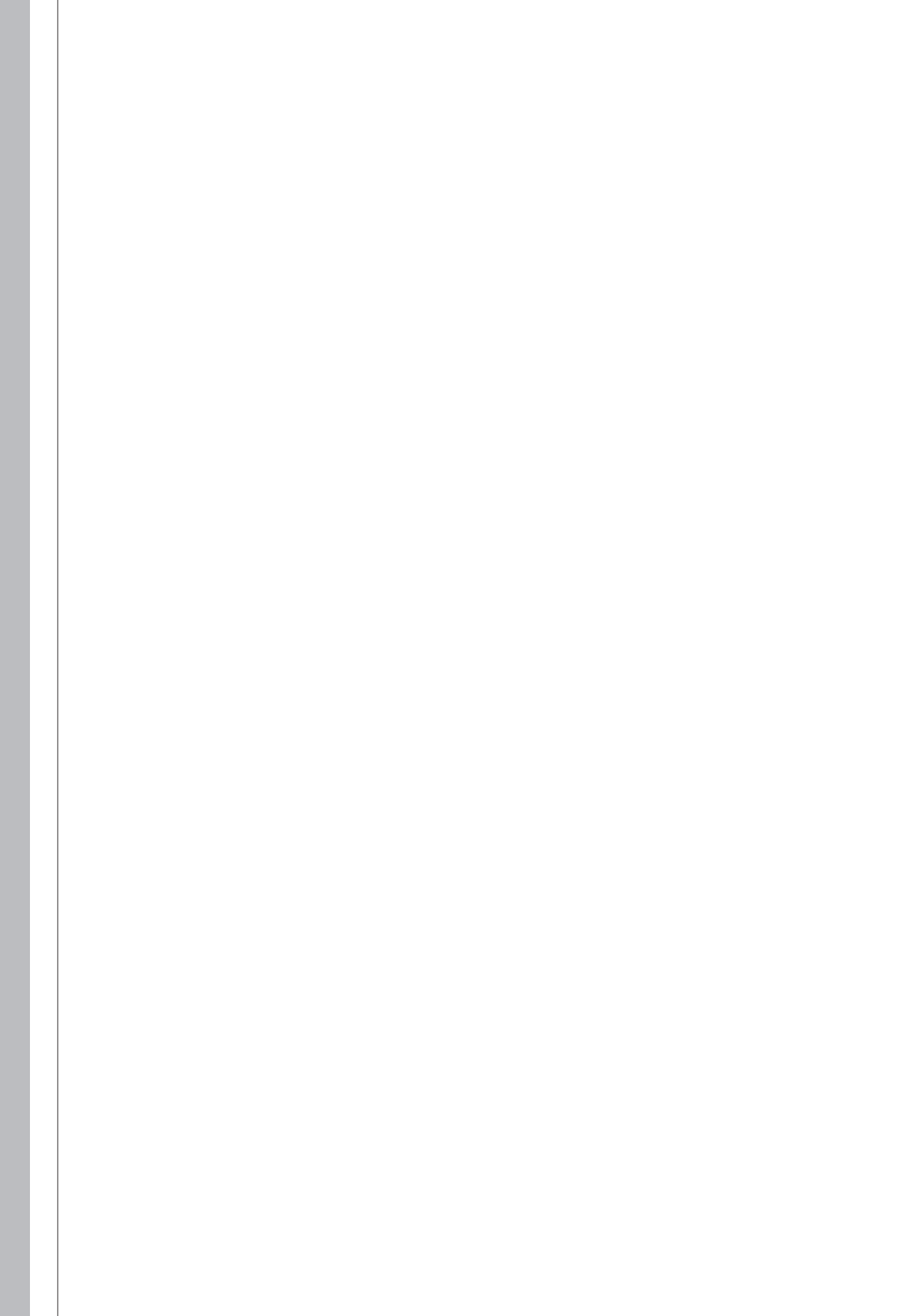
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DANIEL ANDERSSON & LARS-ERIK EDLUND

Language and Space in Northern Spaces

Editorial

The call sent out for this issue of *Journal of Northern Studies* asked for contributions on “Language and Place in Northern Spaces,” a theme that invites interpretation.¹ What is a “northern space” to begin with? And how is language and place connected? As the contributions were sent in and the issue gradually took shape, possible answers to these questions were formulated.

Although a “northern space” is a mental construct whose only necessary characteristic is that of being located north of a given vantage point, there also exists a sort of “canonised” north, i.e. geographical areas and societies “furthest to the north.” It is this latter type of northern spaces that became the main focus of this thematic issue: Sami contexts in Sápmi in northern Scandinavia and Inuit contexts in Greenland, Canada and northern Alaska.

The juxtaposition of language and place also requires an explanation, since there are many kinds of such connections, illustrated by research on, for example, linguistic landscapes, dialectology and sociolinguistics. In place-name studies, however, there are indisputable and strong connections between language and place. Place-names not only identify places and make it possible to describe and talk about the places they denote, they *are* place, they create place. “Naming,” as the geog-

rapher Yi-Fu Tuan puts it, “is power—the creative power to call something into being, to render the invisible visible, to impart a certain character to things” (Tuan 1991: 688). This function of names, that they can “render the invisible visible,” is especially important in connection with minority place-names.

Minority place-names today tell a story about the sociolinguistic context, but also about *who* lives in an area, regardless of the language they speak. This is an important function in post-colonial contexts, as centuries of suppression of indigenous languages have led to massive language loss and even to language death. A place-name also provides historical connections to the place in question, which is important as colonialism have severed indigenous peoples’ connection to places in many contexts. It is partly by telling these stories about the past and present that a minority place-name has the power to strengthen languages, cultures and identity. Therefore, official usage of minority place-names is important when trying to revitalise minority language and culture. Although it is naïve to think that a place-name may lead to a significant increase in indigenous language use, as a symbol it supports other processes and clearly shows that society supports the revitalising efforts.

The contribution in this issue by Taarna Valtonen, based on her dissertation (2014), analyses place-name loaning processes in two Sami communities, the South Sami Ruvhten sįjte (= Tännäs sameby [‘Tännäs Sami village’]), Härjedalen, Sweden, and the Inari Sami communities Čovčjävri (= Syysjärvi) and Kosseennâm (= Paksumaa), Aanaar (= Inari), Finland. The processes are studied within the cultural contexts of the two Sami communities, and interesting differences between them are observed. A kind of protectionist, purist strategy towards outsiders could be observed in Ruvhten sįjte—a phenomenon observed within the entire South Sami area, according to the author, but also earlier observed—while in the Čovčjävri–Kosseennâm context the processes aim “to share the cultural-linguistic code with the majority.” The reasons why the processes in the two communities differ so much are discussed by the author.

Nellejet Zorgdrager takes a historical approach and illuminates the role of place-names in two yoik texts, the so-called winter song and summer song, which were published by Johannes Schefferus in his book *Lapponia* in 1673. Zorgdrager maps out the translation history of the place-names in these yoiks throughout time and how the description of the landscape changes in the different versions. It is illustrated, for instance, that when translators returned to the Sami source texts in the twentieth century, the original landscape gradually emerged again. These observations are important.

Julien Pongérard, in his article, focusses on the name the Inuit have

given their own land, *nuna*. The indigenous definition of *nuna* is described as follows in the Inuktitut dictionary:

Nuna. Does not move. For a long time, it has been the inhabited land and the place where humans and animals grow and also where they die. Nuna has plants, food, people in great numbers and variety; it is full of [different] language groups.

This term is widespread in all Inuit dialects and also included in the Inuit regionyms. Interesting observations are made in the analysis, where the term *nuna* is placed at the center of identity politics, “making *nuna* a key component of the imagination of these northern communities,” as stated at the end of the article.

Guy Bordin, finally, studies a specific type of place-names in Nunavut and Nunavik in the Canadian Eastern Arctic, viz. names related to “other-than-animal non-human beings.” Approximately 50 such names are described, many of which are related to the category of *tuurngait*, a generic term for all shaman helping spirits. These “spiritual” place-names often have similar, negative connotations; the places named are described as being, for example, spooky, frightening or places of bad spirits. Bordin’s mapping of this specific type of toponyms illuminates the coexistence of the usual space, *tumitaqaqtug*, where humans and animals are, and *tumitaittuq*, a space where all non-human beings live. The place-name world conjured up by Bordin is fascinating.

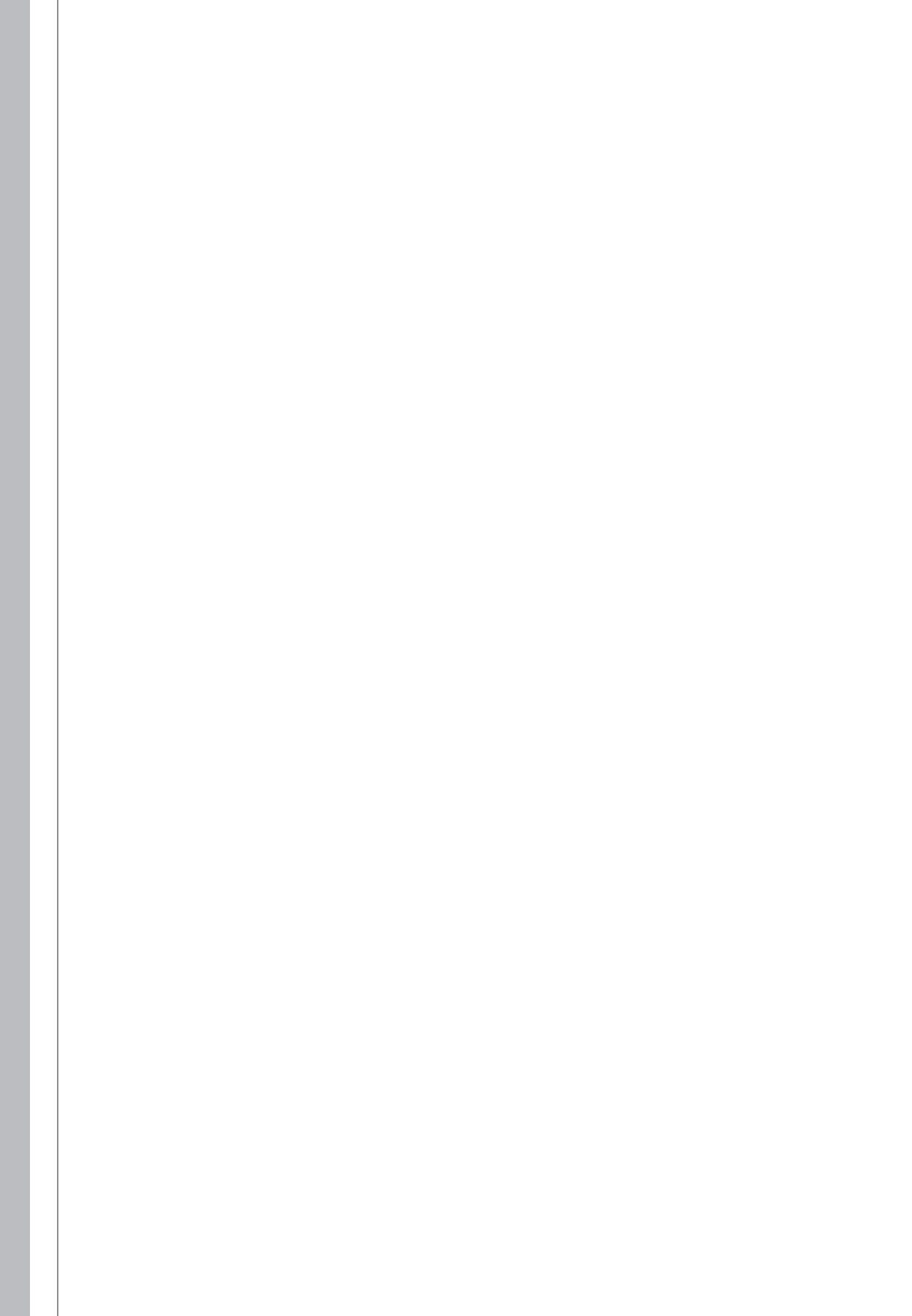
The contributions in this thematic issue illuminates the importance of place-name research. Place-names are part of our intangible cultural heritage, they reveal historical connections between people and place and they are also essential to ongoing creation and understanding of place.

NOTE

¹ This special issue of *Journal of Northern Studies* is organised by the research project “Naming and Narrating Places. Empowering Sami Traditions and Identities through Popular Place-Making Processes,” conducted by Daniel Andersson and Lars-Erik Edlund, Umeå University, and financed by The Research Council Formas (254-2132-186).

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GUY BORDIN

What Do Place-Names Tell about non-Human Beings among Canadian Inuit?

ABSTRACT Typologies have been proposed to organise Inuit place-names in several categories based on the meaning of and glosses on the names. One possible category gathers those toponyms that are related to beings that are neither human nor animal (“other-than-animal non-human beings”). In Nunavut and Nunavik (Canadian Eastern Arctic), this category is used quantitatively to name an almost insignificant number of sites. On the other hand, however, such particular place-names are to be found all over the lands inhabited by Inuit, witnessing the “other” nature of this space by comparison to the space commonly frequented by people and animals.

KEYWORDS Inuit, place-names, toponyms, typology, space, non-human beings, *tuurngait*, *ijirait*, Nunavut, Nunavik

Introduction. Inuit Place-Names and Their Typologies

Place-names, or toponyms, are empirical and symbolic testimonies of land occupation by humankind, plunging sometimes deep into history. They contribute to transforming spaces into places and homelands. They have a lot to tell about land knowledge, use, perception, appropriation by a people inhabiting a territory, or by the various societies and groups that may have jointly (no matter the modalities of such joint occupation) or successively been present on a territory. For instance, in the Canadian Arctic originally populated by the sole Inuit groups, aboriginal place-names form a toponymic substrate in the various dialects of the Inuit language. Depending on the region, areas presently known as Nunavut, Nunavik or Nunatsiavut can also be described by sets of place-names in English and/or French, which were attributed during the last centuries, first by navigators, explorers or traders, then by state authorities. Place naming reflects the variations in main political strengths at a given time. If one takes the example of the recent history of Nunavik (Northern Quebec), until the early 1960s toponymy was in the hands of the Canadian federal government which then populated the region largely with English place-names. After 1961, place-naming was transferred to the provinces, so Quebec started a policy of francization. In the last few decades, a new direction of making Inuit place-names official has been promoted (Müller-Wille 1983; Müller-Wille 1989–1990; Müller-Wille [ed.] 1990; Riopel 2012). A similar trend is being followed in other areas of the Inuit homeland in Canada.

Inuit toponyms collection and analysis have generated interest among successive generations of researchers, from early classical ethnographers to contemporary scholars. Among the main contributors in the Canadian Arctic, we should name, chronologically, Franz Boas, Knud Rasmussen, Therkel Mathiassen, Kaj Birket-Smith, the two Oblate of Mary Immaculate missionaries Guy Mary-Rousselière and Franz van de Velde, Bernard Saladin d'Anglure, Ludger Müller-Wille, Béatrice Collignon, or Darren Keith, who all worked in strong and necessary collaboration with and guidance from Inuit. Inventories, repositories, maps have been published, leading to major recent contributions, in particular the *Gazetteer of Inuit Place Names in Nunavik* (Müller-Wille 1987), the Nunavik Inuit Place Name Map Series initiated in 1991 (Müller-Wille [ed.] 1990), the series of Nunavut maps produced by the Inuit Heritage Trust covering presently a significant part of the territory¹ (in 2017, about 60 maps were publicly available).

These names participate of a reading and understanding of a territory and its landscapes, *directly*—to some degree—when a toponym is lexically the literal description of the designed place, for instance Tasikutaaq,² 'long lake,' or Tasiruluk³ which is a lake "which is no good for fishing" in Nunavik,

Umianguaq⁴ designating a hill in the region of Iqaluit in Nunavut “that looks like an inverted boat,” or Arviqsiurvik⁵ in the area of Iglulik, which names a point as the “place where one hunts for bowhead whales,” or *indirectly*—with variable evidence—when a gloss is necessary to reach full understanding of the name, for instance when the toponym recovers an underlying narrative originating possibly from long past, such as Qimivvik which designates an island not too far from Mittimatalik (Pond Inlet) in Eclipse Sound; the explanation for the name says that a “hunter returning from a hunt once got tangled in the dog team ropes in the 1800s, thus the name Qimivvik”⁶ (map NU38B from Inuit Heritage Trust). An Inuktitut speaker without specific knowledge of the history of the area would understand that the name of the island has to do with “strangle” (*qimit-*), but could not tell more about the actual event.

As a very general rule, Inuit place-names reflect what seems to have appeared at the time as the most characteristic feature of a specific place to those who named it, whether attractive/positive, repulsive/negative or with no specific emotional marker, and then considered of prime importance to be transferred to others, orally for many generations, in repositories and maps as well for contemporary people. Looking again at the examples given above, experience taught people that fishing in a given lake was never very successful, hence its denomination as Tasiruluk, and that the island Qimivvik should be remembered first of all for what happened once to a hunter.

From these sets of data, typologies have been suggested as etic tools to classify toponyms into categories based on the meaning of and glosses on the names. Several of them, displaying varying level of granularity or different thematic focus, are summarized hereafter (wording and definitions are those of the respective authors).

G. Mary-Rousselière collected in 1966 about 250 place-names from the Mittimatalik area in North Baffin Island that he could distribute into four main categories: 1) strictly geographical names; 2) descriptive names; 3) names based on what can be found in the designated place; and 4) names that refer to Inuit customs (Mary-Rousselière 1966; see also Laugrand & Oosten 2009: 291–311)

In 1990, E. Goehring (1990: 75; cited in Byam 2013: 34), based on a name set from the region of Kuugaarjuk (Pelly Bay), proposed a typology made up of three classes: A) Descriptive names (which express physical features); B) Associative names (which relate to objects, animals or things that exist or have existed at a given place; and C) Commemorative names (which illustrate a specific event that occurred at a place). These two typologies are simple, but do not show a power of discrimination high enough to allow sensitive analysis.

Working among the Inuinnait in the Western Canadian Arctic, B. Colignon (1996; 2002; and 2006) proposed a three/four-layer classification ending up in ten categories, namely: A) Specific geographic terms; B) Non specific geographic terms (analogy); C) Non specific geographic terms (description of feature); D) Referenced to another place or to the general orientation of the land features; E) Self-reference; F) No other information; G) Daily life; H) Hunting and gathering; I) Movements and travels; and J) Accidental events.

D. Keith (2000: 27–41; Keith 2004) working among the Harvaqtuurmiut from Kivalliq (West of Hudson Bay) came up with a seven-category system: A) Geographical/literal-descriptive toponyms (which employ geographical terminology with or without modifier information (like *big lake*), and names that are simply descriptive of some sensory aspects of the location); B) Mythological toponyms (that locate an event in traditional Inuit myth; these stories usually have aetiological implications for some aspect of the environment); C) Historical toponyms (that record the locations of historical events or genealogical relations); D) Spiritual toponyms (that refer to supernatural phenomenon, religious objects or religious observances); E) Resource toponyms (that record the location of floral, faunal, mineral and other material resources); F) Metaphorical toponyms (that point out the analogy between the named site or area and something else due to morphological similarity); and G) Human activity toponyms (that relate to the activity of people in their subsistence and cultural lives).

The latter typology appears particularly attractive since it covers most if not all name possibilities while using the reasonable number of seven relevant categories. Quite noteworthy, it has the merit to put in evidence the existence of highly particular toponyms, for instance those that are related to mythology or to the occurrence of other beings that are neither human nor animal,⁷ something that other published typologies do not directly permit although such place-names are to be found all over the Inuit lands, as we will see in this paper dealing specifically with toponyms related to these “other-than-animal non-human beings.” In the following, to avoid stylistic heaviness, I will more often refer to them by the shorter expression “non-human beings” knowing that it is only partly relevant.⁸ Also, most of the works published earlier on Inuit place-names focussed on local scale,⁹ whereas here I will extend the scope to the largest part of the Eastern Canadian Arctic (Nunavut and Nunavik).

Other-than-Animal non-Human Beings

An overview of their variety

It is indeed striking to observe that most data sets collected throughout the Inuit Canadian Arctic reveal such toponyms. To proceed with our study, it shall be useful as a first step to remind what these entities are.

Among all Inuit groups, it was believed not so long ago, and it is still the case to some extent,¹⁰ that not only humans and animals but also various kinds of other-than-animal non-human beings inhabited the world. These beings were endowed with bodies and vital principles, possessed sentience and agency, and formed societies of their own.¹¹ Classical ethnographic texts relate that some were by nature more similar to men,¹² others to animals, yet others were hybrids. In all of these relations one finds myths and tales involving “strange” beings, belonging to categories displaying very fluid boundaries, often collectively referred to as “spirits” in English, and wielding great or extraordinary powers. They could also become helping spirits (*tuurngait*) of shamans. These creatures constantly interacted with humans, and had an important effect on their lives, some were inoffensive and even helpful, others hostile and dangerous, while others adapted their behaviour to circumstances. More generally the borderline between hostility and benevolence was quite permeable and the outcome of an encounter between humans and non-humans was never predictable, especially as some of these creatures also had a few specific weaknesses, meaning that men were not always without defence.

I will not review nor describe here the many categories that existed here and there, this would go outside the scope of this study, but yet I will briefly present those that were and are most frequently told about, whether in mythic stories or in accounts of proper encounters supposed to have happened during travelling or hunting for instance, collected in the Eastern Canadian Arctic.¹³

Many accounts notably report meetings with *ijirait* (or *ijiqqaat*), literally ‘those who have something about the eyes’ in reference to their eyes (*iji*) that are set lengthwise in the face, with the mouth in a similar position. Otherwise, according to, for instance, North Baffin Islanders (Rasmussen 1929: 204–208), they are anthropomorphic, except that their nostrils are like those of caribou. They are normally only visible to shamans, whereas ordinary people are very much afraid of them, and hear only their whistling; in this case they must never show fear, for *ijirait* only attack timid and cowardly people. They are fast runners and can outrun all animals, including caribou into which they can easily turn in order not to be seen. *Ijirait* are on the whole extremely strong and can also make people forget what they have seen.

Table 1. Typology and characteristics of main non-human beings in Nunavut.

Categories	South Baffin	North Baffin	Kivalliq
“Those who have something in the eyes”	<i>Ijirait</i> - make humans go fast - live on caribou - very strong	<i>Ijirait</i> - invisible to ordinary people - have optical device-mirrors - nostrils like caribou's - attack cowardly people - make humans go fast	<i>Ijirqat</i> - invisible to ordinary people - live on caribou - make humans go fast
“The shadow beings”	<i>Tarriassuit</i> - invisible to humans - quite cordial to humans	<i>Tarriaksuit</i> - only their shade is seen - benevolent to humans	<i>The shadow people</i> - become visible when they die or when one looks at them from the corners of the eye - live with humans in the same country
“The beings of fire, those who shine”		<i>Ingniriugjait</i> - never sleep - often benevolent to humans	<i>Ignuckuark</i> - live near the shore - have no eyelids - never sleep - friendly to humans
“The dwarfs”	<i>Inuarulligait</i> - hunt with knife - very strong - hostile to humans	<i>Inugarulligait</i> - very powerful - often hostile to humans	<i>Inuakluit (Inuarugdligait)</i> - can make wind blow - grow in size as they wish - hostile to people
“The giants”	<i>The giants</i> - very strong	<i>Inukpait</i> - very strong - rather benevolent to humans	<i>Inukpait</i> - very strong
“Those who have an <i>amauti</i> (back pouch) or equivalent”	<i>Qalupalit</i> - look like humans - live in the sea - hostile, keep children in their <i>amauti</i>	<i>Amajurjuit</i> - hostile female beings <i>Qallupilluit</i> - live in the sea - keep people in their pouch	<i>Amautalik</i> - hostile female beings, keep people in their pouch - live up inland

In the same large region (Rasmussen 1929: 210–211), *tarriaksuit* or *tarqajag-zuit* ('the shadow people') are human-like beings of disembodied appearance, only their shadow is visible, whence their name (*tarraq*, 'shadow'). They hunt by running to overtake animals that they then bring down. They are always good to people and make excellent helping spirits for shamans.

Other non-human peoples, still limiting ourselves to North Baffin cases and to name just but a few (Rasmussen 1929: 121, 208–216), include *inu-garulligait* ('the little people,' or 'dwarfs'), *inukpait* ('the giants'), *amajurjuut* (hostile female beings like ogresses with a big hood on the back in which they keep people they capture), or *ingniriugjait*,¹⁴ whose name means 'the great fire' and which live either on the coast or far inland. The windows of the dwellings of the shore beings are sometimes seen lit up, while terrestrial ones have some kind of luminous lard bladders in their houses, which would explain their name. It is said that whoever succeeds in obtaining one of these mysterious sources of light will become a great shaman, provided that he keeps it permanently with him for the rest of his life.

Table 1 gathers some of the main categories of non-humans encountered in Nunavut (Baffin Island and Kivalliq) as described in classical relations (Boas [1888] 1964; Boas 1901; Boas 1907; Rasmussen 1929; Rasmussen 1930). Their main features form the basis for their generic designation.

Among these categories, the particular importance of *ijirait* appears well reflected in their high prevalence in accounts on meetings between humans and non-humans, what seems further evidenced by the following aspect. Not much is said in general of the origin of these agencies, except for a few of them as narrated in a well-known pan Inuit myth, that of the girl who did not want to marry, but became eventually, after a series of dramatic incidents, the Sea woman (see also note 11). There are a number of versions with a rather similar start and final issue, but diverging episodes (see Merkur 1991 for an overview of the myth versions). The "typical" tale would go like this: A young girl refuses all suitors but finally accepts to have a dog for husband, which often takes human shape. She gets pregnant and gives birth to children—humans and/or puppies and/or half-men half-dogs—whom, after several events, she sends into the world in different directions where they would become ancestors of various "peoples." It is mainly from the births that divergences occur.

The main features of nine Nunavut versions of this myth are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Some features of the myth on the “Sea woman.” (Names in bold designate non-human beings.)

Region	Husband nature	Children	Ancestors of
South Baffin (Boas [1888] 1964: 229)	Dog	a) Five puppies b) Five man-dog hybrids	a) <i>Qallunaat</i> b) Indians
South Baffin (Boas 1901: 164–166)	Father's dog in human shape	Puppies	- (<i>Qallunaat</i>) - <i>Ijirait</i> - <i>Inuarulligait</i> - Inuit
Kivalliq (Boas 1901: 327-328)	Father's dog in human shape	Puppies	- <i>Qallunaat</i> - Indians
North Baffin (Iglulik) (Rasmussen 1929: 63–64)	Father's dog in human shape	a) Five puppies b) Humans	a) <i>Qallunaat</i> b) Indians
North Baffin (Iglulik) (Oosten & Laugrand [eds.] 1999)	Father's dog	Puppies	- Indians - <i>Qallunaat</i> - <i>Ijirait</i>
North Baffin (Iglulik) (Saladin d'Anglure 1983)	Family's dog	?	- <i>Qallunaat</i> - Indians - <i>Ijirait</i> - Tuniit ¹⁵
North Baffin (Mittimatalik) (Boas 1907: 492)	Dog	?	- <i>Qallunaat</i> - <i>Ijirait</i> - Dwarfs - Inuit
Nattilik (Rasmussen 1931: 227–228)	Father's dog in human shape	Puppies	- <i>Qallunmat</i> - Indians
Nattilik (Utkuhikjalingmiut) (Rasmussen 1931: 498–499)	Father's dog	Puppies	- Indians - <i>Qallunaat</i> - <i>Ingnertjuit</i> ¹⁶

Besides the white people *Qallunaat* (in all versions) and Indians (in most versions), three categories of non-human beings are labelled as descending from this union between a young girl and a dog: the *ijirait* first of all (four occurrences), the dwarfs (two occurrences) and the “shining beings” (one occurrence). *Ijirait*, where they are attested, tend clearly to hold a prominent position among other-than-animal non-human peoples.

Shamans' Helping Spirits

In their mediation with other worlds, shamans needed the assistance of *tuurngait*, their helping spirits, which took on the most varied forms (see

for instance Boas [1888] 1964: 183–184; Rasmussen 1929: 113, 119–121, 144–145; Rasmussen 1931: 294, 300). Everything that existed could become a helping spirit, including rocks, animals, plants, humans, as well as all sorts of non-human beings such as those presented above. *Ijirait* were recognised as being particularly powerful helping spirits (Rasmussen 1929: 113–114).

The richest ethnographic source on the matter is most likely the compilation of the three hundred and forty-seven *tuurngait* established around 1914 by the Reverend Edmund J. Peck that F. Laugrand discovered in 1994 in the General Synod Archives of the Anglican Church of Canada. This list of helping spirits collected in South Baffin Island has since then been the object of a remarkable editing work (Laugrand *et al.* [eds.] 2000) in which each *tuurngaq* is presented with its main features: name, size, shape and appearance (such as human, animal, hybrid, dressed or naked, colour), residence, behaviour towards humans, etc.

Tuurngaq (singular of *tuurngait*) is hence a generic word for a “function,” not a separate category of beings as such, at least in most Inuit regions, and a shaman could have several *tuurngait* that could be extremely different the ones from the others. In a few areas though, the word *tuurngaq* was or is still used to designate a particular category of beings. This is notably the case in the western part of Nunavik, and the neighbouring Belcher Islands, both being rather southern Inuit lands. There, the *tuurngait* form a distinct category, found in numerous accounts, which does not mean that shamans could not use them as helping spirits (Saladin d’Anglure 1992; Ouellette 2002).

Interestingly, the beings called *ijirait* in Nunavut are more than likely equivalent to those designated as *tuurngait* in large parts of Nunavik—where the word *ijiraiq* is indeed rarely attested¹⁷—since they share the same main features: ability to be invisible to ordinary humans, have eyes set lengthwise, can see far with optical tools, are extremely strong and can make people forget about encounters with them.

In any case, these terms, *ijirait* and *tuurngait*, with their meaning framed by rather flexible limits, appear overwhelmingly in stories involving other-than-animal non-human beings.

Tuurngait, in the most common understanding of the word, are now often considered by Christian Inuit as demons or bad spirits (Dorais 1997; Laugrand 2002: 350), or even simply declared as belonging to a completed past, which is also the case of *ijirait*, as exemplified in the following two statements from Mittimatalik (Bordin 2015: 318, 321):

I never heard anything about whether there are *tuurngait*, I only heard say that there were *tuurngait* a long time ago, before people believed in God, that there were also *ijirait* before people believed in God, but now it is no

longer like that, I know that there is no longer *tuurngait* or *ijirait*, I do not think that they still exist, even when one travels inland. (Maata Kunuk)¹⁸

Now that people are Christian there is no longer anything [i.e. no non-human beings], but formerly they existed through the shaman, through his body, people believed in the existence of *ijirait*, there are even places named after them, Ijqqat, and it was said that although they were human they were invisible, they could fish, people saw them when shamans existed, through their bodies, they said that there were also other beings like the *inurajait* which could become caribou but could not be seen; once you have been baptized they are not visible, it is impossible to see them. (Alan Maktaaq)¹⁹

Place-Names Related to non-Human Beings from Nunavut and Nunavik

If we follow the place-name topology suggested by Keith and reminded in the introduction, then the testimony by Alan Maktaaq above provides a first example of a “spiritual” toponym²⁰ (Ijqqat, ‘where there are *ijqqat*’). I have then scrutinized all toponymic material available from Nunavut and Nunavik that I could have access to²¹ in order to identify place-names belonging to this category. The survey has resulted in a set of roughly fifty names, which are gathered in Table 3, by region and community/village.

Lexical reminder to read the table:

amajurjuk (sg.) = malevolent being which has a back pouch to keep people in

ijiraaq (sg.) = anthropomorphic and very strong being which can get invisible

inugarulligaq (sg.) = non-human dwarf

tariassuk (sg.) = shadowy non-human being

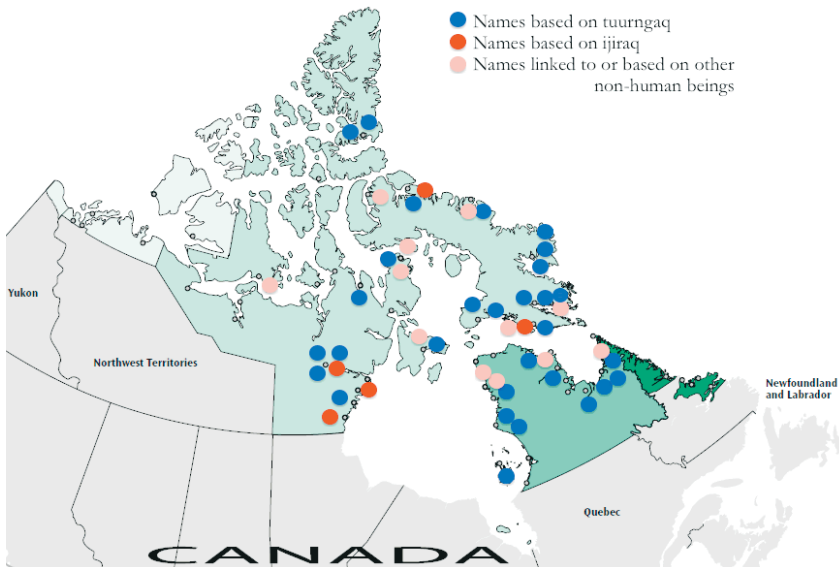
tupilak (sg.) = deadly spirit (see note 11)

tuurngaq (sg.) = shaman’s helping spirit

This set of data is certainly not exhaustive since for several areas there are neither maps nor registries with Inuit toponyms available. This is notably the case for some parts in Western Nunavut (in the Qitirmiut region, see for instance the few available maps on www.ihti.ca). On the other hand, maps and other data in the Inuit language cover most of the areas Inuit used to inhabit when they were living according to their semi-nomadic lifestyle. Hence, this data constitutes a significant sample of place-names related to non-human beings that can be found in the Eastern Canadian Arctic.

On the whole, it comes out that the number of such place-names in Nunavut and Nunavik remains very low (<0.5%), confirming on a much bigger scale what local surveys already showed previously. The quantitative dimension, however, does not depict the whole picture, far from it.

Although not plentiful, these “spiritual” toponyms are indeed to be found all over the Inuit lands concerned, in particular in the Baffin Island and Kivalliq regions of Nunavut where they are relatively more abundant. Contemporary Inuit live in about fifty villages,²² established largely in the 1950s and 1960s but which were already for most of them major places of life before Inuit settled down permanently. As depicted on Map 1 (built from the data in Table 3), and as far as Eastern Nunavut and Nunavik are concerned, it can be seen that there is one or two such place-names in the extended territory of most communities.



Map 1. Place-names related to non-human beings in Eastern Canadian Arctic.

Table 3. Place-names linked to non-human beings in Nunavut and Nunavik.

Place-name	Meaning ²³	Nearest village + map
EASTERN NUNAVUT—QIKIQTAALUK		
Tuurngalik	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Ausuittuq NU49A
Tuurngaqtalik	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Ausuittuq NU49A
Inungnait	(Place where there are) <i>inungnait</i>	Tununirusiq NU47G
Tuurngaasi	Place related to <i>tuurngait</i>	Mittimatalik NU37G
Ijiqqat	(Place where there are) <i>ijirait</i>	Mittimatalik NU38B
Tarriassulik	Place where there are <i>tarriassuit</i>	Kangiqtugaapik NU27F
Tuurngalik	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Kangiqtugaapik NU37E
Tuurngalik	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Iglulik NU47D
Alianaqtulik	Place where there is something frightful	Iglulik NU47D
Quaqsaraarjuk	A place where you wait for freeze up	Iglulik NU47E
Tuurngaqtalik	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Panniqtuuq NU26I

Coordinates	Feature	Description (provided by the sources)
76.9642N 81.8474W	Valley	A place where there is something strange or eerie.
76.4269N 83.9778W	Old camp	Haunted place. (Archaeological site)
71.9886N 86.0330W	Point	<p>Haunted place. They used to see little people there. Some Inuit were afraid of them. There are old sod houses around this point. It is a good place for seal hunting.</p> <p><i>“Inungnait</i> were like <i>tarriaksuit</i> but more vicious as my grandmother said, they used to live in that place long ago, that’s why it is called <i>Inungnait</i>” (pers. comm. from Max Kalluk 2017).</p>
71.8925N 79.0918W	Lake	Sighting point of spirits. Booming pressure in ice in lakes causes loud spooky sounds.
72.5200N 77.5409W	Land	Ghostly forms that you cannot see directly, but at the corner of your eyes.
70.3472N 71.7053W	Point	Place where you can hear ghostly sounds. Not much known about this place.
70.8580N 72.1052W	Valley	No ghost. Sounds in this area likely related to glacier movement.
69.0656N 81.4665W	Rocks	A place where there are <i>tuurngait</i> (near the sea).
69.1712N 82.2733W	Hill	Spooky place; people have gotten frightened by some unseen force (5 km from the coast).
70.0827N 83.4045W	Creek	Place where someone got suddenly frightened or startled.
66.3514N 64.3569W	Route	Place where two people went to sleep in their tent but did not wake. Those who found them, perhaps bad spirits, took them.

Place-name	Meaning ²³	Nearest village + map
EASTERN NUNAVUT–QIKIQTAALUK		
Tuurngait	(Place where there are) <i>tuurngait</i>	Panniqtuuq NU26I
Tuurngait	(Place where there are) <i>tuurngait</i>	Panniqtuuq NU26J
Tuurngait	(Place where there are) <i>tuurngait</i>	Iqaluit NU25I & 15L
Inurujulik	Place where there are <i>inurujuit</i>	Iqaluit NU25J & G
Tuurngaqtalik	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Iqaluit NU25N
Tuurngaqtalik	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Iqaluit NU25O
Tuurngaqtalik	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Kinngait NU25M
Tuurngaqtalik	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Kinngait NU36A
Tuurngait	(Place where there are) <i>tuurngait</i>	Kimmirut NU25K
Inugagulikkat	(Place where there are) dwarfs	Kimmirut NU25K
Ijiraqtalik	Place where there are <i>ijirait</i>	Kimmirut NU25M

Coordinates	Feature	Description (provided by the sources)
66.04N 65.24W	Campsite	Seasonal camp. Big char (on the coast).
66.2344N 67.7109W	Bay	Has to do with spirits (marine area).
62.9410N 65.9107W	Peninsula	Ghosts. This place has had this name for a long time, reason not known.
62.9260N 66.7850W	Island	Spiritual presence there a long time ago. Unusual experiences have been had here. (<i>Inurujuk</i> is somebody with no moral who does not care about others and rules.)
63.5591N 68.7562W	Valley	Valley north side of river (entire side). It has ghost or spirit and may be haunted? Eliya Padluq's brother lost in this area, never found. Inuki's father caught a caribou, called his wife for help, she left her baby in the tent to help and the baby was never found again. Place gives people eerie feeling.
63.0105N 66.3677W	Hillside	It has a ghost. Water can be obtained by travellers from here. A creepy place, when water is poured, there is a "creepy" echo-sound of water.
~63.65N ~71.67W	Island	Explanation unknown. (Just north of Ijiraqtalik below.)
~64.23N ~73.10W	Island	A place where there are ghosts, a place where people appear and disappear on the land.
62.7411N 69.6726W	Point of land	A creepy place, high waves in this area.
62.6442N 69.5683W	Island	A place of little people.
63.6037N 71.6771W	Island	Name for the invisible people that live at this island.

Place-name	Meaning ²³	Nearest village + map
EASTERN NUNAVUT–QIKIQTAALUK		
Tuurngasiti(ik)	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Sanikuluq
WESTERN NUNAVUT–QITIRMIUT		
Inuarulligaq	(Place where there is a) dwarf	South of Kent Peninsula
Uvayuq	Person's name	Iqaluktuuttiaq NU77D
Tuurngalik	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Kuugaarjuk NU57A
Tuurngaqtuuq	Place where there are many <i>tuurngait</i>	Kuugaarjuk
EASTERN NUNAVUT–KIVALLIQ		
Tuurngalik	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Salliq
Tupilak	(Place where there is a) <i>tupilak</i>	Salliq
Tuurngaqtalik Kivalliq	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Qamanittuaq NU56D
Tuurngaqtalik Kanannaq&iq	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Qamanittuaq NU56D
Tuurngalik	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Qamanittuaq NU65P
Iglutalik ijarangmik	Place where there is the house of a <i>ijiraq</i>	Qamanittuaq
Ijiralik	Place where there are <i>ijirait</i>	Kangiq&iniq

Coordinates	Feature	Description (provided by the sources)
55.8394N 79.8930W	Point	Haunted place. Where there are spirits.
68.2408N 106.7536W	Island	Small island between Kent Peninsula and the continent (pers. comm. from Béatrice Collignon 2017).
69.1716N 104.7147W	Hill	This hill is a giant who was named <i>Uvayuq</i> . Related to the story about the origin of death.
68.7270N 89.0235W	Lake	
68.8908N 90.4300W	Islands and points	
65.0150N 84.6416W	Valley	Place where there may be spirits or ghosts.
63.9311N 81.7446W		Tupilak is probably the carving pendant resembling a demon with a large mouth. Place probably named for a person named <i>Tupilak</i> .
64.1146N 95.3986W	Island	Reason for name not known (kivataani: on the south-west).
64.1295N 95.3327W	Island	Reason for name not known (kanannaq: north-east).
	Cave	(Close to Qikiqtaalugjuaq) (Keith 2000: 63–64)
64.64 N 97.14 W	Cave	It is a cave of an <i>ijiraq</i> —little people that disappear (Kigjugalik Hughson 2010: 106).
62.8856N 92.1439W	Land	Spirits can be felt here.

Place-name	Meaning ²³	Nearest village + map
EASTERN NUNAVUT–KIVALLIQ		
Tuurngalik	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Tikrarjuaq
Ijiralik	Place where there are <i>ijirait</i>	Arviat NU55E
NUNAVIK		
Tupilavvik	Place where there are <i>tupilait</i>	Killiniq
Tuurngait	(Place where there are) <i>tuurngait</i>	Kangirsualujjuaq 24P-11
Tuurngait	(Place where there are) <i>tuurngait</i>	Kangirsualujjuaq 24P-11
Tuurngaq	(Place where there is a) <i>tuurngaq</i>	Kangirsualujjuaq 24P-07
Tuurngatalik	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Kuujjuaq 24J-05
Tuurngatuuq	Place where there are many <i>tuurngait</i>	Kangirsuk 25C-04

Coordinates	Feature	Description (provided by the sources)
62.4728N 92.6600W	Island	Shaman island, bad spirits, not a good place to camp.
61.8596N 95.4555W	Land	Ghosts.
	Island	A traditional winter camp where there were <i>tupilait</i> , deadly spirits which result from the pollution of a place too long inhabited, from the evil deeds of a shaman, or from the dissatisfaction of the soul of a dead (Saladin d'Anglure 2004: 118).
59.5667N 65.4405W	Cave	<i>Tuurngait</i> , the name of a rocky mountain, between Kangirsualujjuaq and Killiniq, overlooking the sea. There is a cave where Tuurngajuaq ['The Great Tuurngaq'] lived, in the form of a giant bear. The Moravian Brethren who passed near Tuurngait in 1811 talked about the "dwelling of the dragon" and the fear that it inspired in their Inuit guides (Saladin d'Anglure 2004: 118).
59.5644N 65.4388W	Cliff	
59.3997N 64.6872W	Mounts	
58.4695N 67.7667W	Island	
60.2250N 69.5069W	Island	

Place-name	Meaning ²³	Nearest village + map
NUNAVIK		
Illutalialuk	The great place that has houses	Quartaq
Tuurngatuuq	Place where there are many <i>tuurngait</i>	Kangirsujuaq 25E-05
Amajurjuk	(Place where there is a) <i>amajurjuk</i>	Akulivik 35C-12
Amajurjuk	(Place where there is a) <i>amajurjuk</i>	Akulivik 35C-12
Tuurngatalik	Place where there are <i>tuurngait</i>	Puvirnituaq 34N-06
Tuurngaup Illuvininga	The ruined dwelling of a <i>tuurngaq</i>	Inujjuaq 34K-04
Tuurngaup Illuvininga	The ruined dwelling of a <i>tuurngaq</i>	Inujjuaq 34K-06

These toponyms are not specific in terms of geomorphology as they are used to designate all kinds of landscape features: bay, cave, cliff, hill, island, lake, point, route, valley, etc. But they share in contrast similar negative appreciations. Indeed, these places are always described, when using English words, as being spooky, creepy, frightening, haunted, places of bad spirits, ghostly forms or sounds, unusual experiences.²⁴

People speak about such locations. For instance George Agiaq Kappianaq, who grew up in the Salliq area, remembers that some places were actually said to be dangerous, being considered inhabited by “beings,” and someone who decided to go to such a place on purpose would lose his strength

Coordinates	Feature	Description (provided by the sources)
		A seemingly trivial designation ('the great place that has an igloo') that is actually the home of the great Amautilialuk, the flying ogress that captured the humans she carried in her back hood. The Inuit of Kangirsujuaq claimed, some fifty years ago, that they still saw her passing through the sky, coming from Tuvaaluk in the Quartaq area (Saladin d'Anglure 2004: 119).
61.4250N 71.7125W	Island	An island where there is a cave (Saladin d'Anglure 2004: 118)
60.5619N 77.6580W	Hills	
60.5661N 77.7175W	Shore	
59.4141N 77.3214W	Lake	
58.2442N 77.6980W	Cliff	
58.2905N 77.4519W	Site	

(Oosten & Laugrand [eds.] 2001: 80–83). Guy Mary-Rousselière recorded Michel Kanajuq in Qamanittuaq in 1955, who declared:

There are two islands over there that are called Tuurngaqṭalik. The people before us would be afraid to sleep on those islands. They say that there was a family that had stayed there just for the night and that they had ended up dying. I heard this from the people before us. Nowadays people go there, but nobody dies anymore. I wonder what it was that happened to those people? I don't know whether this incident was true, or if someone just made up the story. (Laugrand & Oosten 2009: 77–78)

Or yet Andy Mamgark from Kivalliq recalls:

There is a valley [near Angmagiilaq] and my father-in-law and I went there once through the valley. We travelled on the north side. I followed close behind and he told me not to fall behind because it is an area where a person should not be travelling alone... It has to do with *ijirait*. In fact people say you can't leave objects there, as you will lose them. (Bennett & Rowley [eds.] 2004: 154)

The last quote mentions the *ijirait* that were described earlier. This brings us to another notable observation that, among the many species of non-human beings, two of them have been source of major place nomination: almost 70 per cent of all "spiritual" toponyms reported are either related to the category of *tuurngait* in the first place (*tuurngaq* and its derivatives: *tuurngaqtalik*, *tuurngalik*, etc. with a total of 31 names) or to a lesser extent to that of *ijirait* (*ijiraq* and its derivatives: *ijiraqtalik*, *ijiqqat*, etc. with 5 names). This is well illustrated on Map 1.

Whereas *tuurngaq*-toponyms are found in all Inuit lands, with a relatively higher proportion in Nunavik, *ijiraq*-names are logically absent from this latter territory. Every other type of non-human being used to generate toponyms accounts for one or two cases at most (for instance two places named after the dwarves). There are also a few names where only the gloss allows linking to non-human beings: the cases of *Alianaqtulik* in Baffin Island and *Illutalialuk* in Nunavik are good examples. Hence the prevalence of *tuurngait* and *ijirait* over other beings in oral literature finds its correspondence in specific place-names related to these beings, reflecting also local situations. For instance, there is only one place in the whole set of data which is linked to the *tarriaksuit* (anthropomorphic beings of disembodied appearance), and it is located in the east Baffin community of *Kangiqtugaapik*, precisely the area where stories about these beings seem to be more frequent (Saladin d'Anglure [ed.] 2001: 51–52, 216).

Remembering finally that *tuurngait* was largely a generic term for all shaman helping spirits, and that *ijirait* were probably the most cited non-human species in narratives (except in Nunavik, replaced by *tuurngait*) and therefore sometimes used as a vague generic for land non-human beings, one may infer that Inuit "spiritual" place-names refer largely to two meta-categories which represent the essence of non-human beings. These toponyms are living evidence that alongside the usual space called *tumitaqaqtuq* ('where there are footmarks') frequented by humans and animals, there is another type of space called *tumitaittuq* ('where there is no footmark') where all kinds of non-human beings are "at home." These creatures do not

leave footmarks and their presence is acknowledged in places spread all over the lands that remained enchanted by their particular names.

NOTES

¹ See <http://iht.ca/eng/place-names/pn-seri.html>. On these maps, each Inuit toponym is listed in both syllabic and Roman writings, including also the feature designated (hill, lake, river, etc.) and an explanation in English. Inuit (mostly elders) who contributed to a map are sometimes referenced.

² From *tasiq*, 'lake,' -*kutaaq*, 'long.'

³ From *tasiq*, 'lake,' -*ruluk* pejorative.

⁴ From *umiaq* 'boat,' -*nnguaq*, 'looks like.'

⁵ From *arviq* 'bowhead whale,' -*siuq*-, 'hunt,' -*vik*, 'place where.'

⁶ From *qimit*-, 'strangle,' -*vik*, 'place where.'

⁷ In fact, these two place-name categories overlap partly and could be easily merged into a single one; that would not, however, change the reasoning behind.

⁸ Strictly speaking the expression "non-human beings" also applies to animals. See Hill (2012) for an interesting study on the personhood of such beings.

⁹ In addition to the works referred to earlier in the introduction, we could also mention those by Dudley (1972) on the Cumberland Peninsula (Baffin Island), or by Fair (1997) on the region of Shishmaref (Alaska).

¹⁰ See for instance Oosten & Laugrand (eds.) (2001: 71–80); Oosten & Laugrand (eds.) (2002: 130–136).

¹¹ Hence this notion excludes entities such as the souls (*tarniit*) of the dead for which ritual prescriptions were not respected, and who could then turn into evil spirits (*tupilait*) seeking to revenge themselves on the living, as well as singular beings such as the Sea woman or Mother of the sea animals known as, among others and depending on the regions, Sanna (Sedna), Kannaaluk, Takanakapsaaluk or yet Nuliajuq.

¹² Human-like non-human beings are sometimes called *inurajait*. The concept of *inurajait* is however not perfectly grounded and varies between regions (Saladin d'Anglure [ed.] 2001: 51–71).

¹³ For overviews on these creatures, see in particular Bennett & Rowley (eds.) (2004: 150–159), Laugrand & Oosten (2010: 168–198), Bordin (2015).

¹⁴ Built on *ingniq*, 'fire, spark produced with a flint and steel;' *ingniruqtuq*, 'what shines phosphorescently on the sea at night.'

¹⁵ The Tuniit are the ancestors of the Inuit.

¹⁶ These beings are equivalent to the *ingniriugjait* from North Baffin (see Table 1).

¹⁷ I am aware of two published occurrences on *ijirait* from Nunavik. The first one is by Tiivi Ittuq (Tivi Etok), an elder from Kangiqsualujjuaq in Northeast Nunavik, who says: "There are other things we call *Ijirait*. These deceivers also take on the form of animals, although they can also take on human form. The only experience I had with them was when I was part of a hunting party [...]" (see Weetaluktuk & Bryant 2008: 51, 207). The second one is found in a study by Graburn (1980: 197): "*Ijirak* (dialectal variant *ijuruk*) are close to what we call ghosts, that is, the spiritual presences of deceased people, often known and recognized people." The latter is clearly different from the notion of *ijirait* that is found in Nunavut, and it rather corresponds to what is generally known as *tupilak*, 'evil spirit' (see above note 11).

- ¹⁸ *Tusaumangittiaqtunga tamakkuninga tuurngaqtaqarmangat, kisiani tusaumajunga tuurngaqtaqatallauqturuuq immakallak ukpirasualuanngitillugit, ijiraqtaqat-talauqturluunniit ukpirasualuanngitillugit, maannali taimaittuqajjaanngittuq tuurn-gaqtaqajjaanngittuq ijiraqtaqajjaanngitturluunniit qaujimaliqtunga, pitaqajjairasugijun-niitqara taimaittumi aullaqsimagaluarluni.* (Maata Kunuk from Mittimatalik)
- ¹⁹ *Maannakkut ukpirusuliqtillugit pitaqanngittiammariliqtuq, taima taissumani angakkuk-kut timikkuutillugit pitaqauqtuminiq, ukpirijaungmata pitaqauqtuminiungmangaata ijirait, nunauilluni ilangit atiqauqtuqarmingmat Ijiqqat, suurlu inuugaluaruuq takuksaujunna-nngittuit iqalugasugunraraluaq&utik, takujawuktuminiit angakkurujuutillugit timikkuutil-lugit, taimanna pitaqauqtuminiit taikkuattaq inurajaittaq pitaqaniraqtaumingmata tuktuulirunnaq&utiguuq takuksaujunnanngittiaqtut, takujaksauunngittunikkua vaaqtitau-simallunili, takuksauunngittuq ajunnaqtuq.* (Alan Maktaa from Mittimatalik)
- ²⁰ “Spiritual” refers here to the fact that other-than-animal non-human beings are often designed as “spirits” in ethnographical relations. Hence “spiritual place-names” refer here to sites related to non-human beings.
- ²¹ Main sources include: the Inuit Heritage Trust’s Nunavut Map Series and the Google MyMaps Series available on www.ihiti.ca, the Gazetteer of Inuit Place Names in Nunavik (Müller-Wille 1987). Other sources are specifically mentioned in Table 3.
- ²² Only the capital of Nunavut, Iqaluit, is a city, with more than 7,000 inhabitants in 2016.
- ²³ Many of the place-names listed are built on the scheme noun + *-lik* or noun + *-talik*, both meaning ‘one who has’ or ‘there is/are.’ Hence both *Tuurngalik* and *Tuurngaqtalik* mean ‘place where there are *tuurngait*,’ the only difference being in the *-ta-* which suggests that the individual(s) who named the place times ago could guarantee the veracity of the statement, possibly by personal experience.
- ²⁴ See Bordin (2011) on the expression of fear in Inuktitut.

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Nuna

Naming the Inuit land, imagining indigenous community

ABSTRACT The Inuit land is often known through Western phrasings such as the “Arctic” or the “Great North.” In this article, based on an extensive review of literature, I focus on the name the Inuit give to their own land, which is one of the only words common to all Inuit dialects: *nuna*. Studying the word’s meaning casts light on a peculiar indigenous territoriality, and on the centrality of environment in Inuit ways of life and holism thinking. The Inuit conceptualize their inhabiting of the circumpolar region in a way radically opposed to Western narratives of wilderness or wasteland.

In the late twentieth century, *nuna* was turned into a key component of identity politics. Inuit peoples linguistically reappropriated their lands, in parallel with formal land claims and the recognition of Inuit self-governed territories. *Nuna* is at the core of these processes, as the concept justifies the claims for recognition of vernacular toponyms, and the vocable itself was included in the names of Inuit regions. *Nuna* as an indigenous political banner helps understanding the imagination of Inuit political communities, emerging from a dialectical co-construction of identities and territories mediated through the linguistics of place.

KEYWORDS *nuna*, place-names, territoriality, Inuit land, imagined communities, indigenous studies, identity politics

Introduction

The land is cold. The land is immense. It is a desert. It is unforgiving? It can be cruel? The land is also home. It sustains life. It breathes. It can bleed. It is part of our mother, the earth. It is beautiful. It nourishes our culture. We are part of it as it is part of us. We are one!

This is how indigenous leader and writer John Amagoalik describes the Inuit land in a 2001 poem, highlighting the intricate relationship between Inuit peoples and their land. He departs from the Western cliché of a cold and immense desert, only to oppose it and characterize *Nuna*, as the Inuit name their land, as homely and resourceful. *Nuna* has an exceptional status, for it is one of the only words common to all languages and dialects within the 14 dialects of Eskimo-Aleut continuum (Dorais 1990: 49). Its indigenous usage in opposition to foreign expressions such as “the North” or “the Arctic” makes it highly distinctive and a suitable object for the Inuit to invest with a meaning of identity. This has been strikingly reflected in the fact that when picking up names for their regions—more or less self-governed, depending on the case—Inuit peoples have systematically chosen to include the vocable *nuna* in it.

In this article, drawing from an extensive state-of-the-art review of existing literature on the subject, *nuna* is taken as a focus point to highlight how the linguistics of place may shape a nexus of territoriality and identity among Inuit peoples (especially in Northern America), helping to imagine political communities. On a theoretical level, *nuna* helps understanding the Inuit specific relationship to the land. It also conveys a practical relevancy, for it is the subject of effective, if not explicit, cultural and political claims by Inuit people. The very naming and conceptualizing of the land as *nuna* has helped Inuit communities to claim a certain territory, but also a specific mode of relating to it which is a key in the construction of their collective identities. Thus, *nuna* enriches the palimpsestic “idea of the North” with an indigenous viewpoint (Chartier 2015: 1).

Beyond the vocable *nuna* itself, the territoriality embedded in such an indigenous concept and its political implications is reflected in vernacular place-names and the very process of naming places proper to Inuit communities—the recovery of these toponyms was an important step in the political recognition of Inuit cultural identity. *Nuna* helps composing a linguistic landscape which is an essential part of the identity of Inuit people on local, regional and even international levels.

In a first point, the geographical, cultural and identity meanings behind *nuna* are explained in relation with conflicting views on the Inuit land. This

leads to questioning the political aspect of *nuna* in a second point, focusing on the uses of such a name as a banner to identify, imagine, and represent Inuit peoples, and on the claims for cultural recognition historically embedded in territoriality and language.

The Inuit Land and its Meanings Geography and Beyond

To understand *nuna*, the vocable by which Inuit people name their land, one has to discern its different meanings—denotations and connotations. In a Westerner's view, the first meaning of the land would be the spatial extent which the Inuit recognize as their territory. Such territories may exist at several levels: the local community, a geographical unit defined by the settlement's boundaries; the dialectal group; the institutionalized region; and even that of the Inuit peoples as a whole. There is indeed a plurality of Inuit populations and cultures, still united in the "Inuit continuum" characterized by the belonging to the Eskimo-Aleut language family. Main parts of this continuum (133,000 Arctic inhabitants) live in Greenland, Canada (especially in Nunavut, Nunavik, Inuvialuit and Labrador) and northern Alaska. The very mode of inhabiting their land is quite peculiar to the Inuit: temporally durative, though discontinuous on a spatial extent. Inuit have long been a semi-nomadic people, seasonally migrating from a winter camp to summer hunting grounds. Today they mostly live in settlements, villages and towns, and sometimes cities further south, though many still camp out of settlements in summer.

This mode of occupation has influenced the perception the Inuit have of their land. *Nuna* thus primarily means the solid coastal ground and the sea ice on which the Inuit live, as opposed to open seas or the underground. However, *nuna* also has important ontological and cosmological dimensions. As Hamelin explains it:

Reducing the meaning of the word [*nuna*] simply to 'land' [or 'earth'—French *la terre*] does not cover the meaning the Inuit give to it. The concept bears everything, it incorporates to nature the necessary presence of men. Human intervention brings space into existence. (in Giguère 2012, *my translation*)

This is confirmed by the indigenous definition of *nuna*, as given in the first Inuktitut dictionary ever written:

Nuna. Does not move. For a long time, it has been the inhabited land and the place where humans and animals grow and also where they die. *Nuna* has plants, food, people in great numbers and variety; it is full of

[different] language groups. (Qumaq 1991: 394, quoted in Dorais 2008: 11, *my translation*)

This definition makes clear the polysemy of the term as well as the fact that *nuna* cannot be restricted to a spatial entity, nor to a natural and untamed environment, as is often done by Westerners—or *Qallunaat*, as Inuit call white people in Inuktitut. *Nuna* is that land which is inhabited, that is, covered, travelled through and known by the Inuit, and providing them living resources on a long-term basis. Out of ethnographic work, Collignon explains that “humanization, on the Inuit land, pertains to the idea more than to the material reality” (Collignon 1999: 36–37, *my translation*). The spatial extent of the land is only a background on which a more complex whole, *nuna*, is constructed through everyday practices which materially shape the territory (for instance drawing footpaths or arranging stones), and through immaterial practices (the emotional attachment to the land as well as the intellectual understanding of it). They turn an extent of space, with what lies on it, and what lives in it, into a proper and distinctive land.

Furthermore, *nuna* has a prime cosmological denotation. It may be impersonated in Inuit myths, and understood in contrast to *Sila*, according to Saladin d’Anglure (1990: 20). The Inuit world is polarized between *Sila* on the one side (the cosmos, sky and atmosphere, and the world order, or reason), and *Nuna* on the other side (humanity, included in the same whole as earth and land). This is illustrated in a tale in which *Nuna* is personified as a crow, defining itself as “the voice of the land, the animals, and the fish in the waters [and] brother of *Sila*, voice of the winds, the rains, and the stars” (Amagoalik 2000*b*).

A Place for Inuit Identity

The polysemy of *nuna* makes it hardly translatable but reveals some of the Inuit cultural-anthropological specificities. It is rooted in Inuit ontology, defined by Hamelin as a form of holism, where “the ‘whole-ist’ aspect prevails over the differentiation of the components” (in Giguère 2012, *my translation*). Indeed, *nuna* encompasses “human beings, animals, landscape configurations, seasons, and even the invisible beings which may always be met” (Therrien 1999: 46, *my translation*) and which are separate in *Qallunaat* ontologies. Huse & Proppé thus state that

Inuit culture does not make the divisions, distinctions and dichotomies that we make between man and nature, man and animals. Inuit culture exists “in” nature, while our Western culture exists “apart” from nature. (Huse & Proppé 2005: 111)

Another aspect of cultural Inuit specificities *nuna* contains is its cosmocentrism. In Inuit ontology, the whole world does not revolve around humanity: the latter is just a part of a larger whole. As stated by Collignon:

the Inuit built up their relationship with a territory they cannot own for it contains them [...] it is not man that is in the center of the system, but *nuna*, the land, in the broad sense of the word. (Collignon, quoted in Collin 2009: 3–4, *my translation*)

These peculiarities are reflected in the relationship between the Inuit and what they name their land—a territoriality which may actually resemble that of other indigenous peoples worldwide. As Amagoalik coins it: “we [Inuit] are part of [*nuna*] as it is part of us” (Amagoalik 2001: 9). This is one of the major aspects of *nuna* and it accounts for much of the contemporary uses of the word, expressing a strong emotional attachment to the land. It is seen not only through anthropological accounts but also in current Inuit literature and other media, as well as in political discourses and even institutional statements. The name *Nuna* itself is invested with positive feelings, according to Therrien. Inuit often express love and gratitude for *nuna*, which evokes “a privilege for the self and for those who are cherished, which makes tears come to one’s eyes, for the beauty and the history of the places are moving” (Therrien 1999: 46, *my translation*). This intimacy with the land makes it important in one’s definition of self, as well as in the collective self-definition of Inuit communities. Thus, *nuna* is not only the way to name a place, but also “a term of identity” (Hamelin, in Chartier & Désy 2014: 60), used and declined when the Inuit talk about belonging and identity. Indeed, an Inuit describes herself by indicating her geographical and linguistic community of origin, and may use *nuna* to mean the place one considers as her home (“Nuumi nunaqapunga,” ‘I am from Nome’) (Correll 1976). The people inhabiting a common place are called *nunaqatigiit*, once more prompting Inuit communities to define themselves through *nuna*.

On top of these feelings, the identification process also goes along the line of history and its perceptions, or even reconstructions. *Nuna* is used by the Inuit to mean an “authentic” Inuit land, that is, the environment and the relationship to it which are thought to be so peculiar and anchored in history that they define the Inuit by distinguishing them from the rest of the world. According to Collignon, after sedentarization *nuna* has come to mean the area known and used by the Inuit outside settlements, on weekends or holidays. Her informants indicate that Inuit may consider themselves as such only to the extent that they preserve *nuna*, that is, the possibility of living an ancient way of life out of settlements and perpetuating practices

proper to the reciprocal relationship characterizing it (a symbolical balance between the living and the non-living): “On the land, when we hunt and camp, we are Inuinnait. And then, we get back to the village, where we become Qallunaat” (Collignon 1996: 207, *my translation*).

Conflicting Perspectives on the Same Space

This identification to the land is internal. The Inuit identify themselves with *nuna*, considered as exceptional as it provides all the means to sustain a peculiar way of life. This should not be confused with the external Western identification of the Inuit with what is thought to be “their land,” the Arctic. The latter is an image often made of clichés and linked to essentialist perspectives of the Inuit land as a void and inhospitable area, characterized by its coldness and remoteness. On the contrary, the Inuit see *nuna* as a beautiful and resourceful place, welcoming and generous and favorable to biological and social life (Therrien 2012; Antomarchi 2009). This cleavage itself provides ground for the Inuit to identify themselves with *nuna* as opposed to what the Qallunaat deem to be their territory. This is another aspect of the identification process, that is, by distinction with an image reflected by people not belonging to the land. Joliet (2015) explains that the Inuit sense of landscape is precisely the opposite of the Qallunaat imaginary of the “Great White North.” *Nuna* is not seen as desperately white, sterile and wild, but rather as rich, living, inhabited, and reassuringly known through the age-old knowledge of its extent by the Inuit and their living off its resources.

The other vision of the Indigenous Arctic imposed by Qallunaat which has had tremendous and very effective consequences is that of a “wasteland.” Western public and private stakeholders have often seen the Arctic as an important potential for industrial activities, a pool of underused resources which global warming makes all the more appealing today. In this respect, Inuit occupation of the land may be seen by Western powers as an embarrassment, since subsistence ways of life in remote areas hardly fit in globalized capitalistic economies (Gombay 2013). The uprooting and relocation of Inuit villages has followed from such perspectives, effectively destroying strong communities, and the intimate links between human communities and the territories they inhabit. It is therefore the Inuit identities which are threatened by Western views obliterating their peculiar relationship with their land and landscape, as Amagoalik (2000a) points it out in an article aimed at fighting the myth of the indigenous North as a “Wasteland of Nobodies” and claiming a proper recognition of *nuna*.

Having seen what the denotations and connotations of *nuna* are, one can understand that putting this name forward and claiming it for an Inuit region is a political act of demanding identity recognition. Such territorial

and identity conflicts not only reveal, but also unite and create the communities which collectively identify themselves with *nuna*, on several planes.

The Political Stance behind Inuit Place- and Land-Naming

Nuna is less about defining precise extents of spatial ground than a certain territoriality, a way for every Inuit individual or community to relate to their local symbiotic environment and worldview—an *ecumene*, as Berque (2000) phrased it. This helps understanding the territorial conflicts in the indigenous North, as well as the political importance of local place-names—all the more when the latter comprise the vocable *nuna*.

Collective Identification through the Naming of Place and Land *The Importance of Vernacular Toponyms*

Since the 1970s, Inuit have fought for the recognition of their lands and rights, as part of long-lasting territorial conflicts which go beyond the scope of this article. One of the landmarks in the recognition of Inuit peoples and culture has been the recognition of indigenous toponyms. Alia (2006) puts place-names on the same level as persons' names, of which Inuit in Canada have historically been deprived and the restoration of which was a great step in reconciliation and indigenous empowerment. To collect, to record and to officialize indigenous toponyms in order to replace the names given by colonists is an activity of crucial importance in the building or actualization of identity. Nungak, a prominent writer and cartographer of Nunavik, acknowledges this importance of toponyms and hails the reinstalling of indigenous names for geographical elements in an article tellingly titled "Definition of identity" (Nungak 1980). The act of naming the environment in which a community lives establishes not just a sense of place among this community, but also at the same time a sense of community, as does the usage of vernacular place-names in the long perspective. Individuals' everyday lives are anchored in a peculiar landscape defined not only by physical elements, but also by the ways they are referred to, that is, toponyms proper to a certain localized dialect. This composes what may be termed a "linguistic landscape" in a different sense than the one usually attributed to this expression: not only the language materially present in a given place (Shohamy & Gorter [eds.] 2008), but all linguistic phenomena attached to a certain cultural and geographical environment.

It is especially meaningful in Inuit contexts, since Inuit toponyms reflect the inhabitation and the uses of the territory, and thus enhance the peculiar definition of the land (Müller-Wille 1986: Introduction). This may highlight the significance of the name "NUNA-TOP" for the project of collecting

indigenous toponyms in Nunavik, recalling that, through re-establishing Inuit names, it is *nuna* in all its specificities which is to be recognized. Place-names are not just arbitrary linguistic signs: they convey a whole relationship to the land peculiar to the people who name it. The Inuinnait people Collignon worked with thus proved grateful for her place-names collection work, since “place-names are essential not for journeys and people’s survival, but rather for their integration to the milieu, which thus becomes a humanized milieu where their culture may flourish” (Collignon 1996: 116, *my translation*). An example of this is a fjord called “*Nalluq*, the place where the caribou swim,” which implies that it is a good hunting spot for Inuit hunters (Collignon 1996: 122). Thus, communal practices are actually embedded in the Inuit name of each landscape feature, and prove vernacular naming to be at the interface between concrete space, cultural representations, and social practices, connecting people with their environment.

The Significance of Regionyms

In this respect, the symbolical and politically effective importance of *nuna* as a word may be best seen in the construction of regionyms based on this vocable. Inuit regions’ names were chosen during negotiation processes for the constitution of Inuit territories and they reflect the meanings these regions have for the Inuit. Most official Inuit regions have *nuna* in their names:

- *Kalaallit Nunaat*, ‘the land of the Kalaallit,’ the endonym for Greenland. It acquired internal autonomy within the Danish Kingdom in 1979.
- *Nunavik*, ‘the great land,’ in the province of Quebec, Canada, which name was adopted in 1986.
- *Nunavut*, ‘our land,’ a federal territory in Northern Canada legally created in 1999.
- *Nunatsiavut*, ‘our beautiful land,’ an autonomous territory within the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada, created in 2005.

Here *nuna* is not just an indicator of toponymy. When picking up this vocable, the Inuit (or their representatives) deliberately chose a name deeply meaningful, peculiar to Inuit culture, and with which all Inuit may identify. It was a way to distance the newly created regions from the Qallunaat territorialities, often limited to formal rights over a given spatial extent, framed by political boundaries. Inuit *nuna*-regions, on the contrary, are not only strictly geographical, but also encompass a specific relationship between human beings and their physical and metaphysical environment. *Nuna* and the derived regionyms have become the very symbol of the Inuit claims for territories and self-determination. Hamelin explains that “when an Inuit pronounces *nuna*, whether in ‘Nunavik,’ ‘Nunavut,’ or ‘Nunaat,’ she also

speaks about herself, she doesn't speak of something that would be exterior to her" (in Chartier & Désy 2014: 60, *my translation*).

The importance of recent regionyms is enhanced by the fact that Inuit may in return identify with them. Inhabitants of a region are known by the name of their region, therefore Inuit may refer to themselves with demonyms including *nuna*—for instance, Nunavut inhabitants are called *Nunaviammiut*. Newspapers and other regional media have also adopted names based on *nuna*, thus spreading the word and reinforcing the identification with this specific element.

“Imagined” Inuit Communities at the Intersection of Language and Place

The vocable and notion of *nuna*, and the wider claim of specific territories and above all territorialities played a role in the processes of community-inventing and identity-building among Inuit in different regions. The recurrence of the vocable *nuna* when creating regionyms suggests that it progressively became a banner for Inuit claims, as explained by Müller-Wille (2000: 147): “place-names have become a political as well as a cultural banner to prove sovereignty to oneself and to the Other.” This could explain that *nuna* has been used in all Inuit regionyms, each region wanting to politically assert what it has in common with the other politically-affirmed self-governing regions, and by opposition to Qallunaat territorial conceptions.

The institutional recognitions of Inuit regions and Inuit sovereignty on these regions are a major step in the definition of territorial identity, and they are constitutive of the imagination of communities—to take up the famous 1983 title from Anderson, whose argumentation is also based on the importance of language in the process of nation-building. Dahl (1988) puts forward how social groups known today as Inuit communities are recent constructions, and to what extent this construction is an imagined one, in the sense that their creation and perpetuation rely on symbolical elements and procedures, as well as on material ones. Such a constructivist viewpoint helps distancing oneself from naturalizing and essentialist visions which reify cultures—especially indigenous ones—by seeing them as immutable and having existed forever under a permanent form. Inuit collective identities as they are known today were invented in the 1970s and 1980s, in collective oppositions to Western powers, and in parallel with a cultural recognition and the creation of partly self-governed territories. The peculiar territorial imaginary entailed by *nuna* played an important role in such imagination, as Dahl (1988; 2000) highlights it, sometimes even framing a proper *national* imaginary. In Greenland for instance, the building of a Greenlandic identity relied on the construction and awareness of a homogeneous territory and

culture all over Greenland, a process launched in the late 1970s while political groups demanded the granting of Home Rule, and it led to the conceptualization of Greenland as a nation. The importance of *nuna* as a territorial and symbolic landscape is seen in the Greenlandic national flag, a stylized version of a sunset over iconic icebergs (Kleivan 1988: 50). On the other side of the Baffin Sea, the coat of arms adopted by Nunavut also highlights how a specific relationship to the environment is at the center of a regional Inuit “nationalism.” It depicts a caribou and a narwhal (paramount game) standing on rocks, earth, sea, and ice—a peculiar integrated environment surrounding a core circle representing the inhabited landscape (with a lamp and the human-shaped *inuksuk*) on top of which stands a stereotypical *igloo* house, between the sky and the Kingom’s crown. Under this, a banner reads “*Nunavut Sanginivut*” (‘Our Land, our strength’) in syllabic Inuktitut.

Nuna, both as a concept and its vocable form, has been used as a symbol and a support for identification in itself. The very name *Nunavut* is one of the elements which was repeatedly pushed and used through the process of self-governance negotiations, so that it became a nominative symbol for the new political order and affirmed the proper identity of a new Inuit regional community. Just as the national day or the lesser-known coat of arms, regionyms helped acclimatize Inuit and Qallunaat to the idea of new territories associated with new political powers and positions for the Inuit in their respective countries and provinces (Légaré 2002: 60). *Nunavut*, a name unknown until the 1970s, soon became an element of identity to be used internally (Nunaviammiut identified themselves with it) and externally (the outer world would identify the population comprised within Nunavut’s new boundaries with it), at the same time political communities were built in all Inuit regions, and enhanced by other factors such as regional media.

Conflicts and Challenges behind the Landscape

This tentatively comprehensive picture of the Inuit linguistic landscape should not lead to a linear and/or univocal understanding of *nuna*. The vocable and its uses are actually multiple, disputed, and in constant evolution. This is made clear by the following three cruces: first, the multiplicity and evolution of the meaning of *nuna*; second, an example of political conflicts having aroused about the term; and third, a potential evolution of *nuna* to be used for future identification with a new pan-Inuit meaning.

Inuit geographical, political as well as linguistic landscapes have evolved along history, and so has the word *nuna*. Studying Nunavut, Therrien offers a subtle interpretation of the contemporary continuation of this process. She states that two meanings of *nuna* may cohabit today, one used internally within the Inuit group, and the other dedicated to external uses, that is,



Fig. 1. The coat of arms of Nunavut, adopted in 1999, is a depiction of what *nuna* symbolizes, and an example of its political uses.

Source: http://www.assembly.nu.ca/sites/default/files/nunavut_coat_of_arms.jpg; access date 29 September 2017.

with the Qallunaat. There is a degree of flexibility in the uses of the term, so that the Inuit of what is now known as *Nunavut* “made two pictures of *nuna* coexist: the first, true to the definition of landscape in Canadian law, was directed towards legal, economic and political specialists”—and it was pragmatically adopted when negotiating territorial rights with the Qallunaat. The second meaning of *nuna*,

expressed solely in Inuktitut, is passed around at the family and community levels [...] It is about a peculiar relationship with the natural milieu, reproduced by education, and it helps the youth to develop respectful and modest attitudes towards the whole of the natural environment, far from any appropriation feeling. (Therrien 1999: 47–49, *my translation*)

The naming of their land among the Inuit is even a case for internal conflicts. In the 1970s, Inuit representatives of Northern Quebec negotiated the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, according to which today's Nunavik territory would be split in different categories of land on which Inuit would have differentiated rights—and would receive financial compensation in return. A group of Inuit from three communities then proclaimed themselves “dissidents” to the Agreement and refused what they deemed to be an abandoning of the proper Inuit meaning of the land, which could not be divided or sold. These dissidents named themselves Inuit Tungavingat *Nunamini* (ITN), which means ‘the ones who stand *on their land*.’ In their view, the proper territoriality embedded in *nuna* is at the heart of Inuit cultural identity. Documents produced by ITN all put forward *nuna* in its “internal” meaning—see for instance the documentary film (Bulbulian 1983) in which ITN members display traditional Inuit practices in interaction with the land (hunting, fishing, and the associated social practices of sharing); or the brochure insisting that

the relationship of the Inuit to the land is not characterized by property feeling but rather attachment to a nourishing land to which all and everyone traditionally had access, on the basis of a balanced relationship between human beings and available resources (ITN 1983: 11, *my translation*)

These declarations were targeted against the organizations who negotiated the extinction of land claims in the 1970s. Claiming this meaning of *nuna* was a way for ITN to affirm their legitimacy for representing Inuit people.

Focusing on *nuna* eventually helps understanding a contemporary challenge for Inuit identity, that of the building of a transnational community. The Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) nowadays tries to materialize an Inuit nationalistic feeling across nation-state borders. Its first explicit purpose is “to strengthen unity among the Inuit of the Circumpolar region” (ICC’s charter), and it soon stated that Inuit “constitute a nation” sharing a “common land.”¹¹ This reference to *nuna* can be interpreted as a technique for effectively building the community the ICC is supposed to represent, out of a geographical imaginary. That such international organizations casually talk about an *Inuit Nunaat* (or *Inuit Nunangat*) makes it clear that *nuna* has become such a widespread vocable and a symbol for local Inuit identities—a banner—that it is a tool for building a pan-Inuit identity, supposedly shared beyond national and linguistic boundaries. To what extent Inuit people today adhere to this and effectively consider the indigenous circumpolar region as *nuna*, is still to be researched.

Conclusion

There is more to *nuna* than just the Inuit territory. This vocable, common to all Inuit languages and included in all Inuit regionyms, ratifying a certain degree of political and territorial recognition, allows anthropological and political understandings of what the linguistics of place do to identity and community. *Nuna* highlights the peculiarity of the Inuit linguistic landscape, embedded in the characteristics of Arctic indigenous cultures and environment. Thus, it provides ground for collective identification in every Inuit localized community as well as on the regional level, all the more when external words and concepts (the “Great White North”) are at odds with the indigenous worldview.

Focusing on the links between language and territoriality, the importance of the very process of naming places and regions is made clear. Recognizing the legitimacy of indigenous toponyms is in itself a recognition of the existence of Inuit communities as cultural and historical meaningful entities, but also as a politically relevant group. Linguistic identity politics may also include the promotion of a vocable as a banner for transnational (here, pan-Inuit) identity, making *nuna* a key component of the imagination of these northern communities.

NOTE

¹ ICC 1975, quoted on <http://www.inuitcircumpolar.com/iccs-beginning.html>; access date 16 March 2017.

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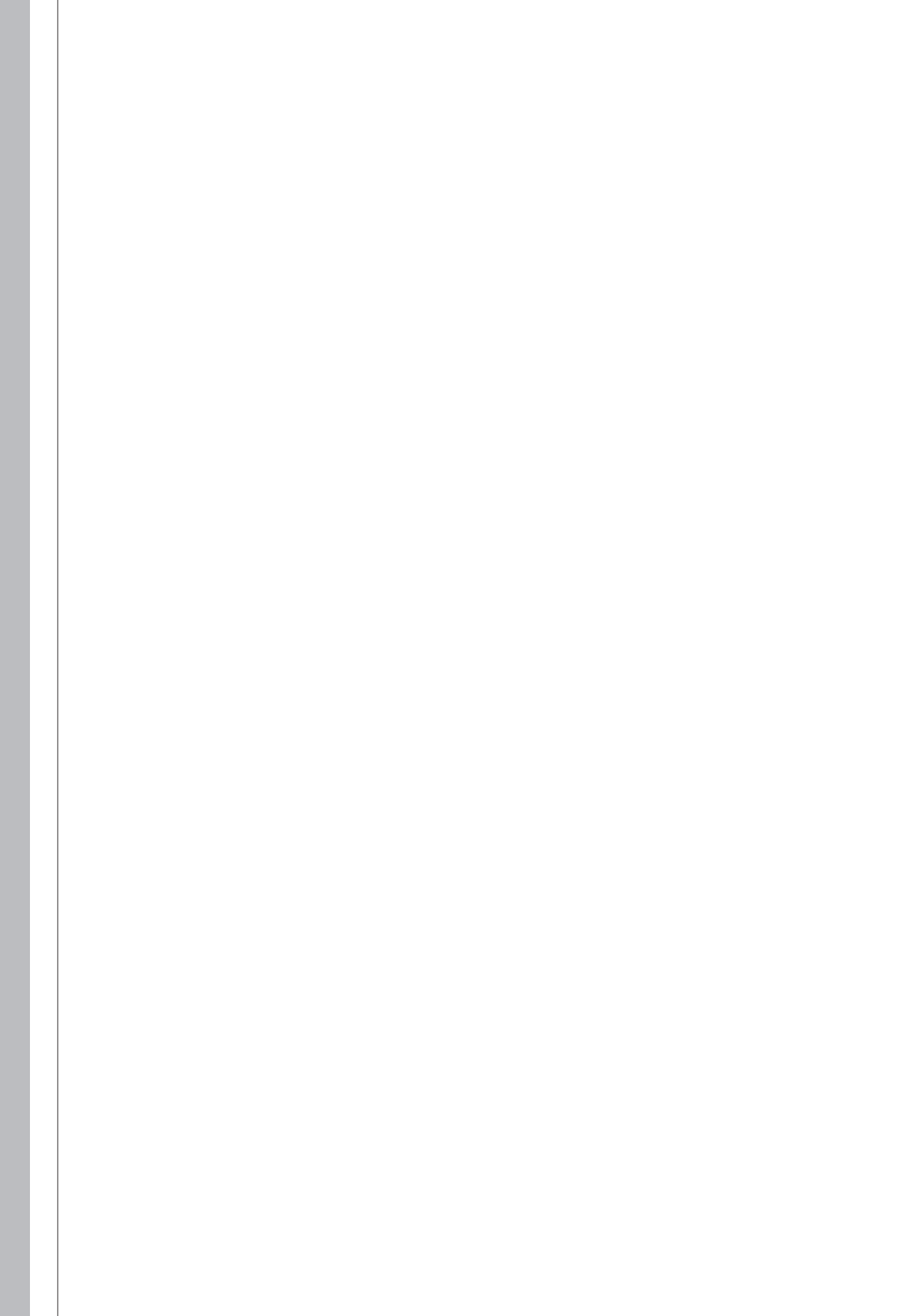
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Place-Name Loaning Patterns as Cultural Survival Strategies in Sami Contexts

ABSTRACT This paper discusses the place-name loaning patterns of one South Sami and one Inari Sami community that have plenty of parallel names in their area. The time span studied reaches from the end of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century. The loaning and borrowing processes are analyzed and interpreted in a thoroughly studied cultural context. The author claims that the differences in loaning reflects different strategies that aim to secure the existence of minority language and culture, and that the place-names have been used as means of manifesting one's cultural ownership to the land. The most important results based on the quality and distribution of the parallel names in the South Sami area reflects the existence of two separate name systems and a protective purist strategy toward outsiders. In the Inari Sami area the results indicate that the local Sami community has an open and pedagogical strategy towards outsiders and because of this they have shared the language-cultural code to the Finns. The author has been inspired in her study by the ideas presented in the field of ecological linguistics and cultural onomastics. This paper is based on the results of the author's doctoral dissertation.

KEYWORDS ecological linguistics, onomastics, Härjedalen, Inari Sami, place-names, Sami culture, Sami language, South Sami

Introduction

In my doctoral thesis (Valtonen 2014), I studied the place-names of four Sami communities. The time span studied extends from the end of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century. In this paper, I will discuss in detail two of the studied materials representing two Sami communities: South Sami Ruvhten sijte in Härjedalen, Sweden (formerly known as Tännäs sameby ['Tännäs Sami village']) and Inari Sami communities Čovčjävri (Fi. Syysjärvi) and Kosseennâm (Fi. Paksumaa) in Aanaar (Fi. Inari, Sw. Enare), Finland. I have also limited the scope to results concerning parallel names or name pairs, in other words to Sami place-names that have a co-existing place-name for the same referent in another language. In the case of the Inari Sami, I will not discuss North Sami parallel names, as I want to make a detailed analysis of the connection between minorities and majorities. The dynamics between local Sami populations is an interesting topic, but it deserves its own, separate article.

In my study, I was inspired by the ideas of *linguistic ecology*, a theoretical approach in which a model created in the field of natural sciences has been taken as an analogy to explain the life and death of a language and its interactions with its environment, including other languages, various social factors and ecological context. The overall idea is that language and linguistic communication cannot be examined in isolation, but must be taken as an inseparable part of its environment and social life in the broadest sense. Linguistic ecology shares common approaches with sociolinguistics, but takes in account a wider range of factors (for a more detailed description and discussion, see Haugen 1972; Haugen 2001; Mühlhäusler 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 2007).

In my doctoral dissertation, for instance, I made reference to the nature of connections with the majority group, including its language and livelihoods, local microhistory, natural environments, livelihoods, use of landscape and traffic connections in addition to classical sociolinguistic factors, such as language domains, multilingualism, code switching, national language policy and language attitudes. My choice was guided by a need to create a more culturally oriented approach compared to traditional onomastics. I call this approach *cultural onomastics*. In doing so, I also wish to respect the epistemological principles of the Indigenous Studies that emphasizes the emic or insider view.

The point of departure I used in writing this paper is based on a theory put forth by Professor Peter Mühlhäusler (1995) that language can be used as a means to avoid conflict in contact situations. When two culturally and linguistically distinct groups meet, language is used as means of

adapting to the changing circumstances. In Mühlhäusler's article, the use of pidgins and creoles as buffering elements is a central topic, an issue that has gained little notice in Sami contexts due to the early bi- or multilingualism of Sami populations. However, the loaning and borrowing of place-names and early bi-/multilingualism are, in my opinion, connected to the same idea of initiating contact without conflict. Similarly, these reveal the linguistic strategies that Sami communities have chosen to follow in contact situations.

I will describe two different linguistic strategies used when loaning place-names. I base my remarks on the linguistic choices made when place-names have been borrowed from one language and loaned to another. The nature of the contacts that occurred during this process can be seen in the results, in other words in the borrowed place-names. It is my contention that these linguistic choices reflect the more widely used local cultural strategies employed to sustain a situation in which a minority group could peacefully co-exist with a majority group, whilst maintaining an independent minority language and culture. I further contend that the choice of the language used in and the loaning and borrowing of place-names reflect the power relationships between local groups as well as that place-names can be used as means of manifesting a cultural predominance in a given area for a given time. Furthermore, I would also like to emphasise that this paper has nothing to do with the question concerning the origin of South Sami language and culture in Härjedalen, but rather only describes and analyses the situation at the turn of the twentieth century.

Material and methods

There are several similarities as well as differences between the two studied communities and place-name systems that they maintained. Both of the groups were small reindeer herding communities, which consisted of less than 100 people during the studied period 1880–1950. In addition to the reindeer herding, fishing was also an important livelihood in Čovčjävri-Kosseennâm. The Ruvhten sįjte Sami had been living mainly by reindeer herding for centuries, where as in Northern Aanaar (Fi. Inari) the importance of this economy grew considerably during the last decades of the nineteenth century, thus causing a change in the previous migration practices. Also, in Ruvhten sįjte, reindeer herding underwent fundamental changes at the turn of the twentieth century. At the end of the studied period, paid labour, most often seasonal work outside home, grew as an important source of income due to the institution of a money-based economy (for more detailed information, see Valtonen 2014: 79–109, 139–165).

The two studied areas can be considered peripheries on a national scale since they are sparsely populated, a long way from major cities and largely inaccessible. There is, however, a very distinctive difference between the two areas: in Northern Aanaar (Inari), the mixed population of Inari and North Sami have always been a majority, with only a few Finnish settlers present before the Second World War. The North Sami population has been sharing land areas close to the border of the municipality of Ohcejohka (Fi. Utsjoki) since time immemorial, but expanded slightly toward the south due to mixed marriages in the late nineteenth century.

In contrast, there have been Scandinavian inhabitants in Härjedalen at least since the late Iron Age (Baudou 2004: 21; Bergström *et al.* 1991: 52–54; Holm 1984: 136; Zachrisson 1997: 50–52), and the South Sami have been an ethnic and linguistic minority in their homesteads for a long time. On the other hand, the Ruvhten sįjte Sami lived mainly separated from the majority population due to different livelihoods and the Swedish Crown's ethnic separation policy, which was also known as the *Lapp skall vara lapp* ['Lapp shall remain Lapp'] policy (see Lundmark 2008). The Sami, however, had contacts with Swedish households, which they visited regularly during the winter migration. On the whole, although it seems that both groups had approximately the same amount of contacts with the majority cultures during the studied period, the long history of South Sami living side by side with the Scandinavian population naturally cannot be overlooked.

Due to the long co-existence in the same area, all adult Ruvhten sįjte Sami were bilingual during the studied period. This has been the case for a long time, as evidenced in an account from 1799, which reveals that all the local Sami knew Swedish (Løøv [ed.] 1992: 53). According to Knut Bergslund (1992: 7), the South Sami have most likely been using Scandinavian languages as means of communication with outsiders since the Iron Age. Most of the adult Inari Sami in Northern Aanaar (Inari) could also speak Finnish during the studied period, but their proficiency was limited and, particularly the women, were not accustomed to speaking any language other than Sami. On the other hand, most of the adults knew also North Sami.

Neither of the Sami languages had official status during the studied period, nor was Sami used as a school language after the first year of school. The lack of official status included also maps. The situation is well described in a remark made by Professor K.B. Wiklund (1913: 11), who explained that there are also Sami place-names in Härjedalen but: "[...] av naturliga [sic!] skäl kan man ej vänta att träffa så särledes många av dem på kartorna" ['We cannot, for natural reasons, expect to find so many of them on maps']. The "natural reason" referred to by Wiklund was that as Swedish place-names existed it was only natural that the cartographers ignored the Sami names.

The otherwise overlooked Sami place-names were, however, collected for the purpose of linguistic studies (Magga 1994: 7).

In Finnish Lapland, the Finnish parallel names were considered more important. If such name did not exist, the Sami name was typically written down in Finnified form, most often partly adapted partly translated. There was however one important difference with the situation in Ruvhten sįjte: the local Sami served as guides for Finnish cartographers and could therefore explain and share their own place-name tradition and culture, whereas in Hįrjedalen the guides were local Swedes (Lehtola 2012: 67, 176). Consequently, the Sami perspective is much more present on the maps of Aanaar (Inari) than those of Hįrjedalen. In Aanaar, however, the cartographers did not know that there were several Sami languages and the Inari Sami place-names were often translated or adapted to North Sami, thus demonstrating a hierarchy between the Sami languages (Mattus 2004: 163).

The Sami place-names have been used only in Sami language domains, but, in the domains of the majority culture, their names have always been used. In cases where there was no such name in use, it was always possible to use an improvised translation of the Sami name. The use and survival of Sami names is therefore connected to the degree of the use of the Sami language. In many cases, the speakers of the majority languages did not even know the Sami names and the language was considered incomprehensible. Tryggve Sköld (1980: 266) also explained that, in Sweden, many Sami preferred to use Swedish place-names in order not to be identified as a Sami, which could have had negative consequences.

The studied place-name material of the Inari Sami communities of Čovčjįvri and Kosseennįm consisted of 561 Inari Sami place-names, which were mainly collected by Ilmari Mattus (published in Mattus 2015), a native speaker and a member of the local Inari Sami community. However, in Ruvhten sįjte, which is nearly equivalent in size, there were only 168 South Sami place-names collected primarily during short field work periods by two Swedish linguists: Björn Collinder in 1941 and Gustav Hasselbrink in 1943. This surprisingly large difference in numbers is mainly due to the fact that, outside the summer grazing grounds of Ruvhten sįjte, there are only some, sporadic Sami place-names, and even the Sami-speaking population use the Swedish place-names. The summer grazing grounds consisted of the old tax land of Ruvhten sįjte, the *Rutfjįllen skattefjįll* [‘the tax mountain of Rutfjįllen’], which was separated from the land of the farmers in the land ownership consolidation (Sw. *avvittring*) of 1853, and the extension area (Sw. *utvidgningshemman*) purchased by the Swedish Crown during the 1880s and 1890s after heated debate about the land-use rights. The extension area was used by the Sami before 1853 (see Map 1). (For more

detailed information, see for instance Thomasson 1990; Thomasson 2002; Valtonen 2014.)

Since we have written evidence of the existence of the reindeer herding Sami in the area dating back several hundreds of years (see for instance Schmidt 1799 in Løøv [ed.] 1992), this cannot be interpreted in any other way than as an indication of the power relationships between Sami and the local Swedes. Unfortunately, we do not have enough evidence to show whether there has been a separate Sami place-name system in the winter grazing lands. If this was indeed the case, one would expect to find some signs of a Sami substrate or at least some influence in the Swedish place-name system. Unfortunately, the Swedish place-names have not been studied in detail, nor with the expertise of Finno-Ugrian studies. A methodological problem is that there is very little knowledge about the nature of the systematic language change in Sami place-names in Scandinavian contexts, with the exception of the politically-motivated “Norwegianisation” (see Helander 2008).

The methodology of parallel name studies or name pair studies was first established in the 1930s by an Austrian linguist, Eberhard Kranzmayer (1934, in particular). Although modern-day parallel name studies still build on his ideas, some of his basic ideas have been abandoned and new ones have been introduced in their place (for a current overview, see Petrulovich 2016). According to the method, the parallel names are divided into three types based on the connection between the two names: 1) borrowed place-names which have been borrowed as such, but substituted to fit into the phonological structure of the target language as needed. I call these “adapted place-names” (original name + borrowed name); 2) translated place-names (original name + borrowed name), and 3) independent place-names with no connection to each other (original name + new name given to the same place).

An example of the first type mentioned above is the Swedish place-name *Baltern*, which is an adaptation of the South Sami place-name *Baelhtere* [*baelhtie* ‘side of a mountain’ + suffix *-(e)re* < *vaerie* ‘mountain’ or *jaevrie* ‘lake’]. This adaptation was done by substituting incompatible Sami phonemes and morphology for those compatible with Swedish, but which did not have any real meaning. An example of the second type are the names South Sami *Vaerien/jaevrie* [‘Mountain/lake’] and Swedish *Fjäll/sjön* [‘Mountain/lake’], where each name is a translation of the other, but it is impossible to say which one is the original. In type 1, the name is borrowed as an incomprehensible word, whereas in type 2, the meaning has been borrowed. Types 1 and 2 can be further divided into subtypes, in which the specifics and/or generics may have been separately borrowed by either

adaptation or translation, as opposed to using another method for another element. For instance, the Inari Sami place-name *Huikkem/vääri* ['Shouting/mountain'] has been partially adapted, partially translated into Finnish as *Huikkima/vaara* ['Huikkima/mountain']. An example of type 3 are the independent place-names South Sami *Durrien/johke* ['Ravine/river'] and Swedish *Lill/muggen* ['Little mug'], which have a common referent.

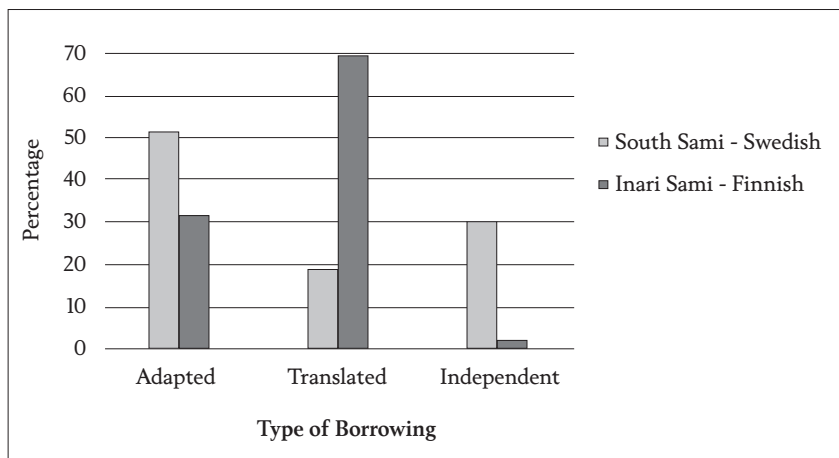
In the years since Kranzmayer's original article, the different borrowing methods have been interpreted as signs of older and younger generations as well as an indication of the language proficiency of the borrowing group. For instance, the adaptation has been taken as an indication that the borrowing group could not understand the source language and, based on this, such names have been thought to be borrowed at an early stage of the contact. Even though this seems logical, there are several examples of modern adaptation cases in contexts where both the loaning and the borrowing group have been bilingual. This shows that there must be other factors behind the choice of borrowing method. As a result, such assumptions are proven false, with greater focus being recently placed on the choices made by the loaning and borrowing language communities as well as the sociolinguistic context. The differences or similarities in the structure and grammar of loaning and borrowing languages also play a prominent role.

Results

There are plenty of parallel names in my South Sami and Inari Sami materials. However, the results give a completely different picture of the nature of the contacts. In materials on Čovčjävri-Kosseennâm, 178 Inari Sami place-names (32% of all names) have a parallel name in Finnish. In Ruvhten sįjte, 101 South Sami place-names have a parallel name in Swedish. That is as much as approximately 60% of all the names. It is impossible to arrive at an exact number, because the South Sami place-names vary a great deal due to their long informal and oral use (see Magga 1994: 8).

In addition to a much larger number of parallel names, the quality of the borrowed names also differs a great deal between the studied areas. In Ruvhten sįjte the adapted names are the most common: 51% of the South Sami place-names have an adapted parallel name in Swedish. These are followed by independent parallel names (30%) and then translated names (19%). In Aanaar (Inari), however, translated parallel names are the most common type: 69% of the Finnish parallel names are translated. These are followed by adapted parallel names (31%). Independent parallel names are a marginal phenomenon, since only less than one percent of Finnish parallel names are independent (see Table 1).

Table 1. The distribution of the parallel names in per cent in different languages divided according to the borrowing types.



Almost all the Finnish place-names have been borrowed from Inari Sami language. Only in some individual cases Finnish have been the source language. In addition to the knowledge of the cultural and historical context, the source language can be proved with a variety of linguistic evidence, such as morphological and semantic features and meaning. However, it is not always clear whether the loaning language was Inari or North Sami, because these languages are very closely related to each other and share a common history. Furthermore, the local people tend to spontaneously translate place-names from one Sami language to another, according to the language they use.

In Ruvhten sijaite however, there is no clear cultural or historical evidence that might indicate the direction of loaning. There is also evidence that suggests reverse loaning. This means that some of the place-names have been borrowed from one language to another and then back again. This type of process leaves an ambiguous trail that points to both languages and blurs interpretation. Particularly where Scandinavian names are concerned and often with great uncertainty, only the adapted names can be partly divided according to the borrowing language: approximately two-fifths of the names have been loaned from South Sami to Swedish, and three-fifths from Swedish to South Sami.

The spatial distribution of Finnish borrowed place-names in the Čovčjävri-Kosseennâm area is particular: The Finnish place-names are more prevalent close to roads (former major footpaths), and their referents are

often larger in size or are especially meaningful places in some other way. When compared with the distribution of the North Sami parallel names, the difference is evident. These are evenly distributed in the area that the North Sami share with the Inari Sami population, and have no clear correlation with the size of the referents.

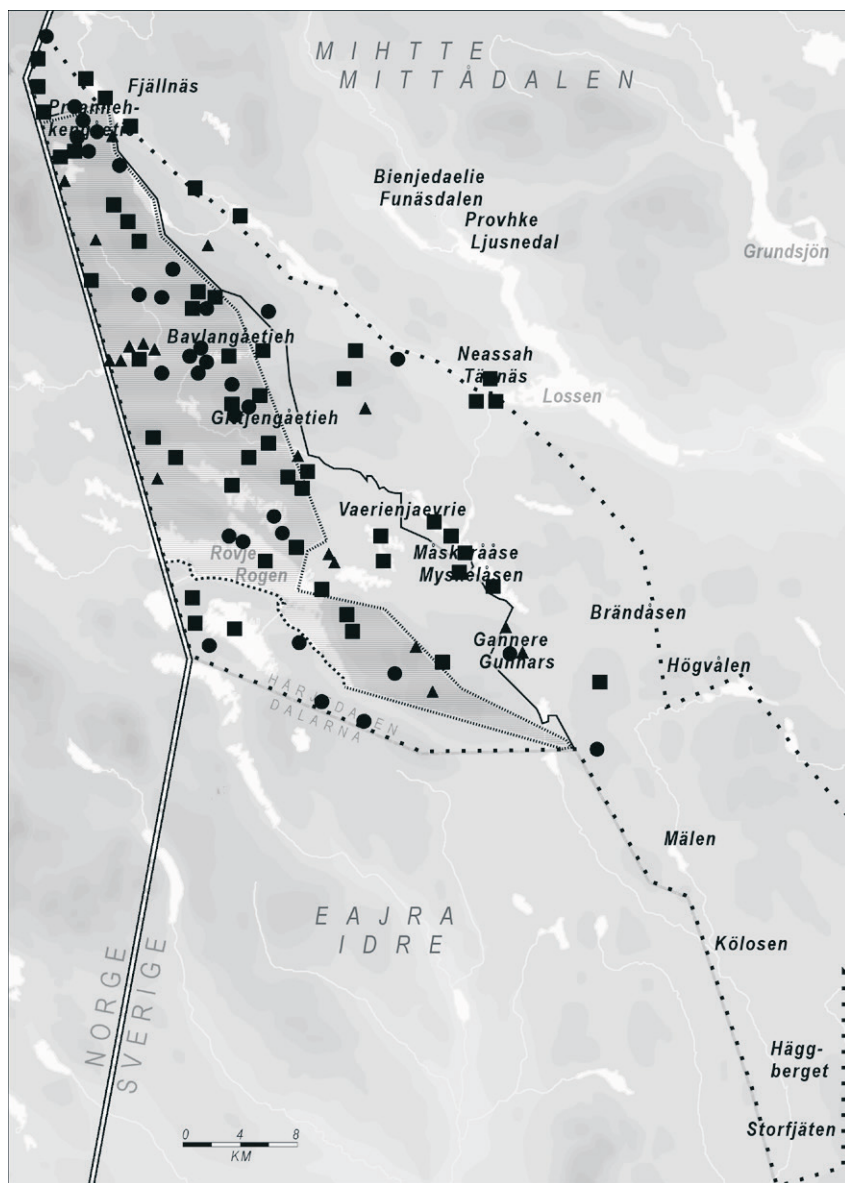
This phenomenon has been previously documented in Sami contexts in Finland by Samuli Aikio (1994: 35): There has been no need to use microtoponyms with Finns because they did not use nor have been interested in the areas beyond roads and settlements. The obvious reason for this is that there were no local Finns, but only visiting public servants, who were mainly clerks and priests. The Finnish names of settlements and places nearby were needed for administrative reasons. Furthermore, on the older maps only the names of the largest places were marked in sparsely populated areas such as Northern Aanaar (Inari). The North Sami, on the other hand, had the same livelihoods and they used the same areas as the Inari Sami. It was for this reason that there has been a need for all sorts of place-names throughout the territory.

In Ruvhten sįjte, the distribution of the parallel names is more complex. The distribution of the Swedish parallel names is even: where there are Sami place-names, there are also Swedish place-names. However there is a difference between the distributions of the loaning types: there are more independent parallel names in the old tax mountain area (Sw. *skattefjäll*) on the high mountains, but at the treeline between the treeless high mountains and the forest, independent names are rare. The adapted and translated parallel names are, on the other hand, evenly distributed. The referents of independent parallel names are also more often smaller in size than in other types.

When information on the loaning language is introduced, a clear spatial tendency can be seen. In the high mountain area, in other words in the old tax mountain area, there are independent parallel names and adapted parallel names loaned from South Sami to Swedish. Below the tree line, in an area that was bought by the Crown and incorporated into the old Sami tax mountain during the 1880s and 1890s, there are mainly adapted parallel names of recent origin borrowed from Swedish to Sami (see Map 1).

Discussion

There are several issues concerning the results that need to be discussed and interpreted further. First, the number of parallel names is much higher in Ruvhten sįjte: 60% versus 30% in Čovčjävri-Kosseennám. The obvious reason for this difference is that the Swedish population has used the



Map 1. The distribution of South Sami and Swedish parallel names in Ruvhten sija. The squares symbolise adapted parallel names, triangles translated parallel names and spheres independent parallel names. The dark gray area indicates the old tax mountain (Sw. *skattefjäll*) of the Sami village as it was defined at 1853. The black border defines the area that was incorporated into the tax mountain during the 1880s and 1890s but that was used by Sami already before 1853. It includes also the area south of the tax mountain area. These borders are based on old hand drawn maps made during the land ownership consolidation (Consolidation map of Tännäs 1844–53 and 1844–53). The dotted line indicates the area used by the Ruvhten Sami village during the studied period according to Manker (1953). Drawn and © by Mikael A. Manninen and Taarna Valtonen.

same area as the Sami population, as opposed to in Northern Aanaar (Inari), where the Finnish parallel names were mainly created for the purposes of mapping and administration.

Another clear difference is the relation between different borrowing types. The most common type of borrowing in Ruvhten sįjte is adaptation (52%), whereas in Čovčjävri-Kosseennâm it is translation (69%). In addition, the role of independent parallel names is central in Ruvhten sįjte (30%), but marginal in Northern Aanaar (Inari) (< 1%). In Čovčjävri-Kosseennâm, adapted parallel names constitute the second largest type (31%). In Ruvhten sįjte translated parallel names form the smallest type: 19%. I have compared these results with results from other areas and collected information from four other studies on parallel names, which include contacts between Scandinavian and Finno-Ugrian languages.

A major research project funded by the Academy of Finland in the 1970s and 1980s studied place-names at the border region between the Finnish and Swedish-speaking areas of Finland. The study found that the most common borrowing type in Finnish-Swedish parallel names was adaptation: on average 60% of the cases. Translation was used only in 15% of the cases, and, as the study showed, more often when the source language was Swedish. Independent parallel names were used on average in only 6% of the cases, but there were municipalities where the number was as high as 24%. Figures this high were interpreted as being an indication that two separate place-name systems and populations existed (Pitkänen 2007: 13–15; Zilliacus 1980: 340–344).

Two studies (Pedersen 1988; Söderholm 1986) conducted in several villages in North Troms, Norway, had trilingual material consisting of Sami, Kven and Norwegian place-names. In these studies, the most common borrowing type from Sami to Norwegian was adaptation (61–86%), followed by translation (21–30%). However, when a place-name was loaned from Norwegian to Sami, translation was typically the most common (44–47%), followed closely by adaptation. The fourth study was conducted by Tuula Eskeland (1994) in *Finneskogene* [‘The Finnish forests’], farther south in Norway. Her results indicate that practically all parallel names were borrowed from Finnish to Norwegian as an adaptation.

The results of Ruvhten sįjte resemble the results of the Finnish linguistic border project as well as the results by Pedersen and Söderholm. The large number of independent parallel names should be interpreted according to the Finnish results as an indication of two separate place-name systems resulting from the linguistic border between the two monolingual populations speaking either Finnish or Swedish. The larger number of translated parallel names in the materials obtained in Troms has been

explained by Pedersen and Söderholm as the result of the local population in Troms being bi- or trilingual, whereas in Finland the populations have been monolingual. According to this, the results of Ruvhten sįjte should be interpreted as a situation of two monolingual populations, which, of course, is not the case. In my opinion, the similarity should be interpreted rather as an indication of unwillingness to share and translate place-names, and, because the Swedes did not speak Sami, it would have been the members of the Sami community who were unwilling to loan their names or borrow Swedish names as translations. The results of Čovčjävri-Kosseennām seem to have a pattern of its own, which must also be explained with the help of extralinguistic factors and cultural choices.

Groups living by the linguistic border are constantly negotiating ways to exist as a separate language and culture in juxtaposition to the other. The attitudes towards other languages and cultures as well as the differences in status are demonstrated with the help of linguistic and cultural choices in different social contexts. Although these choices are often subconscious, they can sometimes be clearly conscious demonstrations. Commonly mentioned reactions are loaning and borrowing, code switching, even language change, but choices that reject cultural and linguistic change, such as purism and other forms of polarisation, also exist (Bergsland 1992; Haspelmath 2009).

In Ruvhten sįjte, the choice was *protective purism*, which was supported by the ethnic separation policy of the Swedish Crown. This is a broader phenomenon that covers the entire South Sami area and became more evident during the nineteenth century, due to the intensified conflicts with the majority groups. Knut Bergsland (1992: 14) argues that the reasons behind the survival and resistance against outside influence of the South Sami language are mainly social. Although language was used as a means of communication, its capacity to keep Scandinavians outside the group and away from its insider knowledge was more important. It served as a secret language, which was incomprehensible to others. It was also the language of the family, own community and Sami livelihoods, in other words the language that supports and protects the Sami identity and the way of life that belongs to it.

It is my contention that the phenomenon interpreted in other studies as an indication of two separate monolingual groups and a separate place-name system is actually a type of protective purism where Ruvhten sįjte is concerned. This is further supported by the distribution of parallel names in the area. The old tax mountain area has been clearly recognised as a Sami area, even by the Swedish Crown, and the exceptionally large number of independent parallel names emphasises this: the Swedish names and Swedes are disregarded. This is further supported by the fact that the Scandinavian

population on both sides of the border used to fish in the high mountain area. I see that this cultural-linguistic choice is a manifestation of cultural predominance in the area: these are our names, these are our lands.

The especially large number of newly adapted parallel names, which were borrowed from Swedish to Sami in the extension area of 1880–1890s in the low mountain area, shows that the same ideology has been implemented there. The bilingual Sami population could have used the Swedish names without complications, but they choose to adapt the Swedish names to follow the rules of their own language. This might have something to do with the history of this area: it was first mainly used by the Sami, but the expansion of Swedish animal husbandry and a need to enlarge grazing meadows and pastures put pressure on the situation. This led to the consolidation of 1853, in which the area in question was excluded from the Sami tax mountain. During this period, the Sami place-names in this area disappeared, but it is probable that the memory of the former ownership was kept alive.

There is also a clear indication that the situation had not been as polarised before. It is obvious that some of the adapted loans are old and some have been borrowed back and forth from one language to the other. In particular, the adapted parallel names loaned to Swedish must be taken as a sign of positive connections: the Swedes have chosen to use Sami place-names, but, because they do not understand the language and cannot pronounce its words, the names have been interpreted according to their own language. However, the small number of translated parallel names indicate that the Sami have not been very keen to share the names, since the monolingual Swedes have been unable to translate the Sami names on their own. There is also one anomaly in the distribution of parallel names: At the tree line, there are only a few independent names, which indicate that this served as a contact area. This makes sense, as the tree line was important for both Sami reindeer herders and Scandinavian animal husbandry. The two groups were consequently forced to discuss places and needed common names.

In contrast to Ruvhten sįjte, it seems that the choice made in Čovčjávri-Kosseennâm was to share the cultural-linguistic code with the majority. If one compares the situation of Northern Aanaar (Inari) with the situation in Southern Ohcejohka (Utsjoki), the neighbouring North Sami-speaking area, the difference is striking: In Ohcejohka, Finnish parallel names are almost non-existent, even though the language situation is practically identical. The difference is significant, as almost a third of the Inari Sami names in Northern Aanaar have a Finnish parallel name. Furthermore, the parallel names are mainly translations, with most of the adaptations being only partial, including elements that cannot be or are very difficult to translate into Finnish. As it was uncommon for Finns to speak Sami, one

must conclude that the place-names have been translated by the Inari Sami themselves.

Translation is most likely connected to the mapping of the area at the beginning of the twentieth century, at which time the local guides spontaneously translated place-names for the cartographers. It is possible that the Finns did not even realise that the names were translated and that there were no real Finnish names. The translation of place-names and personal names has been a common official practice in Finnish Lapland since the existence of written documents (Mattus 2004: 162–163).

Kaisu Nikula, an Inari Sami folklorist, analysed the ethnic self-identification narratives of Inari Sami people. She found that controlled multiculturalism is the single most important cultural property and strength that the people themselves mentioned. This is connected with the cultural core ideology or value of *multicultural amicability*. For instance, it is considered impolite to use a language that someone present cannot understand. Code switching was not understood as an indication of weaker status, but as an expression of strong linguistic proficiency. The Inari Sami capacity to absorb and apply influences from other languages and cultures was noted early and was often misinterpreted as being an indication of a weak and acculturative group (Lehtola 2012: 212; Nikula 2003: 164, 145).

In my opinion, the translating of parallel names is one indication of the Inari Sami's cultural ideology of multicultural amicability, not an indication of, for instance, low status or assimilation. This choice made it possible for them to control the use of place-names and to ensure that the Finns understood the cultural content and local history. Consequently, it was expected that Finns would begin to appreciate the local Inari Sami cultural heritage. The only problem with this cultural strategy is that it only works as long as the rules of the interaction created by the Inari Sami community are respected and the status of the group is held in high enough esteem.

Conclusions

In this paper, I have described two different cultural and linguistic strategies used when loaning place-names. Based on the results obtained, I have concluded that the quality and distribution of parallel names in the South Sami area reflect the existence of two separate name systems and a cultural strategy that I call *protective purism*. Its main idea is to separate the South Sami culture and language from the surrounding Scandinavian cultures and languages in order to safeguard its existence.

In the Inari Sami area of Čovčjävri and Kosseennâm, the quality of the parallel names indicate that the local Sami community opened up its linguistic-cultural code to the Finns. This strategy is based on an Inari Sami

cultural ideology of *multicultural amicability*. Its basic idea is to be open, teaching members of other linguistic and cultural groups to understand, thus establishing respect for the Inari Sami language and culture in order to safeguard its existence.

It might seem odd that two opposite approaches have been used to promote a common objective, i.e. an environment where a minority language and culture can survive. The obvious reason for the different strategies can be found in the linguistic-cultural ecosystems that surround these communities.

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NELLEJET ZORGDRAGER

The Role of Place-Names in Olof Sirma's two Yoik Texts and their Translations

ABSTRACT This article discusses the place-names in two old Sami yoik songs. These songs, provided by Olof Sirma, a Sami student, were published in Sami and Latin in Schefferus' book *Lapponia* in 1673. They became known as the winter song and the summer song. The winter song is a kind of travel account in which a lover tells about his journey by reindeer sledge. In the summer song he dreams about his absent love. Before the end of the twentieth century both love songs were translated many times into various languages. The article takes up the place-names, the landscape described in the songs as well as the homeland of Sirma and the places mentioned in the texts. It discusses what the respective translators did with the place-names from the Latin source texts, in what way they changed the landscape in their translated versions, how, through misreading, a place-name could become the name of a girl or how a place-name was used for personal ends as proof of a questionable thesis. When, in the twentieth century, translators turned to the Sami source texts, the original landscape gradually emerges again.

KEYWORDS Kemi Lappmark, Olof Sirma, Orajärvi, Sami love songs, Schefferus, translating place-names

Introduction

In this article¹ I will look at the two oldest Sami yoik songs known today. These songs appeared in their original language, Sami, and in a Latin translation in Johannes Schefferus' classical work about the Sami *Laponia*, published in Frankfurt a.M. in 1673. The Latin translation is from Schefferus himself. However, he did not translate from Sami. Olof Sirma, a student of theology in Uppsala at the time when Schefferus was working on the manuscript for his book, provided Schefferus with a Swedish translation of the texts. These translations were discovered by Setälä in 1888 in the university library of Uppsala among papers that had belonged to Schefferus. They were published in 1890. The songs are part of the information Sirma provided about Sami customs around courting and marriage. They became known as love songs, as texts sung by a young lover when he is thinking about his beloved one, who is living somewhere else. Based on the content and the season of the year the songs were said to be sung, they soon became known as the winter song and the summer song.

Both songs contain place-names, especially the winter song. This song depicts the landscape the young lover is travelling through when he sets out to visit his betrothed in winter time. The only place-name in the summer song is the name of the place where the beloved one is living at that time of the year. The text of this song also gives an indication of the surroundings of the place.

Schefferus' book was translated into several West-European languages. An English, German, French and Dutch translation appeared before the end of the seventeenth century, whereas a Swedish and a Finnish translation appeared in 1956 and 1979, respectively. Moreover, the songs were soon discovered as lyrical love songs and translated in their own right. At the end of the twentieth century both songs had been translated more than fifty times into several European languages as well as (in the twentieth century) into Finnish and modern North Sami.²

In this article I will look at the role that the place-names played in the songs and their translations, and how the different translators dealt with these place-names and the northern landscape in their versions of the songs.

The Place-Names in the Original Summer and Winter Song as Presented by Sirma and Schefferus

Places Mentioned in the Winter Song

The original Sami text of the winter song is an account of a journey in winter time. The lover is travelling by sledge drawn by a reindeer in a northerly or easterly direction. There are a lot of large moors (Sami: *áhpi-b*, 'big

moor’). However, one should keep in mind that the moors and lakes are frozen at that time of the year.

The lover first tells that he has to travel through woods and over a lot of moors. He then mentions *Kaigevvarri*, a mountain named *Kaige*, and asks the mountain not to deter him. Thereupon he says farewell to *Kællueiaur* (modern spelling: *Gealfejávri*), a lake. He says he has many thoughts while he is travelling towards *Kaiga vvaonaide* (modern Sami: *Gáigavuonaide*, dative pl. from *Gáigavuotna*, ‘the Gáiga coves’). He then encourages his reindeer to make haste so that he may soon see his beloved one and asks his reindeer if it can already discern her eyes (face) (Schefferus 1673: 282). The song has no rhyme. Rhyme is something not found in Sami yoik songs.

In his Swedish rendering, Sirma did not give a literal translation. He tried to produce a rhymed translation, probably because he knew that Swedish song texts usually rhymed, whereby he left out the lover’s direction of travel as well as the woods. Sirma lets the lover sing that there are many moors to traverse, but in his Swedish text there is no *Kaiga* mountain that might hinder a quick progress. The mountain has become a lake, *Kaiga träsk*, which the lover reaches after having said farewell to *Kälwaträsk* (the rhyme word to *Kaiga träsk*) (Setälä 1890: 113). *Kaiga träsk* however, does not take long to traverse. The reason may be found in the next verse line, where the lover says he has many thoughts while he is travelling over that lake. There is no mention of any coves.

As a result there are only two lakes, named *Kälwa* and *Kaiga* in the Swedish translation Sirma gave Schefferus, and there are moors at the beginning of the song. The lover asks his reindeer at the end of the song whether it can already see his beloved one *washing* herself, which is also the result of Sirma’s wish to translate the Sami yoik into a rhymed Swedish poem.

Schefferus translated the songs in prose form, but he provides information about how the songs were sung. Schefferus mentions “*loca uliginosa*,” watery areas, at the beginning of the text, and describes both *Kaige* and *Kailva* as being a “*palus*,” a moor, and *Kaige* moreover as the moor giving the lover time to think his many thoughts. This is probably why the lover sings in this Latin version that he does not find *Kaige* “*taediosus*” (does not hold it in aversion, finds it dull, unpleasant or tedious). So in what became the source text for many European poets in the following two centuries the woods, Mount *Kaiga* and the *Kaiga* coves have disappeared from the song, leaving the translator/readers with watery areas in winter time, two moors and a girl who is expected to be washing herself (Latin: *eam se lavantem* [‘[see] her washing her’]) (Schefferus 1673: 283).³

The Place-Name in the Summer Song

In the original Sami summer song, the young lover knows that his beloved one lives near the lake of *Orra Javvra* (*Jaura/Jawre*; modern Sami *Oarre jávri*). This lake is mentioned three times in the song. The lover himself lives somewhere else. In the song he invokes the sun to send its radiant beams to the lake and he sings that he would climb to the top of the highest pine tree in the area where he lives, could he see the lake and his betrothed from there. He imagines her in a heather-grown valley (“tangast lomest,” in modern Sami: *daŋasloamis*) with bushes and trees (*muoraid*) growing around there. He also says that he would like to tear away the new branches on the trees that might hide her from his view (Schefferus 1673: 283). The readers thus understand that it is a lovely sunny scenery with a rather low spring-green vegetation around a lake he sees before his eyes.

The Swedish translation of this song is a literal, almost word for word, translation without a trace of rhyme. In his Swedish translation Sirma talks about flowers (*blomster*) instead of heather, and bushes instead of trees. The lake he calls both *Orra träsk* and *Orra sjö*, that is the lake of *Orra* (Setälä 1890: 115).

Schefferus tells the readers in his prose translation into Latin that *Orra* is a “palus.” Schefferus uses this description all three times the place-name is mentioned. *Orra* is thus a moor or morass rather than a lake, although the word *palus* can also mean lake. Still the lover invokes the sun to shine with its brightest beams, and he imagines his love residing among flowers in an area with bushes with newly sprung-out twigs.

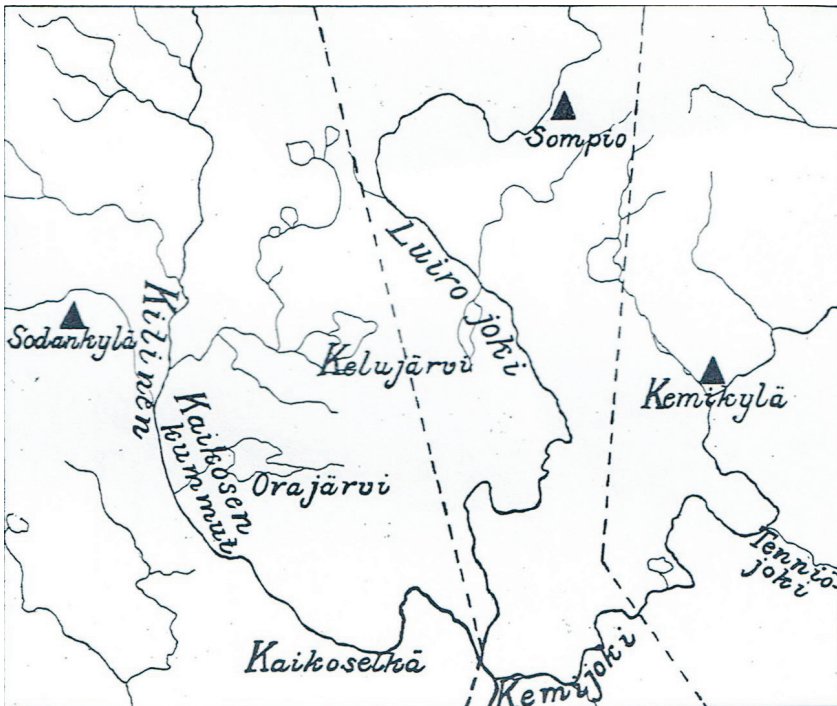
Although one might argue that summer comes before winter and that therefore the summer song precedes the lover’s winter trip, Schefferus presents the winter song before the summer song. In my discussion I will follow his example.

Locating the Lakes

Where Sirma grew up and where the songs originated, has long been an unanswered question. Schefferus (1673: 96) writes that Sirma was “in Lapponia Tornensis natus,” born in Torne Lappmark, which at that time consisted of the northern part of present-day Sweden, the western part of Northern Finland, especially the so-called *Finnish arm*, and the adjacent border areas of Norway with Kautokeino and Karasjok. When Sirma left the university, in 1674, it was noted down that he was originally from Kemi Lappmark, an area a bit further to the east in North-Finland. Based on an analysis of the language of Sirma’s Sami song texts, Just Knud Qvigstad was of the opinion in 1885 that Sirma used a Torne-Lappmark variant, whereas Karl Bernard Wiklund concluded in 1913 based on some more writings Sirma had left be-

hind, that his language indicated that he came from the Kemi area. Through the steadily advancing colonization by Finnish farmers, the Kemi Sami language became extinct during the eighteenth century, so it is no wonder that nineteenth and twentieth century linguists had difficulties recognizing it.

According to Erkki Itkonen the language of the songs is an old eastern Sami dialect. However, it is difficult to localize since many of those dialects had disappeared. Itkonen (1940: 341–344) supposes that Sirma grew up in the vicinity of the places named in the songs. He found two of them on Olof Tresk's map of Kemi Lappmark from 1642 (Tresk 1928) and on Wahlenberg's map of Kemi Lappmark from 1804. Orajärvi—Squirrel Lake—lies 10 kilometres southeast of present-day Sodankylä and Kälvejavre (Kelujärvi/Kelvijärvi) lies 12 kilometres northeast of Orajärvi (Sami *oarre*, Finnish *orava* 'squirrel'). *Kelvi*—says Itkonen—is an original Sami word and in an old written source from 1724 the name is spelled *Kelfvojerf*, but Itkonen does not give an explanation for the name. Lake Kaiga could not be located on any map, but Itkonen found a *Kaikoselkä*, a mountain ridge, and *Kaikosen kummut*, hills, on a map of the area around the Luiro River.



Map 1. Map of Olof Sirma's home region (from Itkonen 1940: 341).

The area Sirma came from was thus localized by means of two of the place-names in the songs. It is an area between two big rivers, Kilinen and Luiro, which today is part of the Finnish municipality of Sodankylä. Wahlberg, who travelled in this area in the summer of 1802, gives the following description of the landscape:

Brushwood and moors cover most of the land; probably even as much as three quarters of it. The larger moors are often more than 10 km wide, deep and with much water [...]. The other moors are sparsely covered with trees and give good grazing. (Wahlenberg 1804: 62)

The Translation History of the Place-Names in the Winter Song

As stated above, Schefferus presented a source text in Latin where the lover starts his journey across a marshy area. Along his route he passes Kailva and Kaige, which Schefferus describes as moors. Until the second half of the nineteenth century, all translators used Schefferus' Latin text for their versions of the song.

The Place-Names in the Winter Song in Translations from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century

The first translation from Latin was published in English in 1674 as part of the English translation of Schefferus' book. The translator was Acton Cremer, a student of theology who was himself madly in love, a love affair that was considered to hamper his studies. He was asked to translate the book so that his thoughts would be occupied with something other than the lady he was in love with. Of all the translators of Schefferus' book, Cremer produced the most poetical translation of the songs, translating Schefferus' prose text in a rhymed strophic poem and making choices about meter and rhyme. But his use of rhyme did not affect the place-names. In the first strophe the lover tells: "[T]he moors are vast," indicating that he has to cross many large ones. Kaigè then is said to be "the watery Moor." The reader may think that it is one of the vast moors mentioned earlier. This watery moor, says the lover

Is pleasant unto me,
Though long it be;
Since it doth to my Mistriss lead,
Whom I adore;
The *Kilwa* Moor,
I nere again will tread.

While passing Kaigè his mind is full of thoughts, thoughts about seeing his love, who he imagines yonder where

She washes in the Lake.
See while she swims,
The water from her purer limbs
New cleerness take.
(Scheffer 1674: 112–113)

Cremer introduces a lake at the end of the poem that does not freeze over in winter (!), a lake the lover is heading to since it is the place where his love lives.

Cremer's text in Schefferus' book was the source text for Richard Steele's translation which appeared in England in *The Spectator* in June 1712. *The Spectator* was a daily publication founded by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele. It appeared in 1711 and 1712 and again for six months in 1714 (then published three times a week). Addison estimated that each issue was read by approximately 60,000 Londoners, many of them reading the paper in one of the subscribing coffee houses.⁴

Steele's translation of the winter song contains no place-names at all, but describes the landscape the lover is travelling through. He travels through a "dreery Waste," with "Rushy Moors" all around. Tired, the lover traverses the marshes in the dark, making his way through "the watry Length of these unjoyous Moors." The trip is said to be a "tedious Way" (Smith [ed.]: 1963–1964, Vol. 3: 264). In the end, however, he and his reindeer will see his beloved one, who swims among the waves in a fast-flowing stream. This poem gives the impression that the land of the Sami is a monotonous landscape in winter, consisting only of moors and marshes, wet and watery and depressing to the mind. The lover can endure this landscape only because of the enchanting image of his love swimming in a river, which he expects to see when reaching the place where she lives.

The readers of Schefferus' book in German (published 1675) are presented with a picture that is very similar to that which Sirma presented to Schefferus: the journey starts through a large moor area, and there are two lakes (not moors), Kaige and Kailwi. Kaige does not make the lover sad and gives him much to think about while travelling there and he asks Kailwi to be kind to him. No lake is mentioned at the end (clearly an English addition), but the translation includes the expectation of seeing the girl while she is bathing.

The same holds for the French translation of Schefferus' book (Scheffer 1678), only here both Kaige and Kailvva are said to be moors ("marais") and

not lakes, so the French translator, Père Augustin Lubin, like Cremer in England chose to translate Schefferus' *palus* as being a marshy area. Since the Dutch translation of Schefferus had the French text as the source text, it is somewhat surprising that the translator at first speaks of "you Sea or moor Kaige will not be sad to me" (Scheffer 1682: II 120). But in the next two sentences both Kaige and Kailwa are described as moors. The French and Dutch translations have not been used as source texts for other versions of the songs in those countries, but in Germany both the Latin versions of Schefferus and the German translation of them inspired German poets/writers to write their own versions.

The next German translation of the winter song both in prose and rhyme (Öhrs [Örn] 1704) is from the hand of the Swedish traveller and globetrotter Nicolaus Örn. The landscape in his songs is very similar to that described by Schefferus, but differs greatly from that described in the German translation of the winter song by Johann Christoph Gottsched. This text appeared in *Der Zuschauer*, a German translation in book form (1739–1743, 8 volumes) of *The Spectator* by Johann and Luise Gottsched. The landscape sketched by Johann Gottsched in *Der Zuschauer* in 1742 (Vol. 6), is the landscape from Steele's English Spectator-version. Place-names are not mentioned, since they did not appear in Gottsched's source text.

Matthias Claudius' prose text ([Claudius] 1769) contains again the same information as the German Schefferus-edition. Johann Gottfried Herder even made two different translations of the winter song (1774 and 1778/1779). Herder was highly interested in folk songs. He not only tried to make his German readers familiar with the content of the song, but also with the tone of it, with the form in which the content was presented, by looking at the Sami original. The Sami original may seem to have end rhyme in some places, which is caused by the feature of parallelism (word-declensions with the same case endings). In Herder's first version from 1774 the lover starts by singing that there are many lakes to cross, whereas in the later version these have become moors. But both Kaige and Kailva are lakes in Herder's two versions. Kaige is called "lieber Kaigesee" (1774). This is repeated in the second version where the lover moreover sings: "dich mag ich leiden, Kaiga-See" (1778/1779) (Herder 1877–1913, Bd. 25 [1885]: 92, 271). Herder thus chose to present in a positive manner the fact that the lover does not find the lake area dreary. The names of the lakes have a central position in Herder's two versions, since they are the main subject of the second strophe (out of four) in both versions. In the German texts of Örn, Claudius and Herder, the beloved one is expected to be bathing when the lover arrives at the place where she lives, but there is no mention of her swimming in a lake or stream.

In the last German translation of the eighteenth century, however, the girl is depicted again as swimming through rolling waves. Gerhard Anton von Halem (1786) says that the songs in Schefferus' book were his source texts, but the poem clearly shows that his source was not Schefferus but the two texts published in the English *Spectator*. Von Halem was inspired by both texts and also wove elements of the summer song into his *Lied eines Lappländers*. As in the *Spectator*-version, the names of the lakes the lover has to cross on his winter journey are not mentioned in the text.

The Place-Names in the Winter Song in Translations from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century

New versions of the winter song with place-names published in the nineteenth century only appeared in Scandinavia. The first one, *Till rendjuret* ['To my reindeer'] is by the Swedish-speaking Finnish poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg and appeared in 1847. Runeberg admired folk poems and folk songs and voiced the same ideas about translation as Herder had done after the 1770s. For his translations of folk songs he often turned to Herder for source texts. This is the case also with *Till rendjuret*, which is a true translation in both content and form of Herder's second version. I suppose therefore that the fact that the poem only mentions one lake, Lake Kaiga, must be due to a printing error. Runeberg's lover says he likes Lake Kaiga and then calls it "dear Kaiga," as Herder's lover did. The lover's farewell words to Lake Kailwa however, are here replaced by a farewell to Lake Kaiga (Kellgren, Tengström & Tigerstedt [eds.] 1847: 64). Otto Donner's Finnish version of the winter song *Porolle* ['To the reindeer'] published in 1876, is a translation of Runeberg's text and also mentions only Lake Kaiga. Donner's Finnish text was again translated into Swedish by the Finn Rafaël Hertzberg in 1881. Hertzberg mentions Lake Kaiga only once, when he lets the lover say farewell to this beautiful lake.

Richard Bergström discusses in an article published in 1885 the different versions of the song. His Swedish translation is based on the Latin original. We have thus two names again, Kaige and Kailwa. The reindeer is asked if it can see the beloved one washing herself. Bergström asked Just Knud Qvigstad to look at the Sami text. Qvigstad gave a literal translation into Norwegian. Thus we read for the first time that the lover is travelling in a northerly direction over many marshes (but no woods), that he is travelling over Kaigevarre, which Qvigstad says is a mountain. The lover asks the mountain not to deter him and then says farewell to Lake Kælve before traversing the coves of Lake Kaige. For the first time in more than 200 years, the reader is given an impression of what the landscape really looked like! At the end of the song the reindeer is asked if it can already see the eyes of the beloved one.

The most interesting version of the nineteenth century is the Swedish translation and text interpretation by the Swedish writer Olof Högberg, published in the newspaper *Hernösands-Posten* in 1898. Högberg mentions Bergström's article as his source. This means that we are back again in a landscape with only two place-names. In Högberg's description they are wide streams of water, but he also calls Kajge a sea. In between the verse lines, Högberg refers to the way of thinking of the seventeenth century Sami and the young Sami lover as he is travelling through the landscape. Högberg sees the winter song as a kind of incantation song. The Sami, he says, believed that nature consisted of animated things and beings and that it was full of evil powers. In his article he criticizes many of the earlier translations because the translators took no notice of the nature worship of the Sami or their fear of mysterious powers, nor had these translators recognized the artistic form of the songs. The blame for this last failure is laid on Schefferus' Latin translation.

According to Högberg the Sami custom was to yoik in verses of two lines, where each couplet contained a certain thought. His translation consists of eight couplets of two lines. According to Högberg the lover is coaxing his reindeer to make haste in the first two lines, and goes on to say: "[W]ide is the way, the river ghastly long,/ and the evil one out there is not afraid of incantation songs." The young lover, says Högberg, is careful not to mention the devil by name. He needs an ally that is bigger and more powerful than the devil himself. And the lake now lies before him in all its grandeur and he has just left behind another equally impressive lake. And who or what can be bigger than these lakes? Who would dare to injure the lakes or the person they protect? It is therefore of great importance to tell the lakes at once that the traveller does not place them on a par with the ugly and wicked devil. In the next pair of verse lines, the young lover sings, according to Högberg: "Nasty you are not to me, Kajge stream!/ You Kælva stream, I wish you really well!" Since it is important to make the large stretch of ice the young man now has to cross with his reindeer favourably disposed towards them, he then sings: "The big Kajge gave many a deep thought,/ yes many thoughts came up from Kajge sea." To this Högberg comments that the lake has now been promoted to the rank of a sea! The young lover must be careful not to flatter any other winter marshy areas in the same manner, for these moors and waters can be highly jealous of each other. But now, Kajge is obliged to protect him and his reindeer against the devil, who through these tactics has been side-lined. Only after all this is done, can the lover focus his thoughts and think of his beloved one only. These thoughts make up the rest of the poem. The places, frozen streams and lakes, and the mentioning of their names are thus of great importance

for a successful journey in Högberg's interpretation of this seventeenth century winter song. A song that does not name these lakes would probably not bring the young lover to his beloved one at all.

The first text published in the twentieth century was a Sami one. It is a text from the hand of the Sami teacher and politician Isak Saba which appeared in the Sami newspaper *Sagai Muittalægje* in 1905. This text is based on Schefferus, the Sami version. However, Saba does not mention Mount Gaige but only the lake with that name, *Gaigejavrre*, whereas the other lake is called *Guollejavrre*, 'Fish Lake,' instead of *Gælvejavre*. This is not so strange, as Schefferus wrote the name as *kællueiaur*. Surprisingly, Saba also changed the landscape by letting the young lover travel through the Gaigewood (from Sami: *Gaigevuopmi*) instead of along the coves of Lake Gaige (sg. *Gaigevuotna*). Since *-pm* and *-tn* in some inflected forms in Sami changes to *-m* and *-n*, a small change in the spelling and reading of a text can also change the landscape. It is highly improbable that Saba had succeeded in locating the actual places. In that case he would surely have mentioned it in his article.

From the time Erkki Itkonen studied Sirma's Sami texts in the 1940s, the Sami texts or an interlinear Finnish or Swedish translation of the Sami texts became the source texts for new translations. We have Itkonen's translation of the winter song (Itkonen 1940, Finnish), and translations by Collinder (1953, Swedish), Blair (in Ruong 1967, English after Collinder), Aikio and Itkonen (in Aikio, Itkonen & Sammallahti 1974, Finnish), Moreau (in Domokos [ed.] 1980, French), Hein (in Kelletat 1982, German), Todal (in Gaski [ed.] 1991, Norwegian [*nynorsk*]), Schwaar (1991, German), Bosley (in Honko *et al.* [eds.] 1993, English) and Winkler (1996, German). Sami writers and poets also wrote new versions of this song: Lars Simma in 1985, Harald Gaski in 1987 and 1991 and Pekka Sammallahti in 1992 and 1998. Qvigstad (1885), Itkonen (1940), Collinder (1953), Aikio (1974), Todal (1991) and Winkler (1996) translated directly from a Sami source text. Collinder, Hein and Todal were known for translating poetry, the others were first and foremost linguists and/or folklorists interested in the literature of Finno-Ugrian peoples.

Itkonen mentions in 1940 both Kaika mountain and the coves of Kaika and writes the name of the second lake as *Kelujärvi*, 'Lake Kelu.' Moreau, Hein, Schwaar and Bosley translated from Finnish. Only Moreau kept the Sami words for mountain, lake and cove (*varri, jávri, vuotna*) (Domokos [ed.] 1980: 121). Winkler translated from a Sami source text, but he also knew Itkonen's and Hein's translations. In all these translations the lover is said to travel eastwards over the moors at the beginning of the song. In Winkler's text there are both moors and woods to the east and Lake Kaiga has several coves. In all the other texts Kaige has one cove only.

In the translations into or via a Scandinavian language, however, the lover travels northwards (Qvigstad, Collinder, Blair and Todal). This is because the Sami words for the different wind directions have different meanings depending on where in Sápmi ['the Sami land'] the speaker is (which Sami language he speaks). The directions follow the flow of the rivers, so what in one area should be translated as 'east' might be 'north' in another area. Qvigstad is the only one who does not mention that there were woods in the area. Collinder, Blair and Todal mention that the lover has to travel through woods and swamplands. The spelling of the (loan)words from Sami for mountain and lake depends on the target language and the spelling of these words on topographical maps in Norway and Sweden. With the exception of Todal, all chose to translate the Sami word *vuotna* as 'cove.' Collinder (and thus Blair) gives Lake Kaiga only one cove that the lover has to traverse. Todal chooses to give all three place-names in their Sami form in the nominative case and writes *Gáigavárri*, *Gealfejávre* and *Gáigavuonat* (pl.) (Gaski [ed.] 1991: 31).

In the literature on Sami yoiking, very little attention is paid to the content of Sirma's yoik texts. Only two of the scholars who in the twentieth century were interested in Sirma's texts in particular, analysed the content as well. One of them is Harald Gaski, professor of Sami literature. In the summer song the lover is daydreaming about how to get to his love. At the same time, however, he seems to be uncertain about his own feelings, as well as of hers, but at the end of the song he decides to travel to her. In the winter song, the travel account, he is sure of himself and his feelings. Gaski:

Now it is more important that his reindeer is going full speed and that nature does not disturb his journey. For in those times, people thought that nature was animated, and that the will of the gods, as well as the will of people, could influence nature in a positive or negative way. It was therefore important to yoik difficult mountain passages, the ice on the lakes and the snow masses on the moors to be pleasant and friendly towards the traveller. (Gaski 1987: 22)

Thus, like Högberg a hundred years earlier, Gaski saw the Sami place-names of the winter song and the way the lover sings about them as being of vital importance for a happy and safe journey.

The Translation History of the Place-Name in the Summer Song

In the summer song there is only one place-name, *Orre* or *Orra*. It is the name of the lake or moor where the beloved one lives. The young lover, who lives elsewhere, is dreaming about her and wonders whether he might

see her at the lake surrounded by heather and shrubbery with fresh green leaves, should he climb high up in a pine tree. He would like to ride to that lake on the clouds, to fly to it with the wings of a bird, or to use the webbed feet of a goose, or the swift legs of four-legged animals. According to Gaski's analysis he is, however, unsure whether she really wants him and unsure about what he really wishes himself.

As stated above, Schefferus presented this text in a Latin rendering together with the Sami original in 1673. In both texts the name *Orra* is mentioned three times.

The Place-Name *Orra* in the Summer Song in Translations of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century

From Sirma's Sami text we know that the girl lives at *Orre javre*, a lake which Schefferus translated as *palus Orra*.

Although the first translation of Schefferus' book appeared in England, I will first discuss the German translation of 1675. As is the case with the winter song, the German rendering of the summer song speaks of *der See-Orra* (Scheffer 1675: 321). *Orra* is thus a lake and not a moor.

The first translation in its own right is from Daniel Georg Morhof, professor of poetry and history of literature. Morhof states in his *Unterricht von der Teutschen Sprache und Poesie* (1682) that rhyme is necessary in German poetry. He repudiates the use of foreign words (Latin or French), but it is not clear whether this rule also applies to place-names. His translation of the summer song has the form of a classical alexandrine. He mentions the place where the lover's betrothed resides but does not specify it as a lake or a moor:

Lass/ Sonne/ deinen Schein vorhin nach Orra gehen/
O könt ich diesen Ort von ferne nur ersehen. (Morhof 1969: 209)

Orra is an "Ort," a place or locality not further specified.

In 1689 the Swedish scientist Olaus Rudbeck uses the place-name in the Sami summer song as proof of his ideas that the area of Fennoscandia was Plato's Atlantis. In volume 2 of his monumental work *Atlantica* he states that the worshipping of the sun found its origin north of the Gulf of Bothnia, from where it had spread to the area around the Mediterranean. Proof of this, he says, is the sea *Oridanus*, also called *Glysis Sea*. This sea is mentioned in a myth by a Greek historian who lived in the first century before Christ. This sea, then, must be the Baltic Sea, according to Rudbeck, as only people to the north of the Baltic Sea, living in the Kemi area, can see the sun go down into the sea in winter time, not to appear again for several weeks.

Even in the seventeenth century, the Sami living there knew about this sun worshipping. As proof of this, Rudbeck presents his Swedish translation of a Sami love song. The first lines, translated into English, run like this:

O rise, thou splendid sun,
and let thy beams shine over Oridan.
If I should climb high up in the pine trees
and knew that I would see the sun over Oridan
then I would climb up to the top. (Rudbeck 1689: 234)

The sea Oridan is mentioned a third time in the poem when the young lover says that he would follow the clouds on their way to Oridan. According to Rudbeck this song is “uestan [nestan] lijka medh dhen som läses uti *Schefferi Lapp*: c. 25. p. 284” [‘almost identical to the one that can be read in *Schefferus’ Lapp*: chap. 25. p. 284’]. There is, however, no doubt that Schefferus was his source and that the statement that the Sami, as he writes, “kalla vår Orridan Orri Tresket” [‘call our Orridan for Lake Orri’] (Rudbeck 1689: 234, 235) is something sprung from his own fertile imagination in an attempt to find support for his ideas. It is highly improbable that Rudbeck met Olof Sirma or that he saw Sirma’s Swedish handwritten translation, so it seems to be a mere coincidence that he translated the Sami word *javre* (or Schefferus’ *palus*) with the Swedish term *tresk*, as Sirma did in his Swedish translation that he gave to Schefferus in 1672.

The first English translation of the summer song from Latin was published in 1674, one year before the German text. Like the text of the winter song, it was written by Acton Cremer and published as part of the English translation of Schefferus’ book. Like the winter song, the English summer song is also a poetical text. In six strophes the lover sings about what he would do to be able to see or to travel to his beloved one: he would climb the highest tree, would tear up bushes from their roots to see her, ride the clouds to her or fly to her with wings borrowed from birds. The following is the first strophe of Cremer’s translation:

With brightest beams let the Sun shine
On *Orra Moor*
Could I be sure,
That from the top o’th lofty Pine,
I *Orra Moor* might see,
I to his highest bow would climb,
And with industrious labor try,
Thence to descry
My Mistreß, if that there she be.
(Scheffer 1674: 114)

Orra is thus the name of a moor and not a lake in Cremer's text. Cremer uses the name *Orra* two more times, without adding that it is a moor. He lets the young man say: "Upon the raft of clouds I'de ride/ Which unto *Orra* fly," and then, when the young man realizes that no bird will lend him its wings: "There's none who unto *Orra* brings, [...]" (Scheffer 1674: 115).

Cremer's text in Schefferus' book was the source text for the summer song published in *The Spectator* in April 1712 (No. 366, 30 April). The writer of the song was later said to be Ambrose Philips, though the poet remains anonymous in the first *Spectator*-edition.

The rendering of the summer song published in *The Spectator* resulted in a remarkable change in the perspective of the young lover when he is considering his situation. The translator has misunderstood Cremer's first lines, where the moor or Lake *Orra* is the place where, as the lover knows, his beloved one lives. In Philips' first strophe the lover sings:

Thou rising Sun, whose gladsome Ray
Invites my Fair to rural Play,
Dispel the Mist, and clear the Skies,
and bring my *Orra* to my Eyes.

And in the last one:

No longer then perplex thy Breast,
When Thoughts torment the first are best;
'Tis mad to go, 'tis Death to stay,
Away to *Orra*, hast away. (Smith [ed.] 1963–1964, Vol. 3: 150–151)

Orra Moor is no longer the name of the place where the girl lives, it has become the girl's name! The young lover does no longer know where she is. He no longer wishes he were at a specific place, but wants to search everywhere in hopes of finding her.

The Spectator was widely read and it is not surprising that the authors of later English versions of the song, even though they might also have known about Cremer's English version, followed *The Spectator* without realizing what had happened. In the summer songs of Elisabeth Rowe (1739, published in Farley 1906: 10) and Lord Chesterfield (published in Middleton 1777–1779, Vol. 2: 31–32) the girl is called *Orramoore* resp. *Orra Moor/Orra*. Rowe's lover, looking for his love, sings: "In mountain, vale, or gloomy grove, I'd climb the tallest tree." His *Orramoore* might hide among the branches "in some sequester'd bow'r." Chesterfield's lover would "climb the summit of the lofty pine,/ Could I my *Orra Moor* at distance view." He pictures her in the pleasant shade of "terrestrial bow'rs" or in

“enamell'd fields of sweetest flow'rs,” charmed by the birds that “warble[d] on each spray.”

The name *Orra* or *Orramoor* soon became associated with Sápmi and a lovely Sami girl. It was also used by other poets writing about the area. In William Thomson's poem *Sickness* from 1746 we read about “Young Orra Moor, in furry spoils enroll'd” (Moyne 1981: 90). Even as late as in 1822/1823 *Orra* was still known in England as a Sami girl's name. On the occasion of a major exhibition on the Sami and their culture in the Egyptian Hall in London Piccadilly, the weekly magazine *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* published a *Lapland Ode* where a lover sings:

Five years I've woo'd my Orra fair,
Five years my sighs have fill'd the air,
But woo'd and sigh'd in vain. (“The Laplanders” 1823: 148)

In Germany no such spectacular things happened, although even here *Orra* figured in some songs as the name of the beloved one. As was to be expected, this is the case in the German rendering of the summer song that Luise Gottsched translated for *Der Zuschauer* (Gottsched und den seinigen 1741, Vol. 5: 267):

Was halt dich, *Orra* für ein Ort?
Wo schläfst du? hinter welchen Hecken?
Von Bäumen, die dich mir verstecken,
Reiß ich erzürnt die Stämme fort.

A second edition of *Der Zuschauer* was published in 1751. In the meantime Luise had apparently found out, probably from the German edition of Schefferus' book, that *Orra* was not originally a girl's name. In the 1751 edition the text is changed to:

Mein *Orra*-see, wo liegt der Ort?
Wo schläft mein Kind? bey welchem Hecken? (after Kelletat 1982: 121)

The girl *Orra* also figures in Gerard von Halem's song, a winter song, but with elements from the summer song. Von Halem lets his lover sing about his love of the surrounding waste land: “Denn sie leitet mich – Ha! wie klopft der Busen! – / Meiner *Orra* zu!” (von Halem 1786: 14). And at the end of the song he really sees *Orra* who “plätschernd badet,” swimming among the waves. von Halem was clearly inspired by *The Spectator*, but other versions of the summer song attracted greater attention in Germany. The girl *Orra* was here not associated with the Sami and Sápmi to the same degree as in England.

Between 1771 and 1778/1779 Herder wrote four versions of the summer song (and probably even more). In the four versions that were eventually published, the lover wishes to see or reach *Orra-See*. Herder experimented with the form of this song, trying to catch the form elements of the Sami original in his translations. As for the content, he follows Schefferus' Latin version. The young lover talks about "Fichten" he would climb and envisages his beloved one amidst a natural surrounding full of flowers and fresh green trees (Herder 1877–1913, Bd. 25 [1885]: 93, 405–407; Herder 1877–1913, Bd. 5 [1891]: 171–172).

The Place-Name *Orra* In The Summer Song in Translations of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century

Herder's translations were published in many editions of his works in the nineteenth century. It is not to be wondered at, then, that the first new translation in the nineteenth century is based on one of his texts. In 1832 Runeberg published in *Helsingfors' Morgonblad* his version of Herder's *Die Fahrt zur Geliebten*, Herder's fourth version of the summer song. We have, as expected, Lake Orra, where the lover, could he view the lake from the top of a pine tree, thinks he would be able to see the girl amidst flowers.

In Germany, Theodor Mügge's book *Afraja. Ein nordischer Roman* appeared in 1854. Afraja's nephew, being in love with Afraja's daughter, sings a love song in this book in which one recognizes Sirma's summer song. Mügge found the original that inspired him to write this song in the German translation of Schefferus' book. Mügge does not, however, use the name *Orra-See*. Instead, he translated the German *See* using the Norwegian word *vand*, and adapted the German spelling of the name of the lake to the pronunciation of German speakers. He talks about *Urevand*, 'den blauen wellenschlagenden See' so that the readers will understand that the song is about a lake. The landscape is described in accordance with Schefferus' text.

Wenn ich von dem hohen Gipfel der Fichte in das verborgene Thal sehen könnte, wollte ich hinaufsteigen, um zu lauschen, unter welchen Blumen mein Liebchen schläft. Ich wollte alle Sträucher, die dort wachsen, ausreißen, wollte alle Zweige, diese grünen Zweige, abhauen, wenn sie mich hinderten. (Mügge 1854a: 423)

Mügge's book was a success. It was translated into English (1854), Swedish (1856), Danish (1857), French (1857) and Dutch (1861), and saw many editions in Germany well into the twentieth century. The lover in the English translation would climb a fir tree to see "under what flowers my loved one is sleeping. I would tear up all the *brambles* [my italics] and all the branches [...] that opposed me" (Mügge 1854b: 437). The name of the lake remains the

same in all translations, *Urevand*, and in all translations except the Danish one, *Urevand* is a lake. The Danish translator, however, changed it into (a part of) a sea (Mügge 1857a: II 492).

All other nineteenth century translators of the summer song (Donner, Lönnrot, Bergström, Qvigstad) indicate that Orra is a lake. Qvigstad (1885: 19) even tells the Norwegian/Swedish readers that the name of the lake, *Oarre-javre*, means 'Ekornsjöen' ['Squirrel-lake'].

In the twentieth century, there appeared 21 translations of the summer song, again with *Ora*, *Orra* or *Orre* as name of the lake, but in nine of these versions the lake is now called *Oarre*, not just in the seven Sami versions. Collinder (1949: 185) speaks in his English translation of *Lake Oarrejaure*, and Todal in his Norwegian translation (Gaski [ed.] 1991: 30) about "sjøen, *Oarrejávri*" ['the lake, *Oarrejávri*']. Moreau, too, kept in his French translation (Domokos [ed.] 1980: 121) the Sami word for lake and writes about *le lac—l'Orrajavri*. All others translated the Sami word for lake into their own language. Collinder, who in 1941 published a Swedish version using Sirma's rendering in Swedish in a grammatically more correct way, does not repeat Sirma's *träsket Orra träsk*, or *Siöön Orra siöön* ['the lake Orra lake'] but writes, surprisingly enough, *Ekorr[sj]ö[n]* ['Squirrel lake'] (Collinder 1941: 296). In his 1953 Swedish rendering in his own words, he also speaks of *Ekorr-vattnet* ['Squirrel lake'] (Collinder 1953: 215–216). Qvigstad and Collinder (who both could read Sami) are thus the only ones who translated the name of the lake, a lead followed by Blair who in 1967 made a translation ("Squirrel Water") of Collinder's latest Swedish version into English (in Ruong 1967: 56). Finnish readers might, of course, understand the meaning of the name, and Sami readers will definitely do so when the name is given in the correct spelling.

Conclusion

Looking back at the translation history of these place-names, we can conclude that Sirma, by leaving out the woods, Mt Kaige and the Kaige coves in his Swedish translation, flattened the landscape the lover had to traverse on his journey to his beloved one in winter time and made it more monotonous. The two lakes in Sirma's text, called *palus* in Latin by Schefferus, became moors in the translations of Schefferus' book into English (Cremer, where Kaigè is even called "the watery moor"), French and Dutch. Although the original text also spoke of vast stretches of moorland in addition to the lakes, the woods and the mountain, the English, French and Dutch readers were left with moors, and moors only, as early as in the 1670s and 1680s. The picture of a wintry landscape in *The Spectator*, even though the song does not contain any place-names, reinforces the impression that Sápmi in win-

ter time is a dreary and depressing landscape with lots of unfriendly, tedious and watery marshes. This picture reached the German readers through the translation of the Spectator-version into German by Johann Gottsched published in 1741 and reprinted in 1751, but was made more positive by von Halem. Moreover, in the German translation of Schefferus' book and the translations by Örn, Claudius and, last but not least, Herder, Kaige and Kælwa are lakes and Herder's young lover sings about how he likes these lakes. Thus, compared to the English readers, the German readers got a more positive impression of the landscape. Herder's songs inspired Finnish poets in the nineteenth century. In the English, German, French, Swedish and Norwegian twentieth-century translations, the landscape is depicted in accordance with the Sami original, since by then the original text or an interlinear Finnish translation was used as source text.

Both lakes play a most remarkable and central role in Högberg's winter song (1898). To Högberg, the mentioning of their names and flattering them was essential for a safe journey in the world view of seventeenth-century Sami, because the lakes would then protect the young lover against mishaps caused by natural circumstances. The same view is voiced by Gaski in 1987. Naming the names of features in the landscape was thus really important.

The translation history of the place-name *Orra* in the summer song is remarkable too. Rudbeck (1689) states that the Sami name of the lake (*Orri javre* or in Swedish *Orri tresk*) is taken from the Swedish name *Oridan* (from *Oridanus*), i.e. the Baltic Sea. In his Swedish rendering of the Sami summer song he therefore mentions the sea by its "correct" Swedish name and uses this name as proof of his thesis that Fennoscandia is actually Plato's Atlantis!

As in the winter song, the lake became a moor in the English translation of Schefferus' book and then its name, through a misreading of the text, changed into a girl's name which became a well-known Sami name in England and remained so until well into the nineteenth century. In the landscape as it was depicted in England, pine trees grow on the locality where the lover lives in all texts. But the landscape around the moor, which in the Sami original consists of (low growing) green trees, bushes and heather, became a landscape with flowers through Sirma's Swedish translation, Schefferus' Latin rendering and Cremer, who added blossoms and green tree branches that provided shade. The branches were embellished with warbling birds by Lord Chesterfield. In the English translation of Mügge there are even brambles growing near the lake, hiding the loved one.

In the twentieth century, Collinder describes the landscape around the lake as a heather dale and so does Blair. Blair also mentions a forest and since the readers are now aware that the lake is called 'Squirrel Water' they understand that there might be pine trees there, too.

The English texts of the summer song depict a much more imaginary landscape than the German, the Dutch, the Scandinavian texts, or even the French rendering of Mügge, where the translators keep to flowers and bushes. Finally, when the Sami text became the source text, the flowers disappeared. The landscape around the lake then consists of heather, bushes and pine trees. We can conclude that the landscape depicted in Sirma's original Sami songs is in accordance with Wahlenberg's description of the area around Lake Orajärvi and Lake Kelujärvi where Sirma grew up in the seventeenth century.

NOTES

- ¹ This article is based on my unpublished Master's thesis in translation science (Zorgdrager 1999).
- ² In some translations the place-names have been left out. These translations are not discussed here, with the exception of the English text of the winter song that was published in *The Spectator* in June 1712.
- ³ The spelling of the place-names in the songs is not unanimous, not even always within one and the same song. In this article I have chosen to follow the spelling of the respective translations under discussion.
- ⁴ The article "The Spectator (1711)" in Wikipedia; www.en.wikipedia.org; access date 9 March 2017.

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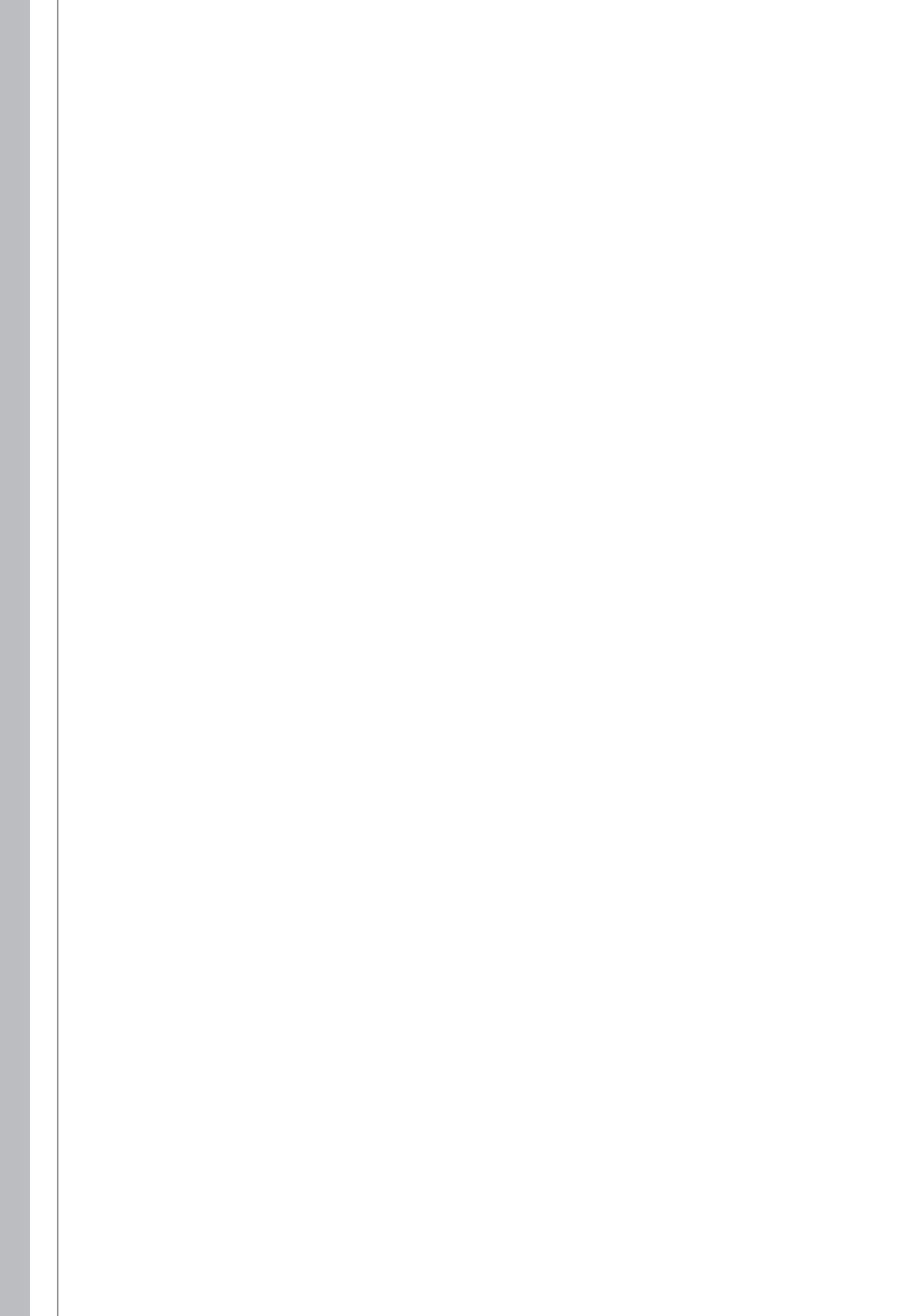
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Reviews/Comptes rendus/Besprechungen

David Brégaint, *Vox regis. Royal Communication in High Medieval Norway* (The Northern World 74), Leiden: Brill 2016, ISBN 978-9-0043-0508-3, 420 pp.

Vox regis. Royal Communication in High Medieval Norway is a revised edition of the author's doctoral dissertation from 2014, defended at the Department for Historical Studies at NTNU. The book is structured in three main chapters, prefaced by an introduction and followed by a conclusion. These three chapters discuss the role of communication as a systematic and intentionally used tool in the state formation strategies of King Magnus Erlingsson (1163–1184), Chapter 1; King Sverrir Sigurðarson (1177–1202), Chapter 2; and the kings in power during the long thirteenth century: Hákon Hákonarson (1217–1263), Magnús Hákonarson, or Magnús the Lawmender (1263–1280), Eirik Magnússon (1268–1299) and Hákon V Magnússon (1270–1319), Chapter 3. The book covers the period from the foundation of the church province in Nidaros to the end of King Sverrir's dynasty. This is traditionally seen as the main state formation period, discussed by many scholars such as Knut Helle, Sverre Bagge and Hans Jacob Orning. The main contribution of the book to the existing state formation debates is that it introduces and investigates the hypothesis that Norwegian kings increasingly used various forms of communication intentionally as an instrument of government and political legitimization. This was done by combining oral, written and ritualistic communication and by taking over the control of the means and loci of communication that earlier had been monopolized by the Church.

Brégaint contextualizes his own analysis within the academic debates about state-making and communication. The author takes us elegantly from Weber's and Tilly's focus on the institutionalization of the means of domination and coercion during the development of European states, to the cultural turn that regards culture as constitutive and determining for the same process. He discusses the concepts of consent and rational choice, and comments on the gaps in Norwegian scholarship with regard to these discussions. For example, Sverre Bagge promotes the idea that the development of the state was "functional," as royal justice was highly beneficial for the people, but Bagge does not acknowledge the significance of coercion and adhesion. Orning discusses obedience and submission and argues that royal power is based on the physical presence and unpredictability of the king's decision. He also acknowledges ideo-

logy, but claims that there is a huge gap between ideology and reality. On the other hand, Brégaint foregrounds the role of culture and ideology and argues that mutual understanding of the utility of the state was central for its development.

Further on, Brégaint describes how culturalists themselves regard communication in different ways. For André Holestein, communication, as an interaction, is the source of power. For Bourdieu, concentration of informational and symbolic capital is the genesis of the state, as information structures thoughts and social relationships. For Jacques Ellul, communication and propaganda are instruments of government. Further, inspired by the discussions on communication by medievalists such as Jacques Le Goff, Sophia Menache and Jean-Philippe Genet, Brégaint defines communication as a combination of the processes of empowerment and appropriation.

Methodologically, Brégaint is inspired by traditional communication theory which structures the communication process into the elements sender, message and receiver. He organizes his study by focusing on 1) the actors of communication (sender and receiver) and their motivations and intentions with communication; and 2) the vectors of communication, that is, the content, media and loci of communication.

The sources Brégaint focuses on are texts written in direct or indirect connection with the Norwegian court, such as kings' sagas, *Sturlunga saga*, *Speech Against the Bishops*, *Konungs Skuggsjá*, *Hirðskrá*; translated chivalric romances; and charters and diplomas, including royal seals. Even though the choice of sources is understandable and certainly enough for a substantial and comprehensive analysis, the division between sources produced in Norway and Iceland is somewhat artificial. Some Icelandic sources could certainly have been regarded as related to the cultural sphere of the Norwegian kingship and may have illustrated other communication strategies. One good example is the manuscript *Hauksbók*, which was owned and partly written by the lawman Haukr Erlingsson, who was closely related to Norwegian political structures. Brégaint does mention Haukr and his manuscript, as well as other Icelanders involved with the production of literature in the thirteenth century, but the texts remain out of the scope of his analysis.

The main focus of Chapter 1 is the kingship of Magnus Erlingsson (1163–1184). The period of the second half of the twelfth century was characterized by the establishment of an independent ecclesiastical institution in Nidaros in 1152/1153, which went hand in hand with the development of the royal institution. However, the balance between the two institutions was skewed, as the Church functioned as a mediator

of culture and knowledge between Europe and Norway and had full control over ritual and written communication. On the other hand, the king had to adapt his communication strategy to fall in line with that prescribed by the Church.

The initiation of Magnus Erlingsson into kingship introduced a break in tradition, according to Brégaint. While previously the traditional, and only, ceremony for acclaiming kings in Norway was the *konungstekja* ceremony, King Magnus was the first to be crowned by the Church in 1163. The *konungstekja* ceremony was inspired by Germanic principles of kingship. This was a legal procedure, typical of oral societies organized by a *þing*; it allowed for shared kingship and had few requirements regarding the age or the lineage of the new king. With the introduction of a royal coronation, conducted by the Church, kingship was legitimated in a new way and through a new communicative setting. The Church played the role as intermediary between God and king; it gave the king legitimacy directly from God, and thus the Church had power over royal succession. The arrangement was favourable to the king as well, as he was now king by the grace of God, which brought him political advantage and personal inviolability. The *konungstekja* ceremony did not disappear, but it changed status from being an elective institution to becoming a popular confirmation. The Church gradually gained control over its protocol as well, by introducing the use of catholic liturgy into it and through the use of relics; by defining the locus of the ceremony and thus turning the *þing* into an ecclesiastical space; and by assigning the clergy an important role in the ceremony.

Charters and diplomas increased gradually during this period, but royal diplomas were mainly written by bishops and monks. The period saw the emergence of a literary culture in Norway. This included royal historiographies, such as *Historia Norwegie*, *Historia de Antiquitate Regum Norwagiensium*, and *Ágrip af Nóregis konungasögum*, which were largely produced by the Church. They render Norwegian royal history into biblical history, by making St. Olav, a king and a martyr, the ultimate model for later kings. King Magnus is otherwise described as a great military leader who gave inspiring speeches, but who did not engage in non-political activities, such as the commissioning of literary or art production. Royal communication strategy was thus completely controlled by the Church, the institution that defined the basis for communication, including the main agents, the settings and loci, and the ceremonies and rituals.

In Chapter 2, Brégaint discusses how this somewhat imbalanced, but nonetheless symbiotic, relationship between the Church and the king changed during the kingship of Sverrir Sigurðarson (1184–1202).

The premise for his communication strategy was based on the on-going civil war and Sverrir's conflict with the Church. This situation demanded a much more independent communicative strategy on behalf of the king. He had to develop ideas and arguments to fight the very institution that had defined the basis for developing ideas and arguments.

King Sverrir used oral communication extensively to stress his political legitimacy to power. He is known as a great orator, who inspired and encouraged his troops through his speeches on various occasions. Many of the speeches serve to explicitly legitimate his political position and power. Both the content and the theatrical performance of the speeches reveal a conscious use of the medium to claim political privilege.

The main novelty of King Sverrir's communication politics is his own involvement in the production of literary culture. He commissioned the political pamphlet *Speech Against the Bishops* and contributed to the writing of his autobiography. His own education as a priest may explain such initiatives, but it seems also that Sverrir was surrounded by an emergent royal court and intellectual environment, which probably contributed to the intensified use of the written word as political propaganda. He had his own chancellery, where English administrators wrote charters, sealed by the king's own seal. The conceptual and physical development of the court and a professional circle around the king illustrate the royal emancipation from the political and cultural grasp of the Church.

The only interaction with the Church that King Sverrir sought, but never received, was his coronation. He was acclaimed king in the traditional way in 1177. Sverrir was refused a coronation by the Church, since he had killed Magnus Erlingsson, who was crowned by the archbishop of Nidaros. Nonetheless, he achieved his goal by threatening the bishop of Bergen to crown him in Christ Church in 1194, without the permission or knowledge of the archbishop or the pope. A short while after that, Sverrir was ex-communicated and so were the clergy who assisted him in his "coronation."

After the end of the civil war, the conflict between the Church and the king also calmed down. In Chapter 3, Brégaint discusses how such internal peace influenced the development of royal communication during the long thirteenth century. As a result of the domestic peaceful situation, this was a great period for expansive foreign politics and communication, through the appropriation of new lands, the arrangement of strategic marriages, and the development of new alliances.

During the thirteenth century, the court developed as an important sphere of communication for the king. It gave privileges to a new royal

aristocracy, which, however, was consciously used by the king for his own positioning and power legitimation. The *hirð* and magnates were thus both the receivers of a new courtly culture, imported from Europe, but also contributors to and agents of its implementation in Norway.

Many of the kings and queens of the thirteenth century are known to have been involved in the production and/or translation of literature. A number of the king's men were also owners, commissioners, and even writers of manuscripts. The royal administration also became much more well-established. There are a greater number of royal charters in Latin and Old Norse from the thirteenth century. These became more and more formal and institutionalized, by making more expansive use of formal titles and references to the royal dynasty as an institution. Royal seals were also used more regularly as a means of authentication and legitimation of royal power.

In addition to literary and administrative activities, the king claimed a more central role in religious ceremonies and rituals, which were earlier controlled by the Church, such as royal crownings, burials, public processions and *konungstekja* rituals. Not only did the king play a central role in these ceremonies, but he also set the framework for the settings and defined the other participants and agents. Bergen, and specifically Christ Church, evolved to be the main setting for royal coronations and burials, despite the fact that the Church had attempted to make Nidaros the main site for such ceremonies for centuries. The *konungstekja* ceremony continued to function as a public confirmation, but the sites changed from occasion to occasion, depending on the king's strategy. The king was still dependent on the Church for his political legitimacy and power, namely, his kingship by the grace of God, but the Church shifted gradually from an agent to a participant in this process, where the bases for communication and power were controlled by the king.

The narrative presented by Brégaint is convincing, and even though it is concerned with a much-discussed period of political state formation in Norwegian history, it foregrounds a different aspect of this process. Royal communication is here seen as a conscious political strategy, and tracing its history thus provides a new insight to our understanding of high medieval Norway.

Some of the topics discussed in the book are also of great interest for medievalists specializing in other fields, such as philology, literary and translation studies, and theology and cultural history. As a historian, Brégaint touches upon these fields on a few occasions, but he does not always exploit the potential for interdisciplinarity to the full. In the following, I wish to give some examples where inspiration from other

fields might have led to a different discussion, and even a different narrative.

Orality, Literacy, and New Philology

The author presents the narrative of a society that changed from being based on oral and exclusively elitist written communication to a proto-literate one, with new audiences and greater access to texts. He refers to the scholarship of Jack Goody, Brian Stock and Michael Clanchy, whose work on orality-literacy in medieval Europe is seminal, and Leidulf Melve and Arned Nedkvitne, who have discussed similar topics based on Old Norse material.

A great advantage of Brégaint's study is that he discusses the combination of various types of communication: oral, written, ritual. He studies the tools of transmission of the ideas, more than the ideas themselves. He thus addresses a gap in historical scholarship. The combination of tools of transmission of ideas has, however, been addressed by other scholars. For example, Ruth Finnegan (1988) and Joyce Coleman (1996) have illustrated that orality and literacy are two cultural aspects that complement each other; that the development from one to the other is not straightforward and evolutionary; and that the constant factor in the relationship between orality and literacy is coexistence, albeit in different forms and to different degrees. Concepts like "vocality," which signifies the sound of a written text when it is vocalized, and "aurality," which is the intention for a written text to be listened to, elucidate some of the various modes of coexistence between orality and literacy.

This debate has been conducted in the field of Old Norse studies as well, in relation to the importance of seals for the communication of letters (Spurkland 2000), and in relation to the use and mode of reception of medieval manuscripts (Eriksen 2014). Both of these studies foreground the importance of the materiality of medieval texts for our understanding of their function and meaning. This is easily relatable to the main principles of the so-called *new philology*, which emphasizes that all textual, material and social aspects of a medieval text need to be taken in consideration in its interpretation.

This is a perspective that is only partially taken on by Brégaint. He is certainly aware that many of the texts he discusses are only preserved in younger manuscripts and that this is an important methodological obstacle in a study that attempts to say something about the period when the texts were originally written. The latter is not impossible, as we have some manuscripts that are more or less contemporaneous with the dating of the texts they include, such as AM 243 b a fol., c. 1275, written

in Bergen, now in the Arnamagnæen collection in Copenhagen and which includes *Konungs skuggsjá*, and De la Gardie 4–7 fol., c. 1270, written in Bergen, now in Uppsala University Library. Other relevant contemporaneous manuscripts were Holm Perg 6 fol., c. 1250–1300, eastern Norway, and Holm Perg 4 fol., c. 1275–1300, from Bergen, both of which are now in the Royal Library in Sweden. Many of the main sources that Brégaint bases his study on are preserved in younger manuscripts: for example, the oldest manuscript of *Ágrip* is from c. 1225 (ONP *Ágrip*: 22); the oldest manuscript of *Sverris saga* is from c. 1300 (ONP *Sverris saga*: 400); *Tristrams saga*'s oldest manuscript is from the seventeenth century (ONP *Tristrams saga ok Ísöndar*: 404); etc. The preserved material tells us something about periods and cultural contexts different than the ones discussed by Brégaint. This does not imply that the texts Brégaint discusses are irrelevant—the fact that they were appreciated and copied again and again, not only in Norway, but also in Iceland, tells something about a continuation of interest in texts that were originally commissioned by or for the Norwegian king. If the dating of the manuscripts was taken into consideration, Brégaint could have told us a story of the communication strategies of the intellectual elite at the beginning of the fourteenth century, or the communication strategies of Icelandic aristocrats, who were interested in the translated *riddarasögur*. Some of these topics are discussed by Norwegian historians like Hans Jacob Orning (2012: 91–108) and Bjørn Bandlien (2013: 6–37), but a comprehensive study of royal communication strategy, as defined by Brégaint but based on the manuscript evidence we have, is still a topic for future study.

International Comparison. Translation Studies

In his study, Brégaint compares state development in Norway to parallel state formation processes in other European states, such as France, England and Spain. Brégaint concludes that, by the end of the thirteenth century, the Norwegian communication system matched that of France and England. Nonetheless, he emphasizes that when the European state model was implemented in Norway, it was confronted with pre-existing rituals of kingship, social ideals and norms, and written communication which was specific to the Nordic target culture. This statement—that the transposed European model was confronted with a local model—could have been discussed in much greater detail. What were the implications of such a confrontation? Did the Norwegian state nonetheless have some specific traits, due to the pre-existent model? Brégaint clarifies that there was one specific element in the establishment of the Nordic state, namely, that the process occurred very quickly. This was

due to the fact that the development of the Church and the state happened simultaneously and is reminiscent of state development in other peripheral European states (p. 372).

The meeting of a pre-existing and a new model may be discussed from the perspective of translation studies. For example, according to Gideon Toury (1995), foreign, translated cultural expressions are introduced to target cultures in order to fill a gap, they respond to a social or cultural need, and they are adapted to the understanding horizon of the target audience. The meeting between the pre-existing Nordic model of royal communication and the new European state model would most probably have resulted in an interaction between the two models. Brégaint comments that the communication system that developed in Norway was less top-down compared with Europe and more a system of interaction (p. 364), but he does not discuss whether this might have been a consequence of the interaction between the two models.

Vox Dei, Vox Regis and the Mind

Brégaint explains that his study responds to Sophia Menache's argument that medieval communication was religiously founded (*Vox Dei*). He, on the other hand, studies communication from a secular perspective, without neglecting the significance of ecclesiastical structures and means of communication. There was no frontier between state and Church, but a focus on the monarchy gives us a specific agent in a different way than focusing on the Church. This is an interesting and innovative approach, not only because it studies communication from a new perspective, but also because it focuses on the role of the individual agent during the processes of clericalization, sacralization and royalization (p. 370).

Keeping this focus on the individual, the king or a member of the *hirð*, I wonder whether the combination between secular and religious concerns could have been discussed in a more nuanced way. Recent studies demonstrate that some of the texts and manuscripts discussed in the study could respond to secular-social as well as inner-religious needs of the commissioner, that is, the king or one of his learned aristocrats. For example, the manuscript Hauksbók includes a dialogue between Body and Soul, a translation of Hugh of St. Victor's *Soliloquium de arrha animae*, many other theological texts and also a map of Jerusalem. Recent analysis of Hauksbók emphasizes the importance of theological texts for the work of a lawman, both personally and professionally, in addition to his concern with Icelandic and world history (Eriksen 2016). The manuscript as a whole thus promotes inner reflection and meditation and shows a different side of the royalization process, namely, one of spiritual

growth and religious awareness. These were intimately related in the medieval mindset, and they may have coloured royal communication to a greater extent than acknowledged in this study. This suggests that Brégaïnt's study of the tools of communication could certainly benefit from studies of the actual ideas that were communicated, and vice versa.

Medieval Newness. Rupture or Continuity

In conclusion, I would like to comment on Brégaïnt's statement that the study's focus is on rupture, rather than continuity. The introduction of new liturgy, rituals and literary cultures provided a new arena for communication that was decisive for power legitimation (p. 6). However, in her recent book on the medieval concept of "newness," Patricia Clare Ingham suggests that the medieval new was mostly based on continuity, and not on rupture. The metaphor of "dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants" appears as a main premise for cultural development in the Middle Ages. Accepting this premise of cultural innovation allows for a less rigid compartmentalization of cultural processes. The advance of secular royal communication did not entail a rupture-filled development from oral to literate culture, from a Nordic to a European model of communication, or of a secular model as opposed to a religious model. All of these categories existed simultaneously and are more useful as categories that organize and describe cultural spaces, rather than as dichotomies. Brégaïnt acknowledges this to a certain extent, when he comments that "communication means were a syncretic combination of traditional and novel strategies," that the processes of clericalization, sacralization and royalization were parallel, and face-to-face communication continued to be important after the advancement of written communication. But his narrative remains, nonetheless, focused on rupture, and it is less sensitive to the premise of continuity and mutual-existence. If continuity had been accepted as a premise, this study of royal communication in high medieval Norway could have illustrated that the development of Norwegian royal communication was a response to strong dynamics between *translatio imperii* and *translatio studii* (Copeland 1991), as in the rest of Europe, and to the general process of Europeanization all over Europe (Bartlett 1993).

The latter comments inspired by orality and literacy theories, manuscript- and translation studies, and histories of ideas aim to elucidate how medievalists belonging to various disciplines and academic paradigms have different starting points of discussion. All of us would certainly benefit from more collaboration across the limits of our traditional fields in order to gain further insight into medieval culture.

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Use indentation instead of a skipped line to mark the beginning of a new paragraph.

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3. References

Book

Paasi, A. (1996). *Territories, Boundaries and Consciousness. The Changing Geographies of the Finnish-Russian Border*, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Edited book

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Grace, S. (2003). "Performing the Auto/Biographical Pact. Towards a Theory of Identity in Performance [paper delivered to ACTR conference, May 2003];" www.english.ubc.ca/faculty/grace/THTR_AB.HTM#paper; access date.

Unpublished dissertation

Smith, J. (1998). "Social Work Education in Scotland," diss., University of Glasgow.

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Simmons, I. G. & Innes, J. B. (1996*a*). "An episode of prehistoric canopy manipulation at North Gill, North Yorkshire, England," *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 23, pp. 337–341.

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