

Imagination and Reality in Sami Fantasy

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What is imagined and what is real? These are relevant questions in the fantasy novel *Ilmmiid gaskkas* (2013), written by Sami author Máret Ánne Sara and translated into English by Laura A. Janda as *In Between Worlds* (2016). The narrative depicts parallel stories, set above and below ground, and highlights an imbalance between our world on earth and that of our neighbours, the ulda-people in the underworld. In the human world, the fight for land is an essential part of the narrative, and contamination and construction work in this world lead to environmental devastation for the ulda-people in the underworld. The protagonists, teenaged siblings Sanne and Lemme, start in the human world and end up in the underworld, and the struggle to survive, both in the real and the fantastic world, is one of the main themes of the novel.

The preface to the novel refers to Sami oral tradition and stories about *eahpáraš*: the wandering souls of unbaptized or unburied children. It thus provides a cultural context, whether the reader is familiar with Sami oral tradition or reads the preface as purely fictional. It has been rare to use the term “Sami fantasy” when describing novels that depict the crossings of borders between the real and the fantastic world since the Sami oral tradition that forms the basis for much Sami literature already operates in the space between the real and the supernatural. However, Vuokko Hirvonen argues that a majority of Sámi children’s literature lies in the realm of fantasy literature in which the real world and the fantasy world are interwoven (2008, 92). We must remember that, in the Sámi oral tradition, it is not difficult to enter the mythical and supernatural world or to return to the “real” world. Traditionally, humans have been seen as part of nature, and the demarcation between humans and other creatures has not been as clear as we consider it nowadays. Also, according to Hirvonen, in the Sami oral tradition, *muitalus* (story) is considered to be more or less true whereas *máinnas* (tale) is connected with the imagination, but they do not correspond to the binary terms *truth* and *fiction* (Hirvonen 2008, 83). Few Sami children’s books are explicitly defined as fantasy books; Sara’s novel is one of the first to be categorized as such.

In this chapter, I situate my reading against the backdrop of the history of Sami children’s literature and examine the interaction between the traditional stories of the ulda-people and *eahpáraš*, which are familiar to many young Sami readers as well as to the characters in the novel, and current, real-world issues connected to land rights and the environment. Briefly commenting also on the sequel to *Ilmmiid gaskkas*, *Doaresbealde doali*

(*On the Other Side of the Winter Trail*) (2014), I focus on the blurred boundaries between the imagined and the real, and on how teamwork and traditional knowledge are considered key to coping with and escaping dangerous situations.

The emergence of Sami children's literature

Sami literature has always reflected the developments, challenges and current situation in Sami society. My contextualization of the situation of Sami society starts, however, in the mid-nineteenth century, during a period of imperialism, racism and discrimination against minorities and indigenous peoples around the world. The Norwegian state has a long history of assimilation of the Sami people, lasting from 1850 to roughly 1980 (Minde 2005, 6), although many would claim that the process started a lot earlier, and has still not ended. The so-called Norwegianization policy had consequences such as language loss and loss of identity.ⁱ It was influenced by power politics and social Darwinism, and then applied to educational policies (Hirvonen 2008, 67). The school, along with the church, was an instrument of this policy and the boarding school system played an essential role in its implementation. Children from all over the Sami area were sent to boarding schools. Some were able to go home at weekends, others lived far away from the school and could return home only during holidays, and they became alienated from their parents, their language and their traditions.

The school regulation, "the Wexelsen decree", was issued in 1898, stating that the use of the Sami and Kven languages must be limited to what was strictly necessary: "as an aid to explain what is incomprehensible to the children" (Minde 2005, 13–14).ⁱⁱ The educated teachers working in the Sami areas were consequently instructed to teach Sami and Kven children in Norwegian, a language most of them did not speak when they began school, and the children were forbidden to speak their own languages even during breaks. The situation for Sami children in Finland and Sweden was similar to that in Norway, even though there were differences in the official policy.ⁱⁱⁱ Many of the children were silenced for years, because they did not understand what the teacher said, and the teacher did not understand them. The first secular book ever to be published in the Sami language, written by a Sami, is Johan Turi's *Muitalus sámiid birra* (1910) (*An Account of the Sámi*, 2012). This now classic book, translated into several languages, provides insights into Sami cultural history and traditional practices. A few other books in the Sami language, written by Sami pioneers, were also published at the beginning of the twentieth century. Then followed a hiatus, a time of great cultural, linguistic and political challenges for the Sami people.

The Norwegianization policy and discrimination against the Sami people form the backdrop for Norwegian Margrethe Wiig's endeavour to publish a textbook for Sami children. In 1923, she and her husband moved to the Sami village of Kárášjohka, where Alf Wiig worked as a vicar. Through her children's Sami friends, Margrethe Wiig discovered that the Sami children did not have any books in their own language. After many years of hard work, overcoming obstacles created by the Norwegian authorities, Margrethe Wiig finally managed to have the first bilingual Sami-Norwegian textbook for Sami children published, in 1951. It was based on Sami culture and everyday life and is perhaps the most important publication in the history of Sami textbooks.^{iv}

According to Káre-Elle Partapuoli, Hans Aslak Guttorm (1907–1992) was the father of Sami children's literature. As early as the 1930s and 1940s, he was writing short stories for Sami children, although a collection, *Šuvvi jahki* [Wuthering Year] was not published until 1996. Guttorm came from the Finnish side of the Deatnu valley, and worked as a teacher. He had a great interest in preserving and using the Sami language, and did not adhere to the ban against using it in the schooling of children (Partapuoli 2014, 8). Guttorm also wrote non-fictional prose and poems, and was the first Sami author nominated for the Nordic Council's Literature Prize, in 1984 for his book *Golgadeamen*.^v Guttorm is in many ways the connecting link between tradition and the new Sami writers (Gaski 1996, 22).

In 1971, a committee to promote Sami literature was founded, and in 1972 the first Sami literature seminar was organized in the Sami village of Sirbmá. The sixteen volumes of the series *Čállagat* was the result of the decisions made at this seminar (Hirvonen 2008, 61; Eira 1973, 75–79). The rise of Sami literature during the early 1970s, when Sami women also began to write, was part of a worldwide awakening in which minority groups began to demand political, cultural and economic rights (Hirvonen 2008, 24).

The Sami authors who started writing in the early 1970s had not learned to write Sami in school, so it was a tremendous achievement that they were able to write in their mother tongue as adults, through writing courses organized during the late 1970s and 1980s (Hirvonen 2008, 61). A few books had already been published in the early 1970s, but the major wave of publication of Sami books, in the Sami language, started in the early 1980s. Some of the writers who published books in the early 1970s did not write in Sami, but in Swedish and Norwegian. Sami women wrote memoirs, fiction and poetry. Many of them also wrote, and still write, literature for children. At the literature seminar in Sirbmá in 1972, the committee for promoting Sami literature decided to look into the issue of producing books for children who were below school age. Those Sami authors who were educated as teachers

were especially aware of the importance of literature written in a child's first language for that child's linguistic development (Hirvonen 2008, 91–92).

The first children's book in the Sami language, published in 1976, was *Ámmul ja alit oarbmealli* [Ámmul and the Blue Cousin], written by the Sami poet Marry A. Somby and illustrated by Berit Marit Hætta. As a young mother herself, Somby wanted her children, and Sami children in general, to have access to books in their own language (Hirvonen 2008, 91). She used the oral Sami tradition as the basis for her story, and linked it to Sami children's daily life. Her books also illustrate her reactions to the changes in society that threaten the Sami way of life (Partapuoli 2014, 7–8). In the book, a young boy, Ámmul, meets a girl from the underworld and marries her, after following the correct procedures for these kinds of meetings. In the underworld, nature and the air are clean. There are no cars or factories contaminating the environment. The underworld thus functions as an idealized depiction of how the Sami society and environment used to be before the mechanization, industrialization and modernization of the Western world in general, including the Sami areas.

Storytelling and references to a mythical world are common in the literature of indigenous peoples. Many Sami authors of children's literature stick to traditional Sami storytelling and depict traditional ways of living, while others use the oral narrative tradition as a basis for creating modern literature. Author and visual artist Máret Anne Sara belongs to the latter group. Growing up in a reindeer-herding family in Guovdageaidnu in Finnmark county, in Northern Norway, she was educated as a journalist but made a shift from journalism to art. She was one of eight Sami artists who were invited to the art exhibition Documenta 14 in the Summer of 2017, with her piece *Pile o'Sápmi*, an installation of 400 reindeer skulls that was exhibited in the Neue Galerie in Kassel, Germany. The installation is Máret Anne Sara's way of supporting her younger brother, Jovsset Ante Sara, who is involved in a legal battle against the forced slaughter of reindeer mandated by the Norwegian government, and is fighting to protect his livelihood and rights as a Sami reindeer herder.

A traditional family and a modern life

Immiid gakkas is written in North Sami and was translated into Norwegian by the author herself when it was nominated as the Sami-language entry for the Nordic Council's Children and Young People's Literature Prize in 2014.^{vi} The narrative revolves around the two teenage protagonists, siblings Sanne and Lemme, who live with their mother Rijá, their father Juho, and the family dog Čorre in a village in Northern Norway. Their parents are reindeer herders, and this is an important part of the teenagers' lives. They take part in the traditional work of

reindeer husbandry, such as repairing the fence of the corral which they use to gather the reindeer, and after the slaughter Sanne helps her mother to prepare traditional food (Sara 2016, 16–26). At the same time, the youngsters are like every other young person living in 2013, when the narrative is set. They have mobile phones that need to be charged and they watch contemporary TV shows. Lemme's great passion is riding a dirt bike, and Sanne wears Converse sneakers and likes to shop and spend time with her girlfriends.

Sanne and Lemme's life changes dramatically one day when Lemme has an argument with his father. Lemme is a member of the local dirt-biking club and is looking forward to riding on the big new dirt-bike track that will be built near the town where they live. But the land on which the track is to be built is the most essential fall-back land for the family's reindeer, the land that will keep their reindeer from starving if there are harsh winters when their regular grazing land is covered with ice. The father Juho represents tradition and wants to protect the land; the dirt-bike track with all its implications, consequently represents larger, underlying conflicts, in which loyalty to family traditions, environmental destruction, ignorance and racism are the main components.

Ignorance and racism are most clearly represented by the dirt-bike coach, who is in charge of building the new track, in a discussion with Lemme's father. The coach exclaims:

You think I don't understand? You people have everything you need! The whole wilderness is yours. The rest of us can't even go near it! And what's more, you get money from the government, so you can buy everything you need. The newest dirt bikes, snowmobiles, big cars. And cabins all over the place! (...) *Damned greedy Samis. They're never satisfied!* (Sara 2016, 43–44, emphasis in original).

The underlying misconceptions connected to land rights and ownership refer to actual debates and prejudices, which are revealed at various stages during the novel, but they come to a head here in the coach's outburst. Lemme's selfish interest in his hobby seems to land him on the coach's side and after a heated discussion with his father, he rides off in anger with Sanne joining him. The youngsters then disappear without a trace, and months of searching for them yield no results; only the bike is found near the crossroads.

However, in a parallel narrative, the reader learns that, at the site of the new track, Sanne and Lemme suddenly hear a terrible scream, which represents the moment when the real and the fantastic worlds merge. They have disturbed an *eahpáraš*, a myling, an unbaptized child who was long ago left alone in the woods to die.^{vii} Some stories say that an *eahpáraš* remains silent for seven years after its death, but then it starts crying and frightens

people, because it wants to have a name (Qvigstad 1928, 335–342; Qvigstad 1929, 510). There are rituals for what to do if one encounters an *eahpáraš*, and in Sara's book you must read "The Lord's Prayer" backwards three times before the *eahpáraš* has time to run around you. This encounter does not confront Sanne and Lemme with the unknown: they are aware of what an *eahpáraš* is and what they must do to cope with it. That is, Sami traditions and stories have been transmitted to them, although Sara does not make it explicit how or when. Despite this knowledge, Sanne and Lemme fail to complete the necessary ritual to protect themselves and are transported to the underworld.

The reader has been informed about the *eahpáraš* through the novel's preface, which makes references to Sami oral traditions, and foreshadows the incident:

Sami legends say that there are mylings everywhere. The unbaptized children of shame, who were once hidden in the ground and abandoned to eternal suffering. They have suffered neglect, confusion, sorrow, desertion, fear, and hunger, until all they have left is anger and malice. They live in between worlds, and are never seen or heard unless something disturbs them. The something can be you or me. It is entirely a matter of chance, but whoever it is, the myling will haunt them relentlessly, to take revenge for its sufferings. (Sara 2016, 7)

In the Sami oral tradition, stories of *eahpáraš* do not refer to it as a malign force. Although the *eahpáraš* as described in the preface can be interpreted as antagonistic, it is grief that makes it so furious. It is crying in anger because it was not even given a name, and thus not treated as a human being. An encounter with *eahpáraš* can be dangerous if the right procedures to get out of the situation are not followed; these are also described in the preface to *In Between Worlds*.

The beginning of the novel also seems to foreshadow the meeting with the screeching myling. The narrative starts *in medias res*, with Lemme riding his dirt bike: "Oh yeah, That's right! Screech some more! Wail louder!" (Sara 2016, 10, emphasis in original). Immediately afterwards, the reader gets another hint of the coming encounter. Sanne is waiting for her father to finish a meeting before they go home together. Suddenly a man, barefoot and strange, appears next to her. He starts waving and talking incoherently about a devil-child, reciting the Lord's Prayer three times backwards. He says: "Don't let it go around, do you hear me?" (Sara 2016, 14). This immediately introduces the reader not only to the intense speed and tone of the narration, but also to the main conflict that forms the starting point of the novel: the dirt-bike track.

Transported to the underworld, Sanne and Lemme are transformed into reindeer. In their minds and in the communication between them, the two teenagers remain themselves, but as reindeer they encounter other challenges than they would have as human beings. Among other things, they must avoid ending up on the dining table of the ulda-people, as Sanne realizes when she and Lemme are caught inside the fence where the people pick out the reindeer they are going to slaughter. In Sami oral tradition, the ulda-people live in the underworld, or inside a mountain and keep reindeer, cattle and sheep. If they appear in the human world, they wear traditional Sami clothes (Qvigstad 1928, 394). Traditionally, the relationship between the Sami and the people of the underworld is based on mutual respect and peaceful coexistence. There are many stories about how the people of the underworld have helped the Sami, by looking after their livestock, warning against danger and helping with other practical tasks. If a woman from the underworld appears on the earth, a man can even marry her if he manages to prick her in her arm, or pinch her so she starts bleeding before she disappears (Qvigstad 1928, 412). This is described in Marry A. Somby's *Ammul an alit oarbmaelli*, mentioned at the beginning of the chapter.

There is an element of danger, however, in the encounters with the people of the underworld. If you know the codes and know how to react correctly, you will manage. If you get to visit the underworld, you must be careful not to eat anything they offer. If you do that, you cannot return to the human world and will have to remain in the underworld. If you are able to return to your own world, you can get a large reindeer herd as a gift when you leave, but if you hear loud noises, you must not turn around to see what it is, otherwise you will lose half of the herd (Somby 1976, 25–26). There are also stories about how Sami children have been replaced by an old man or woman from the underworld. In some cases, this used to be an explanation for the birth of mentally disabled children.

In the novel *In Between Worlds*, the ulda-people represent danger, knowledge and assistance. If Sanne and Lemme had entered the underworld as humans, the situation would have looked different, but an additional level of the fantastic has been added as they are transformed into reindeer and are perceived as such by the ulda-people. Sanne and Lemme face many trials in their desperate struggle to return to their own world. In one case, they must break through the ulda-people's corral with wolves at their heels. In another, they risk ending up as the ulda-people's dinner. Finally, they meet an old ulda-lady with extraordinary powers, who realizes that they are human and promises to help them. Representing knowledge and assistance, she helps the youngsters to get away from those of the ulda-people who do not understand that they are not reindeer.

The intense tone of the narration is consistent throughout the novel. The tension is heightened by the shifts between the parallel narratives, on and below the earth: Sanne's and Lemme's efforts to return to the world of human beings, their parents' grief and their struggle to continue with their lives, and the dark cloud that threatens the life of the ulda-people. In the underworld, this fog is located exactly beneath the construction site for the dirt-bike track. The fog is a direct danger to the ulda-people, because nothing can live inside it. The ulda-people live close to nature, and the fog is destroying both their fishing lakes and grazing lands. Reflecting the author's great interest in ecology, the fog also represents a critique of environmental destruction at a deeper level, as a result of the pollution and the construction on earth.

The road back

Sanne and Lemme represent ordinary girls and boys living in a modern world. In the underworld, however, they must use all of their traditional knowledge and skills to survive. Stories they have heard about the underworld, and about what to do if they encounter an *eahpáraš*, are central to their survival and escape. When transformed into a reindeer, Sanne, who is the viewpoint character, cannot believe what is happening. Is it real, or is she dreaming? She realizes that their situation is serious and struggles to understand the "crazy truth", as she is running around in the ulda-people's corral together with other reindeer, looking for her brother (Sara 2016, 52). She starts to look for a way to get out. She finds Lemme, and in this dangerous situation their knowledge about how the Sami work with reindeer in the corral is lifesaving. They know how to interpret the way in which the ulda-people behave inside the corral and respond to that: "'Avoid the people who have their lassos coiled up and ready to toss!' Lemme ran in front, Sanne was behind him. Lassos rained down from every direction, and every time they managed to avoid a lasso" (Sara 2016, 54). They also know where the fence is weaker and this gives them an opportunity to escape.

Still, there is no easy or quick solution to the difficult predicament the teenagers have got themselves into, and they end up in life-or-death situations several times. They know that they must find the *eahpáraš* and give it a proper name, so that they can get back to their parents and to their lives in the human world. At the end of the book, when Sanne and Lemme encounter the *eahpáraš* for the last time and are about to be captured by the wolves and the ulda-people, again their traditional knowledge comes to their rescue. Because Sanne is prepared, she says the prayer three times backwards and completes the ritual: "Sanne didn't know what she was doing, she just listened to her instinct. The words came by themselves. 'I

baptize you with the name earth-mound and now you will be silent” (Sara 2016, 206). This eventually saves the youngsters from the world of the ulda-people and brings them back to their human lives.

However, *In Between Worlds* has no closure, and the reader is never given a clear answer about what happens to Sanne and Lemme. The very last part of the book hints at the narrative in the sequel, *Doaresbealde doali*. The youngsters’ father, Juho, is out watching for his reindeer, the dog acts strangely, and Juho spots two completely white reindeer. The thought that they might be ulda’s reindeer crosses his mind. He thinks of his grandmother’s tales and of what you are supposed to do in such a situation. According to stories in the Sami oral tradition, you should throw a piece of steel over them, and then they will be yours. At the very end of the narrative, described in the last sentence, Juho decides to do so: “‘Oh, it’s just an old knife anyway!’ He threw it as far as he could. The knife flew over the reindeer and well past them before it landed” (Sara 2016, 214). In the novel’s afterword, his dilemma is represented as a dialogue between an individual and her *áhkkku*, her grandmother, centring on whether it is still possible to believe in the underworld and the other fantastical aspects illustrated. And if this belief is not possible, why do people still have knowledge about the rituals? The last sentence reads: “And why do we still find knives left behind in the wilderness?” With these words, the reader is left in suspense, waiting for the sequel.

In *Doaresbealde doali*, however, the reader learns more about Sanne and Lemme’s struggles, and their search for a way home. The novel continues to depict parallel worlds: the human and the underworld. The ulda-people’s struggle to survive continues since the black fog is still a major threat to their livelihood. The harsh situation causes severe internal conflicts, and some of the ulda young make a heroic effort to get food to their people. The old, wise ulda-lady is crucial in her role as a mentor and pathfinder for her sorely tried people. On earth, Juho, the youngsters’ father, not only has to fight against the building of the dirt-bike track, but also against reindeer thieves. What he does not know is that, in his battle against the thieves, he is also fighting for his children’s lives.

At the beginning of the sequel, Sanne and Lemme are still between worlds (Sara 2014, 83). They are struggling to figure out where they are when they hear the sound of reindeer bells and discover a herd. Sanne is terrified as she believes they are still in the ulda-people’s world, but suddenly they realize that they are no longer in the underworld, because they catch the scent of exhaust fumes. However, they are still reindeer. The father senses something special while he is up in the mountains looking for his reindeer, and so does Čorre, the dog. Juho and the youngsters are driven towards each other by an unidentified force. Juho spots

two, unmarked white reindeer through his binoculars, but is disturbed by reindeer thieves and the animals flee.^{viii} The youngsters are still struggling for their lives, this time fleeing hunters with rifles, who kill and steal other people's reindeer.

At the very end of the book, after a series of dramatic incidents concerning the ulda-people's fight for survival, the dirt-bike track, the reindeer thieves and Juho's search for the two unmarked white reindeer, there is an explosion in both the ulda-people's world and at the bike track on earth. Immediately afterwards, the youngsters appear by the road, close to where they live and once again as humans, as themselves. Sanne and Lemme are reunited with their parents. The youngsters do not speak at all, and the narrative ends when they go to bed, and Sanne has a nightmare. She dreams that her bedroom is being invaded by strange figures and shadows from the ulda-world. She tries to scream, but cannot. She is becoming desperate, because the beings are literally flooding her room and are all over her, trying to strangle her with a traditional Sami shoe band, a *vuotta*. Then she remembers that she needs to recite the Lord's Prayer backwards. When she finally succeeds in finishing the prayer, all the frightening shadows disappear with a screech. When she looks in the mirror, she discovers that her neck is swollen and bruised, which indicates that the boundary between dream and reality has been crossed. As in the first novel, there is no closure, and this points in the direction of a third instalment.

What is real, what is imagined?

Both novels are firmly grounded in the traditional Sami storytelling tradition, which serves as a frame for events set in today's society. Sara emphasizes the importance of the Sami oral tradition at the beginning of the second book, where she thanks her grandparents for all the stories about *eahpáraš*, the ulda-people, cunning foxes and dumb bears, and for being her most important language consultants (Sara 2014). Moreover, both novels challenge the reader to think about what our lifestyle is doing to the environment, and to people living a traditional way of life, standing up against capitalist interests that are seeking to take their land. What is imagined and what is real are questions that are left open for the reader to interpret. Neither the Sami oral tradition nor the novels provide explicit answers to that question. Yet, for Sanne and Lemme, the fight to survive is real. Together, the parallel stories in the human world and the underworld create suspense, surprise and a vivid narrative. At the same time, they address a moral responsibility to take care of the earth we are living on, and leave what is inside, or underneath the earth, in peace.

The stories referred to about the underworld people, and the *eahpáraš*, are not considered fiction. They are represented as real meetings with the people of the underworld. Same and Lemme's transformation into reindeer has correspondences with oral tradition, in stories where people are changed into animals (cf. Qvigstad 1927, 405–406). Their experiences are consequently not depicted as imaginary. The context thus builds upon an understanding of Sami oral tradition, where actions and events that would often be defined as imaginary do not appear as such, which leaves room for the reader to assess the question of what is imagined and what is reality.

In Between Worlds poses questions about our modern way of life and challenges the reader to consider what can happen when financial interests and the destruction of nature come into conflict with the values and needs of those who get their livelihood from the land. Those who advocate “development” and “modern life” are fighting for the same territories as those living by primary industries. This struggle is exemplified in the novel when characters living by traditional Sami reindeer husbandry face the loss of their grazing lands. The identity of reindeer herders and challenges within the Sami community are also dealt with. Both the destruction and the conservation of nature are central topics in contemporary social debates. Destruction in the domain of the underworld illustrates the way in which human devastation of the natural world has major consequences that are greater than we realize. What is progress for some, turns out to be a disaster for others.

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Notes

ⁱ There are three official Sami languages in Norway: northern, julev and southern. The singular form "Sami language" is commonly used when referring to these languages generally. Similarly, Sami culture is often referred to in the singular form, reinforcing the notion that the Sami are one people even though there are differences between various Sami groups.

ⁱⁱ Kven is the Norwegian name for the Finnish settlers in Northern Norway and their language (Minde 2005, 7, footnote).

ⁱⁱⁱ The Sami live in four countries: Norway, Sweden, northern Finland and the northwestern part of Russia. In the Sami language, the region is called Sápmi (Gaski 1996, 9).

^{iviv} Margrethe Wiig wanted it to be only in the Sami language, while the Norwegian authorities wanted it to be only in Norwegian. The bilingual version was the result of a compromise. The official policy at that time was that the use of Sami in schools was merely a means for the children to learn Norwegian. It was not to be used as a means to learn the Sami language (<http://skuvla.info/sambok-n.htm>).

^v Golgadeamen is a traditional way of fishing for salmon in the Deatnu River.

^{vi} There are ten Sami languages, which belong to the Finno-Ugric branch of the Uralic family of languages. The majority of those who speak Sami, speak Northern Sami.

^{vii} *Eahpáraš* is translated as myling in the English translation *In Between Worlds*. Since *eahpáraš* is a very specific Sami term that has no equivalent term in English, I use the Sami word, and only refer to myling in direct quotations.

^{viii} If a reindeer does not have a mark in its ear, it is hard to tell who the owner is, and it is difficult to claim ownership over it.