



UiT The Arctic University of Norway

The Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Mari Boine: Song lyrics and Themes

Thematic Study of their song lyrics and the long lines

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Master's of Philosophy in Indigenous Studies



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A thesis submitted by
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Abstract

The topic of this thesis is the development of the song lyrics to Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Mari Boine. How they have been evolving and changing through times and looking for the long lines of the song lyrics, what is possible to see when looking at them. The Sámi society and communities have been changing in the last 50 years since the Sámi pop music in Sámi language made its way to the scenes. All that has its roots to traditional Sámi music yoik, with its hinting lyrics and characteristic melodies, when the first Sámi records were released that based on the traditional Sámi yoiks.

The albums that the themes are analysed from are from timespan between 1968 and 2017, 50 years, to show how the content of the lyrics have changed and show how the society and communities have changed during that time based on the lyrics. Two of the main artists in the Sámi music, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Mari Boine have been pioneers in their own way making their own styles known and influencing other Sámi singers and artists ever since.

These chosen themes are compared with each other: how their background can be seen on the lyrics? How is the religion and spirituality expressed in the lyrics? How their position in the Sámi community is shown and has it changed and in what direction?

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1 Introduction

This thesis is an attempt to highlight what kind of stories Indigenous people's song lyrics tell and what they tell us. I had this topic in mind and wanted to highlight and bring in front what kind of stories Indigenous song lyrics have. Do the lyrics have some kinds of patterns they are following? Do the lyrics affect Sámi peoples' identity? If so, in what direction? The task of collecting, translating, and analysing the lyrics from all Sámi musicians is arguably impossible and certainly far too large for a single research project. As such, I have limited the scope of my project to focus on the lyrics of two particularly prominent Sámi musicians: Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Mari Boine. Though I had to narrow down the field I am studying to fit in this master thesis, I hope it will give me some answers and help me to understand the Sámi peoples' history better and be a documentation for other researchers who are studying the same field somewhere else, that again can give a possibility to unify this topic. For me this study will give an inspiration in my work as an artist and songwriter.

1.1 Topic

This thesis focuses on Indigenous peoples' song lyrics in general and Sámi song lyrics in particular through five decades. The lyrics and works of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Mari Boine are my key interest. As a Sámi artist and songwriter, I have been an avid listener of Sámi music throughout my life. When I have been listening to music and the lyrics, I have noticed that the topics have been changing as the years have passed by. Sámi music has been evolving from traditional Sámi singing – yoik – with phrases used in yoiks, through religious psalm song tradition and popular songs, to broader various genres like heavy rock, rap, pop-music and of course, to world music where yoik is used with other musical instruments.

In the mid 60s Sámi music was performed for the first time in public events. It was mostly traditional yoiks that were performed a cappella or with some instruments. In some Sámi areas religion had affected public opinion among the Sámi people themselves that performing yoik was a sin and it should not be done (Graff, 2016, pp. 16-17,23,26). That is why it was quite hard for those artists who started performing traditional music to get, in the Sámi societies, acceptance of the work they were doing. At the end of 1960s – in 1968 – one of the first Sámi records "*Joikuja - Yoiks*" based on traditional yoiks was released in Finland by Nils-Aslak

Valkeapää. This was the time of the dawn of the international movement of Indigenous people. This was projected onto the lyrics that were written. In the early 1970s the first Sámi parliament was established in Finland which was a result of the need to protect and preserve Sámi language and culture. Many of the artists making music and writing lyrics were also involved in politics around Sápmi, in Finland, Sweden and Norway. Internationally, the Indigenous movement was trying to get its voice heard in the UN system. At the end of the 70s on the Norwegian side of Sápmi, the building of a hydroelectric dam in the Alta-river caused controversy. It caused protests among the Sámi, because it buried grazing lands for reindeer, and among the environmental activists in Fennoscandia who wanted to save both the river, that is well known for its salmon, and grazing lands for reindeer. It was also a culmination point when the Sámi protested against the Norwegian government's acts toward the Sámi and thereby resulted in the establishment of Norwegian Sámi parliament in 1989 (Broderstad, 2004, p. 83).

In the 1990s there was a change in the content of the lyrics and in the political atmosphere after the establishment of different institutions in the Sámi areas. The change was due to momentum concerning the Indigenous peoples' rights that the Sámi political demands were heard by the government. Institutionalization meant that the Sámi Parliament designated specific grants for Sámi artists. The political situation had changed, and some of the biggest controversies had settled down. This gave the lyrics a somewhat different direction; they became less political. This development concerning the lyrics was going on in the 1990s through 2000s to the 2010s and in previous times when the political activism is becoming more and more visible in the music and basically on every field of art, like in visual arts and music.

1.2 Research questions

I have wanted to study and research lyrics and poems used in music by Sámi writers. I have been interested to know what kind of themes modern Sámi music has had since the recording of these songs started in 1968. For this research, I have decided to focus on two Sámi artists – Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Mari Boine – who have been working the longest and have both gained international success for their work. For me, and many other Sámi, they both have had a great empowering impact on being a Sámi and on my self-esteem. I could have chosen to concentrate on just one of them, but the combination of their background, gender and different eras on their careers were exciting to compare and see what the tendencies are. They are also

the only ones who have been working with their art more than 30 years even though they were not active at the same time. So, on the basis of this platform, my research questions are:

- **What are and have been the main topics and motifs of the lyrics in the period of 50 years, from at the end of the 1960s into the 2020s?**
- **How is their background and spirituality shown in their lyrics?**
- **How is their potentially changing position in the Sámi community expressed in their lyrics?**

1.3 Relevance

Indigenous peoples' music has been shifting from traditional music, becoming more mainstream. So is the case with the Sámi peoples' music. The traditional Sámi music, yoik, was considered in many places as a sin and therefore it was quite difficult to gain acceptance to perform at various gatherings (Graff, 2016, p. 51). But, Sámi artists were resilient, and so in the late 60's there were a few Sámi artists, like Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, who started to perform on different stages around Finland, singing songs both in Sámi and Finnish language. From that time until recently there has been different kinds of Sámi music produced from more traditional yoik, yoik with instruments, and more mainstream western style music in Sámi language. The lyrics of these songs from the late 60's until the 90's have had various content, from describing the Sámi life and nature, and of course, a more political character describing the struggle against authorities and for their way of living. The Sáminess and the Sámi life has been a main theme in many songs and continues to be. What makes it relevant is the new wave of critical lyrics showing discontent towards the authorities and the majority population. Though time has passed, the issues are still of the same character. Perhaps one of the reasons for this is that many things have changed for the better, but there remain issues to be solved. It can be asked if it is reflection of the majority culture that the lyrics are about and to be aware of.

It is also an interesting point to see that there are not many Sámi artists who sing and perform in English or other majority languages, and why these two artists have made that decision to only sing in Sámi language, with one exception that is Mari Boine's last album, where she is singing in English. That is also interesting to know why did she suddenly do an album just in English? What is important is the Sámi identity in the lyrics and how the lyrics have been involved in identity-making of being a Sámi. This research is going to be important in historical

perspective since the history of the Sámi people is not well documented and this will hopefully contribute to fill holes in the history. How this history is portrayed in the lyrics will be of particular importance for my research.

2 Previous research

There has already been research done on poems and books that Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and lyrics Mari Boine have been doing, but perhaps mostly of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's poetry and yoiks. There is a biography about Nils-Aslak Valkeapää coming soon based on research by Professor Emerita Marjut Aikio. As part of both of our writing processes, Aikio and I have exchanged information about Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, which has been important for this thesis work. Aikio has also already published previous work on Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's life (2020), which has also been a key source for this text. For Mari Boine's biography I have used Lars Per Tonstad's book, which has been an important source (Tonstad, 2012). I have not found studies of Mari Boine's song lyrics, so I base my research on literature that has been written on similar studies, like about Nils-Aslak Valkeapää.

There has been quite a lot of research done concerning Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's poems and yoik lyrics before. One of these was Vuokko Hirvonen's Master's thesis (1991), *Gumppe luodis Áillohazžii*, where she was studying traditional yoik lyrics and Valkeapää's poems as continuation to lyrics in yoik tradition. She was studying and analysing yoik lyricism and Valkeapää's book "*Ruoktu Váimmus – Trekways of the Wind*" poems. She has written an article about Valkeapää's picture-poem book "*Beaivi Áhčážan – Sun, My Father*" where she has been analysing poems and pictures.

Others who have been writing about Valkeapää's production and poems have been Veli-Pekka Lehtola in his book *The Sámi People – Tradition on transition*, published in 2002, where he discusses Valkeapää's art and poems, and the meaning he has had for the Sámi art and identity. Veli-Pekka Lehtola has done research on Sámi literature and published several articles (Lehtola V.-P. , *The Sámi People: Traditions in Transition*, 2002) (Lehtola V.-P. , *Saamelaisten Parlamentti*, 2005) and studies that I find very relevant in doing this research.

Jorma Lehtola, well-known Sámi photographer and writer, has written a book *Laulujen Lappi* (Lapland of the songs) published in 2008, where he is discussing what kind of songs were made of Lapland, of Sámi people and writing about the Sámi's own music. He is not analysing the lyrics, but he is writing about the frames where Sámi people's music became known to not only the Sámi people themselves, but also to the majority population. He is also writing about Valkeapää and his production.

Hanna Mattila wrote her Master thesis (Mattila, 2011) about time, nostalgia and ethnic identity on Valkeapää's poems in *Ruoktu Váimmus*". Kaisa Ahvenjärvi is another researcher from Finland who has analysed Valkeapää's poems. Both of these researchers have really interesting interpretations of his work and are doing their PhD on Sámi literature.

One of the important researchers within the Sámi literature is Harald Gaski who has many publications about Sámi lyricism and yoiktradition generally, and he has been working with Valkeapää's poems and translating them. In October 2020 was a great retrospective exhibition of Valkeapää's art opened in Oslo at Henie Onstad Kunstsenter, and in that occasion they published together with Nordnorsk Kunstmuseum a catalogue based on his life with different writers about his life and art which has also been a key text for this thesis.

3 Methods, Data and Theoretical Perspectives

This thesis is empirically driven and not so heavily based on theory. For this research, I have collected, written down from albums and tapes, translated them to English, and read all the song lyrics written by the two artists – Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Mari Boine – that I have chosen to research about and analyse the themes of the texts. They have both had a long career behind them and they have also been in the spotlight during their whole career. These two artists have been active in different decades, but I still think they are representative for their time and both sexes are represented. My intention has been to pick up the representative songs for their time and analyse them.

3.1 Research data

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (1943-2001) from Eanodat (Enontekiö) in the Finnish side of Sápmi, was an artist making art in several fields. He was a musician, yoiker, novelist, poet and painter who was also politically active and part of the Indigenous movement in the 70's and partly in the 80's when Indigenous peoples were uniting and organizing their struggle against the majority people and states in the communities they were living in. He was touring all around the world with his music, poems, and paintings. Concerning his musical production, he has released a total of 16 albums, alone and together with other Sámi artists, and contributed to two other albums as a text writer. I will base my research on this production.

Mari Boine (1956-) is an artist from Kárášjohka/Karasjok in the Norwegian part of Sápmi, , who has released altogether 15 albums including live recordings and a “Best Of” collection. She is the most well-known Sámi artist at the moment and has been touring around the world with her music, speaking for the Indigenous women's cause. Her first album, *Jaskatvuoda manja*, was released in 1985 and it gained success and popularity in both the Norwegian society and in Sámi areas. When thinking of her recordings, she has been using other authors in her songs, and that I had to take into consideration. I do not feel that it was a problem when analysing her songs because she has taken the lyrics as “her own”, that is as reflecting her own ideas and philosophy.

3.2 Analytical Strategies

The method I used for this research is to read all the lyrics thoroughly and make notes on the themes used in the songs and then pick up the ones that are representing the tendency of that period. After I have done that, I then analysed them more carefully, taking into consideration the time and age when the lyrics were written.

I use Chadwick Allen's Indigenous methods to analyse the texts, comparative analysis, to compare the writer's texts with each other to find out common themes and differences. I am also using juxtaposition as a method when comparing the lyrics (Allen, 2007). I am looking at Allen's concepts of productive absence and cultural seizures, of which I give some examples and analyse them.

I will be using in my textual or thematic analysis both analyst-oriented strategy and producer-oriented strategy. Analyst-oriented-strategy is where the text is understood as meaning what the analyst or receiver reads into it through the act of interpretation. In producer-oriented strategy focus is primarily on the text at its production (Bergström & Boréus, 2017, pp. 11-12). The former opens up for the importance of the process of reception through listening, reading or analysis, and that the social situation can be a different one from when the text was written. This can lead to different interpretations. The latter remains within the space and situation of the text and the author. Combining the two gives me the opportunity to lift and recognize for instance the song "Sámi eatnan duoddariid" as it was made by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, but also to see what happens when the same song is reinterpreted and released by Mari Boine decades later.

I will be going through all the albums including lyrics and analysing what kind of themes each song has. I will also look at the long lines and investigate what kind of progression they have from the beginning to the end. I will be looking at to whom they are singing or writing the lyrics for and if and how this changes.

I have used different approaches when doing my analysis. First I used literature theory when analysing the lyrics to find out and interpret what the song lyrics are telling about. Literature research concepts provided me the necessary tools to analyse and interpret the lyrics that formed my data. The Sámi literature study generally is a relevant and important part of my research

because, though there are publications and studies about Sámi literature, there are not so many of them. One of the reasons for this can be that Sámi literature is not so old and there have not been so many books published. An important part of textual analysis is to establish and recognize the genre at hand. The genre of song lyrics is of course close to poetry. At the same time, lyrics are only one part of a song. Still, I have primarily worked with lyrics in my work. Another important distinction here concerns the lyrics of Sámi songs that to some extent all relate to and use yoik. Yoik tends not to be based on lyrics and words to same extent as in songs. Doing this has required knowledge about Sámi culture, language, and traditional music and yoik.

Because this research is about Indigenous artists, and specifically Sámi artists' lyrics, it is important to have an Indigenous approach that is finding the ethnoclements in the material. These researchers have been my inspirations to my research. Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) book *Decolonizing Methodologies* where she is touching Indigenous Activism and setting a new agenda will be particularly relevant. Shawn Wilson's (2008) *Indigenous paradigm* that is explained and written about in *Research is Ceremony* to look how it can be seen in the song lyrics. Lastly Vine Deloria's (1999) *Relativity, Relatedness and Reality* from *Spirit & Reason*. One of the Sámi scholars, Rauna Kuokkanen (2000) has been looking and studying *Indigenous paradigm* and in her article *Towards Indigenous Paradigm: from a Sámi Perspective* in *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*.

Postcolonial Indigenous Feministic Research Methodologies as Bagele Chilisa (2012) in her book *Indigenous Research Methodologies* has written about, to understand feminist aspects in the lyrics. Chilisa also touches upon the issues of an *Indigenous research paradigm*, which has been central when looking into the content of the Sámi lyrics and Indigenous mind-set that is reflected in the lyrics, how the outside world is seen and how values of nature and life are brought up in the song lyrics.

3.3 Ethics and Reflexivity

I did textual analysis and therefore did not directly do fieldwork by interviewing people. Even if I did not conduct fieldwork, it is still important to keep the ethical aspects in mind.

Throughout the study the three R's – Respect, Reciprocity and Responsibility – have been kept in mind (Drugge (ed.), 2016) (Wilson, 2008).

Generally, regardless of whether work is based on text analysis or interview, you show respect to the subject you are analysing or interviewing, asking for permission and being well prepared to interview and be ready to change plans. Reciprocity means that I will get the information for this research, but I think that it will be helpful for other Sámi people to have this information for reading about different identity perspectives. Publishing studies about Sámi artists' lyrics is important also from the historical perspective since there has not been so much written about song lyrics in the Sámi community before. In my research, I must be aware of protecting my sources and if my findings from the lyrics contain sensitive information, I must think about the possible consequences for the other people if they are published.

I am a Sámi myself, both of my subjects of research – Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Mari Boine – are my relatives and I am also an artist myself. Besides Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, or Áilu as I used to call him, was my Godfather. I knew him as a family member and had contact with him and this may have coloured my opinions when I have written about him. Although Mari Boine is my relative from my mother's side, I have not had so close relations with her. I know her and I have worked together with her as well, but I got to know her first when I was an adult. My father's background is the same as Áilu's. They came from reindeer herder families and my mother's family were farmers, like Mari Boine's family. It can be stated that I had an insider role and position in this research because I am a native speaker of the northern Sámi language. It was an advantage for me because I was able to read and to understand what the texts are about, which made analysing the lyrics much easier for me. In my work as a songwriter, it has been a key issue to be able to write in my own *heart* language and express myself in the best possible way. My own experience is that what I write can be understood differently compared to what I meant in the first place.

As a Sámi, I had knowledge of the culture and habits of the individuals I am writing about. And still, I feel that I have a lot to learn about the Sámi peoples. What I know from before could also have been a handicap or obstacle while doing this research. My own interpretations of the songs which I have heard —many of them several times—have sometimes been problematic while trying to make room for other interpretations of the song lyrics. I tried to be as systematic as I could when analyzing the lyrics, and that way I tried to minimize the effect of my own previous

understanding. In doing so, I have found some surprises and have seen some of the songs in different light (Chilisa, 2012, pp. 195-202).

4 Context

4.1 Norwegianization

Reindeer herder families had very strong identity and were not so easily affected by what the majority population or Norwegian people thought or said compared to Sámi people who had cows and were living on agriculture. Those who did not migrate with reindeers and who were on the spot most of the time were a lot more reachable and easier to control. Norwegianizing was very intense between 1850 and 1960s in the Sámi areas and with the attitude against the Sámi. The main thought – the authorities thought - was that Sámi were not as good as Norwegians. They were primitive and had to be civilized. In the schools, small children who started their first class did not speak Norwegian and had to learn it quickly in the school. Henry Minde is dividing these processes into four different phases: Transitional phase, approximately 1850-1870. *“In 1851 the Storting created a special item in the national budget, termed “Finnfondet” (the Lapp fund), to promote the teaching of Norwegian in the transitional districts and to ensure the enlightenment of the Sámi people”*, The consolidation phase, approximately 1870-1905. *“The measures were gradually tightened... The instruction stated that all Sámi and Kven children were to learn to speak, read and write Norwegian, while all previous clauses saying that the children were to learn their native tongue were repealed”*., The culmination phase, approximately 1905-1950. *“The fear of both ambitions for a greater Finland and Sámi mobilization to more “underhand” justifications for the introduction of new measures”* and The Termination phase, approximately 1950-1980 (Minde , 2003, pp. 126-130).

Although Norwegianization officially came to an end step-by-step in the 1960s, in many areas, the Sámi population still experienced this attitude towards themselves from the majority population. Today the assimilation politics can still be seen on discussion sites on the internet.

In Finland, these processes came later due to Finnish independency in 1917, when national identity had to be built. Therefore, these processes started in the 1920s and 1930s. Lehtola states that *“Research that aimed at building and promoting the Finnish national identity began to draw distinct borders versus Russians and Swedes, and in addition versus “primitive” peoples like the Sámi, who were culturally related”* (Lehtola V.-P. , 2002, p. 46).

4.2 Alta Controversy

The transition from the 1970s to 1980s marked an historic moment for Sami identity and resistance politics, with an event that has come to be known as “The Alta Controversy”. The transition from the 1970s to 1980s marked an historic moment for Sami identity and resistance politics, with an event that has come to be known as ”the Alta Controversy”. The issue concerned the water dam in the Alta River and flooding the reindeer herding lands above the dam. The Alta River is also known for being a good salmon river. The local people, Sámi people from the village Máze above the planned dam, and people from the river delta area opposed these plans to build the dam, and it grew to be a national movement where nature conservationist organizations and people generally were engaged and started to demand, at the end, that the Sámi people’s voice was heard too. The conflict had great consequences for the Sámi society, resulting in establishing the Sámi parliament of Norway (Andersen, Evjen, & Ryymin, 2021, pp. 386-387).

4.3 Sámi popular music

The roots of Sámi popular music started in Sweden in 1959 when “rocking Sámi” Sven Gösta Jonsson released his record “Vid foten av fjället – Red River Valley” that unexpectedly became a hit. He was performing in Swedish in his gákti – traditional Sámi clothing – but publicly saying he was a Sámi (Lehtola J. , 2008, p. 282). This can be said to be a start for the Sámi popular music. One of the first Sámi records in Finland was “Joikuja – Yoiks” that was released in 1968 by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää. He was performing in Finland and in northern Sweden making restaurant tours at the beginning of his career. He continued to release albums until the mid 1990s (Lehtola J. , 2008; Aikio, 2021, Personal comment).

In the 1970s other Sámi playing popular music started to emerge in Sámi. In the Finnish side came Veijo Länsman who wrote new lyrics to pop songs that were popular at the time. Although he died already in 1974 and did not release any records, his music is still played in the Sámi radio (Lehtola J. , 2008, pp. 285-285). In the Norwegian side, central groups came from Deatnu valley, groups like “Deatnogátte nuorat – The Deatnu Riverside Youth”, who sold the first silver record of Finnmark county, with their debut album. Other important artists were Ámmun Johnskareng and Ann-Jorid Henriksen who were voices for their time at the end of 1970s and

the beginning of 1980s. In the middle of the 1980s, Mari Boine released her first album and she became the voice of her time and one of the most important Sámi artists. In the 1990s “Anjel Nieiddat – The Girls of Anjel” were popular in the Finnish side. In the 2000s and further there began to be many different types of Sámi artists releasing music and blending pop, rock, throat singing, rap, heavy rock and other genres.

5 Nils-Aslak Valkeapää

5.1 Biography

This biography is based on Marjut Aikio's forthcoming biography on Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, that she has been researching and writing for a long time, and a catalogue of Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's Retrospective exhibition in Henie-Onstad Kunstsenter where she wrote an article based on her research, and in which other authors have been writing about his life and art (Finborud L. M., et al., 2020).

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, Áillohaš, or just Áilu was born on 23rd of March in 1943 to a reindeer-herding family as the youngest of the siblings, in Ádjagorsa in North-West Finland, where his family were living. He had two older siblings, a sister called Elle-Márjá, and a brother called Juhán, who were both working with reindeer herding throughout their lives with their families (Aikio, *Formative years in Finland*, 2020, p. 93).

His father was a reindeer herder from the Finnish side of Sápmi and his mother was from the Norwegian side of Sápmi, also from a reindeer herding family, who used to migrate with their reindeers from Guovdageaidnu (Kautokeino) to Ulisuolu Island (Uløy), an island by the coast of Northern Norway, for the summer. His mother, Susanna, moved to the Finnish side of the border due to marriage and took with her brother along. Nils-Aslak had very close relations to his siblings and was probably closest with his older brother who was just four years older than him. He also had a close relationship with his sister. She was nearly ten years older than him and married and moved away from home when Áilu was only 9 years old. This meant that they could not have daily connection like he was able to with his older brother (Aikio, *Formative years in Finland*, 2020, p. 93).

During the war, the family had bought themselves a radio, and were carrying it along with them throughout the year, where they were living. It was highly unusual to have a radio at that time, and it made it possible to hear the news, what was happening in the outside world. For young Nils-Aslak it gave access to a whole new world. He was able to hear children's radio and other programs describing the world outside the Sámi areas. One of the programs he heard was a children's radio program "Markus-sedän lastenradio" *Uncle-Markus' children's radio*, where he was able to hear and learn children's songs. Otherwise, there were other music-programs

where he heard and learned to sing the hits that were popular at that time. He was singing them constantly. He was often asked to sing to the others at home, and he willingly did. He had already as a small boy a desire to perform. Concerning yoik, it was something children were not allowed to do (Aikio, *Formative years in Finland*, 2020, p. 93)

When he was eight years old, his family and some others from the Eanodat area were taking part in an exhibition in Helsinki, where he got to sing in the national broadcasting company Yleisradio together with some other children. (Aikio, *Professor emerita*, 2021)

He started early to build an image of himself being a nature child who did not know so much about the world, who could paint, write, take photos, publish books and yoik naturally without any schools (Aikio, *Formative years in Finland*, 2020). The fact was that although he did not have any formal education at art schools, he was surrounded by people who taught him about different forms of art: writing, drawing, painting, photography, literature, and music. He also had a genuine interest to learn more about different genres of art, new methods, and to get the information that he needed in a time when it was not possible to just search on Google. (Aikio, *Formative years in Finland*, 2020, p. 93)

Unlike many children from Eanodat, he was able to travel to the coast in Norway where he was able to admire notable Finnish artists in Ivgobahta while visiting the merchant Johan Beck and when he was visiting his mother's family's summer grazing lands in Ulisuolu Island, he was able to admire Norwegian oil paintings at the house of Giæver. There were authors visiting the family's lávvu when he was a child. Books and photographs presenting local people, relatives, and family by general V.J. Oinonen and Yrjö Kokko became familiar for him. His father was a skilful crafter of wooden cups, knives, and dishes also decorating them with ornaments. It can be said that art was a natural part of Ailu's life already at the young age. (Aikio, *Formative years in Finland*, 2020, p. 93)

He went to primary school in Gárasavvon (Karesuvanto). Unlike many other Sámi children, he never needed to live in the dormitory while he was living away from home. He was living with a Finnish speaking family who were friends of his family in Gárasavvon, which also meant that he was speaking Finnish well. Aikio tells us that, "Áilu was the "editor" of the school paper; a skilled writer of texts that not only discussed things, but also played with words." (Aikio, *Formative years in Finland*, 2020, pp. 93-94)

While he was in comprehensive school, he got a benefactress who inspired him to read and generously gave him books as presents. Her name was Viola Kuoksa-Wave, and she was from Rovaniemi, Finland. A writer and recognized watercolourist, she was a cultural enthusiast who opened the world of literature and art to Áilu. The most important book he got from her was Dale Carnegie's book "How to Win Friends and Influence People". It was useful for him when he was planning his public image strategy. (Aikio, Formative years in Finland, 2020, p. 94)

While taking confirmation classes in Heahttá, he got interested in nature photography. Around the same time, he visited Yrjö Kokko, internationally renowned author of *Pessi ja Illuusia*". Especially Kokko's nature photography seems to have impressed him. This influence could be seen in Áilu's photographs (Aikio, Formative years in Finland, 2020, p. 94).

In 1959-1960 academic year he was studying in Anár/Inari at the Sámi Christian Folk High School, where the headmaster Eljas Kytömäki gave him private art mentoring. He was interested in watercolour painting and photography and developed his own photographs. His wife Aino Kytömäki was instructing him in solo singing and playing harmonium. Here at the school, he got two lessons a week in Sámi language. He became "editor" of the school paper and he started to write for the local paper with pseudonym Ailu Oto and later with his own name in a national paper. He experienced Sámi political awakening in summer 1959, while attending Sámi Youth Conference in Anár. There he was elected as a board member in the youth organization Sámi Nuorak as its youngest member. He began corresponding with the legendary secretary of the Nordic Sámi Council, Karl Nickul. He befriended the Dutch artist Marie Elizabeth Gallois, or Lily, who had graduated as a professional photographer in London. She taught Ailu how to take photographs and some English as well. He was then writing articles and she was providing photos for them. He attended a writing competition in the beginning of 1960. In 1961 he won the first prize in a national writing competition and was published in 1961. After a year in Anár he started in 1960 at the Kemijärvi Seminary – a teacher training school – which lasted six years. He graduated there in 1966 as a primary school teacher specializing in music and physical education. Here he got his only formal education in art history and visual arts. He focused on drawing with pencil and blue-ink pen. According to Aikio, "Ailu was interested in artistic gymnastics and team sports, and he participated in national sports competitions, traveling even as far as Helsinki" (Aikio, Formative years in Finland, 2020, p. 95).

Aikio also tells us, that “the music education at the seminary included training in solo and choral singing and public performance” (Aikio, *Formative years in Finland*, 2020, p. 95). In the seminary the Sámi language was not taught nor was it appreciated to yoik either. Áilu experienced an awakening in yoiking in Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino during the easter of 1961. He was not allowed to yoik when he was a child, and he could not yoik. He got some young adults from Buljo family and the skilled yoiker Duvva to teach him. He already yoiked at the closing ceremony of the first academic year thus how it would be taken by the teachers. “...Kuoksa-Wave had already helped Áilu to start performing publicly when she arranged him to yoik at the Art Days of Lapland, in Rovaniemi 1960” (Aikio, *Formative years in Finland*, 2020, p. 95) When he got his own car in 1964 he was able to travel and collect yoiks on tape. Because the education did not include yoiking, the Sámi students at the seminary wanted to learn yoiking by themselves and used Pekka Lukkari’s songbook “Lávlagak” and “Lávlagak II” which contained some yoiks from the Deatnu valley. These yoiks were not familiar for Áilu but some of them ended up in his 1968 debut album “Joikuja – Yoiks”. He became addicted to films and filming in Kemijärvi where he chaired the Seminary photography Club. The club owned a cine camera and Kuoksa-Wave taught him how to shoot films. When he was nineteen, he produced a film showing the migration of the reindeer herd to Ulisuolu Island swimming to the summer pastures.

His Finnish teacher Aune Toppila wrote reviews for newspapers and encouraged Áilu to write. She introduced Áilu and other students to Finnish and international literature, including Japanese haiku poems. Áilu became a photojournalist for the Seminary’s student paper and for the Sámi youth magazine Teanupakti. In 1964 he started to write articles to the cultural journal Kaltio and edited an issue of the magazine in 1966 that had Sápmi as a special issue. (Aikio, *Formative years in Finland*, 2020, p. 95). In 1965 Karl Nickul helped him to become a freelance journalist for national newspaper. Through Viola Kuoksa-Wave, Áilu got to know many artists that impacted on his artistic life and art. One of them was 37 years old painter Reidar Särestöniemi, who had studied in Helsinki and at the Repin Academy in Leningrad and was from Särestö, near Kittilä, that Áilu met in 1962. He became a close friend and mentor to Áilu and taught him drawing, use of colours and painting. Áilu could experiment with expensive oil paints at his atelier studio in Särestö, where Áilu spent time in the 1960s and 1970s. Reidar’s private art library was a treasure trove for Áilu. As Aikio tells us, “this mentorship can be seen

in Áilu's paintings and watercolours in early 1970s" (Aikio, *Formative years in Finland*, 2020, p. 96).

Another mentor for Áilu, in literature, was Jorma Etto, prize-winning poet who was appointed director of the Rovaniemi Library in 1962. He founded an association of the writers in the north called Pohjoiset kirjailijat, where Áilu was accepted as an amateur writer thanks to his previously published works. "Etto helped Áilu with his first literary experiments and became his mentor in the field of literature" (Aikio, *Formative years in Finland*, 2020, p. 96). He encouraged Áilu to write and at one point suggested that Áilu should translate Johan Turi's book "Muitalus sámii birra – An Account of Sámi" to Finnish. He found publisher and helped Áilu to apply for grant to do it. Unfortunately, his translation was never published. In 1964 Áilu performed together with Markku Niskala at the Linnanmäki amusement park in Helsinki. There he met designer and artist Kaj Franck. Franck had been so impressed by Áilu's yoiking that he wanted to meet and talk with Áilu. Franck invited Áilu to visit Nuutajärvi Glass Factory. Áilu accepted this invitation. This led to friendship and mentorship. "Kaj Franck became Áilu's mentor in graphic composition and visuality. Franck's assistants and students reported that Franck often brought Áilu along when teaching, starting as early as autumn 1964" (Aikio, *Formative years in Finland*, 2020, p. 97). From that time and on, Áilu arranged to spend his free time and holidays in Helsinki, living at Franck's spacious studio home. Kaj Franck started to visit Áilu also in Beattet. It was at Franck's home Áilu started to plan his first album and did the album cover at Franck's home by cutting and pasting together with Rauni Magga Lukkari (Aikio, *Formative years in Finland*, 2020, p. 97). Franck introduced Áilu to his young colleagues. Among them were designers Teemu Lipasti and Lauri Anttila who were also music enthusiasts. They had a band called Kruununhaan Dynamo playing psychedelic music and improvised Indigenous sounds. "Áilu attended on their sessions and contributed with his joik. During improvisation they imitated the sounds of whales and experimented with homemade flutes, reportedly inspiring Áilu a great deal". This was already in 1968 (Aikio, *Formative years in Finland*, 2020, p. 97).

Áilu studied Sámi language in autumn 1967 at the University of Oslo and released his debut album "Joikuja – Yoiks" in 1968. After having been studying in Oslo he came up with an idea of writing a pamphlet "Terveisiä Lapista – Greetings from Lapland" that was released in 1971. "After meeting with Native representatives at the UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in 1972, Áilu made global Indigenous policy part of his agenda" (Aikio,

Formative years in Finland, 2020, p. 98). In 1973 he became a member of the Finnish Sámi Parliament for period 1973-1975 where was vice chair in the executive committee 1974-1975 and vice chair for the Sámi Parliament. He also sat in Sámi Parliaments Division of Education and Culture in 1974-1975 and 1978-1981 periods and Division of Livelihoods in 1976-1977 (Lehtola V.-P. , Saamelaisten parlamentti, 2005, pp. 197-200).

In 1973 he recorded and released the album “Juoigamat – Yoiking” with name Nils-Aslak Valkeapää ja su juoigan doak’ki, that contained traditional yoiks from Guovdageaidnu/Kautokeino. In 1974 he released his own album called “Vuoi, Biret-Máret, vuoi! – Oh, Biret-Máret, oh!” containing songs and his own lyrics. This was also the first own album where he collaborated with Seppo “Báron” Paakkunainen who became his long-time musical partner and friend. He continued releasing a collection of poems “Gida iját čuovgadat – White Spring Nights” the same year. In 1976 he released his second collection of poems “Lávllu vizár bielločizáš- Bluethroat, Twitter, Sing” and records “De čáppa niegut runiidit – Then beautiful dreams shoot up” together with Jaakko Gauriloff and Åsa Blind and “Duvva, Áilen Nigá Elle ja Áillohaš” together with Duvva and Áilen Nigá Elle (Finborud & Holm, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, 2020, pp. 33-34).

In 1978 he started Indigenous Records together with Paakkunainen and Esa Kotilainen and released “Sámi eatnan duoddariid – The Fells of the Sápmi”. The same year he met Pehr Henrik Nordgren, who was a Finnish composer, at the Kaustinen Folk Music Festival. They became friends and Nordgren became Áilu’s mentor in composing. He composed many of Áilu’s poems, and which can be seen in “Ruoktu váimmus – Trekways of the wind” (Aikio, Professor emerita, 2021).

In 1979 he made a libretto to ballet “Äiti maa – Mother Earth” where he and Inga Juuso were yoiking on tape (Aikio, Professor emerita, 2021, Personal comment; Lehtola J. , 2008, p. 298). He had commissioned work to UNESCO’s General Assembly in Belgrad in 1980 which was his first big scale success concerts. He was invited to Festspill i Nord-Norge – Arctic Arts Festival, in Harstad, where he was in 1980, 1981, 1988 and 1991 (Aikio, Professor emerita, 2021). “...Áillohaš became pivotal in organizing the Davvi Šuvvá – North whispers festival in 1979, which took place in Gárevárri Mountain close to the village Gárasavvon on the Swedish side, regarded by many as the first international festival for Indigenous culture” (Finborud & Holm, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, 2020, p. 34). In 1981 he released his third collection of poems

“Ádjaga silbasuonat – The silver veins of Brook”. In 1982 he released two albums “Sápmi, vuoi Sápmi! – Sápmi, oh Sápmi!” and “Davás ja Geassái – To North and Summer”, which were “later released as “Sápmi lottážan – Sápmi my dear bird” in 1992 together with “Sámi eadnan duoddariid – The Fells of Sápmi” (Finborud & Holm, Nils- Aslak Valkeapää, 2020, p. 34).

In 1984, when Indigenous Records folded, Áillohaš continued his publishing work by establishing DAT together with Kristina Utsi, Per Ludvig Boine and Ande Somby, which remains one of the most important cultural institutions in Sápmi today (Finborud & Holm, Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, 2020, p. 34). The three collections of poems were put together and published in 1985 as “Ruoktu váimmus – Trekways of the wind”. He was acting in Nils Gaup’s film “Ofelaš – Pathfinder” in 1987 and made the theme song for the film. “In 1988, Áillohaš famous work *Beaivi Áhčážan* (The Sun, My Father) was published, consisting of 575 poems and cultural historical photos of Sámi people that Áillohaš for years had gathered from different museums and archives all over the globe. This publication was awarded the Nordic Council Literary prize in 1991” (Finborud & Holm, Nils- Aslak Valkeapää, 2020, p. 34).

In 1988 Áillohaš released the album “Beaivi Áhčážan – The Sun, My Father” and in 1990 “Eanan, Eallima Eadni – The Earth, Mother of Life”. In 1993 he released the album “Goase Dušše – The Bird Symphony” which was awarded the Jury’s special award in the Prix Italia international radio competition in 1993 (Finborud & Holm, Nils- Aslak Valkeapää, 2020, p. 35). He attended the opening of the Olympic Winter Games in Lillehammer 1994 and released the album “Dálveleaikkat – Winter Games” in 1994. In early 1996 he was injured badly in a car accident. He received two honorary doctorate degrees from the University of Oulu in 1994 and in University of Lapland in 1999. He died on 26th of November 2001 on his way back home from Japan. (Finborud & Holm, Nils- Aslak Valkeapää, 2020, pp. 34- 35).

5.2 Records and their analyses

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää released 17 albums in total where three of them are compilations of previously released albums now in new cd format. I also count one album “Ádjajohka silbačuojan” as one of them although he didn’t appear on album otherwise than as writer of the lyrics. Some of his songs that were recorded for Sámi Radio’s purposes are also taken to this

thesis. They are not released previously as singles or in LP's but are recorded for Sámi Radio and played quite often on Sámi Radio.

I will write first roughly all the albums through so we can get overall picture what are the albums consisting of. I was a bit struggling and thinking in which way I should present the albums and the main characters from them or what can be said about them. In the very beginning his songs were based on traditional Sámi yoiks that are describing people, animals and nature, places and at last, stories that have been memorized. Therefore, the first period in his albums is based on traditional Sámi yoiks. In the first one, Joikuja, he was yoiking alone and did have a musician with him playing guitar to his yoiking, especially on yoiks that were close to songs and was easy to arrange for instruments. He made two other albums that were consisting traditional yoiks. He was organizer of the recordings and also participated as a yoiker with the others, but not as the main performer. There were others than him. This might be due to his background since he was not grown up with the traditional yoik. In the first one of them, "Juoigamat" he had some main yoikers that were yoiking but also other yoikers from Kautokeino area in Northern Norway. The second one of these two albums is "Duvva, Áilen Nigá Elle ja Áillohaš" where he was letting the other two perform traditional yoiks from their home areas, that were Kautokeino and Karasjok, inland in Northern Norway.

Second period for him is making songs with his musicians and in this period, he is involved in one album "De čáppa niegut runiidit" where he is participating with one song while the two other performers Åsa Blind and Jaakko Gauriloff have several songs each. This is also quite remarkable, and it raises question, why did he not record more of his songs to this album? He has made songs that are being played on the radio, but they are not released on any albums. The second album that belong to this period is "Vuoi, Biret-Máret, Vuoi!" where he collaborates first time with his long-time musical partner, Seppo "Báron" Paakkunainen, who is respected jazz musician then and now. This is his traditional song period.

In the third period he starts to experiment the fusion between Sámi yoik and jazz together with Seppo "Báron" Paakkunainen or, the name he got from Ailu. In this period came also another long-time musical partner Esa "Goahtelaš" Kotilainen. In this period, he recorded mainly new kind of yoiks, modern yoiks. In this period, he had several partners on his records yoiking together with him. At first was Ingor Ántte Áilu whom with he did two albums and then afterwards he was collaborating together with Johan Anders Bær in the beginning of 1990's.

The last album to be released while he was alive was “Dálveleaikkat - Wintergames” that was done in occasion to Olympic winter games in Lillehammer in 1994.

The last part or period is the late musical works he had before the car accident in 1996 that affected on his music career. In this period, he released bird-symphony in 1994 based on different birds singing that got many prizes, and of course the last record that was released after his death, Alit idja láhkona, that was released after his death, in 2009. This album contained psalms to which he had written new lyrics that were intended to his mother to listen, but she passed away before he was able to perform the psalms for her.

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää made many records or albums but not all of them had lyrics. Actually, he did not release any albums where he was using words after year 1982 while he was alive. He wrote lyrics to album “Ádjajohka silbačuojan” composed by Seppo “Báron” Paakkunainen and but others were singing the songs. These lyrics can be divided to different main categories: traditional yoik lyrics, song lyrics and nature describing lyrics worshipping nature as God going towards just to talk to Christian God.

In the traditional yoiks and the lyrics on the first album there are description of people, histories, nature told as it has been done in the past quite joyful way if we look at it with eyes of today, nearly as we could know the people that are being portrayed and places that are being referred to and histories that are being told. The first album is basically traditional yoiks from different parts of Sápmi which have been performed by many others until this very day and can be found on old songbooks. And the yoiks are being yoiked today in choirs, on modern songs where the yoiks are being implemented in songs.

The next period is the singer/songwriter songs that are mixed thematically but there are – definitely – elements reflecting the past and what has happened and, of course, what were the consequences comparing the day’s situation to the past. Politically to this period belonged evolvments like foundation of the Finnish Sámi Parliament in 1973 and political wake up after the student protest movements in 1968 that affected to indigenous peoples also like a wakeup call to demand their rights that have been gradually taken away. The albums from Nils-Aslak Valkeapää that belong to this time are “Vuoi, Biret-Máret, Vuoi!” released in 1974 and the second album “De čábba niegut runiidit” is together with Åsa Blind – Sámi from Swedish side of the Sápmi and Jaakko Gauriloff, who was a skolt Sámi singer and leu’dd yoiker from

Suõ'nnjel or Suonikylä in Finnish, that lost to Soviet Union after the second World War. There are two other songs belonging to this category of song lyrics. They have not been released on any albums by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää, but he made recordings in the radio and these songs are played on the radio.

The album "Vuoi, Biret-Máret, Vuoi!" lyrics are written by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää himself unlike in the first album "Joikuja" that were traditional lyrics. It has some similar elements that are love to the nature, but there are also nature conservationist views, longing to old way of living, longing to the strong family unity feeling and to the Sámi community that is in some way shattered because of the society that is going to be built and the nation building as well, in Finland, Norway and Sweden. The so-called uncivilized areas are being civilized that is new and unfamiliar for the Sámi people. That includes also tighter contact with the outside world that is coming closer.

In "De čappa niegut runiidit" that was released in 1976 there are same elements, but it came from different areas of the Sápmi. Swedish side of Sápmi there had been relocations done by the authorities for the north Sámi, who longed after their home areas. Not so long after that many of the Sámi people were relocated again due hydro plant buildings and dams for electricity. This meant loss of grazing lands for reindeer, and they had to find new areas for reindeers or just adapt to situation and try to co-exist with them.

The two separate songs that do not belong to any of the albums are some sort of Bob Dylan-type protest songs ironically describing the Nordic Countries patronising of the Sámi people, criticizing other countries for human rights issues, and not seeing in the mirror about own mistakes done towards the Sámi people, and the second song is about what sort of difficulties new age has brought for Sámi men.

In the next period the songs did not have anymore same direct way to observe the surroundings describing people, criticising the authorities the way they have treated Sámi people. This period started with the album "Sámi eatnan duoddariid" where he is praising the Sápmi, the lakes, fells, nature, the Sámi way of living, everything that is familiar and what he is missing that is starting to go and vanish in time. The new habits are coming with the new ways of interacting with each other. It makes to wonder also if he was having quite pessimistic view about Sámi life how it was going to be in the future the way some of his texts is written nearly as it was described to happened in the past. In the beginning of this period, he is writing and yoiking his lyrics on the music but there was quite a long period where he was not writing lyrics for music

at all. At least it seems so since in his lifetime he did not release any new songs or yoiks where he was using words. He made lyrics describing his home area, Ádjajohka where he used to play when he was a child, but he did not sing these songs himself. These lyrics are giving nearly an image of nature being as God himself. It took around six years between albums “Davás” and “Beaivi áhčážan” that is remarkable thinking about what was the reason for that. Anyway, it took eight years before new music with his lyrics was released in 1990 “Ádjajohka silbačuojan”.

The fourth and last period the last album “Alit idja láhkona” was released post-humously in 2009 and contained spiritual songs recorded in 1994 based on known melodies and the new lyrics he wrote to them. He had collected these songs, originally psalms, and had thought to make new religious lyrics for them. Intention was to make them so his mother could hear them.

5.2.1 Joikuja – Yoiks

First album Nils-Aslak Valkeapää released in his name was “Joikuja” which means *Yoiks*. that was released in 1968. Record label was Otava. Records consisted traditional yoiks from different parts of Sápmi. Approximately half of these yoiks in the record were released in songbooks “Lavlagak” and in “Lavlagak II”. These yoiks in these books were mostly from Karasjok and Utsjoki area or perhaps better in Tana valley. There were not so many yoiks from Enontekiö area – west side of Lapland – where he came from, so it was quite remarkable that he did not take so many yoiks from his home area. What was the reason for that – were they too difficult to arrange to western musical ears or was the reason simply that he did not know so many yoiks – remains unknown. He took some yoiks from Kautokeino area where his mother was originally and where he had been visiting lately and learning more of yoik-tradition.

He did not learn to yoik when he was a child. At that time in his home area, children were not allowed to yoik. But in the beginning of 1961, he became obsessed of yoik and wanted to learn how to yoik. He had started to study to be a teacher for primary school in 1960 in Kemijärvi, where he had to learn yoiks from Pekka Lukkaris songbooks “Lávlagak” I and II. These songbooks had many yoiks from Utsjoki and Deatnu area, but their yoiking tradition and way of yoiking was different compared to what he was used to hear as yoiking.

In this record, the lyrics are mostly describing people, how they are, how good they are and their specialities and ways of behaving. The lyrics are describing both women and men, like in

the Sámi tradition is normal to do. In some way you can call it ID-card of that time, where you were able to recognize family connection, relatives, family connection where you belong. The lyrics are praising the beauty of the women and at the same time they are telling about the beauty of the nature and the family as well as beauty of the women. Some of the yoiks have theme where passion is expressed, lust and commitment. On other yoiks the theme is being carefree and happiness about it. On the other hand, there are yoiks that are expressing great sorrow because they have lost someone they love. But of course, the livelihoods are mentioned in the yoiks, like reindeer herding and in some extend loss of reindeer pastures. And like yoik has been in the past, there are histories in some yoiks in this record both good and bad histories, like describing migration or bad deeds that are been done.

It is like he is wanting to show the richness of the Sámi culture and the society, community, with these yoiks and with these lyrics on the record.

5.2.2 Vuoi, Biret-Máret, Vuoi! – Oh, Biret-Máret, oh!

This album was released in 1974. This was the album where he collaborated for the first time together with his long-time partner in music, Seppo “Báron” Paakkunainen. It was also his first album with songs and not yoiks that he had been recording earlier though he was used to sing.

While the first album with words was “Joikuja” where the lyrics were traditional descriptions of people, nature, animal and stories, this album was told from his point of view. He was the narrator telling what he is observing and feeling. In this album he is expressing his happiness and curiosity over life and how restless he is, curious about what can be seen on other places eager to travel, and perhaps also migrate. At the same time, he is using elements from the nature, different seasons and telling how the nature is changing from season to season. Sometimes he is telling how the autumn or winter is affecting indirectly on him or just simply saying what happens when autumn goes to winter with gathering the reindeer, moving to the winter pastures waiting for the next Spring and Summer, the seasons he in his lyrics is praising so much.

In this stage, he has become involved internationally with other indigenous peoples in the world and perhaps more indigenous peoples in the North America. He is lifting the issue of pollution in Europe and wondering how people can live in those conditions where nature is dirty, where you cannot drink water directly from river or lake instead becoming dependent on cleaning the

water before you can drink it. He is also highlighting the different values between Sámi people or indigenous peoples generally and the majority population in the Nordic countries and western civilization that is stating that human being is above nature. Indigenous peoples' think that they are part of nature and not separate from it. Therefore, it is important to take care of nature, otherwise will the humans not going to survive.

He is talking about how big the world is and acknowledging the fact that the Sámi people are not so many among other people in the world and that it is easy vanish in the crowd if there are not done some effort to take care of themselves, their culture, habits, and language. But at the same time, he is like a messenger saying that there are other indigenous peoples living in the Arctic, peoples that he is calling as his brothers and sisters. Telling that the Sámi are not alone with their problems trying to keep their way of living, culture, and language alive, saying that there are others with the same problems, strangers claiming their own lands where they have been living for time immemorable, strangers coming with their rules and laws what is allowed and what is not. He points out issue with alcohol and what happened when the Sámi children had to go to school without understanding the language it was spoken at school and at the same time forbidding use of their own mother tongue.

5.2.3 De čáppa niegut runiidit – Now beautiful dreams green

In this album Nils-Aslak Valkeapää had just one song “Dulvaduvvon eatnamiid olbmuide” which has thematic that is directed to loss of lands and that way becoming homeless and constantly looking for home without finding it because it is lost. Pollution is also one of the issues as the result of taking the Sámi peoples land areas for hydro plants, dams built in the rivers spoiling and at the same time prohibiting natural fish migration.

The other songs have thematic in lyrics that are connected to their own people's situation. In Swedish side of Sápmi, the Sámi people had been prohibited to go earlier summer pastures, because the national states were born, and they had closed their borders for migration what affected to all the three Nordic countries where the Sámi people are living. At the same time, people were relocated from the northern part of Sweden to more southwards to areas where other Sámi people were living. That has caused traumas for both for them who had to leave their homelands to totally strange lands without having a possibility to return their homes and

for those who were forced to give some of their lands for the newcomers. As it was not enough, many of these lands where the northern Sámi were forced to move were flooded under water when the hydro plants were built, so people lost not only once but twice in just short period of time their grazing land. The relocation is still causing some conflicts between northern Sámi and the local Sámi population. The Sámi people who were living in those areas before thinking that the northern Sámi people just came and took their lands, without acknowledging that it was the Swedish state who forced them to move without their own will.

Many of these songs sung by Åsa Blind when we think about the lyrics have their background in this history, yearning for the homeland what is familiar and where they have their roots, reindeer migration through familiar grounds, nature marks, everything that is connected to the routine that decides what to do at what time of the year. Everything what was connected to daily living was changed. The frustration over the authorities is expressed too in the lyrics.

The third artist in this record, Jaakko Gauriloff, represent the Skolt Sámi people who lived before World War II in borderlands between Finland, Norway and Soviet Union, today's Russia. When the war ended, many Skolt Sámi had to leave their homes second time when Finland lost war against Soviet Union and had to give up Petsamo area where the Skolt Sámi mainly were living. So, the Skolt Sámi have quite similar destiny than other Sámi people. In his lyrics the family connection and yearning to home and relatives are expressed and perhaps it comes more in front when they have been living on strange ground in other Sámi's areas. The loss of grazing lands has caused that many Sámi have had to give up reindeer herding because there are not enough lands for reindeers, and the areas where they were supposed to have been herding are different and strange compared to their homelands is also a fact that affect the work. Herding in the woods is not the same as herding on the fells. One of his themes is leaving home again, to search after work when there are not workplaces at home. Another theme is love. It is not easy to find a partner who has same understanding for different way of living, and that way also to know the partner why he is like he is and vice versa.

In this record or album, the change of the Sámi society or changing in Sámi society/community is coming up. The challenges, thoughts, bitterness over loss of lands, being forced to relocate to strange lands when their life has been based on living on nature. And it is shown also the fact how the other peoples around Sámi people are affecting more and more the Sámi people's daily life, and irritation for that is also expressed.

5.2.4 Unpublished songs played on radio

The two separate songs, “Davviriikkat – Nordic Countries” and “Boares bárdni -the bachelor”, that are not in any albums are following a bit of the same thematic. In “Davviriikkat” he is singing in his lyrics ironically about the Nordic Countries how they are pointing out injustice in other countries but in their own country they are not willing to look at. In “Boares bárdni” he is singing about the changing community, other people with their strange ways of being and life values, and how difficult it is to find a wife among other than Sámi. And on the other hand, when starting to live in houses it is not so easy to live same Sámi way in the houses either.

5.2.5 Sámi eatnan duoddariid – The Fells of Sápmi

This album was released in 1978 and was the first album with yoiking style which was called as new yoik, that was not the same as traditional yoik. Both Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Seppo Paakkunainen had been interested in yoik. In this album they combined yoik with jazz and took the Sámi music to another direction what had roots in the traditional yoik.

Thematically the record with its yoiks is consisting of themes like praising the Sápmi, the hard and stony land that gives life to Sámi people or children. On the other yoiks he is yoiking himself that is not so usual since it is considered as bragging himself. He is describing himself as a wild child who is born in the Springtime and yoiking about the nature that time and the weather connecting it to his birth. He is yoiking his siblings as well but there are not lyrics put to those yoiks. In the last yoik of the album he is yoiking about the many feet that are tramping the land, moving to another place, making the fells alive with those different tones that are moving without forgetting the noises the reindeer are making.

In this album it comes quite clearly in front that there is a change in the thematic of his song lyrics. They are not anymore like in the first album which was consisting traditional yoiks with the themes that are very common in yoiks. His yoiks were stories told by him, the world around him in his yoiks was about the livelihoods and the nature surrounding him, both in the past but also real time for him. It is almost as he did not want to include the people of the time to his lyrics as he wanted to cherish the old times or the old way of living, living from the nature and more connected to the nature (Lehtola J. , 2008, pp. 295-296).

It is like he is wanting to make a distance to the music what he has done earlier and go to the direction he has been wanting to do since 1961 when he became obsessed to learn to yoik. Like told earlier, small children were not allowed to yoik. This marked his musical direction from this time on, since he did not record any songs which were released on any albums during his lifetime.

5.2.6 Davás - Northwards

The theme in this album is migration and the different seasons on the fells. It is starting with a poem where female reindeers are looking and feeling scent of summer and summer grazing lands. They are starting to migrate towards north, towards the coast. Like most of the migrating animals are heading north. Birds are coming to Sápmi in the Spring when snow melts.

This album is about life in the north but in the perspective of the animals that live around the year in the north. It is not concentrating on birds that fly south in the warm lands when it gets cold and there is no food to be found. It is like he in his lyrics accepting the fact that this is his home and here he is meant to live and now long after the life that is moving south, like everything else in Sápmi. Going to school or looking for work away from the traditional Sámi life that is so dear and familiar for him. He is concentrating on life around him and not the life that goes south.

He is like a storyteller, describing the migration not so thoroughly but giving images how the reindeers are moving and the sight of it. He is telling that the calves are born during this migration and how the light and the world is changing during this migration. Snow is melting and the ground is coming visible and easy to reach, and the plant are growing again giving fresh food to the reindeers. They migrate at daytime, when the snow is still frozen and carries all the reindeer, because during the day the snow gets soft, and it is harder to move ahead. But when the snow melts and it gets easier to move and not be bothered by the soft snow, they migrate during the day. They want to get to the summer pastures as fast as possible. Herders follow them.

New-born calves are sign for life and continuity, and love that comes every spring. It this matter it is meant for reindeer herders as well, their families that are bound to reindeer's life. How the female reindeers are carrying the calves near the summer pastures where the calves are born, and how dear they are to the mother reindeers.

When the reindeer herd is getting closer to the coast and summer pastures, the neighbouring herds can be heard, female and male reindeer's bells that are clanking remembering the scent of summer, the sea, and the sound of coastal birds that are screaming when getting closer to the coast. The travel gets easier and lighter.

At the end of this album there is kind of a summary of the year circle in the last yoiks lyrics. In this he is fulfilling the year when the autumn comes, migration goes back to the winter pastures, to the cold and to the darkness, just to wait spring to come when it is time to go to the summer pastures. In the lyrics he is binding people together with the reindeer and the nature, the past and the future, how it should be, with its joys and sorrows. All that what is making it as his beloved Sápmi, Sápmi.

5.2.7 Ádjajohka silbačuojan – Ádjajohka silverture

In this album Nils-Aslak Valkeapää has written the lyrics to Seppo "Báron" Paakkunainen's compositions. In these lyrics he is praising his home area, the area where he grew up and what he had to leave, because of his studies but also because his parents wanted to move to by the road, where it was easier to travel and go to shopping to get supplies.

He is willing to slip the homeland, a childhoods place, come to his dreams that probably was his dream place to live. There he knew terrain, had his playground and his hiding places. And mostly he had many memories that were not coming back. He was wishing he was able to fly over the lands, that was probably his way to say he missed the landscape and the scenery around his childhoods home. He would like to think about the landscapes and the home he had instead of worries and troubles he had, or he saw in the daily life.

He is criticizing the society and communities that are changing and affecting on Sámi people as well becoming people without feelings and showing no compassion to each other. Property is all people are running after, they are not living this day just waiting for the money to afford a new house or new car or second, third car and their second house by the sea or mountain. Everything is based on what comes next not what is now. And perhaps what is the most important, common good is not valued, everyone is working individually for own benefit and not for common good as they did before. The nature gets him to smile, feel happiness and joy. It is natural pure joy, life with its joys and sorrows. Still, it is a part of the life.

In this album he is observer, wandering in the fells, in bogs and colls and river valleys, and in the tops, in the heaps and in highlands in different kind of weather, stating that this area where he comes from is cold but that is still very warm and soft although it is stony land where the vegetation is poor. In this album he is nearly saying or giving the impression that the nature itself is the God, that is bringing light and life in this stony cradle, making everything grow, giving joy and happiness to all, and perhaps mostly; giving hope to the future with every calf that is born, with every new-born that comes to this world. And he is probably not so keen on the winter, because it is dark, and it is not easy to see and wander. There are lot to see in the winter too, when the moon is shining, and the snow is reflecting and lighting up even though the sun is not shining.

Again, he is praising the Spring, when the light comes, snow melts, birds come and the river flow freely, around his home area, his home, describing his landscape with names of the fells, rivers, and lakes. His dearest home. The sun that comes with the spring does not only lighten his mind but as he sees it, it is enlightening the world and nature around him as well. Giving a new hope for life. Leaps are sprouting, buds are loosening the world is filled with sounds.

He is also giving names, how the reindeers are called, because they are called after their physical attributes, the colour of the hair, patterns in the hair, in different places in their bodies, and of course also what kind of nature they have. Again, migrating to summer pastures, like every Spring. And then suddenly, it is summer again.

He is writing about the sounds and noises around Ádjajohka, the river in the high summer. Sounds of the different birds during the different stages of the day, and how the time flies while listening and observing all that. He again is insisting that humans are part of the nature. The sun is affecting on us humans the same way it is affecting on the nature generally, not giving the smile for only us human beings, but as well to roots of the willows.

At the end of this album, he summarizes everything on what is circle of life. That everything that he has been writing or talking about are connected to each other as one. Everything is dependent on each other in one way or another. Nature as a platform for living and life, where the ancestors have been living and feeding themselves, together with the all the other creatures

living in that area, side by side, living of each other. And the sun as the giver of light and warmth, and growth to be able to find food.

5.2.8 Alit idja láhkona – Blue Night Coming Closer

This album is based on old hymns that Valkeapää had gathered for a concert meant for his mother to listen. He wrote the new lyrics for it and the album was recorded in 1992 before he got in the car accident. He had learned to play organ at the seminar and at the time he was stand-in for the cantor during his time as a teacher student at the seminar. Teacher students had to learn at least 80 hymns, so he was not totally unknown to hymns. The difference this record represents to the previous ones, is that this is spiritual on Christian way, speaking the Lord as the God almighty unlike earlier albums. In some of his works, his spirituality was directed to the old religion, the old Sámi gods, so this is different compared to that time. He is writing in his lyrics to love to the land and nature and the themes are nearly the same. But there is some sort of soreness to life and perhaps, the knowledge of the fact that life is not endless and some day it is time to leave. He was at that time passed 50 years of his age and was thinking about the future and was thinking about his life and all the dearest peoples around him, his parents, and siblings. At that time, both of his parents and his big sister had passed away, and his big brother was also ill, so he was thinking about the shortness of life, and these lyrics were affected on that.

The theme in this album is the last time of life to the time life is ending. He is touching issues that he has taken earlier, but in the prayer form. He is praying that God will take care of the Sámi people and the Sápmi and everything in it, the plants, and animals. He is praying for acceptance and tolerance for differences and diversity of people. He is wondering why people cannot be nice towards each other. Why we are using knowledge and technology against other people and cause misery, poverty, and famine rather than remove the misery, poverty, and famine.

He is writing about the blue night that is coming closer, life that is in afterglow before night falls. Feeling sadness about it and at the sometimes also agony, but still accepting the fact that it is inevitable stream of life, to be born, live and die. He is in the lyrics remembering the sounds of nature, birds, new-borns, cheering the sun that comes and wakes up the nature. He is still

feeling sadness over the loss of virgin lands, untouched lands that are taken to industrial use, making irreversible marks to the nature. Not only nature is affected but also people that are living on and from it. It is breaking family traditions, family connections when family members cannot have same work as they used to have force them to move longer away from homelands searching for jobs.

He is also writing about love and how difficult it is. When it embraces one, then bad deeds and words are forgotten. It is giving guidance, strength when it is storming, forgiving the haters. Love is what the aim in life should be. And soon afterwards again, feeling the sadness of the coming darkness, darkness in mind, asking, begging for strength to be able to fight against the dark thoughts.

Time is passing quickly, without any warning, years passing by, seasons are changing and the focus and fascination takes all the concentration that you suddenly see your own grey hair and wonder how fast time flies.

In the last two hymns he is thanking God for the life he has had, for the sorrows and joys, relatives, and people around him, the unknown, what it has given to him and what he has been able to give to others. He is thanking the people that have lived before and praying for the coming generations. In the last hymn, the life is about to come to end. He is traveling in his mind through the years passed, saluting, and greeting friends, and saving them to his memory. And when he leaves, he tries to hide all that in him and take with him. And lastly, he wishes the dear landscape, dear Sápmi, if it could accompany him in his journey on.

It is not easy to tell if he is writing about himself in these lyrics or someone else, but it gives picture what he is thinking about and what he has gone through previously before recording these songs or hymns.

5.3 Long lines

His time as a recording artist can be divided in different time periods, at least in four different periods where the themes and musical directions are playing a key role in this periodical division.

In the first period he was singing or yoiking traditional yoiks from different parts of Sápmi, mostly from the northern Sápmi that has the same language dialect as he had. Lyrically the themes were concentrated on personal yoiks describing different people and different stories, what was one way of storytelling and oral passing of the traditional knowledge. When thinking about the person yoiks, the themes for the yoiks were characterizing the people how popular they were, or their beauty or wealth, how good they were to work or how stingy they could be in a humorous way. It was like the songs or yoiks were meant for the Sámi people, to the Sámi society where other people or outsiders had yet not settled down. Nature was also present in the lyrics. To this period belonging albums are “Joikuja” released in 1968 and “Juoigamat” that did not have lyrics.

In the second period lyrically and thematically came a shift. First, the lyrics were all written by him, and lyrically they went from just being songs describing people or telling stories to Sámi people to be more modern and including the outside world. In addition to the society issues he was including themes that were not just happening in Sápmi at that moment but also what was going to affect the Sápmi later. Thematically there came other issues to sing about. He is still using the nature elements on the lyrics, describing plants, birds, reindeer herds, places in his homeland that is overall continuing trend in his records. Other themes also include the criticism against the authorities how they are treating their own indigenous peoples in Finland and generally in the Nordic Countries, and all the actions that are done by the governments, polluting, and dividing the Sámi people to live in different countries making it difficult to live together.

He is discussing the challenges Sámi people are facing in the Sámi society what incoming modern life is causing for the Sámi people. The issues he is mentioning and singing about are alcoholism, living in houses, finding a partner that is not a Sámi and cultural differences that may cause problems, pollution, and loss of lands to the white people or major population. In his lyrics he is trying to build bridges between the Sámi society and the Finnish/Norwegian/Swedish society so that the Sámi can survive. He is using also much effort to explain through his lyrics that the Sámi people are not less worth, that Sámi people have right to live the way they want and demand for their rights, both to the Sámi people themselves and the majority population. To this period belongs album “Vuoi, Biret-Máret, Vuoi!” and some separate songs that he recorded but did not release in any album.

In the third period, he is focusing more to the yoik tradition instead of songs that he was performing in the second period. Lyrically he is continuing the yoik-tradition what comes to the thematic content of the yoiks he is recording, but also renewing it to the direction he wants to go. He is praising the Sápmi, making yoiks of himself and his siblings in the early phase of this period. Further, he is using migration as a theme, and the different stages of migration to the grazing lands with the reindeer herds and back to Winter pastures on the Autumn. For me, it seems he is shifting the focus to what he wants to sing about, that is important for him, instead of criticizing and trying to convince people to believe what he wants to say. In his lyrics, he is describing the nature around and pointing out how dear his homeland is for him, how valuable it is. All the animals in different seasons and how it changes, what are the marks for that. He did not have focus on the present Sámi society

In the fourth period, he has had quite a long pause in making lyrics for songs or yoiks and he did not record new material for a long time. Thematically the songs were praising Sámi nature and how precious it was like in the second period. But this time he was almost lifting the nature to higher position, to divine high as a god. The last album that I consider belonging to this period, he was writing and talking directly to God, and accepting his superiority. He was still using animals, birds, reindeers, the Sámi reindeer herding life and the different seasons in Sámi life in the central role.

6 Mari Boine

6.1 Biography

6.1.1 Childhood

This biography is based on Per Lars Tonstad's (2012) biography on Mari Boine, "Mari Boine: Fly med meg! – Fly with me!".

Mari Brit Randi Josefsdatter Boine was born 8th of November 1956 to Josef Olsen Boine (1922-1990) and Kristen Olsdatter Vuolab (1924-1991) (Blix, 1987, p. 117; Tonstad, 2012, p. 23), who lived in Gámehisnjárga in Karasjok municipality in Norway. She has four siblings, and Mari was in the middle. She had two older siblings, a sister called Anne Kirsten and a brother called Håkon and two younger siblings a sister called Dagny and a brother called Ole. (Blix, 1987, pp. 117-118)

Her family were farmers. But the soil upon which they lived did not give so much so the family was very poor (Tonstad, 2012, p. 85). Some generations earlier her family had been reindeer herders but had become farmers instead. Her parents were devout Christians and members of the local conservative Christian congregation. They were convinced that they were sinners and therefore believed that they should not show too much joy and laughter. It could make God angry. Dancing and singing for fun, and not to mention yoiking, were considered sinful and were not allowed (Tonstad, 2012, p. 68).

Many of the Sámi families in Karasjok municipality and around Sápmi were permanent residents and did not migrate with reindeer herds on the fells, out in the nature. Therefore, they were vulnerable to the Norwegianization processes and oppression from the authorities and Norwegians generally.

This was also the case with Mari Boine's family, who thought that the Sámi people were not as good a people as the Norwegians were. They had to be hardworking people to deserve the mercy of God. Reading the bible was done thoroughly, and they also had to pray to God. Her father Josef was often preaching about the end of the world, and that they had to be prepared for it when it came .

When Mari Boine was young, her mother used to tell stories about the underworld people, about people who were living underground. These people were beautiful, cunning, rich, and they could come up to ground level sometimes. These stories were pagan stories, from the time before Christianity came to Sápmi. Her mother did not tell these stories so often, and definitely not when her father was at home, in fear what he would do or say if he heard her telling these pagan stories (Tonstad, 2012).

When Mari and her siblings got older, they started to oppose their father, especially her two elder siblings. Mari did not oppose her father so openly. She was cautious and afraid of being punished. She was also her father's favourite. She quickly learned the limits she was not supposed to cross to wake up anger in her father. This was to follow her in her life later and is seen in her lyrics.

6.1.2 Years at school

When she started in school, she did not need to live in the dormitory, like many of the children had to do. Mari's home was nearby, and she was able to live at home when she went to school, which was located by the Finnish border near Garigasnjárga.

The family was often in the Christian meetings together with other Laestadian people and the children had the opportunity to meet other children and be together while the grown-ups were listening to the preachers and praying. On the way to these meetings and back again the family used to stop at their friend's family's place. They were also Laestadian but not as focused on hell and sin as Josef was. This family was more secular and had a gramophone with modern music. Musical instruments were not used at meetings so this was a possibility for Mari to hear music and instruments used in it (Tonstad, 2012, pp. 74-75).

At school her teachers, Gro and Einar Eriksen, saw the potential Mari had. They wanted to teach Mari to play the piano and give her lessons, but her father did not want Mari to play and sing. It was sin in his opinion, and she had to be saved from sin. The teachers had seen her talent, when she was playing piano, and how easily she was learning to play. She was singing in the school choir too and they saw what kind of joy music brought to her (Tonstad, 2012, pp. 100-101).

After the comprehensive school and a year off the school, she started at Den Samiske folkehøgskole - the Sámi folk high school in - Karasjok. It was not so far away from her home and was a safe choice after the comprehensive school.

In the last year of comprehensive school, her own language was finally introduced and included in her school, and she was able to get teaching in her own language (Tonstad, 2012, s. 119). There was general opinion in the municipality that the Sámi language and culture was dying out, and it was going to vanish. Norwegianization had a very big impact on the society and on general opinion. So, it was with mixed feelings that Mari took in this information and learning. She had made up her mind about who she wanted to be. She was going to be Norwegian since she had learned that being a Sámi was so bad.

In the Sámi folk high school one of the subjects was Sámi language. The Sámi traditions were also valued, and therefore, it was strengthening the Sámi youth's identity. . The other school subjects were interesting, like duodji and psychology. Being together with fellow students in free surroundings had lot to do with her becoming more secure with herself.

She went to Sami Joatkkaskuvla - Sámi High School – in Karasjok after she was done with the Sámi folk high school. She was good at school and loved music. The first time she heard Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's music at the age of 15-16 it was a wakeup call for her to listen Sámi music. She did not have courage to be in the forefront, but she loved to sing.

In high school she met Åge Persen, who was from the small place called Ikkáldas by the sea in Porsangerfjord, from the neighbouring municipality. When she was in second class in high school, she became pregnant with their son, who was born a couple of weeks after her last exam in summer 1976. They got married in summer 1977 in Lakselv church, municipality centre for Porsanger. Wedding party was held in Billávuotna.

After finishing high school, they moved to Alta to study at the Finnmark Distrikshøgskole – Finnmark District College . When they started to study and live in Alta, the Alta controversy or Alta conflict was starting to happen. Mari and Åge did not attend these protests or become protesters. Thus this, the surroundings in College in Alta, Finnmark District College, with its Sámi students and teachers, they were fed with the atmosphere and opinions although they were not actively involved in the issue. Sámi language was not spoken in their home. At the same

time as demonstrations, hunger strikes, and discussions went on, Mari became aware of the many histories that were written about Sámi people and that generally the topics included Sámi people more than before. This had an impact on her and she became more interested in Sámi culture, the Sámi history about oppression (Tonstad, 2012).

During her studies in Alta, she was spending a lot of time with old friends from Karasjok. One of them was Bjørn Tretnes who was outgoing and full of ideas. He was the one who could play guitar and was more than happy to learn Mari chords on her guitar. This was the time she dared to play and sing among friends and good company. She became aware of how people reacted to her singing. She had been singing in the choir in Alta, singing religious songs but not alone. Her self-esteem was becoming stronger among the other Sámi students who came from different areas (Tonstad, 2012).

6.1.3 Becoming an artist

After finishing College, Mari and her family moved to Iggáldas, where Åge came from. They had applied to be teachers in Indre Billefjord in 1982. She founded a folk music group that started playing music in the Sámi language. They sent a song “Anuheapmi” to the national song contest that was qualifying for the national finals for the European Song Contest to represent Norway at the finals. The song came second place (Tonstad, 2012).

She founded a group called Báktegája (Echo) together with her friends and offered their music to NRK Sámi radio, which was welcomed warmly. They were starting to get gigs and soon they were asked to play on live TV. Mari’s voice became the leading voice in their music and in the group. Among the growing interest in her and the group they got more gigs and were playing more and more (Tonstad, 2012).

She participated a second time in the Finnmark Song Contest and won it in 1985 with song “Idja lea mannan” – in English “Night is over” – with the lyrics talking about Norwegianization. With the songs she had written, she went to Fredrikstad to the studio where the first album “Jaskatvuoda manna” was recorded in two weeks, in autumn 1985. Some parts were recorded in Hamar. In 1985 Mari studied northern Sámi language to be better in writing and reading (Tonstad, 2012).

She worked with Beaivváš Sámi theatre with dance and music theatre piece “Luohti gomuvuoda salas” in 1988 and participated in Åge Aleksandersen’s song “Rosalita” that became a hit in Norway. In 1989, she released the album “Gula Gula“ on their own record label Iđut. That record was a breakthrough in her career. The record got praise and good critiques around the world. Peter Gabriel and Real World wanted to get international distribution for “Gula Gula”. The married couple who had their own record label understood that they were not able to distribute the record so easily as a bigger label. In 1990 “Gula Gula” was nominated to a prestigious music prize “Spellemannspris” – the Norwegian Grammy – in open class and won it (Tonstad, 2012).

In 1990 Mari divorced. Her children lived with their father since she was working and touring with her music. Her father died in august 1990 after an operation. Her mother died in 1991.

In 1991 she moved to Oslo. The record with 12 hymns, “Salmer på veien hjem”, together with Ole Paus and Kari Bremnes was released in 1991. She moved back to Porsanger to be closer to her children in the late autumn of 1992 and worked together with Inna Zhelannaya and Sergey Starostin to release a record “Møte i Moskva – Winter in Moscow”.

In 1993 she recorded her third album “Goaskinviellja – Eagle brother” and released it the same year. The record won the Spellemann awards in Open Class category in 1993. She had been meeting with different people learning about the Sámi people, her own people, herself, and found out what were her power animals: eagle, turtle, and wolf. She worked with the commissioned work to Vossa Jazz in 1994 called Leahkastit which she recorded and released in 1994.

She met Mona J Hoel, who was a filmmaker and director, and they made a music video to one of the songs in the album Leahkastin. The music video was made for the song “Vuolgge mu mielde bassivárrái” as a criticism against the church for being an instrument for colonizing Sápmi and the people. She moved first to Karasjok and then to Tromsø. After a while she moved back to Karasjok and kept a small apartment in Oslo (Tonstad, 2012, pp. 265-272).

In 1996 she released her live album “Eallin” that won the Spellemann awards in the category for Open class. She met Moustapha Blondin Thiam in Africa, a singer and guitar player, who was from Dakar in Senegal, and they got married in Oslo 1998. The same year she released her

next studio album “Bálvvoslatnja”. They moved to live in Paris. They got divorced three years later as friends (Tonstad, 2012, pp. 278-286).

In 2002 her 6th studio album “Gávcci jahkejuogu – Eight seasons” was released. Soon after that, her band members resigned due to musical and administrative differences in the middle of their tour. After a while Roger Ludvigsen joined the band again after resigning from the band.

In 2000 Mari met religion historian and writer Brita Pollan. Mari became very interested in her lecture about old Sámi religion and shamanism at the Riddu Riđđu festival that year and wanted to learn more about this history. They became friends and have been touring together with a concept based on the old histories from the past and Mari’s music (Tonstad, 2012, pp. 289-292).

In 2001 she was invited to perform at the Oslo Cathedral at the wedding for Haakon, Crown Prince of Norway and the Mette-Marit Tjessem Høiby and sing the hymn “Mu váibmu vádjol doppe”. In 2002 she performed at the Nobel Peace Prize concert in Oslo. She got the Nordic Council’s Music Prize in 2003 (Tonstad, 2012, pp. 294-299).

In 2006 she released her 7th studio album “Idjagiedas – In the hand of the night” and had moved back north, to Tromsø from Paris, and had a bigger interest to know more about Sámi people and especially reindeer herding, because she did not have enough knowledge about that. In 2008 she made film music together with Hermann Rundberg and Svein Schultz, to Nils Gaup’s Kautokeino Rebellion. In 2009 she recorded and released her 8th studio album “Čuovgga áirras – Sterna Paradisea” in South Africa. In the same year she was awarded as a knight, first order of the Royal Norwegian Order of St. Olav for her artistic diversity. The same year she was awarded the Anders Jahre’s Culture Prize. Her 9th and most recent studio album “See the woman” was released in 2017. This was her first album where she is singing in English.

She has released 15 albums in total. Nine of them are her own studio albums, two live albums, two compilation albums, and two albums together with other artists. She has been nominated for Spellemannspris, Norwegian Grammy, in total eight times and she has won four times where the last one was honorary Spellemannspris for the year 2017. She has been awarded an honorary doctorate degree from The Arctic University of Norway in Tromsø in 2018.

6.2 Records and their analyses

Mari Boine has released 15 records and she has been collaborating on several albums in different roles. She has released so far nine studio albums as an artist, two live albums, three compilation albums and three albums together with other artists. She has also been participating in two albums containing songs for Sámi children in the middle of the 1980s after releasing her first studio album. These are “Min máilmmis” in 1986 together with Ánte Mihkkal Gaup and Anders Porsanger and “Juovllaide” in 1987 together with Anjel nuorat, a quintet singing and yoiking from Finland.

Musical style

In the beginning in her first album “Jaskatvuoda manja” her music was pop/rock sung in Sámi language. She has been singing on all of her records in Sámi language except in her last album so far “See the woman” where she is singing in English. From her second album on she has been using world music elements, instruments from other parts of the world not so much used in pop-music. She also started using Sámi yoik in her music in her second album “Gula Gula” that was released in 1989 and became a huge hit in Norway and very popular in Sámi community. Since that album she has kept the same style and changed a little her sound as the years have gone, which can be heard in what instruments are being used in her songs.

The lyrics

In the beginning, she was writing her lyrics by herself for her albums. Her first album was released in 1985, nearly two decades after Nils-Aslak Valkeapää’s debut album. She came from Karasjok area where people were living by agriculture and reindeer herding.

In Mari Boine’s home it was not allowed to yoik and there were many things that was not allowed since her family was very religious and very concerned about what was sin. When all this was put together, the result was a woman who was strongly drawn in different directions. Of what is allowed and what is not, and still, wanting to make music and sing, and yoik.

Many of the early Mari Boine’s songs concerned these issues of being oppressed, not allowed to talk own mother tongue, being told that Sámi are not good enough and not to give value to the Sámi way of living. At the same time the anger for losing so many things, habits, stories, everything connected to the Sámi culture that has been tried to wipe away.

In the later recordings Mari Boine has started to use other themes that are going towards other indigenous peoples' issues and unity between different indigenous peoples around the world and fetching inspiration from the North American indigenous peoples and their struggle to save their people, culture, and language. She is also fetching some of the themes for her songs from Sámi mythology, lifting the old beliefs that are not so well known today due the hard Christianisation of the Sápmi. In addition to these, she has also been discussing the issue of being indigenous woman, women's rights generally and the struggle of being accepted as we are, as human beings.

In the later recordings she has started to use other writers' texts more and more as the lyrics for her songs both from Sápmi and outside of Sápmi, including other indigenous peoples' texts and other texts that have been suitable for her use. The fact that she has used lyrics of other writers to such a large extent was in the beginning a bit problematic for the purposes of this study since it was not her written words. But they express her and what she has wanted to say with both the music and the lyrics.

6.2.1 Jaskatvuoda maŋŋa – After the Silence

In the time before this album was released in 1985, in the Norwegian side of Sápmi there had been many issues that were common around the whole Sámi area. One of them was the assimilation policy that the Nordic countries used against the Sámi people trying to get them assimilated to the major population, to forget their own language and cultural habits and be like the rest of the population. In the central Sámi areas this was not possible because traditions, traditional livelihoods, family connections stood very strong over the national borders.

In the areas where the Sámi people stood in minority or in closer contact with the authorities, they were more prone to this kind of influence and therefore, many of the Sámi lost their mother tongue and were not willing to talk it either. Sámi culture, habits, clothing, and language were seen as of less worth than the majority culture and were hidden, rejecting being part of the Sámi population. Although the assimilation politics was changed and stopped in the 1960s, the atmosphere against the Sámi people was not turned right away. It is still affecting in some way in majority people's minds, not in all of them but some still insist the same attitude against the Sámi as 50 years ago.

Internationally there was much happening concerning indigenous peoples' rights. They started to claim their rights and that their voice was heard in matters that concerned their living conditions, their livelihoods and land rights. In Northern Norway in a small Sámi village, Máze, there had been plans to build a hydro plant and flood their home village under the water. The local people had been opposing it for decades and it was decided that the dam was going to be built down stream in the Alta River. This would mean that village would not get under the water. But it meant that the local reindeer herders were going to lose their grazing lands for reindeer, so these plans were also opposed. When the government decided to build dam it sparked further resistance, the Sámi started demonstrating against the plans in front of the Norwegian Parliament and started hunger strike. There were other local people in Alta who were also opposing these plans and soon not only the Sámi people were protesting the plant but also conservationists in the whole country came to the spot where the dam was supposed to be built and barricaded to prohibit machines to start digging and build the dam. This was some sort of culmination when talking about knowledge of the Sámi people and their daily struggle. It meant also that the Sámi people were being accepted as they were, a own people with own traditions and language.

When we think about this being the starting point in the young Sámi artist's career, who liked to sing, who had been suffering from not being allowed to sing or yoik, being always told that what was Sámi was not good enough, it is easy to look at the lyrics and understand the topics and her points in her lyrics. The encouragement she has gotten from other Sámi people through all the incidents previous this record, being accepted among the other Sámi people and encouraged to continue singing.

In this album she wrote nearly all her lyrics except one song that is written by Issát Sámmol Hætta from Máze. Songs were written between 1981 and 1985. The themes or topics in the album are based on issues explained earlier, like the wish to be heard by the authorities, to save the language. The Sámi language had gotten the new common orthography at the end of the 1970s, and since she was a teacher, it was a natural topic for her to write about after feeling newly accepted and reborn. She is lifting the issue to be united and not to forget each other, to encourage one another to work together through the obstacles whatever they might be. She is also lifting the issue of trying to hide behind the mask pretending to be something else, and

what oppression can do to people. It is easily draining one's strength if one does not be aware of it and be strong.

She is talking to sea Sámi people as well, who have lost their identity and encouraging them to learn about their culture and accept their inheritance and be whole. Another theme is the hope she is writing about, about the night that is gone and how the light is coming back, waking the nature or in this case people's minds believing or saying that better times are coming and that there is hope for future. The last theme to mention is how she describes bad self-esteem. How the Sámi people got their bad self-esteem, including herself saying not to be ashamed to be Sámi. The Sámi people are as good as all the others around.

6.2.2 Gula Gula – Hear the Voices of the Foremothers

In 1989, when this album was released in the Norwegian side of Sápmi, much happened in terms of Sámi issues. Many institutions that are significant to Sámi people were founded. Sámi Allaskuvla or Sámi university college started in Kautokeino where it was located. It had been part of Finnmark County College before, where Mari Boine studied to become a teacher earlier and from 1989 it was a separate college, the Sámi people's own college, where it was possible to study to be teacher at the comprehensive school and teacher in the kindergarten in their own language. The Sámi students around Sápmi were able to apply to study and the need for teachers who had Sámi language as their mother tongue was important, and it is still today. In the same year Sámi Oahpahusráđđi or Sámi Council of Education was founded and started its work in Kautokeino. It later became a part of the Norwegian Sámi Parliament that started its function the same year.

Her album this time had been influenced by world music and had a different sound compared to the first album, which was influenced by pop rock of that time. Instrumentation was not so usual either when compared to pop rock where the usual line up was guitar, bass, keyboards, and drums. This time came different instruments from Africa and from South America in addition to the normal pop rock instrumentation.

In this album she had lyrics written by Bjørg Persen, Kerttu Vuolab and Ragnar Olsen in addition to her own lyrics. The two of them have quite sharp criticism against the authorities in their texts and Kerttu Vuolab has very gentle tone when she is writing of her mother. The tone

when compared with the first album was more aggressive and blaming towards the authorities and majority people that had been oppressing not only her but many generations of Sámi people before she was born. It is like she has gotten a boost in self-esteem that has lifted her self-consciousness and some sort of anger against the state and the white people.

Themes or topics for this album are to encourage all the Sámi youth not to forget the Sámi language, to take care of own language to be able to communicate with own people. Remember not to allow others to poison Sápmi and waters. They must remember that there are other people as well that are in the same situation, that there are other indigenous brothers and sisters around the world that we can work together with. On the other hand, she is accusing the state representatives as being white thieves who do not care about what the indigenous peoples think about their actions. She is saying that they are heartless, without heartbeat, and crawling over their opponents to the top. They are taking whatever they want, stealing everything that is worth for them, sneaking things for themselves, thinking that Sámi people are exotic and for decorative property of the majority without own minds. They cannot be trusted in any instance because they are talking with two tongues, promising one thing, and doing the opposite.

She is also using elements from Northern American indigenous peoples in her singing and in her lyrics juxtaposing them and Sámi people when thinking about how indigenous peoples have been treated the past centuries and telling how she has had to travel far to find back home, to get courage and knowledge enough to resist bad behaviour and insults. And most of all, to see through all of what lawbooks made by the rulers have meant for the indigenous peoples, who have not had any kind of means or language to resist and protest them.

In “Recipe for master race” or “Oppskrift for herrefolk” in Norwegian, Ragnar Olsen is writing and listing the issues how the majority people have treated the Sámi people by just drawing the line to the map, claimed that this is the land border and demanded the land areas inside the line for themselves, stealing it. By giving themselves titles for lifting themselves over the Sámi people, breaking the community with problems what alcohol sale to the Sámi people by them has caused.

She is talking about the personal struggle so many people have, and what she has had too. Winning over her own fears. That will make it possible to be free. Free to love, free to feel love, free to love nature, other people and perhaps the most important to love yourself. Being insecure

and having bad self-esteem can make everyone feel weak and worthless among other people who seem to be self-confident and strong externally.

Among the element of anger over the authorities and “white people” and own fears, there is also gratitude and praising of her mother or perhaps it could be said mothers, since Kerttu Vuolab’s lyrics are for mother or mothers. She is writing with gratitude to her mother that has been a rock for her in life, concerning the Sámi language, and other issues that are bonded to her childhood and home area by the Deatnu river, and generally when speaking about Sáminess.

6.2.3 Other songs from 1989 to 1993

Mari Boine was attending on three different albums between her solo albums “Gula Gula” and “Goaskinviellja”. The first song on this time was Rosalita, a song written by Åge Aleksandersen for his album Solregn that was released in 1989, the same year as her “Gula Gula” was released. In this song Mari Boine was singing in Sámi language one verse that she had translated from Norwegian to Sámi. In 1992 she made her version of the song “Fremmed fugl” – in Sámi “Oarbbis leat” – also written by Åge Aleksandersen. He is a descendant of travellers and in both songs the theme is feeling of being alone and not belonging anywhere. To feel being accepted by others is important and is something he is seeking after in his lyrics.

In 1991 came the album "Salmer på veien hjem", where Mari Boine was singing along with Kari Bremnes and Ole Paus, religious hymns from Norway and Sápmi. The hymns that Mari Boine was singing were in Sámi language. This was released after her father died in 1990 who was very religious and did not accept her singing and yoiking in public. He claimed that it was a sin to do that and was thinking that until his death. Her mother died also that same year as the album was released and did not hear the hymns, their favorite hymns, sung by her.

She also took part in the album “Winter in Moscow” that was released in 1992 together with Inna Zhelannaya and Sergey Starostin. She had two songs in the album where the first one was released on her next studio album “Goaskinviellja – Eagle brother” in 1993.

6.2.4 Goaskinviellja – Eagle Brother

This album seems to be more personal compared to the previous albums and was released in 1993 in her own label “Lean”. The lyrics are not so harsh and angry, and the opponent is not the authorities but more she herself struggling with her own sorrows and doubts about the choices she has made. But they have some stubbornness and strength at the same time saying that she stands behind her own decisions. This album marks a change, not so much when it is concerning the musical side, but in the lyrical side where the protest songs are becoming more self-researching.

In this album the lyrics are not so long as they have been so far in the earlier albums. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and Kerttu Vuolab have written both lyrics and music for two of the songs in the album, one song each. These are “Sámi eadnan duoddariid” and “Skádja”. In one of the songs, “Ráhkesvuodain” the lyrics has Mari Boine co-written with Carlos Zamata Quispe. Other thing to mention is that there is a dedication to her oldest son Per Erland, who was 16 years old at the time, on the first song.

The themes in this record are longing, Sápmi, keeping her mind and not letting others to decide for her, on the other hand longing after a shoulder to lean on, hope, freedom to be a Sámi, prayer for life, love, and fear for being left alone and disappointed. Some of these themes are present in the previous albums as well but not to the same extent compared with this album where one of the elements present is softness and vulnerability.

In the dedication that is written in her homepage www.mariboine.no, it is easy to assume that it concerns the first song, being on the tour and away from her children as the biographer Per Lars Tonstad writes (Tonstad, 2012, p. 227). She is longing to the light haired, solemn eyed one, claiming that she is cutting all the ropes that is chaining her to the place where she is at that.

“Sámi eatnan duoddarat” is a song written by Nils-Aslak Valkeapää and it is praising the nature, the Sámi people themselves and Sápmi. The land is a harsh environment to live in, but it is a home for Sámi people. There is a philosophy in the lyrics pointing out that the nature is important and there can be issues, things happening in life, but home is always a home that is

not changing in the same way. When the landscape is your home, it is unlikely that it will change so much, either.

In “Dás áiggun čuožžut” there are not so many written lines in the lyrics, so the main message is quite clear for the listeners. Although there are different forces, wills drawing her to every direction, she is not intending to move anywhere. She is going to stand in one place and not go anywhere. She is showing will or muscles concerning what to do without being allowed to think herself what to do. Sámi people have been pushed and ordered for a long time in the past and she has also been told what to do by others which has been so common during the Norwegianization time.

In “Dolgesuorpmagežiiguin” she is struggling with the feeling that she is alone and wishing that there was someone with a shoulder she could lean her head on and forget about the daily worries that are bothering her. She is wishing to rest because she is tired from following how fast everything is going forward, but at the same time she must struggle with her own fears. There is nearly a wish to be a child with parents who can comfort her and say everything is fine. The lyrics in “Ráhkisvuodain” are longing after tenderness and love, and the wish to drive all the evil from her life with love and fill it with light and warmth that has not always been present in her life (Tonstad, 2012, pp. 68-72).

In “Mu áhkku” the lyrics are about her grandmother and how grandparents are to the children in the Sámi tradition: very dear giving love, understanding and warmth, and important wisdom in life. One of her own grandmothers that is mentioned in her biography died when she was 14 years old (Tonstad, 2012, p. 98). In “Ále ále don” she is handling issues with fear of being left alone, sorrow of being alone, fear that the surrounding world is false and not showing the real intentions. There is doubt for her own position and doubt if the feelings can be real.

She is discussing the matter of being oppressed and being crippled without being able to be free, without being able to let thoughts fly free. This has direct connection to all indigenous peoples in the world, the lack of freedom that is binding together. “They said: go ask, who tied your wings so tightly. Eagle brother, Eagle brother, when will you let me fly with you again.” The interesting part is who are the eagles in the lyrics flying in the sky asking to join them? Are they representing people that exist or are they ancestors encouraging to come up and fly? Was she the crippled eagle longing to fly among all the other eagles in the sky? One

of her power animals is an eagle (Tonstad, 2012, p. 239), which can point at her being that eagle, but it can be all the other Sámi or indigenous peoples that have lost their identity, their self-esteem, who they are in this life.

In the song “Skádja” written by Kerttu Vuolab, she is describing the dawn of the awakening. Awakening of the acceptance for being a Sámi and finally getting the recognition as a human being along and beside all the other peoples in the world, without being diminished by the majority population in the Nordic Countries. There is a sincere feeling of happiness and expectation for voice getting so strong that it cannot be silenced anymore; that there is a new day coming.

6.2.5 Leahkastin – Unfolding

This album was released in 1994 and contained eleven songs where one did not have any lyrics. It was a song for her father. The lyrical style is continued from the previous album. The lyrics are short lines that are repeated and if they were just written once they would not have been very long texts. The lyrics are mainly written by Mari Boine except the second song in the album is written by Kerttu Vuolab.

Thematically the lyrics are following the same line as the previous record. They are mostly personal compared with the two first albums. The lyrics are following a softer line and, in that way, following the same guideline as “Goaskinviellja”. Themes in this album are personal struggle, being tired to hate or being sad, wish to be loved and get warmth, not only for herself but in the world, wondering what the meaning of her life is, importance of Sápmi and people, and not forgetting a little kick towards the authorities that she has written in the first albums. In her lyrics comes a new element that is not only struggling with herself but also perhaps the Sámi society as well which she has not written so much about earlier.

In “Gumpet holvot” she is telling about her life and saying that she is doing the same things as she has done before, telling the same things repeatedly. There is a sense that she is being criticized not only by outsiders but also by the Sámi people claiming that she has changed and is not the same person anymore. But in the lyrics, she is claiming that she is still the same person as before. By saying that the wolves are howling like they always have done she means that

there are always people who are opposing not only her but in general there are people that cannot be pleased, and the fact is that you cannot be friends with everyone.

In “Ale šat” lyrics written by Kerttu Vuolab she is lifting the issue of being forced to leave her homeplace when the intention was in the beginning not to leave but to stay. The sorrow for leaving home and homeplace was forgotten in the big foreign world with new things coming up to be wondered about. But when coming back home again has given the golden memories of the past and with it anger by not being at home all the time. Now it was time to look forward because it was no use to live in the past. It is better to live in the present time where you can choose to be angry or to focus on the positive things.

In “Čuovgi liekkas” she is longing after radiant warmth that would give her both courage and strength in life. It is lifting her up higher and higher and cheering her up and keeping her good mood high. Radiant warmth is surrounded by Gods that are serving and holding around it. Is it some sort of jealousy in her wishes where she could think about being in the middle getting the same service? There is looking for warmth for herself in her daily life that she could share with someone.

In “Maid áiggot muinna eallin” she is wondering the meaning of life and asking what life is wanting from her. She has done many different things in her life, wandering around, and tried to escape from something – perhaps her own past? – and still it is catching her. She is now there and available and giving everything for life. Why all this joy and sorrow to live through? What it is good for? In “Mielahisvuohta” she is struggling with the same existential issues, to understand the world and at the same time to understand people. It is not always easy to understand what other people want. Are they present or somewhere else physically or are they absent in their way of thinking?

Lyrically the song “Gilvve gollat” is a praise to the sun that is warming the cold north in the summertime bringing warmth, light, and happiness. It is almost as though she is praying for Sun the god for saving the children from trouble and troublesome life. In “Gulan du” she is having a theme concerning to be connected to the home area, but when she has been away from home area, it is still calling her with its secret tales that no one else knows. It is connecting her family to that place with everything that is surrounding and familiar, kind of a reference points in her and their lives.

In the lyrics to “Vuolgge mu mielde bassivárrái” she is asking if the listener would go to the sacred mountain or haven before it gets dark. Before the dark times arrive and bring darkness in the thoughts and mind. These lyrics contain very few words and can be understood differently but, in this case, I think she is thinking the Sáminess being the safe haven for Sámi people, giving unity and security.

In her lyrics there is a kick to the authorities in the song “Mun da’han lean oaivámuš” where she is describing the authorities as the one who is trying to dictate what everyone is supposed to do and insisting everyone to follow his/her rules, laws, and borders, in an ironical way. In the last song “Dá lean mun” she is giving a picture of herself six years earlier, when she felt being oppressed and beaten up, washed in many waters, or living through different things in her life since that time. Still, she feels and wants to say that she is still the same person inside, although life has taught her to take better care of herself. She is stronger and has a voice to say or sing it out loud when the opposing voice is needed. But still, she is the same person.

6.2.6 Bálvoslatnja – Room of Worship

This album was released in 1998 and contained ten songs. In two of the songs are no lyrics written. Two of the song lyrics are written by Mari Boine. Other contributors to lyrical side are Nils-Aslak Valkeapää in “Eallin”, Andreas Fjellner and Harald Gaski on “Beaivvi nieida” and “Oarjjábeal beaivvi ja mánu”, Risten Sokki on “Risten”, Buffy Sainte-Marie on “Girdi olmmái/Geaidi nisson” and Sámi proverbs and riddles used on “Alit go buot várit”.

In Nils-Aslak Valkeapää’s text he is having a conversation with life talking about his wishes and to whom he would like to address the gift. It is like a prayer for those who are not among us, who lost their faith on the nation, the right and righteousness, to the humans and to tomorrow as well. Giving life to and hope for peoples who do not exist anymore or are disappearing soon. And strength to those people who still see the light and beauty of life, love and hope, for tomorrow too.

“Beaivvi nieida” lyrics are from a story written by Andreas Fjellner and Harald Gaski about the daughter of the Sun, Njávėšeadni and her travel back to her father the Sun. The main message in this song is that you should listen if someone is warning you and do precautions against it.

“The death of the Sun’ daughter” is describing the humble side of the Sámi people, belief or religiousness, and the harsh conditions they are living in (Gaski, Biejjen baernie - Beavvi bárdni - Sámi Son of the Sun, 2003, p. 82).

In the song “Risten”, written by Risten Sokki, she is talking about herself a modern Sámi person. She is considering herself as a Sámi with very strong bonds to her ancestors and her heritage through blood. We can lose our contact to the past, identity, history and more if we do not take care of it. And if we do lose it, our ancestors, grandmothers will show the way. You will always find a way because you cannot change the past.

“Girdi olmmái/Geaidi nisson” is written by Buffy Sainte-Marie. The song lyrics have four different layers in form of verses where the two first verses are concentrating on the world view, what makes the world. Each of these verses represent different powers.

Thematically, ”Álddagasat ipmilat” is criticizing the authorities for not understanding the way of thinking of the indigenous peoples and praying for strength from the Gods of nature to turn this tendency. They are cheating by the laws and promises given to the indigenous peoples without any respect.

“Oarjjábeal beavvi ja mánu” lyrics are from a story written by Andreas Fjellner in the beginning of the poem about “The Son of the Sun’s courting in the Land of the Giants” (Gaski, Biejjen baernie - Beavvi bárdni - Sámi Son of the Sun, 2003, p. 94) describing the land of the Giants. It has always been something to reach for wealth and happiness and eventually for heroic deeds. This part of the poem is different compared with “Beavvi nieida” lyrics, lifting the heroism and cleverness how to win over the obstacles. In “Alit go buot várit” she has used several Sámi proverbs and riddles that she has combined in the song.

In “Don it galgan” she has written the lyrics as an honour for her mother who was not allowed to have fancy clothes. She was very religious and wanting earthly goods was sinful. In the song lyrics she is saying that if her mother was still alive, she would give her gold and silver just to say how much she was loved and missed.

6.2.7 Gávccii jahkejuogu – Eight Seasons

This album was released in 2002 and contained 12 songs. She has written or co-written lyrics to four of them, “Boađan nuppi bealde” and “Bottoža dáhtun” are written by her only, “Ii dieđe” is written together with Synnøve Persen and “Silba várjala” is written together with Marry Somby and Kirsti Paltto. One of the songs is a hymn by Hans Adolf Brorson. This is the second consecutive album where most of the lyrics are written by someone other than Mari Boine herself.

In “Boađan nuppi bealde” she is writing about the negativity she has experienced in the past and present time, how it is affecting her, how difficult it is to process it and handle it. There is a sense of loneliness in her lyrics when she is saying how difficult it is to live and make decisions when there is no guide and no ready right answers telling what to do. In some way her past is present and haunting on her when there was before someone who was saying what is right when she is wanting to decide her own way. It is a dilemma for her. She is requesting the right to love and to be loved.

In “Riegátkeahtes” lyrics written by Giuliano Contardo she is singing to the unborn, the one or ones that have not been born yet. She is giving advice, telling stories that she has heard before from her ancestors, people that have lived before her. Stories that the unborn is going to tell her or his own children in the future.

“Sáráhká viidna” written by Risten Sokki is praising the children and the fertility, ability to get children. At the same time the song is praising the Sáráhkká, that is the guardian or goddess for fertility and birth. “Guovssahasaid ájagáttis” is a praise to Sápmi, written by Risten Sokki. In Sápmi she feels the freedom to be, experience life as it is in the nature, in the wild, and enjoy what nature has to offer for her. Living outside of Sápmi is not good to be where others are deciding what you should do, how you must live.

Nils Viktor Holmberg has written the lyrics on “Sielu dálkkas” where he is urging to be alert. You must be alert and protect yourself when things are not as they should be.

“Mu váibmu vádjol doppe”. In this hymn the theme is you do not need to have gold, silver, and glory to have good life. There is no need to be envious to other people you think have better lives.

In “Beaivelottáš” written by Merle Collins is about a butterfly that is trapped in a mold of molten steel. The butterfly is light and harmless, and still it is trapped without able to fly away and be free. When you are not able to see what your threat is, it is easy to take action that are oversized compared with the real reason.

The lyrics written by Kirsti Paltto in “Liegga gokčas sis” tell that she is wishing to take care of the precious one, so it will not get cold nor sick. So that the storms will not take the life out of it, so that it is able to come back alive again in the Spring. In “Ii dieđe”, written by Synnøve Persen together with Mari Boine, the main theme is control, you might think that you are in control of your own life or whatever it might be, you will never know what happens. It might seem to be luxurious and good life and situation in the beginning, but you can still end up in the cold where it is hard to find the way out.

“Duottar rássi” is about the flower in the fells. It is written by Nils Johan Heatta. It is very hard environment to grow up in with short summers. The plants must be able to adapt to the situation and not give up. This applies to Sámi people that will not give up.

In the song “Bottoža dáhtun” it might seem that the past is haunting her. The memories from the past and she wants to have a break from all those memories and thoughts connected to them. As if she would like to get rid of them forever. She wants to be free from the painful past and go on with her own life and feel joy about it. The last song in the album is following in somewhat the same. There is no freedom inside the houses. They are not connected the same way to the nature like lávvus and goahtis are. She wants the Sámi people’s own old gods to guide and show the way ahead. Christianity has brought much odd ways of thinking so the old gods might be able to help and protect the Sámi people.

6.2.8 Idjagiedas – In the Hand of the Night

This album was released in 2006 and is consisting of ten songs where two of the song lyrics are written or co-written by Mari Boine herself. “Suoivva” consists of Sámi proverbs and Mari Boine’s lyrics and “Gosbat munno čijat leat?” is written by Mari Boine. Other contributors in this album are Rauni Magga Lukkari, Karen Anne Buljo and Ross Reaver. Mari Boine has used Rauni Magga Lukkari’s texts as lyrics in three of the songs, Karen Anne Buljo’s texts in four of the songs and Ross Reaver’s text in one song.

In the songs that are written or co-written by Mari Boine the themes are jealousy, envy, struggle with herself and how everything is looking outwards. In “Suoivva” she has taken some old Sámi proverb and written the lyrics around it. Envious people have no limits in their envy. Nothing is good enough for them. If someone is shouting out everything he or she knows, the person will be soon owing to someone else. Not all stories are meant for other people’s ears. In “Gosbat munno čijat leat?” she is saying that the Sámi people are very attached to their festive garments and want them to be in order, with silver and gold jewellery. They are used in celebrations like in proposals and weddings, and other occasions that are suitable to celebrate. In this song there is also a doubleness hidden when she has no reason to celebrate and still must keep the façade to show everything is well. She is praying someone to help her and make her happy again.

In the songs where she has used Rauni Magga Lukkari’s poems the themes are feeling to be an outsider when all the others have found their places or homes, reflection over her own life where she is, starting a new epoque in her life and love or passion. In “Vuoi vuoi mu” she is in a way reflecting over her own life and how rich it is with sorrows and joys, and the richness of the nature that is surrounding her. “Mu ustit eŋgeliid sogalaš” is a reflection over her life and at what point she is at that moment. She is starting a new epoque in her life perhaps after a relationship that has ended. Still there is a drawing to the time that was before and a wish to experience it once more before it is time to move on. “Geasuha” is about love or lust, falling in love and how fast the shallow love goes by. It is hollow and without any substance, gliding through and leaving no traces.

In the songs where Karen Anne Buljo’s poems are used as lyrics the themes are loneliness, the old Sámi mythology, sorrow, nature conservationism, feminism, and love. “Davvi bávttiin” is telling about a wizard’s daughter who is alone in the north. She is separated from the other

people and herding her herd. She is comforting a child that has not gotten enough love or attention. This child can be the future Sámi children. There is a longing after the old times and waiting them to come back again. “Diamántta spáillit” is about mining companies that try to come and, in some places, have arrived to exploit “the diamond castrated reindeer”, to find the gold, silver and all other minerals in Sápmi, poisoning the land. “Áfruvvá” is a song about the mermaid who is proud and independent doing things she wants and is interested in. In her own world she is untouchable and invincible. Outside it can be a storm raging but it will not affect her or her life. “Uldda nieida” is daughter of a hulder that is living underground. She is beautiful and can charm a man and make a man as her captive unless he uses his magic tools or methods to break the spell.

“Fápmodálkkas” lyrics are written by Ross Reaver. It is reflecting over our own origin, where do we come from? What is our own history and where are the future generations heading towards? The world is changing so rapidly, and we need to keep in mind who we are and what is our origins.

6.2.9 Čuovgga Áirras – Sterna Paradisea

“Čuovgga áirras” was released in 2009 and contained eleven songs from which ten songs had lyrics. None of them are written alone by Mari Boine but she has co-written seven of the song lyrics. Three of the songs are written alone by Rawdna Carita Eira and three of the songs she has co-written together with Mari Boine. Kerttu Vuolab has co-written two of the songs together with Mari Boine. One of the songs is written by Karen Anne Buljo, and Kirsti Paltto together with Mari Boine. The last song is written by Emily Dickinson and Mari Boine.

The themes in the lyrics written by Rawdna Carita Eira alone are love, tenderness, hunting or being hunted and children growing up and leaving the home, moving on their own. In “Soakŋosilbbat” she is talking about commitment and unconditional love for her own partner and declares her love for him. What is precious in life is not silver nor gold that glitters but, rather, everyday life brings happiness. “Skealbma” is about equality and learning to live. In the song lyrics a king is hunting together with his son which gets caught by a predator. Your position does not save you. You need to learn yourself how to live and what you want to do. In “De mana, ráhkásan” a mother is preparing her daughter for adulthood and trying to give her

the best tools for her life as an adult. This is illustrated by the description how she is making and decorating daughter's clothes that she is clothed for the life in the best way.

The themes in the lyrics written by Rawdna Carita Eira together with Mari Boine are about growing up to adulthood and being able to avoid all the dangers on the way to adulthood, fairy tales and what we are aiming at in our lives, and why we are different although many of us have the same starting point. In "Lene Májjá" we are following Lene Májjá on her way to adulthood like a salmon that is born and grown up at the roots of the salmon river. She is hearing the call that is forcing her to move on and go to the sea where there are lot of different opportunities and ways to go. She is avoiding all the dangers on her way to the ocean. "Soria Moria palássa" is about Soria Moria Palace that is a myth about a place where everything is fine. There is wealth in all over the place, gold and silver is glittering. But it is also a cold and heartless place to be with stony women and glass girls that have no life. "Iditveiggodettiin" is about why is it easier for someone else. Why are some people light-minded than others who are struggling against the darkness in their minds? And why do some need to hide behind the mask and not be able to find peace in their hearts? Some are lucky and some others are less lucky. This is kind of making up with Christianity and belief that there is someone, who is coming and saving you from trouble.

The themes in the song lyrics written by Kerttu Vuolab together with Mari Boine are conversation with God and colliding worlds, adaption to circumstances. "Ipmiliin hálešteapmi" is a fictive conversation with God about all the things that are not well in this world. Why does the god accept inequality, wars, poverty, and hunger? Is not the god almighty? And also questioning why we have to believe in God blindly. In "Čuovgga áirras" we are following the arctic tern in its journey back and forth from Sápmi to the southern hemisphere. The tern is bound to the weather, light, and food while we Sámi people are bound and connected to this land. But we still wish to be on a different place when it gets dark and cold in the wintertime.

The song "Claudiinna lávlla" written by Karen Anne Buljo, Kirsti Paltto and Mari Boine is a song meant for giving strength to Claudine who has come from overseas looking for her luck. She is far away from her family and nearest. She must remember her family and the nearest. "Go idja nuossala" is written by Emily Dickinson and Mari Boine. It deals with the struggle against dark thoughts when you are alone in the evening and at night, how well are you dealing with them. There is always a day after a night.

6.2.10 Áiggi askkis – An introduction to Mari Boine

This album was released in 2011 and contained selected songs throughout her career as an artist. In this album there are some songs that were not released in her albums earlier.

In 2003 Mari Boine recorded a song “Geotenn ar marv – Grass of death” together with Denez Prigent, an artist from Bretagne. The theme in this song was pollution and how we humans can allow the pollution by multinational corporations and that the governments are not doing anything to stop it

“Elle” was one of the songs made for the four-track soundtrack of the film “The Kautokeino rebellion”. Elle was one of the main characters in the rebellion. The theme in the lyrics is the life of her after the rebellion and her son, the reflections over her life and family while sitting in prison. “Trilobihta lávlla” was written by Mari Boine and released in 2011. She is wondering about the life of the trilobite that has become a fossil, what kind of journey it has had while it was alive and after, becoming a stone and drifted around at the bottom of the sea, and now she expresses feelings of similarity between her and the trilobite, coming visible when mountains have eroded around them both. Waiting to become alive again.

6.2.11 See the Woman

This album was released in 2017 and contained twelve songs mostly in English. She has written the lyrics for three of the songs and co-written one song together with Nomzi Kumalo. Other writers in this album are John Trudell who has written lyrics for two of the songs, Polly Samuel aka Donna Williams one song, Melanie, Katja Maria Werker, Joy Harjo, Moana Maniapoto and Rawdna Carita Eira all one song each.

The themes in Mari Boine’s lyrics are teenage love and the gap between two cultures, God and belief and love with own identity. “Happily ever after” could fit on her own experience from her youth when she fell in love with her first husband (Tonstad, 2012, pp. 132-137) who took her to different places and was a steady rock in her life. And all the dreams about how life would be a happy ever after without worries, without knowing the life, without knowing themselves what the real dreams and ambitions for life were. “2-4-6-7-8-9 in one” is dealing with the issue of who has the right answers and, in a way, following the eternal question: who

are we as individuals? Is there a god who has the answers, and do we have the reason to believe in God? There are many paths to choose from. Who knows what is the right one? “Teepee room” is a love song to someone who does not reciprocate the feelings. Teepee room is perhaps also connected to Native American culture so the object might be Native American. The space is different from a normal room and closer to earth, nature, than normal house or rooms tend to be. There is a longing after love.

In John Trudell’s lyrics the themes are feeling lonely, connection to ancestors and own heritage, and gender equality. In “Chasing myself into reality” he is writing about self-esteem and trust in yourself as a human. “See the woman” is about what status women have in the world and especially how different it can be. He is highlighting the difference and inequality in the world that is concerning human or women’s rights.

The theme on “Today starts now” written by Polly Samuel aka Donna Williams is to embrace the day we are living and not aiming all the time to the future. We need to look and observe what we have around us and enjoy what we see and experience.

“Some say I got devil” is written by Melanie. In her song the theme is others’ expectations on her, putting her in a box. They speak of her having a devil or angel based on their expectations of how to behave.

In “Yes” written by Katja Maria Werker the theme is making love, the feelings around it and what kind of journey it is taking you. There can be storms and other catastrophes around you and you will not be affected by that. “This is my heart” written by Joy Harjo the theme is in the same path, perhaps not necessarily making love but love and seeing the other one, asking acceptance as the person is. With its vulnerability and mistakes made. “Twin soul” written by Moana Maniapoto is also writing about love and a partner to share life together with, who understands and can understand and support the other. It can also be connected to understanding the difference between how the indigenous peoples are thinking compared to majority or white man way of thinking

In “Adine & Isak” written by Rawdna Carita Eira she is describing the cosmos of the meadow, what can be seen in the meadow. The song is dedicated to Mari Boine’s grandchildren. Nature

is comforting, source of curiosity and to find answers. What all the wonders in the meadow, spiders, birds, insects, and plants can create.

In “Crowded streets of blue” written by Nomzi Kumala and Mari Boine the theme is the search for love, searching for love but also searching in the wrong place. She is looking for him, but it seems that she is always two steps behind when she does not see him. Or perhaps she is not able to see him because the image is something she wishes to see and not the reality of how he is today. It is kind of a rodent wheel going round and round without any ending. When we are apart from each other, we live on, learn new things, and evolve as the time goes by.

6.3 The long lines

Her time as a recording artist can be divided in several periods or chapters, at least four or perhaps five different periods. I have done dealing into these different periods by using some measures when doing it. It was not so easy to do the same type of categorization as I did for Nils-Aslak Valkeapää’s lyrics.

In the first album period, containing “Jaskatvuoda maŋŋa – After the Silence” and “Gula Gula”, her lyrics thematically are criticizing the authorities for not giving value to the Sámi people, and to some extent criticizing the Sámi people before being so oppressed and not seeing the value of their own identity, culture, and language. Thus this, she is trying to encourage Sámi people to accept their heritage and who they are, and not try to be something that they cannot be. She is trying to explain why the Sámi people feel less worth than Norwegians and at the same time why such belief is false. In her second album “Gula Gula” her criticism towards the authorities and states is much harder compared with the first album “Jaskatvuoda maŋŋa” where her lyrics were perhaps more friendly and directed to the Sámi people themselves. Her use of words is harsher and directly accusing towards the authorities and the majority population, the white people, for not respecting the Sámi people and their culture.

In addition to trying to comfort and encourage other Sámi people in her lyrics, she is writing and singing to and about people who are, and have been, important for her in her life. She is also singing about equality, the anxiety and being afraid of other people, being unsecure. These are themes that have been present throughout her career and her lyrics.

In the second period belong the albums “Goaskinviellja” and “Leahkastin” the atmosphere of the lyrics is changing. She has about the same elements as in the first period but at the same time she has new elements in her writing, leaving the harsh tone and accusations towards the authorities. She is writing about important people in her life, about hope, writing about anxiety deeper than before and processing vulnerability that she has not done before earlier. The content and themes are going towards inner life and not so much about the society and problems connected to society. Love, lack of love, being afraid, afraid of being left alone, past worries that she wants to process and longing to her own homeplace while she is not there including the feeling of not being to that society anymore. And that feeling is probably common for many Sámi people who have left their own homeplace to study or work for years, a feeling many Sámi people share and the envying or jealousy in the Sámi society she wants to discuss. She touches the Sámi mythology very lightly.

In the third period she is using for the first time more lyrics written by others than her own lyrics on her songs. This period contains albums “Bálvvoslatnja”, “Gávcci jahkejuogu” and “Idjagiedas”. In her lyrics she is lifting for her important people, criticizing the rigid static laws that do not have any room for Sámi ways of understanding nor other indigenous peoples’, today’s Sámi woman with her history, and a central focus on Sámi mythology; tales, beliefs and religion; some sort of romantic view of the old Sámi life, in her lyrics in the beginning of this period, becoming less dominant on the later albums in this period. She is reflecting religion and Christianity as a part of her life, the ancestors, and the generations to come. It seems that she is making account on her earlier life, making reflections on different issues that have been bothering her: and most of all how to protect herself. She is making a stand on women’s situation lifting the issue of feminism, independency to make own decisions over her own life. She has one song about intruders, multinational corporations, coming to Sápmi to take valuable minerals from land and raping the land. This was about that time when different companies started to show interest on Sápmi and what was possible to fetch from the ground.

In the fourth period belongs the album “Čuovgga áirras” where she is leaving the Sámi mythology. She is still singing about people that are important to her. For her it seems that it has been important to have themes generally about life, dealing with different kinds of fears that are blocking the ability to enjoy life. Why is there inequality in this world? Why are we accepting violence, abuse, wars and why do we believe in religions that are holding up the

constructions on these institutions that should have been the ones who are comforting and helping the people?

In the fifth period belongs the album “See the woman”, that might have been possible to put on the fourth period, but the fact that she is singing in English compared with all the previous albums where she has been singing in Saami language signifies that this was a change. This album has themes that belong to a grown-up person who accepts life and the situation in her life. Different aspects of life are the main theme. Love, lust, making love, sex, finding the love, unrequited love, the themes are about the same as in previous album. She is talking about living in this moment and appreciating it. She is singing about people in different ages, children, youngsters, adults, and grown-ups. Singing small wonders of life that we can see around us without needing to go and search for them. She is singing also about accepting and facing the realities of life as a best way to deal with the problems instead of running away from them.

7 Thematic analysis

When looking at both of the artists, their themes in the beginning of their career were different. Where Nils-Aslak Valkeapää started with traditional yoiks and had lyrics that were addressed to Sámi people only, lyrically, Mari Boine was addressing her songs not only to Sámi people but also for the Norwegians. That is seen on her lyrics and in choice of language she was using because she was singing mostly in Sámi language and also in Norwegian, switching between the languages in the first period of her albums. Valkeapää's yoiks were thematically about Sámi people and stories from the Sámi world as it was traditionally done before. Boine's themes were the norwegianizing processes, awakening anger for oppression of the Sámi people and people who are dear to her. Valkeapää was using only Sámi throughout his career in his songs while Mari Boine used also only Sámi language after the first period until the fifth period where she was singing in English.

Valkeapää was addressing his lyrics not only for Sámi people in his second period but for the Finnish people who could not understand Sámi language, but perhaps mainly for the Sámi people, since most Finnish did not understand Sámi language. His themes in the songs were connected to nature, the Sámi life in the reindeer herding society and changing society, and problems that came along with it.

When comparing Valkeapää and Boine, there is a clear difference in how nature is presented in their lyrics. Valkeapää is presenting nature and painting landscapes in his lyrics, while in Boine's lyrics the nature presentations are nearly absent. That is also interesting as she through her lyrics strongly writes herself into the global Indigenous community, in the spirituality of nature is defining element (Productive absence, (Allen, 2007, pp. 4-10)). Another example of the difference is related to the concept of cultural seizure when comparing the lyrics further. Valkeapää is writing about resting time when he is with the reindeer that are resting in the evening. He is also resting by the campfire looking at the resting reindeers and the landscape around him, like his ancestors have been doing. In Boine's lyrics such scenes are absent (Allen, 2007, pp. 14-22).

When comparing Boine's lyrics with Valkeapää's lyrics, her lyrics are to a greater extent focused on criticism towards authorities for the oppression of Sámi through Norwegianization and colonization. This is quite absent in the lyrics of Valkeapää's lyrics. Her lyrics further contain songs about the Sámi mysticism, a topic or motif, that is quite absent in Valkeapää's lyrics. His lyrics have the spiritual side in nature, but not in the mysticism. One of Boine's main themes are song lyrics written to important people in her life. This is common in the Sámi yoik tradition. It is usual to make yoiks describing people. In Valkeapää's lyrics this side is absent, which is interesting since he is singing about the Sámi life in the fells together with reindeers and alone (Productive absence, (Allen, 2007, pp. 4-10).

In the third album period Valkeapää's themes were changing to describe the Sámi reindeer herding world as it used to be. He was writing about the world that was so dear to him, wishing it could still exist and he could still live in it. He almost saw himself as the only Sámi in the nature because he was mentioning people with their names the Sámi way and not like official names in the Nordic Countries. At the end of this period he continued writing about the nature almost lifting it to divinity, to a higher power. He was addressing the lyrics for himself and not directly to other people. Mari Boine's themes went towards her own life more than before and towards the Sámi mysticism and religion, and the lack of understanding that the majority people were showing towards the Sámi people and other Indigenous peoples. She was addressing her songs to herself but also to a wider audience.

In the fourth album period Valkeapää's angle religiously changed to talk directly to God. His themes were concentrated on nature, that God would protect the nature, Sápmi and Sámi people that were dear to him. In this period Mari Boine was singing about normal life matters, fears that were blocking ability to enjoy life, being a woman and Sámi from the river valley where salmon fishing is important.

In the fifth album period Mari Boine shifted her language to English. The thematic is about the same as in the fourth album period but now it is in English. This time her audience is bigger due changing to language that is understood by other than Sámi.

8 Discussion

8.1 Thematic analysis of their background in their lyrics

When thinking about their background Áilu was from the reindeer herding family with strong ties to the Sámi community. He was very confident of who he was, and he knew where he belonged and had always the will to continue what he was doing and what he wanted to learn to be able to do things better in his art. From this point of view, it was natural for him to perform yoiks and songs that did not come directly from his home community, but from other parts of Finnish Sápmi. He felt strong community belonging to the Sámi population inside Sápmi across the borders to Norwegian and Swedish side of Sápmi and therefore it was natural for him to feel the acceptance what he was doing musically and lyrically. It must be mentioned that he had the confidence to perform yoiks because of his background, where he early learned to perform and was asked to perform, first for his nearest family and friends and later to the bigger audiences not inside Sápmi but national and international audiences.

When it comes to Mari, she came from a family of farmers with good ties to families around. The connection to Sámi culture and traditions were not strong as they were thinking that being a Sámi was not as good as being a Norwegian. In the reindeer herding Sámi families, the traditions retained their value and there was less predisposition to general the Norwegian understanding of Sámi people. According to Tonstad (2012), She was not confident of herself and did not want to be in focus. Therefore, the start of her artist life was very different compared to Áilu's starting point. She was very interested in music and gradually became confident of her own abilities as a singer and later songwriter and artist. She was living in near home areas and did not have the opportunity to explore what was happening around in art forums in Norway and perhaps in Sápmi too. She became a mother at a young age which made it harder to be involved in other issues. So, her artist career started in a way much later compared to Áilu, who had already been performing on stage at an early age. As in her biography written by Tonstad (2012) she did not know about other Sámi people around Sápmi before later when she was studying and got to know other Sámi people from elsewhere than her home municipality. As she learned more about the history of the Sámi, she became aware that she was not alone with her experiences and history and started to write songs, and I would like to call her a protest singer from that time, against what the Norwegian authorities had done against the Sámi people.

In Áilu's lyrics it can be seen quite clearly that his background comes in front or at least he wanted to give an impression of him being a nature child. And he did wander in his own home areas in Eanodat whenever he had the chance to do so in between his tours and travels. He is using nature descriptions throughout his production from the beginning to the end.

In the second album, all his lyrics are coloured by nature, different seasons, migration of birds and reindeers back and forth to winter and summer pastures. All the songs have this element in focus. In "Váimmustan lea bieggá – There is a wind in my heart" he is singing about the freedom of the wind and a bird in his heart that are telling him travel around and a bird to sing what is basically what reindeer herding Sámi people are doing, while herding the reindeer. In "Čakča lei – Autumn went" he is singing about autumn that came and changed to winter and described the changes in nature and what the reindeer herders were doing when winter came. He is also singing and talking about the meeting between the tourists and reindeer herding Sámi families in "Dat gehččet ipmázii -They look to a wonder" who were selling souvenirs by the road, discussing their different view of life and what is the right way to live, because there is a difference in what is good life, and perhaps trying to highlight this issue. In "Eat boarrásat lean – We were not old" he was singing about Sámi children going to school and living in dormitories because their homes were far away from school and the experiences many of the Sámi children had. It was not allowed to talk Sámi language, it was not allowed to yoik, not allowed to play Sámi games.

In his third own album "Sámi eatnan duoddariid – The fells of the Sápmi" he is praising the Sámi nature and the fells as being a harsh and hard but also soft cradle to Sámi children. In "Davás ja geassái", which is a conceptual album, he is talking about migration, and we are following a reindeer herd to the summer pastures by the coast in springtime and one year around where the nature is in focus and a playground. I must mention that this is wishful thinking from his side because the Sámi people in Finland do not have access to the coast of Norway anymore. But at the same time, his mother's family used to migrate with reindeer from Guovdageaidnu in Norway to coastal areas to summer pastures.

"Ádjajohka, silbačuojan – Ádjajohka Silverture" is a concept album sung by Helena Valkeapää and Anne-Márjá Niemelä that is based on Áilu's childhood's paradise where his family moved away in the 1960s to Beattet, by the road. Here he is talking, using surroundings as a playground for all living creatures and for nature itself. Waters flowing in the river Ádjajohka on spring,

summer and in autumn. And what is important for reindeer herders, that is to know how to describe different reindeers by colour, pattern in the skin, face, the antlers. It is like he is willing them not to be forgotten or willing to show the beauty of the nature and make others to see the beauty.

In his last album “Alit idja láhkona – Blue night moving closer” that was released after his death he has written new spiritual lyrics to old hymns. All of them are standing in the same ground, the Sámi nature. Although these songs are spiritual songs, they are praising the nature and at the same time, he is singing the difficulty of just thinking about leaving the scenes so dear to him when it is time to go.

In Mari Boine’s song lyrics it can be seen that she is not using so much nature terms in her songs which is natural since she is not from a reindeer herding family. Her background comes through quite clearly in her lyrics throughout in her albums in various ways. In some albums it is shown more clearly and, in some others, less clearly.

In the first period that started with her first album “Jaskatvuoda maŋŋa – After the silence”, the opening song “Alla hearrá guhkkin Oslos – High sir away in Oslo” gives the impression of a modern Sámi society that wants to be heard by the rulers in the Capital of Norway, Oslo. “Čeavlás galbma gárvvuid siste – Inside the arrogant cold clothing” gives the impression of how she tried to push away her Sámi identity, that has been common in many other Sámi communities around Sápmi. She is singing about her own childhood and her past in the song “Ná darvánii jáhkku ahte Sápmi lei heittot – This way came belief that Sápmi was bad”.

The second album “Gula Gula – Hear the voices of the foremothers” was full of anger and was directed towards the authorities. There was one song it was possible to see something about her background. That song was telling about her own mother in the song “Eadnán bákti – To woman”. It might have been telling also about how women were supposed to be, that they were expected to listen to the men.

In the second period that started with the third album “Goaskinviellja – Eagle brother” the first song “Čuvges vuovttat, duođalaš čalbmi – Hair of light, solemn eye” is dedicated to her oldest son and talks about her family, not really where she comes from, but who she is and who are

the important people around her. “Mu áhkku – My grandma” is about longing after her grandmother who had died much earlier, but her passing was still hurting.

In her fourth album “Leahkastin – Unfolding” there were three songs with signs of her background and where she is coming from. It starts with a song “Ále šat – No more” where it can be read that she comes from by the river and that she had left this riverbank. In “Gulan du – Hearing you” she is singing about the creeks and mountain that are talking to her, where she ran away from.

In the third period starting with album “Bálvvoslatnja – Room of worship” there was a one song that is telling about her past “Don it galgan – Thou shalt not” where she is singing about her mother and how she was humble, not having nice clothes nor wanting to be in front. In “Gávcci jahkejuogu – Eight seasons” she had two songs connected to her past. The first one was a hymn that was her father’s favourite hymn “Mu váibmu vádjol doppe – My heart always lingers” (Tonstad,2012). “Silba várjala -Let the silver protect” is connected to hulder stories her mother used to tell and she had this kind of stories that she was able to hear in her childhood. Album “Idjagiedas – In the hand of night” did not have songs that told about her background.

The fourth period and album “Čuovgga áirras – Sterna paradisea” had three songs telling about her background and where she was from. In “Lene Májjá” she is singing about how the salmon is growing up high up in the river and when growing up and becoming adult swimming downstream towards the sea, escaping from all the dangers on the way to the sea. The ocean is also bigger and there is better place to learn, and not so transparent as Kárášjohká or Deatnu River valley can be, where everyone knows what you are doing. Title song “Čuovgga áirras – Sterna paradisea” is about how connected she is to Sápmi although when it is cold in the north, she wants to travel to south to warm. But still she is bound to Sápmi.

In the fifth period with the album “See the woman” there are no songs talking about her background.

8.2 Thematic discussion about religion in their lyrics

The average Sámi families were devout Christians at that time and that was the case with Áilu's family, too. It can be said that his mother was religious, and he made new religious and spiritual words to old hymns that were released in "Alit idja láhkona – Blue night moving closer" album.

In his early albums in the first and second period, there are not many signs or references towards religion or spirituality that I was able to see that was notable in other studies (Christensen, C., 2012). At the start of the third period that I have identified, he was praising the nature in such a way that this was the ideal way of life for him and what he wanted to talk about. The only thing that concerns his way of writing about nature is how he appreciates it and gets strength from it, different seasons, on springtime when the light comes to the mountains or fells and wakes up the whole world. It is waking up the nature, the ptarmigans, and grouses play and the joy of the nature coming back to life after the long winter. He is worshiping the nature, but not as a divine organism. It is clear that he wants to protect it and keep it as it has been earlier. He wants to protect it from pollution, mining companies and powerplant building that take much space, land areas and grazing lands for the reindeer. He is worried about his homelands.

In the beginning of the third period, he is continuing praising the nature as before, focusing on the migration describing the whole year in the Norwegian side of Sápmi, that was not possible for the Sámi people in Finland, since the migration routes to the coast of Northern Norway were cut off. Later in third period in "Ádjajohka, Silbačuojan – Ádjajohka, Silverture" he is focusing on his home that the family left in the 1960s, he is lifting the nature to divinity, that he worships, that he thinks has its own mind and decides what is happening to it, or at least wants it to have. It is possible that he is thinking of something existing above all others, a god almighty, but he is not writing about it.

In his last album "Alit idja láhkona – Blue night moving closer" he is talking about god and talking to the god almighty. He is pleading to God to take care of the nature and wishes to see and carry the memory of it when his time has come. Like in the first song in this album "O ipmil nanne sivdnádusa – Oh Lord strengthen the blessing" he is begging to let life bloom in the earth and to protect it so it will not disappear from earth. And perhaps most of all, let Sápmi and the Sámi people live on, give hope for the future life so it will last on and on. In "O ipmilan mot álggálivččen – Oh my Lord how should I start" he is talking like he is explaining to the

Lord that always and in all he has been doing, the Lord has been with him. In “Giitu buot du attáldagain – Thank you for your abilities” he is singing of all the things the Lord has granted for him, the place he was given to live in, his family and friends he has known. He is writing: “Weeks dwindle, years vanish. People, generations change from the lowest to highest, that stream of life swallows” about the time passing, how quickly time flies and it is soon time to leave the ground, because the time has come.

There are reasons for this last album, that must take into consideration. When thinking about his life, his father had passed away, his sister passed away some years after and then his mother died too. His only brother was sick, it might have brought him to think about loneliness and the fact that his childhood life was gone, life at home like it was before. And at the same time, he was feeling and seeing changes in his own face, growing older and know that he has less years of life left to live compared to life he had lived already. When I have been looking at his career and directions he has gone, the spiritual or religious path has gone from nature belief to shamanism, in the time when he was working with Dálvadis teáhter with the play “Beaivi áhčážan – Sun, my father” where there was in my opinion nature religion, old Sámi religion, that he was playing with, and the nature as a god too. And then suddenly there is a turn to the Christian Lord, or just to God, when nothing else is helping in his despair.

I have often thought during this work that he was feeling some sort of loneliness or feeling as an outsider of his own community.

In Mari Boine’s songs, when thinking about spirituality, the first time she is singing hymns in the album “Salmer på veien hjem – Hymns on a way back home” she is singing four different hymns. One of them she is singing later in her own album “Gávccí jahkejuogu – Eight seasons”. The first time she is singing about spirituality in her albums is perhaps in “Vuolgge mu mielde bassivárrái – Come with me to the sacred mountain” where she is touching spirituality and not singing so directly about it but hinting about the old religion that Sámi people had earlier.

In “Bálvvoslatnja – Room of worship” – and in her third album period generally – she is taking spirituality and Sámi belief into her songs like in the songs “Eallin – Life” where she is talking with Life about what she would like to give other people, “Beaivvi nieida – Daughter of the sun” – she is singing an old tale where the Sámi people are considered as children of the Sun (Gaski, Biejjen baernie - Beaivvi bárdni - Sámi Son of the Sun, 2003). “Girdi olmmái/Geaidi

nisson – Eagle man/Changing woman” is referring to the oldest religion and the world view, how the north American natives see the world. In “Álddagasat ipmilat – Gods of nature” she is begging the nature Gods to protect the earth by using the spirit of Mother Earth”.

In “Gávccii jahkejuogu – Eight seasons” there are three songs where she has spirituality or religion reflected or being a part. In “Sáráhkká viidna – Sáráhka’s wine” she is singing about Sámi mythology and old gods like Sáráhkká and Bajánipmil – God of thunder. And like balancing the world view or fulfilling the view and uniting, she sings a hymn “Mu váibmu vádjol doppe – My heart always lingers”. In “Silba várjala – Let Silver protect” she is singing and calling the gods of the past and begging them to free her. Silver has been seen as an amulet protecting the one who carries the silver.

In the last album of the third period “Idjagiedas – In the hand of the night” she has two songs with spirituality or religious themes. In “Davvi bávttiin – On the fells of the north” she is singing about a shaman’s daughter herding her reindeer and nursing her child alone. In “Uldda nieida – Ulda’s daughter” she is singing about her wish to be Ulda’s daughter who can charm or enchant a man to do what she wants unless he breaks the spell with a silver button or with blood.

In her fourth period and on the only album in this period, “Čuovgga áirras – Sterna paradisea”, she has one song “Ipmiliin hálešteame – Conversation with God” where she is discussing with God about the things that are not balanced in the world. She is asking why there is so much misery, war, poverty, famine to mention some. She wants to know why it is so. Why can all people not have a good life without suffering. It seems to be a settlement with her past. In her last album she has no lyrics which are about religion or spirituality.

What is written in her biography by Tonstad (2012), is that she had very religious parents and the bible was read in their house regularly. It was a troublesome connection between her parents and her because of her performing on stage and yoiking, which her parents considered as sin. Also, the history of Sámi people and oppression from authorities towards the Sámi has brought anger because the church can be counted as one of the authorities that has had an impact on Sámi people. It seems also that she was searching for her spirituality and trying to find her own path where she has been in her childhood learning, searching for the Sámi old religion and Gods, and generally trying to find out more about Sámi history which is connected to her trying to understand herself as a human being and finding her own place. From old religion and Gods,

it seems that she has turned back towards childhoods belief and sees them all as an integral part of her belief (Kraft, 2014).

8.3 Thematic discussion about their position in the Sámi community in their lyrics

Lyrics, tendency, real life. Is it expressed on lyrics the how it is done? What is the progression

In the beginning of their career, both of them, had been away from their home communities where they came from. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää or Áilu as I have always called him, lived in the beginning of his life in Ádjagorsa and later in Beattet in Eanodat municipality in Finland while he was studying. His last years he had moved to Ivgobahta in Norway where his parents had a house earlier and where he built his atelier studio at the coast.

In the beginning of his career as a recording artist in 1968, his home was in Beattet together with his parents. He was traveling much and not so much at home as he used to be earlier. When looking at the lyrics of the first album “Joikuja” mostly containing yoiks from Deatnu valley and Ohcejohka, they were telling a story from that area and about people living in that area. The people were not necessarily known to Ailu himself, but these were the yoiks he together with other Sámi students at the seminar learned by themselves. Other yoiks were from Guovdageaidnu and so thinking more from his home area.

Lyricaly these themes in the first album – and the first period – give the impression that the Sámi society has not been affected yet by Finns or Norwegians. The impression is that he is very much inside the Sámi society which was true since he was extremely active in different fields of art and in the Sámi youth organisation, involved in Sámi issues and at the same time making his mark on that time when concerning Sámi culture and art and art communities. Another way to see this is that these yoiks were from the past and were not so representative for that time anymore and the society had already started to change. But there is no doubt that he was inside the Sámi society and making his mark on it from the very beginning of his career.

In the second period, his lyrics were critical towards the authorities for all the actions they had done towards the Sámi people. The lyrics are describing some issues among the Sámi people like alcohol use, the change from traditional way of life to modern life or perhaps what happens when these two cultures collide. For him much of the Sámi society included the surrounding, meaning the nature and the land areas, as well as the people in it. And Sámi people from other parts of Sápmi as well were part of it.

In the third period, he is lyrically praising the old lifestyle and, in a way, not saying so much about the then present time. It almost seems to me that the new times were not welcomed by him. It is quite remarkable that he is making a distance to the present society in his lyrics while in real life it was not the case. He was involved in many different projects with other people like Nils Gaup while making the film *Pathfinder* or working together with Åsa Simma and Norman Charles with the play *Beaivi Áhčážan*. So he was actively working together with other Sámi artists, but in his lyrics, he was almost withdrawing from Sámi society, turning instead to the world he wanted to have and still to exist. It seems to me also that he had other stories or issues he wanted to talk about and not only try to convince other people to believe what he had to say. He is letting the people decide themselves.

In his last period, he was continuing the same style of storytelling but in the perspective of an old person. He did not talk so much about the outside world but the world where he wanted to live or talk about, which was the nature with the different seasons and animals, migrations back and forth, making a stand and issue that the Sámi people migrate north with the reindeers for summer, while all the others, the Finns, Norwegians, and Swedes, are migrating south to warm weather.

This way of telling stories, going from telling stories about the Sámi society and the people, the change in Sámi life, to the stories about the nature and connection to the nature, pointing out the difference between the indigenous peoples' way of seeing the world as a part of the nature and not trying to shape the nature for one's own benefit has created him a cult status, where he has been seen as a loner and in some ways secretive and lifted him above all the other daily normality as the one who sees the value of the traditions. The result is an effect on other Sámi people to be stronger in their own identity, acknowledge and value their own heritage and be Sámi.

In the beginning of her career as a recording artist, Mari Boine was living in Ikkáldas and was started to be curious of her own people and the history that had happened. Not only the Sámi people around Porsanger fjord but also her own history. In the beginning her connection to Sámi culture and society was not so solid nor had she good knowledge about the other Sámi people around Sápmi. (Later she has been living outside the Sápmi some periods, that might have

affected in my opinion how she has been seen in Sápmi, and how she has seen Sámi society, in some way outside.)

Lyrical in her first period, the themes she was singing or talking about, were connected to the areas near where she was living. She started to sing about people who were important for her early in her career, what in my opinion belongs to the Sámi tradition to do. What she saw of the Sámi people who had lost their language, mother tongue, and traditional way to dress up or to yoik. This history was so similar with other Sámi people around Sápmi and had an impact to them. They saw themselves described in the songs she had in her first period of songs. This meant that Mari was quickly accepted and embraced as a voice for them who had been suffering from Norwegianization, Finnishization or Swedishization processes around Sápmi. Not only was she heard by the Sámi people but also by the Norwegian audience. In this period the songs in her two first albums, “Jaskatvuoda maŋŋa” and “Gula gula” had a very big impact on Sámi people, young and older, who got strength from these songs (Lehtola J. , 2008, pp. 322-325).

In her second period that contained her albums “Goaskinviellja” and “Leahkastiin” she had a slight thematic change where she was not so harsh towards the authorities. She took more issues connected to the inner scape of the human mind, like anxiety, insecurity, fear, and stubbornness, but also had songs about the Sámi identity and elements from other indigenous peoples’ music and themes, like in “Goaskinviellja”. In “Leahkastiin” she had an element of criticism against the church as an institution how it had been oppressing Sámi people in the song “Vuolgge mu mielde bassivárrái”. This has perhaps caused some disagreement with some people in the Sámi society, because it might have seen, in my opinion, as cutting loose from Christianity. But at the same time, it has been a wake-up call for Sámi society to talk about the past, and – though controversial– important for many people.

In the third period, that contained her albums “Bálvvoslatnja”, “Gávccii jahkejuogu” and “Idjagiedas” she is continuing her search for the past, the history of Sámi people. She is continuing her search for the old Sámi spirituality as well and trying to fill all the gaps that has been left for her since she has not been able to learn from her own community, which mainly thought Sáminess was outdated and worth nothing. She is searching the soul landscapes of being a Sámi, which is a more introverted search and not always so easy for others to understand what she is talking about. She is also continuing singing songs about the important people in her life, which is important in Sámi tradition. She is growing her roots to her near family and

friends. The last album in this period “Idjagiedas – In the hand of the night” is no longer introvert although it is partly following the two previous albums, containing critiques towards the intruders who try to come and take all that is of value in the soil, pollute it and leave only garbage. The soil that is not giving any food to anyone for a long time.

In “Čuovgga áirras – Sterna paradisea” she is commenting and singing about where she comes from in the form of salmon where it starts and where it goes after becoming older in “Lene Májjá”. She comes from near the Anárjohka river where there is the tradition to fish salmon for food in summertime. It has been a very important tradition and salmon has a very special meaning for people living by the river. Life in the summer has been circling around fishing salmon for most of the people there. In the title song “Čuovgga áirras – Sterna paradisea” she is singing about other lands that might tempt her to come and visit, but also that she is bound to this land and people. In “Claudiinna lávlla – Claudine’s song” she is continuing the tradition of singing about people near her and who have made an impact on her.

“See the woman” is nearly completely sung in English with one exception “Adine & Isak – My treasures” which she is singing in Sámi language and has dedicated to her grandchildren. In her earlier albums she has been singing in Sámi language, so it is interesting to think about what the reasons for this are. The songs “Happily ever after” and “Tee-pee room” are pointing indirectly to her homeplace.

In overall looking at the position in society, she has been more connected to the people than to the earth or land and homeplace in her lyrics. She has been more tied to people instead of the land which indicates that for her the nature has not had so big meaning in her life like for the reindeer herders and people who are living on reindeer husbandry or hunter-gatherers. It has been interesting to read the lyrics and see the engagement with society problems, protest songs on the early albums to nearly no critical songs at all in her later work, except some in her last records.

9 Conclusions

9.1 Main findings

My main findings are that both Valkeapää and Boine have been lifting Sáminess and have had great importance not only for the Sámi people but also around the world. They have both been unofficial cultural ambassadors for the Sámi people, making Sámi people and music known around the world. Their lyrics have been processing important issues for both the Sámi society and majority communities and have put words to the oppression of the Sámi. As such, they have through their artistic careers enlightened people inside and outside Sápmi.

They have made their own genre when it comes to combining the traditional Sámi yoik and use of words. They have developed the use of words towards what is used in song lyrics, but still keeping its peculiarity. Sámi eatnan duoddariid

Their backgrounds have been different. Valkeapää came from a quite wealthy family as they had reindeer and things they needed. His awareness of his Sámi identity was very strong throughout his life as well as his position in the Sámi community. This way he belonged to the privileged among the Sámi and was able to put himself in some way outside of the Sámi community. Mari Boine came from a farmer family which was not so wealthy and had to struggle to go through the impact of the Norwegianization issues and make space into the Sámi community through processing the sore spots in her life.

In their personal life, they went on different paths even though they were both teachers. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää did not get married and had no children, while Mari Boine was married and has two children.

In their lyrics it is also possible to see the difference in the relation and presentation of nature. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää is using a lot of images and giving descriptions of nature in general and animals in particular, while Mari Boine is not. Nils-Aslak has been out in the fells and nature and can paint the landscape with his words. Mari Boine has concentrated mostly to problems in the society and Sámi people's position in the Norwegian society.

There are many opportunities for further research on this material, since it is so big and has a lot of different aspects to give. One is analysing the lyrics more thoroughly than what I did not have room to do here. Another example is to research the feministic aspects of the lyrics. It would have been interesting to go deeper with some of the lyrics and songs they have done, like “Sámi eatnan duoddariid” which is sung by both artists.

9.2 Main topics and motifs

The main topics that can be seen on the thematic analysis are love to the nature, to Sámi people, anger towards the authorities and oppression, connection to other Indigenous peoples and their struggles. The eternal journey between the summer and winter pastures, a never ending circle of life. The important people are also mentioned, and some of the songs are dedicated to them like in the yoik tradition.

9.3 Background and Spirituality

9.3.1 Background

Their background in the song lyrics do come clearly in front in form of description of their choice of themes. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää is writing much about the nature, where he has grown up and what he appreciates. He is describing the reindeer herder life in the nature with season changes that go in circles without any ending. He describes a life where he is free like a bird to do what he wants. He is also more comfortable to yoik, as that has been a natural part of the reindeer herding society. In his lyrics he is not expressing oppression of Sámi. At least it is not one of the main topics compared to Mari Boine.

Mari Boine’s background can be seen also. In her lyrics, nature does not hold the central role as in Nils-Aslak Valkeapää’s lyrics. She is writing about oppression of the Sámi people, losing of the Sámi language, being a woman in a conservative Christian congregation that is patriarchal, and of her own anxiety and fears. At the same time some of her lyrics contain do talk about her life living by the river.

9.3.2 Spirituality

Nils-Aslak Valkeapää's songs began to have spiritual tendencies in his third album period, when he in his lyrics started to praise the nature as a living being and lifting it to divinity, as a God. Human being is a part of nature and therefore under the powers of the nature forces. It is giving food, ground to live, all the things that are making it possible to live. At the end of his records, he is talking directly to God and recognizes his power.

In Mari Boine's albums, the spirituality started to appear at the second album period with the controversial song "Vuolgge mu mielde bassivárrái – Come with me to the sacred mountain" where she was criticizing the church. It seems like a reaction to her own life in the conservative Christian family. Later in the third album period she started to have lyrics that had old Sámi mythological themes from the old religion of the Sámi people. She later took also hymn with like she was embracing Christianity again at the same time with the songs with Sámi mythology.

9.4 Position in the Sámi community

It can be seen clearly that they have a position in the Sámi society. Nils-Aslak Valkeapää came from a family who were very aware of their Sáminess and appreciating it. He was secure with being a Sámi and could easily go and meet other Sámi without being afraid of been pushed away and not welcomed. That is shown in his first album where he was able to and courage as well to record and perform yoiks that belonged to other Sámi areas. This was a status he had all his life.

In Mari Boine's case she was feeling being a part of Sámi people and wanted to be Norwegian, so that she was accepted. She started to take her place in the society along with her music career. Now she is highly respected and has had a lift from not so privileged to privileged.

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