



Faculty of Social Sciences, Humanities and Education/
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Skolt Sami language elements in the linguistic landscape in Norway and Finland: presence or absence?

A study on Sami language policy and indigenous language reality in four settlements in the Skolt Sami homeland

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Master thesis in Governance and Entrepreneurship in Northern and Indigenous Areas
IND-3901 čáhčča (Autumn) 2022



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Cover page: Road sign in Njauddâm village, Sør-Varanger municipality, Norway, with the placename in Norwegian, Northern Sami, and Finnish languages. Photo taken by Nina M. Austad-Sivertsen.

Acknowledgements

The GENI joint master's programme has been an adventure in which experienced professionals within a variety of fields have shared their insights and invited us students to develop our knowledge and learn from each other. I am grateful for the chance to be part of the programme, and for the support that the GENI staff has provided during this time. Thanks to all the insightful educators at the Centre for Sami Studies at UiT and at the University of Saskatchewan. Thank you, Jonathan Crossen at UiT, for facilitating and making my completion of this thesis possible.

To my supervisor, Leena Niiranen, I am thankful for your guidance and encouragement throughout my thesis writing process.

Thank you, Inker-Anni Linkola, for taking the time to share reflections from your works on Sami languages in linguistic landscapes. Thank you, Lisbeth Dragnes, for valuable discussions on minority languages. Thank you, Hanna-Maaria Kiprianoff, for welcoming me into the Sää'mpörtt building.

Thank you, Raimo Valle, for valuable insights and support. Thank you, Saara Sipola, for inspiring me to stay the distance through your own example. Thank you, Sonja H. Moshnikoff, for rooting for me. And thank you, Fredrik Juuso, for your cheer, support, and motivational puppy pictures.

Finally, I thank my parents, and my *sine qua non*, Magnus, for their unwavering support.

Ekne, Taarr/Norway

Nina Merete Austad-Sivertsen

Abstract

The Skolt Sami people have their traditional homeland in Eastern Finnmark (Norway), Northern Lapland (Finland), and on the Kola Peninsula in Northwest Russia. Skolt Sami language is classified as a *nearly extinct* indigenous language according to the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley and Nicolas, 2017), with just over 300 speakers (Jakhelln, 2021, p. 8).

This thesis is intended as a contribution to the present discourse on the visibility of indigenous languages in public space, and the influence of language policy on the conditions for indigenous languages. It further aims at illustrating the relevance of visibility in public space to power relations and representation in civil society through case studies of four settlements in the Skolt Sami homeland, governed under two different national Sami language policies.

The thesis documents the linguistic landscape of Njauddâm and Ķeârknjargg (Norway), Če'vetjäu'rr and Aanar (Finland). A comparison is made between the Sami language *policies* and the indigenous language *realities* in the areas in question, by looking at the occurrence of signage in Skolt Sami language in the public space in these areas. Here, I examine what connections, if any, can be identified between Sami language policy and the occurrence of signage in Skolt Sami language in public space in the researched areas of the Skolt Sami homeland? To answer this question, I will ask: what characterises the Sami language policies in Norway and Finland? And: to what extent is Skolt Sami language represented on signage in the public space in the researched areas of the Skolt Sami homeland?

By looking at the Skolt Sami case, I find there is compelling evidence to claim that there is a connection between national Sami language policy and indigenous language reality in the case of the visibility of Skolt Sami signs in the public space in the Skolt Sami homeland.

Keywords: Linguistic landscape, Skolt Sami language, indigenous language, Sami language policy, language visibility, public space

Positionality Statement and Land Acknowledgement

My name is Nina Merete Austad-Sivertsen. I am from Trøndelag in mid-Norway and started writing this thesis while working and living in the Sami homeland in Finnmark.

My generation grew up in a time when Sami languages were not taught in schools in my region. I identify as trønder, and with that, mourn the loss of an opportunity to learn the language of my fellow citizens in Trøndelag, the South Saami, and feel for those who did not get to learn their heritage language in school. Coming from a South Sami area, I have long wondered what makes some cultures and languages so hidden from view, despite their intrinsic value, the value they represent for minority communities as well as for humanity.

Arriving in Finnmark, similar questions arose as I learnt about the Skolt Sami culture and language. In Finnmark, I was fortunate to be able to visit Skolt Sami areas and learn about the culture and language through travels to Luujäu'rr and Loparskaya on the Kola Peninsula, visits to the Ä'vv Skolt Sami Museum in Njauddâm, Norway, as well as to Če'vetjäu'rr, and to the Siida museum in Aanar, Finland. I was also fortunate to be able to take part in a series of basic Skolt Saami language courses at the Ä'vv Skolt Sami Museum.

Although it is not the main topic of this thesis, my research inevitably touches on the issue of placenames and colonization. Although an important topic, I cannot do it justice within the confines of this thesis. I choose therefore to employ Skolt Sami placenames and Skolt Sami names for institutions throughout my thesis, *only* in the cases where I know the words *and* am able to identify its *correct* Skolt Sami orthography. Similarly, the term *sijjd* (community) is presented in Skolt Sami language, reflecting the special features of the *sijjd* community structure. I have great respect for Skolt Sami language and the language learner's colossal task of grappling with Skolt Sami orthography. I therefore choose to use conventional, or colonized, placenames in those cases where I am not certain of the spelling or cannot find sufficient documentation of the correct spelling of a Skolt Sami placename.

Having seen from the South Sami area what happens to a language when forgotten by the majority, the authorities, and by policymakers, I was prompted to write this thesis.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	v
Positionality Statement and Land Acknowledgement	vii
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Chapter overview.....	2
1.2 Prior research, knowledge gap, and limitations.....	3
2 A brief introduction to the Skolt Sami people and language	5
2.1 The case settlements Njauddâm and Ķeârkknjargg (Norway)	9
2.2 The case settlements Če'vetjäu'rr and Aanar (Finland)	10
2.3 Concluding remarks.....	11
3 Current Sami language policy in Norway and Finland	12
3.1 Sami language policy in Norway.....	13
3.2 Sami language policy in Finland	17
3.3 Concluding remarks.....	18
4 Theoretical perspectives.....	19
4.1 Language, power, and representation	20
4.2 The influence of language policy	22
4.3 The study of linguistic landscapes (LL)	24
5 Methodological considerations	27
5.1 Looking for signs.....	27
5.2 Practical implementation	28
5.3 Methodological challenges and choices	29
6 Case studies.....	29

6.1	Monolingual language elements.....	30
6.2	Bilingual language elements.....	33
6.3	Multilingual language elements.....	37
6.4	Analysis of the findings.....	42
7	Discussion	44
7.1	Recommendations	47
8	Concluding chapter	47
8.1	Areas of future research.....	49
	References	50
	Appendices	58
	Appendix I – Findings from the research trips (all four places)	58
	Appendix II – Findings from the research trips (Njauddâm)	63
	Appendix III – Findings from the research trips (Ķeârknjargg)	64
	Appendix IV – Findings from the research trips (Če'vetjäu'rr).....	66
	Appendix V – Findings from the research trips (Aanar).....	67

1 Introduction

The world's indigenous languages are disappearing at an alarming rate, in meeting with globalization, modernisation, marginalisation, and other factors subsequently challenging traditional community life and the exercise of indigenous culture and subsistence activities. About 2 500 of the 7 000 identified languages of the world are threatened or endangered (Moseley and Nicolas, 2017). The Skolt Sami communities in the border areas of Northern Fennoscandia have seen their heritage language and culture dramatically decline as a consequence of political and societal developments taking place in recent history, such as forced relocations and the drawing of state borders (Aarseth, 1989, p. 27; Afanasyeva, 2013, p.53; 63). Skolt Sami language is now considered extinct in Norway (Rueter and Hämäläinen, 2020b, p. 2) and on the verge of extinction in Finland (Feist, 2011, p. 19; Moseley and Nicolas, 2017). Today, just over 300 speakers of Skolt Sami language remain (Jakhelln, 2021, p. 8).

Upon entering the United Nations International Decade of Indigenous Languages 2022 – 2032 with the title “*Leaving no one behind, no one outside*”, this thesis examines the conditions for Skolt Sami language visibility in public space and how this visibility is affected by national Sami language policies. This will be done by 1) reviewing the current national Sami language policies in Norway and Finland, and by 2) documenting Skolt Sami language elements in public space in a parallel *linguistic landscape* study of four settlements in the Skolt Sami homeland, governed under two different national language policies.

This thesis is intended as a contribution to the present discourse on indigenous or minority language standing and the inclusion and representation of linguistic minorities through language policy (and language practices). Taking the Skolt Sami language as a point of departure, the thesis aims at shedding light on the connection between Sami language *policy* and indigenous language *reality*.

With this thesis, I will seek to answer the following research question:

- What connections, if any, can be identified between Sami language policy and the occurrence of signage in Skolt Sami language in public space in the researched areas in the Skolt Sami homeland?

To answer the question above, there is a need to ask two more questions:

- What characterises the Sami language policies in Norway and Finland?
- To what extent is Skolt Sami language represented on signage in the public space in the researched areas in the Skolt Sami homeland?

1.1 Chapter overview

The following chapter provides a brief introduction to the Skolt Sami minority along with an overview of Sami languages and the status of Skolt Sami language, followed by a description of the areas which form the loci of the case studies, namely Njauddâm and Ķeârknjargg (Norway) and Če'vetjäu'rr and Aanar (Finland) – situated in the Skolt Sami homeland. The third chapter presents an overview of Sami language policy in Norway and Finland, respectively, with the aim of identifying significant parallels and/or differences in language policy relating to Skolt Sami language at the national level.

The fourth chapter discusses important theoretical perspectives, such as those of theorists Spolsky and Shohamy on language policy, Pietikäinen and De Korne on minority language, and Pietikäinen, Helander and May on power relations and representation. The chapter also presents the main principles behind the theory of linguistic landscapes (LL) and discusses its usefulness for the purposes of this thesis, with attention to the works of pioneering theorists Landry and Bourhis, as well as Gorter, Ben-Rafael et al., and Puzey. A review reveals that a study of the conditions for the Skolt Sami language in Norway and Finland using linguistic landscape theory has not been conducted before. However, there are several studies focussing on other minority languages, including Northern Sami language and a couple of non-LL studies on the viability of Skolt Sami language. We will have a closer look at these studies here.

Linguistic landscapes (LL) theory will be used to quantify and describe the conditions for Skolt Sami language visibility in the public space in the focus areas within the Skolt Sami homeland. In the fifth chapter, some methodological considerations will be presented and addressed, particularly concerning research on minority – and Sami – languages using

linguistic landscape theory. This chapter will also present a list of language elements considered relevant for this LL study.

The sixth chapter presents the case studies from Njauddâm, K̄eârkknjargg, Če'vetjäu'rr, and Aanar. Due to travel restrictions, it was not possible to conduct a similar case study on the Russian side of the border. After the findings are presented, they are then analysed with the aim of shedding light on the situation for the visibility of Skolt Sami language as it is displayed on language elements in the researched areas.

In the seventh chapter, the thesis discusses how the findings from the case studies and the policy review may contribute to shedding light on the importance of visibility in public space to indigenous languages as well as on the issue of indigenous representation and power relations in civil society.

The concluding chapter sums up the findings and analysis. Recommendations are presented on how policymakers and other duty bearers may contribute to improving the conditions for the visibility of Skolt Sami language and other indigenous languages in public space, including how policymaking may meaningfully be used to prevent indigenous language loss and promote fair representation of indigenous or minority language groups. Suggestions for further research on the topic are also presented.

1.2 Prior research, knowledge gap, and limitations

There are a few linguistic landscape studies on Sami languages, including several on Northern Sami language (Linkola, 2014; Puzey, 2012; Salo, 2012). Some studies focus on the situation for the Skolt Sami language (Hallamaa, 2020; Linkola, 2009), although not in terms of linguistic landscapes.

The work with this thesis has showed that linguistic landscapes theory has not been applied to any comparative study of the conditions for the Skolt Sami language in Norway and Finland before. With an LL analysis in hand, we may be one step closer to identifying hindrances (or best practices) which may help us navigate towards a society more conducive to minority language efflorescence in general, and the flourishing of Skolt Sami language in particular.

In this thesis, I will not have the possibility to discuss in depth the assimilation policies in Norway and Finland and their effects on the situation for the minority languages in Northern Fennoscandia. There already exists an important literature on the consequences of the assimilation policies. I choose rather to focus my thesis on a perspective which I have not found much researched, namely the possible connections and relationship between *current* national Sami language policies and the occurrence of Skolt Sami language in signs in the Skolt Sami homeland.

The case studies are conducted in four settlements within the Skolt Sami area on the Norwegian and Finnish side of the border. No settlements on the Russian side form part of the study. Interestingly, the language-sociological work of Hallamaa (2020) also touches on minority languages in Russia in addition to Skolt Sami language in Finland. It does not, however, investigate the language situation of the Skolt Sami community in Murmansk oblast. Salo (2012) investigates four villages in the Fennoscandian countries but appears to treat the Sami languages in Aanaar as one joint group rather than as individual languages (p. 250). Salo does, however, point out that “a few signs with Inari and Skolt Sámi were observed” (p. 251). Although my choice of settlements is explained in the thesis, the ideal situation would be one where the entire Skolt Sami homeland, including areas on the Kola peninsula, Russia, could form the basis for similar case studies, including all minor settlements and even distant places where there might be a sign. However, such an endeavour would add a level of complexity beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is worth considering in future research.

The case studies in this thesis take place *once* in each location, and as such, provide merely a snapshot of the current situation for signage in Skolt Sami language. Therefore, this research will not be able to say anything directly about the development of signage in Skolt Sami language over time. Such a study should, however, be conducted, and perhaps this thesis may constitute a starting point for further studies.

2 A brief introduction to the Skolt Sami people and language

Sápmi, the Sami settlement area, stretches from central eastern Norway to Northwest Russia, encompassing territories within four countries; Russia, Finland, Sweden, and Norway (Andresen, 1989, p. 13; Andresen et al, 2021, p. 35; Jakhelln, 2021, pp. 8-10). The northernmost Sami areas were defined within national borders in 1751 (between Denmark-Norway and Finland under Sweden), and in 1826 (between Norway and Russia-Finland) (Andresen, 1989, pp. 13; 52; Andresen et al., 2021, pp. 80; 125; Finnish-Norwegian-Swedish-Sami Expert Group, 2005, p. 108; NOU 1984: 18, p. 77; Pietikäinen et al., 2010, p. 4).

The Skolt Sami people are widely recognized as being a minority within the Sami group. Besides having their own language, they have their own handicraft, clothing and building traditions, and a special composition of subsistence activities following the particular seasons and resources of the Skolt Sami homeland (Jakhelln, 2021, p. 10; Rueter and Hämäläinen, 2020b, p. 1). Many Skolt Sami are members of the Orthodox Church (Jakhelln, 2021, p. 8), which is unique for an original minority group in these areas. The Skolt Sami traditional settlement area lies in the border areas between Norway, Finland, and Northwest Russia (Kola Peninsula) (Andresen, 1989, p. 13; Linkola, 2009, pp. 2-3; Jakhelln, 2021, pp. 8-10; Rueter and Hämäläinen, 2020b, p.1). They were originally organised in seven *siid* (communities¹) spread across the settlement area (Jakhelln, 2021, p. 12; Rasmussen, 2021, p. 7). Jakhelln estimates that there are about 1600 Skolt Sami, of whom around 400 live in Norway, 700 in Finland, and 500 in Russia (Jakhelln, 2021, p. 8). Rasmussen (2021, p. 22) estimates that there are 1500 Skolt Sami in the three countries.

Sami cultures are continuously challenged by socio-economic changes, modernisation, and subsequent marginalisation of indigenous communities (Afanasyeva, 2013, p. 53; Andresen, 1989, p. 13; Andersen et al., 2021, pp. 171; 179; Pietikäinen et al., 2010, pp. 4-6). The overall Sami group has been subject to a range of assimilation policies (Andersen et al., 2021, p. 179; Pietikäinen et al., 2010, p. 5), such as the residential school system (Andersen et al., 2021, p.

¹ *Siid* is plural form of *siijd*, the Skolt Sami word describing their traditional community structure.

171), forced relocation by state authorities, and loss of access to natural resources (Afanasyeva, 2013, p. 53; Andresen, 1989, p. 15).

The Skolt Sami are of the Sami groups who managed to keep their traditional community structure the longest (Aarseth, 1989, p. 26). Living in areas that have undergone dramatic shifts in terms of borders and minority policies, the Skolt Sami have been subject to many developments that have been detrimental to their culture and way of life (Aarseth, 1989, p. 26, Jakhelln, 2021, p. 13). One factor that particularly impacted the Skolt Sami society was the establishment of state borders, which contributed to the dissolution of the Skolt Sami *sijdd* system (community structure), as mobility between winter and summer pasturelands became arduous and the communities were increasingly cut off from access to natural resources of importance to their traditional subsistence activities (Aarseth, 1989, pp. 21-25; 34-41; Afanasyeva, 2013, pp. 47-51; Itkonen, 2019, p. 715; Linkola, 2009, p. 3; Jakhelln, 2021, pp. 12-13; Pietikäinen et al., 2010, p. 6).

The developments described above have also had negative impacts on the whole group of Sami languages in this region. According to the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley and Nicolas, 2017), some Sami languages are regarded as *severely endangered*, such as Kildin, Inari, and South Sami (Afanasyeva, 2013, p. 53; Moseley and Nicolas, 2017). Pite, Ter, and Ume Sami languages are *critically endangered* (Afanasyeva, 2013, p. 53; Moseley and Nicolas, 2017). Kemi Sami language went *extinct* in the 19th century, and Akkala Sami language is also *extinct*, having lost its last speaker in 2003 (Afanasyeva, 2013, p. 53; Finnish-Norwegian-Swedish-Sami Expert Group, 2005, p. 287, Kovář, 2019, p. 39).

The following table shows the situation for the Skolt Sami language in relation to other languages in the Sami branch of the Uralic language group (Skolt Sami language in bold):

Table 1 The condition of the languages in the Sami branch of the Uralic language group. Table made on the basis of the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley and Nicolas, 2017), and with additional information from Afanasyeva, 2013, p. 53; Finnish-Norwegian-Swedish-Sami Expert Group, 2005, p. 287; Kovář, 2019, p. 39.

Condition	Language(s)
Definitely endangered	Northern Sami
Severely endangered	Kildin Sami, South Sami, Inari Sami
Critically endangered	Ter Sami, Pite Sami, Ume Sami
Nearly extinct	Skolt Sami
Extinct	Akkala Sami, Kemi Sami

Sources: Based on the classification in the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley and Nicolas, 2017). Also based on Afanasyeva, 2013, p. 53; Finnish-Norwegian-Swedish-Sami Expert Group, 2005, p. 287; Kovář, 2019, p. 39.

We see from the table that Skolt Sami language is in a critical state, but is not yet extinct.

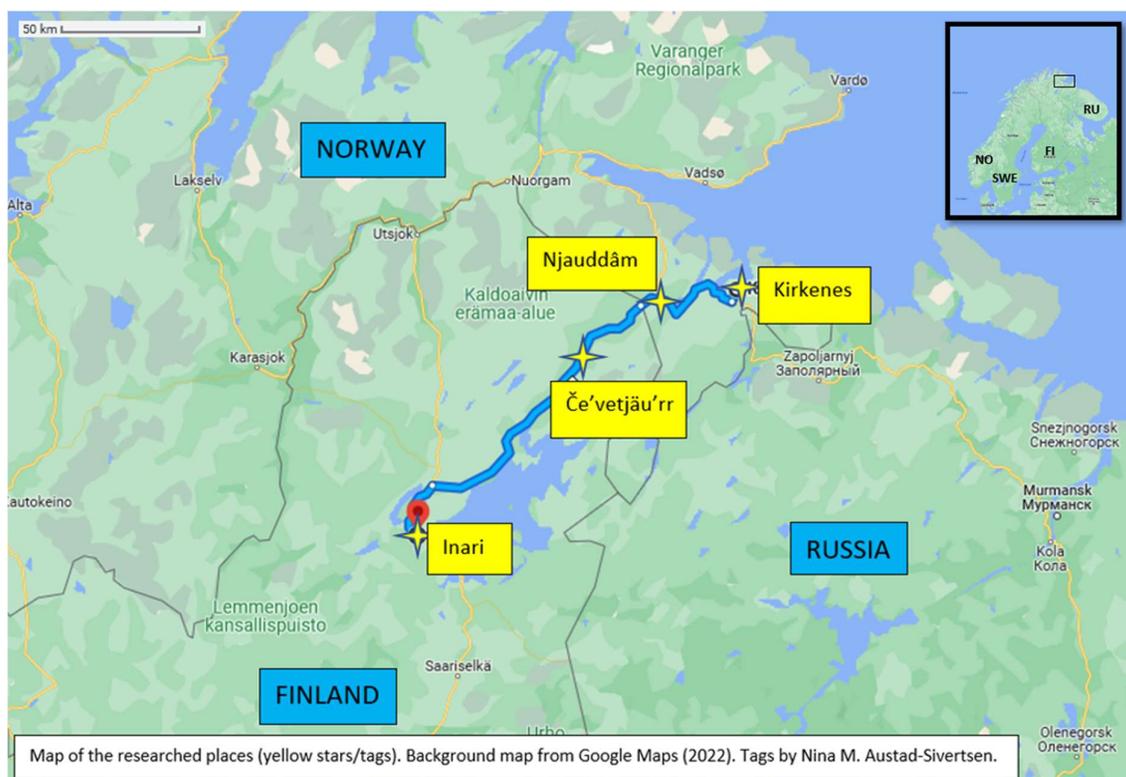
Skolt Sami language belongs to the Eastern group of Sami languages (Andersen et al., 2021; Kovář, 2019, p. 39; Rueter and Hämäläinen, 2020, p. 1). Jakhelln (2021, p. 8) estimates that there are just over 300 Skolt Sami speakers today, most of whom live in Finland. Rasmussen (2021, p. 22) gives an estimate of 300 speakers in Finland, 10-12 speakers in Norway, and 15-20 speakers in Russia. Rasmussen points out that the 10-12 Skolt Sami speakers on the Norwegian side of the border are descendants from Skolt Sami who came from the Finnish side of the border (Rasmussen, 2021, 23). Linkola (2009) argues that the Skolt Sami families residing in Njauddâm have to a large extent been “linguistically ... assimilated to the Norwegian population” (Linkola, 2009, p. 2). Although Skolt Sami language has been much researched by linguists (Koponen and Rueter, 2016, p. 254; Rueter and Hämäläinen, 2020), it is classified as *nearly extinct* within the UNESCO system (Moseley and Nicolas, 2017).

Linkola, after having conducted interviews with Skolt Sami informants in Finland in 1995, found that there was a tendency that elder Skolt Sami often used their heritage language at home; the adult generation spoke Skolt Sami with their parents and siblings, but not with their children; and youngsters did not speak Skolt Sami, although they have gained passive knowledge of the language in school (Linkola, 2009, p. 7-8).

Hallamaa (2020) investigates the viability of Skolt Sami language in Finland, among other indigenous languages, using sociology of language. He finds that with Skolt Sami, it is too early to say whether the efforts to strengthen it will have the necessary effect to revitalize the language (p. 181). Still, as Hallamaa compares the status of Skolt Sami language to the other indigenous languages in his work (Native American languages and languages in Karelia), he argues that Skolt Sami language may have a better chance of revitalization (p. 214).

In the following, the researched settlements of Njauddâm and Ķeârknjargg (Norway) and Če'vetjäu'rr and Aanar (Finland) – situated in the Skolt Sami homeland, will be briefly introduced with a short background and a description of the central facilities and sites in each place. Finally, their suitability for research and comparison will be briefly discussed.

Below is a map which shows the four settlements and how they are located in relation to each other:



2.1 The case settlements Njauddâm and Ķeârkknjargg (Norway)

The two first settlements, Njauddâm and Ķeârkknjargg, are located in Sør-Varanger municipality in Norway. The municipality has about 10 000 inhabitants.

Njauddâm, or Neiden in Norwegian, is a small community with a couple of hundred inhabitants living in a village of about 100 km² (Nibio, n.d.). The area has been under Skolt Sami cultural influence since time immemorial and constitutes the traditional summer settlement area for the Njauddâm *sijdd* (the Njauddâm community) (Jakhelln, 2021, p. 10; 12). Their traditional winter settlement area was in Kirkkojärvi on the Finnish side of the border (Jakhelln, 2021, p. 19). Traditional subsistence activities have been important ways of making a livelihood in Njauddâm. Historically, the area was dominated by the Skolt Sami, and only in the past century has there been considerable influx of Northern Sami, Norwegians, Kven, and Russian people to the area. This influx led to the displacement of the Skolt Sami to the extent that some subsistence activities were taken over by incoming groups (Andresen et al., 2021, pp. 125; 229; Eriksen, 1989, p. 31). This displacement contributed to the demise of the Skolt Sami language (Andresen et al., 2021, p. 125), although many descendants of Skolt Sami live in the area today. A 1928 account of Njauddâm may be found in Finnish ethnographer Paulaharju's book *Kvenene – et folk ved Ishavet* (2020).

Today in Njauddâm, there is a small central area with a collection of facilities and sites, such as the museum, the Skoltefossen waterfall which is a site for the kâpälä traditional salmon fishing (Eriksen, 1989, p. 35), the Njauddâm river, the Skoltebyen heritage site with St. George's chapel, the Neiden Kroa diner, and the Neiden hotel, surrounded by smaller housing areas. Going out from the small centre, a short drive leads to the Fossheim primary school – the school which children in Njauddâm used to go to before it was discontinued by Sør-Varanger municipality in 2018. Driving beyond the primary school building, one finds the Neiden chapel, and continuing the drive leads to the small settlement of Mikkelsnes. Driving in the other direction from Njauddâm centre, one can cross the border to Finland. Because Norwegian authorities according to law do not keep accounts of ethnicity, it is hard to say how many people in Njauddâm identify as Skolt Sami.

Ķeârkknjargg, or Kirkenes in Norwegian language, is a settlement located on a headland between the Pasvik river and the Langfjorden fjord, in Sør-Varanger municipality. Ķeârkknjargg town is about 2,27 km² with a population of 3459 in 2021 (Bolstad, 2022; Statistics Norway, 2021). Similarly to Njauddâm, this area was also historically dominated by Skolt Sami people (Aarseth, 1989, 27; Andresen et al., 2021, p. 125, 229). Ķeârkknjargg is the administrative centre of Sør-Varanger municipality. It is the biggest of the four settlements in this study and developed into a monoindustrial town with the establishment of the A/S Syd-Varanger mining company in 1906 (Sydvaranger, 2022). The mining activities seized in 1996 and were resumed in 2009, only to seize again later. In the meantime, tourism became an important industry, and the opening of the border to Russia contributed to the blossoming of Ķeârkknjargg. Here, there is a town centre with shops, restaurants, hotels, a gas station, shopping malls, monuments, the Kimek shipyard, the Sydvaranger mining company building, a swimming hall, school, theatre, harbour, police station, town hall and other municipal buildings, surrounded by housing areas. Ķeârkknjargg has a majority population of Norwegians and about 10 per cent are Russian. It is difficult to say how many inhabitants are of Skolt Sami heritage. Ķeârkknjargg has been inhabited by Northern Sami, Skolt Sami, and Kvens, and their descendants are likely to inhabit the area today as well.

2.2 The case settlements Će'vetjäu'rr and Aanar (Finland)

The next two settlements are located in Inari municipality in Finland. This municipality has about 7 000 inhabitants.

The village Će'vetjäu'rr, or Sevettijärvi in Finnish, is located by the Će'vetjäu'rr lake in Inari municipality, Lapland province, Finland. It has a population of about 350 people and the core area of the settlement is about 100 km² (Google maps, n.d.). After the fall of the Peäccam area from Finnish to Soviet hands during WWII, the Skolt Sami population residing there were relocated to Će'vetjäu'rr (Aarseth, 1989, p. 41; Afanasyeva, 2013, p. 53; Jakhelln, 2021, p. 14), but this area has also been under Skolt Sami cultural influence since time immemorial. Now, Će'vetjäu'rr is known as the centre for Skolt Sami language in Finland. In Će'vetjäu'rr, there is a school (Će'vetjäu'r škool) and Skolt Sami language nest (Nuõrttsää'm Ķiõllpie'ss kuusköözz), a community workshop (Će'vetjäu'r tuäjppõrtt), a health centre (tiõrvâsvuõttpõrtt), a camping site, the Sevettijärvi St. Tryphon Church, Sevetin Baari café, a

Skolt Sami center and the Skolt Sami Heritage House. Reindeer husbandry is an important subsistence activity among the population in Če'vetjäu'rr, but what Itkonen terms "combination livelihood", where reindeer herding was combined with fishing, berry picking, hunting, and lamb herding, is now largely a thing of the past (Itkonen, 2018, p. 56). Today, there is also small-scale tourism in Če'vetjäu'rr (S. Moshnikoff, p.c., August 2022).

The settlement of Aanar, or Inari in Finnish, lies by the Inarijärvi lake in Inari municipality, Lapland province, Finland. Aanar town extends 2,69 km² and has 497 inhabitants (Inari.fi, n.d.). Although Aanar is not the municipal centre, it constitutes the cultural centre of the Sami population in Finland. In Aanar, one can find impressive buildings such as the Siida Sami museum and the Sajos Sami Cultural Centre which houses the Sami Parliament in Finland, the State Provincial Office of Lapland province, the Sami Archives and the Sami Education Centre. Aanar is also a centre for tourism in the Lapland region, with hotels, shops, restaurants, gas stations, tour operators, skiing slopes and other outdoors facilities, church, school and health centre. Aanar is a town where multiple Sami languages are spoken – mainly Northern Sami, Inari Sami, and Skolt Sami, in addition to Finnish language.

2.3 Concluding remarks

This chapter has introduced the Skolt Sami area in Finland and Norway and what makes the Skolt Sami culture and language different from other Sami cultures and languages. A very brief overview of Skolt Sami history has shown some of the dramatic changes that have posed great challenges to Skolt Sami community life, culture, and language.

The choice of research areas was made with the aim of researching settlements which share some fundamental features and therefore may be suitable for comparison. The choice of Njauddâm and Če'vetjäu'rr villages was made because the Skolt Sami communities here are considered important bearers of the culture (Linkola and Linkola, 2000, pp. 9-10; Itkonen, 2018, p. 50), and are regarded as core areas for the Skolt Sami population, their culture and language. Another common feature is the traditional subsistence activities in these villages.

The towns Ķeârkknjargg and Aanar also share historical context and the role as important areas within the Skolt Sami homeland. They were chosen because they are bigger settlements

nearby the small villages, and there are likely many people living there who are of Skolt Sami descent. Hallamaa (2020) argues that young families from smaller Skolt Sami communities have a tendency of moving into Aanar as well as to the larger Ivalo (p. 181). Furthermore, it is fair to assume that Skolt Sami from the smaller villages will travel to either K̄eârkknjargg or Aanar to use services that are not accessible in the village, and that these areas provide important functions for the Skolt Sami population. Although K̄eârkknjargg is by far the biggest settlement, both K̄eârkknjargg and Aanar are small towns today with a multilingual population, of which the Skolt Sami population is a small, but historically important, part. Another common factor is the extensive tourism sector in K̄eârkknjargg and Aanar.

Due to the scope of this thesis, Skolt Sami settlement areas on the Russian side of the border have not been subject to a similar research trip and are thus not part of this thesis. The same is true of Russian minority language policy, and the historical and socio-economical changes that have affected the Skolt Sami population in Northwest Russia. Future research on this topic should include Skolt Sami homeland areas on the Russian side of the border as well.

We are now acquainted with the Skolt Sami area in Norway and Finland, Skolt Sami history, culture and language, and developed a basic knowledge of the focus settlements. The following chapter presents a review of the Sami language policies of Norway and Finland.

3 Current Sami language policy in Norway and Finland

Njauddâm and K̄eârkknjargg in Norway, and Če'vetjäu'rr and Aanar in Finland - these areas in Northern Fennoscandia form part of the Skolt Sami homeland and share the common feature of the vulnerable state that the Skolt Sami language is in. But do they also share similar Sami language policies? Most states have a language policy, but to what extent a minority is included in the national language policy, varies. This chapter provides a brief account of the national Sami language policies in Norway and Finland.

The brevity of this thesis does not allow for a discussion on local and regional language policy. Local and regional language policies could be included in further research, but for this study, the language policies of the Sami Parliaments in Norway and Finland are considered more relevant.

In the field of international law concerning indigenous peoples, two of the most important mechanisms touching on indigenous rights to language are the *ILO Convention No. 169 – Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention* (ILO 169), and the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR). Significantly, the ICCPR Article 27 states that:

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language. (OHCHR, 2022)

Although the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) is not legally binding, it represents a significant contribution to the international framework for indigenous rights to culture, language, and other issues (UN, n.d.).

Another mechanism of importance to European minority languages is the Council of Europe's *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*. The Charter is a treaty aimed at protecting and promoting historical European regional and minority languages, as part of protecting cultural heritage. However, the treaty does not provide a clear definition of a regional or minority language, beyond it being a language different from the majority language and with historical roots within a state. It is therefore to a large degree up to the signatory states to define which languages qualify under the Charter (Council of Europe, 2022b). Once a language is considered to qualify, it is given one of two levels of protection – Part II and Part III. Part II is mandatory for all qualifying languages, whereas Part III entails that the states must agree to carry out a set of 35 additional positive actions for the protection and promotion of the language in question (Council of Europe, 2022b).

3.1 Sami language policy in Norway

The Sami peoples are recognized as indigenous peoples in Norway. Norway ratified ILO 169 on July 20, 1990. Article 28, part 3, states that “Measures shall be taken to preserve and promote the development and practice of the indigenous languages of the peoples concerned” (International Labour Organization, 2022; Rasmussen, 2021, p. 25; Finnish-Norwegian-Swedish-Sami Expert Group, 2005, pp. 144-7). Article 27 of the ICCPR is incorporated into Norwegian national law by way of the *Human Rights Act* (Menneskerettsloven, 1999). Norway is one of 144 states to approve the adoption of the UNDRIP declaration.

Norway adopted *the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* of the Council of Europe on November 10, 1993. As of 1 August 2022, the national minority languages Kven, Romanes, and Romani are protected under the Charter's Part II, and the Sami languages Northern Sami, South Sami, and Lule Sami are protected under Part II as well as Part III (Council of Europe, 2022a). In the *Seventh report of the Committee of Experts in respect of Norway*, issued in 2017, it is noted that there is work ongoing in cooperation with Finland and Russia to revitalise the Skolt Sami language (Council of Europe, 2017, pp. 7; 37). However, Skolt Sami language is not recognized by Norway as having protection under the Charter (Council of Europe, 2022b).

Norway's Constitution (Grunnloven) was amended in 1988 with a paragraph stating that "Norway's state authorities shall facilitate so that the Sami people can secure and develop Sami language, culture and society." (Grunnloven, 1814, §108). What is meant by Sami language is not specified.

The *Sami Act* has the similar purpose as the Constitution's §108, namely to "... facilitate so that the Sami people in Norway can secure and develop their language, their culture, and their community life." (Sameloven, 1987, §1-1, my translation). The *Sami Act* laid the grounds for the establishment of the Sami parliament in Norway. The Act underlines that Norwegian and Sami languages are equal, and from 1990 includes provisions on linguistic rights throughout "the administrative area for Sami language" (Sameloven, 1987, §2-1, my translation). Today, several Norwegian municipalities are included in the administrative area for Sami language (Forskrift om samisk språkforvaltningsområde, 2005, §1). Rasmussen (2021, p. 26) argues that it is due to the *Sami Act* that Sami language is considered an official language in Norway. Rasmussen (2021, p. 26) points out, however, that the term "Sami language" is used as a general term and that the *Sami Act* does not mention any Sami languages specifically (Rasmussen, 2021, p. 26; Sameloven, 1987).

The Ministry of Government Administration, Reform and Church Affairs published *Action Plans for Sami Languages* in 2011 and 2013. The first Action Plan contains a planned measure to revitalize Skolt Sami language and culture, through a cross-border project in Norway, Finland, and Russia (2011, p. 29). The second Action Plan underlines the importance of securing knowledge about Skolt Sami and Pite Sami languages (2013, p. 5).

Norwegian national language legislation was updated in 2021 when the new *Act relating to Language* was passed, which includes provisions on Norwegian language, Sami languages, the national minority languages, and Norwegian sign language (Språklova, 2021, §1). The Act states that Sami languages are indigenous languages in Norway, reiterating the equality between Norwegian language and Sami languages. The Act has as its stated purpose to “ensure the protection and status for the languages for which the State is responsible” (Act relating to Language, 2021, §5, unoff. English transl.). Further, to secure that “public bodies take responsibility for using, developing, and strengthening Sami languages” (§1, unoff. English transl.). Which Sami languages are covered by the Act, is not stated. *The Proposal to the Norwegian Parliament on the passing of the Act Relating to Language* contains a discussion on which Sami languages are included, but Skolt Sami language is not clearly defined as an included language (Prop. 108 L (2019-2020), p. 103).

Section 9 of the *Act relating to Language* is about the information that authorities relay to the public. The section states that “Public bodies shall communicate in plain and correct language adapted to the target group.” (Act relating to Language, 2021, Section 9). The Language Council of Norway (Språkrådet) has published its interpretation of the paragraph on their homepage: “The duty to use a clear language applies to national, regional and municipal bodies. The duty applies to information aimed at the public and information to individuals.” (Language Council of Norway, n.d.).

The *National Register Act* lets inhabitants register knowledge of a Sami language with one’s general registry information in the Norwegian National Register. Here, knowledge of Northern Sami, Lule Sami and South Sami can be registered (Folkeregisterloven, 2016, §3-1). There is no option to register knowledge of the national minority languages in Norway, nor of other Sami languages including Skolt Sami language (Rasmussen, 2021, p. 28).

The *Education Act* states a set of linguistic rights for Sami children/pupils who are learning Sami language in school or attending school with Sami language as the language of instruction. The Act defines “Sami language” as either Northern Sami, South Sami or Lule Sami languages (Opplæringslova, 1998, ch. 6). Skolt Sami language is not mentioned (Rasmussen, 2021, p. 28). Rasmussen (2021, p. 28) argues that this fact excludes the right for pupils to learn Skolt Sami language in schools in Norway.

The *Placename Act* gives provisions on the adoption and spelling of placenames in Norway, including in areas with specific regulations concerning the naming of places in minority languages. The Act sets out to secure “consideration for Norwegian, Sami, and Kven placenames in accordance with national legislation and international agreements and conventions.” (Stadnamnlova, 1990, §1, my transl.). The *Placename Act* says that when a placename is in use in either Sami or Kven language by the population of an area, the minority placenames should also be presented, whether it be in signage or other official uses, and all over Norway (Puzey, 2012, p. 130). Skolt Sami language is not mentioned in the *Placename Act*, but in 2017, regulations were passed that allowed for public signage in Skolt Sami language, and, where there are several Sami names for a place, the oldest Sami placename should be used (Stadnamnforskrifta, 2017, §4). Rasmussen points out that Skolt Sami placenames in Sør-Varanger municipality are often the oldest placenames (Rasmussen, 2021, p. 28).

The Sami Parliament in Norway was founded in 1989. 20 545 individuals were listed in the Sami Parliament’s electoral roll before the Sami Parliament election in 2021 (Berg-Nordlie, 2022). In Norway, the Skolt Sami have not been organized in Sami political activities such as the Norwegian Sámi Association, nor have they had representation in the Sami Parliament like other Sami groups such as the South Sami, Lule Sami and Marka Sami.

The website of the Sami Parliament in Norway is available in Northern Sami, Lule Sami, South Sami, and Norwegian languages (Sámediggi.no, n.d.). Interpretation services for the Sami Parliament Plenary meetings are not offered in Skolt Sami language, nor are the political case documents translated to Skolt Sami language (Sámediggi.no, n.d.). In the Sami Parliament budget proposal for 2023, there is a suggested applicant-based lump sum of NOK 1,2 mill. reserved for Sami language measures in South, Ume, Pite, Lule, Skolt, and Marka Sami areas (Sámediggi, 2022b, budget post 4.5.12), an increase of NOK 200.000,- from 2022.

On the 5th of May, 2022, the Sami Parliament and Troms and Finnmark County Authority signed a cooperation agreement concerning joint efforts for Sami language, society, business, and culture. Skolt Sami language is mentioned as a language in great need of development from its current status (Sámediggi and Troms and Finnmark County Authority, 2022, p. 7). In the October 11th – 13th, 2022 plenary meeting, the Sami Parliament voted over an item

concerning the future of the Skolt Sami language, based on a report made by Rasmussen (2021). This was the first Sami Parliament resolution where the Skolt Sami language was recognized as a Sami language in Norway:

The Sami Parliament recognizes Skolt Sami as a Sami language in Norway. The Sami Parliament's overall goal is that the Skolt Sami language should be able to be revitalized on the Norwegian side of Sápmi (Sámediggi, 2022a, p. 12, my translation).

The decision item contains suggestions for strengthening the Skolt Sami language, including measures to increase the visibility of Skolt Sami language, such as “signage, artistic expressions, documents, homepages, and subtitling” (Sámediggi, 2022a, p. 8, my translation).

3.2 Sami language policy in Finland

Finland's Constitution states that the Sami are an indigenous people (Suomen perustuslaki, 2000, §17). The Constitution states that:

The Sami as an indigenous people and the Rom and other groups have the right to maintain and develop their language and their culture. The right of the Sami people to use Sami language in meeting with public authorities is regulated by law (Suomen perustuslaki, 2000, §17, my translation).

Rasmussen (2021, p. 9) argues that this also extends to the Skolt Sami, even if they are not mentioned specifically. However, Finland has not ratified *the ILO Convention No. 169 – The Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention*. Finland is, however, a party to the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*.

In Finland, *the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* was ratified on November 9, 1994, with Karelian, Romani, Russian, Tatar, and Yiddish languages protected under the Charter's Part II (Council of Europe, 2022a). Languages protected under Parts II and III are: Inari Sami, Northern Sami, Skolt Sami, and Swedish (Council of Europe, 2022a). Skolt Sami in Finland is recognized as a protected language under the Charter.

Finland's *Act on Sami Languages* (2003) has as its stated purpose to “safeguard the constitutional right of the Sami people to preserve and develop their language and their culture.” (Saamen kielilaki, 2004, §1, my transl.). The Act includes Inari, Northern, and Skolt Sami languages (Saamen kielilaki, 2004, §3; Rasmussen, 2021, p. 29). Rasmussen explains

that this Act affirms the right to use Skolt Sami language in meeting with public authorities, state and municipally owned enterprises including the tax administration and social insurance institutions, as well as in Skolt Sami council meetings, the Sami Parliament, and within the legal system (Rasmussen, 2021, pp. 29-30). Linkola adds that these rights mainly apply in Northern Finland – the Sami homelands (Linkola, 2009, p. 4).

Finland passed the *Act on Skolt Sami Matters* in 1995. The purpose of the Act is to “promote the living conditions and livelihood opportunities for the Skolt Sami people and within the Skolt Sami area as well as to preserve and promote the Skolt Sami culture.” (Kolttalaki, 1995, my transl.).

The Finnish Sami Delegation² was founded in 1973. It was succeeded in 1995 by the Sámi Parliament³. In conjunction with the Sami Parliament election in Finland in 2003, an estimate of the number of Sami in Finland was set at 8 000 individuals based on the number of people listed in the Sami Parliament’s electoral rolls (Finnish-Norwegian-Swedish-Sami Expert Group, 2005, p. 110). In the electoral rolls for the election for leader of the Skolt Sami community in Finland, there are 450 individuals (Rasmussen, 2021, p. 23). The website of the Sami Parliament in Finland is available in Finnish, Northern Sami, Inari Sami, Skolt Sami, and English languages (Sámediggi.fi, n.d.)

3.3 Concluding remarks

Many Acts where Sami language and the Sami people are mentioned share some similarities in Norway and Finland. However, Finland has passed a separate act with the aim of securing explicitly the Skolt Sami language and culture. In Norway, the Skolt Sami and their language are largely overlooked, and only in the regulations to the *Placename Act* (2017) is Skolt Sami language mentioned explicitly (Stadnamnforskrifta, 2017, §4). In the *Act Relating to Language* (2021) there is a reference to Sami languages, but no definition of which Sami

² *Sámi parlameanta* in Northern Sami language.

³ *Sámediggi* in Northern Sami language.

languages are included. The *Proposition to the Norwegian Parliament on the passing of the Act Relating to Language* does not make it clear whether Skolt Sami is included or not.

The rights under *the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* do not extend to Skolt Sami language in Norway. However, in Finland, Skolt Sami language is protected under the Charter.

Having reviewed the *current* Sami language policies in Norway and Finland, it is important to keep in mind that from the mid-19th century and until the 1970's, Sami policies in Norway and Finland were ones of assimilation (Bendiksen, 2014, p. 20-25; Huss, 2016; Minde, 2005). In this period, there was no room for other languages than the national languages Norwegian and Finnish. Changes started to emerge after WWII (Bendiksen, 2014, p. 24; Minde, 2005, p. 11). However, the Sami Parliament in Finland was only founded in 1973, and the Sami Parliament in Norway was founded as late as in 1989. The establishment of the Sami Parliaments represented a paradigm change in Sami policy in Norway and Finland. Some improvements have taken place even in the field of signage in Sami language, notably in the case of Northern Sami language, and more recently in South Sami language. And, more importantly, the values and attitudes of Norwegian and Finnish society have changed. However, today, around 50 years after the establishment of the first Sami Parliament, the struggle for signage in Sami languages is still ongoing.

4 Theoretical perspectives

We meet a plethora of written information in our surroundings every day. To many, signage may seem a banal issue. To others, it may serve more important functions and have ramifications well beyond their practical relevance or the number of signs visible in the street. How we use signage may reflect power relations between languages or language users, between cultures and between groups of peoples. Signage situations reflect who is seen and who is not. In this chapter, we will start by discussing some theoretical perspectives that revolve around the concepts of minority and majority languages, hierarchy, power, and representation, and we will have a look at the influences of language policy on visibility.

Linguistic landscape theory provides a set of tools for analysing the aggregated composition of the signs we see – and sometimes even the signs that we do not see or seldom meet in our surroundings. We can use LL analyses to understand the implications of signage beyond being a mere physical representation of placenames, directions, instructions, or regulations. In this way, linguistic landscapes theory may shed light on the effects of language policy. We will discuss the usefulness of linguistic landscape theory more in detail later in this chapter.

4.1 Language, power, and representation

We've seen in chapter 2 how the dominating position of the national languages following the socio-economic changes in Norway and Finland contributed to the current situation for the minority languages in this region. This dominating position developed as resources were reserved for the majority, in this case – national, languages, and structural and societal changes put minority languages under increasing pressure. The concept of minority language is not just about the number of speakers of a language. Rather, the minority – majority dichotomy describes a *relationship between* languages (Pietikäinen et al., 2010, p. 1), or a language's situation in terms of its placement within a hierarchy relative to other language(s). Pietikäinen (2010, p. 5) employs the term “minoritized languages” to describe languages in a *minority situation*. De Korne (2021) argues that a minority language is in a state of “constant negotiation” with majority language(s) (p. 3-4). Minority vs majority language reflects a power struggle between language users and resources, resulting in a hierarchical order of languages.

We live in a world with limited resources. May (2012) points out that a frequent argument against the use of, and education in, minority languages is that that would reduce the amount of resources available for use on the majority language (p. 132). Such as the national languages Norwegian and Finnish, in the case of Norway and Finland, respectively. Or as we often see in the case of television and popular media, or in the tourism sector – the relative hegemony of the English language. May (2012) goes on to argue that this type of null-sum-argumentation may be extended to the issue of signage, where in many cases most, if not all, resources are allocated to carrying out signage in majority languages – at the cost of minority language (p. 132). May's point shows how the hierarchy is organized, where majority

languages – or languages in a *majority situation* – are at the top of the hierarchy, and *minority languages* – or languages which find themselves in a minority situation – are at the bottom, both in terms of signage and other forms of daily use.

When no resources are allocated to minority languages, they will be less audible and visible in society and in public space. May (2012) discusses the social and political issues connected to the focus on majority language at the cost of minority languages. He argues that for many, language is important for their ethnic or national identity (p. 132-5). He demonstrates how the official status of a language to a large extent may be a more or less arbitrary result of “political and social power relations” (May, 2012, p. 135). When the hierarchical structures become entrenched in power struggles and null-sum-games, a language in a minority situation will lose. Doubly so for those minority languages which constitute a minority within another minority language group, such as is the case with Skolt Sami language, as the Skolt Sami constitute a minority within the larger Sami group.

Not only is language a way of communicating – it also carries many other types of information. Helander (2014) points out the importance of language in creating our political and social surroundings. She points at how we with language can highlight one thing, while keeping something else in the dark or out of the picture, or contrast something in relation to other things (p. 325). As a consequence, language may be used to include or exclude, omit or take into account.

Similarly, language may be a powerful tool by way of the mere naming of things. Here, Helander (2014) points at the issue of placenames. The way places are named, and the very placenames we use, influence the way we understand our surroundings. Similar to language in general, the use of placenames may be a tool for inclusion or exclusion, promoting something at the cost of something else. Helander argues that official contexts may provide a platform for using placenames as a means to an end, where this end “is often connected to political aims” (2014, p. 325). And so, thinking consciously about placenames and their use may be conducive to fairer representation (pp. 325-6). Although not dealing specifically with signs, Helander (pp. 325-8) demonstrates how the traditional use of a placename may stand in opposition to the official use; the two may be governed by different sets of values or aims.

This difference may adversely affect minority placenames, but official use of placenames may be improved to better facilitate just representation (p. 325).

4.2 The influence of language policy

We have seen how minority and majority languages figuratively struggle for placement within a language hierarchy, and how that poses a challenge for minority languages in terms of visibility and for language users in terms of representation. The role of language policy is, ideally, to mediate such challenges. One of the ways that language policy is manifested is through signage on display in the public space. This includes public or official signage, but also applies indirectly to private signage in the public space (Cenoz and Gorter, 2006, pp. 67-8). Cenoz and Gorter (2006) argue that through the influence of policymaking, signage practices affect who is represented in a society (p. 67-8). This policy – practice dynamic may further contribute to influencing the language situation in a society. In this section, I will discuss perspectives on how the situation for minority languages is influenced by language policy.

Signage is at its core a minimal means of relaying information, and in its brevity, it presents us only with the most relevant information. Therefore, signs and linguistic elements in the public space also reveal something else: what is considered *the most relevant information*, both in an authorship perspective and for the audience. The meta-language – the language in which a sign is written – may be considered part of that package of relevant information. In this way, signs in themselves can be seen as showcasing *relevant* languages.

Spolsky (2004) operationalises the concept of *language policy* by drawing up three different components; Firstly, *language management* consists of efforts to influence the situation of a language. Such efforts may be carried out by different actors, an individual, group, a business or institution, or the authorities. It may be based on a plan or formal document, or a number of documents (p. 8-11). The previous chapter explores how *language management* is conducted by national authorities in the case of Sami languages, by means of accessions to international instruments, legislation, and regulations which in combination constitute the national Sami language policies of Norway and Finland.

Secondly, *language practice* is the use of language in society, the choices language users make; choosing words to use, employing grammar, codes or terminology, dialects, speaking, or writing; things that have to do with the exercise of language. Thirdly, *language ideology* or *beliefs* are what we think about the practical choice-making and exercise of language, and what kind of values we attach to different ways of using language (Spolsky, 2004, pp. 13-4). Spolsky explains how *management*, *practices* and *beliefs* may influence each other (2004, p. 14), leading to developments in language policy.

Puzey (2012) shows in his article how official authorities – or, in Spolsky’s terms, those involved in *language management* activities – may sometimes stand in the way of signage being put up in a minority language (p. 130). One example is an NRK news article from 2014 about the reluctance among politicians in Sør-Varanger municipality to put up signs in Sami and Finnish/Kven languages, whereas Norwegian and Russian signs were unproblematic (NRK Troms og Finnmark, 2014, March 13). As a national language in the neighbouring country Russia, Russian language seems here to have had a higher regard, or the *language beliefs* have been more positive towards Russian language than Sami and Kven language. Years later, in a press release issued by Sør-Varanger municipality and reproduced by NRK, the heading says: “Sør-Varanger municipality plans to put up signs of four placenames in four different languages: Norwegian, Northern Sami, Skolt Sami and Kven languages” (NRK Troms og Finnmark, 2022, January 13). This press brief contrasts with the news article. We see how Spolsky’s concepts of *language management* and *beliefs* may develop and change over time, in this case for the benefit of the minority languages in Sør-Varanger municipality.

Puzey (2012) emphasizes that multilingual signage is often complicated (p. 130). As an example, an iFinnmark.no news article on the decision to put up signs in four languages in Sør-Varanger presents a conundrum which arose in the follow-up of the municipal council decision: The Norwegian Public Roads Administration’s traffic sign handbook states that placenames on traffic signs must be *in use* in the area in question. The following argument is presented in the article: Since Skolt Sami language is defined by UNESCO as extinct in Norway, and regarded as nearly extinct by other sources, the Public Roads Administration must first find out whether the Skolt Sami placenames are *in actual use* in these areas (Sandø, 2022). Here, we also see how Spolsky’s concept of *language beliefs* influences *language management* and *language practices*.

Spolsky (2019) further adds to his theoretical framework that language policies may be restricted by “non-linguistic forces” (p. 323). He points to colonization as a force that has led to the destruction of many indigenous languages (p. 328). Shohamy emphasises the urgency for language policy to better facilitate the linguistic needs of “marginalized populations” (2009, p. 185; 2017), because of the influence language policy may have on linguistic minorities. Discussing the language policy in Israel, a country with many linguistic minorities and with Hebrew being the only official language, Shohamy observes: “I witnessed from close up how this language policy became the principal personal experience in the daily lives of people affecting their identities, rights and participation” (2009, p. 186-7).

4.3 The study of linguistic landscapes (LL)

The scholars above demonstrate the value of tools that may be used to systematically gather information about a language situation, including signage in the public sphere, to better understand the challenges facing minority languages, and to find out what may be done to strengthen them. One theory offering a systematic framework for analysis is linguistic landscape (LL) theory. In this section, we will look more closely into what LL theory is and how it may be a relevant tool for this thesis.

The concept of a linguistic landscape pertains to language as it is used in the public sphere in the form of textual or language *elements*, *items* or *objects*, or, put simply, *signs*. LL studies are built on the idea that by charting language elements in an area, and analysing language, placement, design, authorship, ownership, message, purpose, or other aspects, we may extrapolate different types of information (Marten et al., 2012, p. 5).

In contrast to linguistic landscape, the concept of *semiotic landscape* further encompasses symbolism, analogy, and metaphor, as in Johansen and Bull’s (2013) study of the semiotic landscape at the University of Tromsø, Norway, where they document signs, art, and decorations inside the university buildings to shed light on linguistic and cultural hierarchies. Similarly, Pesch et al. (2021) conduct a semiotic landscape study of two North-Norwegian kindergartens to investigate cultural and linguistic diversity. The choice of linguistic landscape study for the research in this thesis reflects the focus on signs and written language.

There is a long-standing connection between the concepts of linguistic landscape, language policy, and signage. Landry and Bourhis (1997) were of the first theorists to develop the concept of linguistic landscape. Defining it as "... the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (Landry and Bourhis, 1997, p. 23), they placed LL on the theoretical map somewhere between ethnolinguistics and social psychology (p. 23). Gorter (2013) advocates LL theory as relevant for language policy and applied linguistics (p. 196).

The field of LL research offers ways of understanding how language policy impacts signage; one is by way of agency or authorship. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) introduce the distinction between top-down and bottom-up language elements (p. 10). The *bottom-up* category comprise language elements that are made on the initiative of private individuals or civil society groupings. In contrast, *top-down* items are language elements whose production is initiated or dictated by an authority and carried out following for instance a policy document, a municipal council decision or the adoption of an Act. The *top-down – bottom-up* distinction may help us develop an understanding of the authors or agents behind signage, and of possible power relations or hierarchies at play in signage practices.

Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 24) introduce the idea that LL theory gives information not just about signs, audience, and authors, but may also "... serve important informational and symbolic functions as a marker of the relative power and status of the linguistic communities inhabiting the territory" (p. 23). Gorter (2006) also emphasizes the theory's explanatory power when it comes to language representation (p. 1). LL theory may help identify, uncover, or counteract patterns of language hierarchies or power relations between minority and majority languages, as well as differences in representation between minorities and the majority (Gorter, Marten and Van Mensel, 2012, pp. 1-2). Shohamy (2017) argues that the relevance of LL theory is that "... it focuses on public spaces as arenas of language use, representation, and controversy" (p. 44).

There are many LL studies on minority language, and a few LL studies focus on Sami languages or the minority languages of Northern Fennoscandia. Linkola (2014) investigates the linguistic landscape of an upper secondary school in a core Sami area in Norway, assessing the hierarchical relationship between Northern Sami language and Norwegian

language. Linkola finds that Norwegian was the dominant language at the school at the time of her research, and that Northern Sami language was primarily used symbolically (2014, p. 14). In their article on the visibility of Sami language in Sami schools, Linkola and Keskitalo (2015) find that the current language policies of education institutions hamper indigenous language visibility and the realization of the goal of language equality (p. 7).

Puzey (2012) confirms the link between language policy and minority language signage in his research on Northern Sami language in Tromsø municipality. He notes “considerable controversy” in matters concerning minority languages in use on official signage (p. 127). He finds that in the case of Tromsø, Norway, many people were sceptical of implementing Northern Sami signage in the municipality and in Troms county in general. Puzey found that locals to some extent would express a desire to implement Northern Sami signage (*bottom-up* in the terms of Ben-Rafael et al.), but that there were attempts by key actors at the national level at impeding such efforts (2012, pp. 129-32). This also resonates with Spolsky’s conception of *language beliefs*.

While Puzey (2012) examines Northern Sami language – a language which is in a minority situation in Norway – it is worth noting that the Northern Sami language is in a majority situation within the continuum of Sami languages. Skolt Sami language, on the other hand, is in a minority situation in both regards – as a small indigenous language in Norway and Finland, and as a small language within the continuum of Sami languages spreading from Northwest Russia and to Central Norway. The fact that Skolt Sami language is no longer naturally transmitted from one generation to the next in Norway, and is in a vulnerable position in Finland as well, constitutes an added disadvantage.

LL studies may take different forms depending on the research question. By studying power relations or authorship, one may focus on top-down vs bottom-up language elements (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006). Other LL studies may combine the use of quantitative and qualitative data. Both on its own and in combination with other theoretical perspectives, LL theory can be a powerful analytical tool (Gorter, Marten and Van Mensel, 2012, p. 4). In this paper, LL theory will be used to analyse the occurrence of signage in Skolt Sami language in four settlements in the Skolt Sami homeland.

5 Methodological considerations

In this chapter, methodological considerations in LL research will be addressed. Furthermore, I will try to discern what type of language elements will be relevant to look for in the case studies. Identifying these elements is important in order to answer the following research question: to what extent is Skolt Sami language represented on signage in the public space in the researched areas?

5.1 Looking for signs

To understand the conditions for the Skolt Sami language in terms of its visibility in public space in relation to language policy, it is necessary to determine what kinds of signage may be considered relevant language elements for this study. One definition of a language element is the following, launched by Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 25): “The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.”

As Landry and Bourhis (1997) demonstrate, a language element can be many things. A definition of what a relevant language element is for a given research question needs to be as clear-cut as possible. I will therefore start out by asking some questions that build on Landry and Bourhis’ (1997, p. 25) definition:

- Does the language element contain information in written form? (Written info)
- Is it available for the public to see and read? (Visible in the public space)
- Is it understood as not being a random text? (Deliberate)
- Is it likely that this information has been deliberately put on display for the public to see and read? (Intentionally public)
- Is it presented in the form of a sign, a name, a placename, a title, or a short message/info? (Brevity)
- Does it contain information that facilitates navigation in the area or promotes understanding of one’s surroundings in some way, geographically, historically or culturally? (Facilitates navigation in the public space or understanding of the society/community)

If the answers to these questions are all “yes”, there is a likelihood that the language element may represent a reasonable contribution to a pool of language elements from which I may in turn be able to identify relevant language elements existing in Skolt Sami language.

Based on the questions above, and following the definition provided by Landry and Bourhis (1997) above, it seems relevant to understand street signs, placename signs, direction and distance signs, signs on buildings and public installations or vehicles, and signs with short messages, as the most relevant language elements for the purposes of this thesis. The wide variety of information posters with longer texts and other types of language elements which are likely to be seen during the research trips, might someday serve as material for another project, but will not be dealt with in this thesis.

Language elements considered relevant for the research:

- Street signs, placename signs, direction and distance signs
- Signs on buildings (building name signs or signs with institution names)
- Signs on public installations or on public/official vehicles, etc.
- Public posters or information/messages in a brief form

Language elements not considered relevant for the current research:

- Elements in the digital sphere, such as websites, with the exception of digital screens that are on public display
- Graffiti, writing on walls, and visual elements not containing written language
- Names and information on groceries/products, different types of notes
- Language elements on privately owned or personal items such as T-shirts, bags or gadgets

5.2 Practical implementation

Two research trips were carried out to photograph language elements with text in Skolt Sami language in the research areas. One trip was made to Njauddâm and K̅earkknjargg (Norway) on the 23rd to 25th of August 2021, and one to Če’vetjäu’rr and Aanar (Finland) on the 26th to 28th of November 2021. Because of long distances getting there and going between

Njauddâm- Ķeârkknjargg and Če'vetjäu'rr-Aanar, and due to limited public communications in the area, travelling in the areas was done by car.

Considering the dispersed settlement in these areas, the most relevant areas – the places where people go for one or another purpose, or where people live – are researched. I have also been inside public buildings and open community buildings to look for signs, such as the Sør-Varanger town hall, the Sajos building in Aanar, and the Skolt Sami house in Če'vetjäu'rr.

5.3 Methodological challenges and choices

It might also have been interesting to identify language elements which are *about* a Skolt Sami topic, building, site, historical event, Skolt Sami culture or about a Skolt Sami person, regardless of meta-language or genre. Gorter et al. (2012), however, warn against including just any type of element in LL research (p. 5). Semiotic elements – elements with visual designs rather than text, are not regarded as relevant for this thesis, as the main focus in this thesis is language.

Furthermore, a choice to work only with permanent language elements would provide the opportunity to verify the information at a later stage (p. 4). However, even a static sign is easily removed, and verification at a later stage is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Because of the anticipated small number of signs in the areas of study, a qualitative approach is chosen as the main methodology. This allows for a study of the overall language situation, beyond just presenting numbers of signs in Skolt Sami language. At the same time, a qualitative approach runs the risk of becoming too descriptive and lacking in its potential to describe aggregated trends. Therefore, it is important to analyse the findings both in terms of the number of occurrences of different signs, but also in the light of the current language policies identified above.

6 Case studies

This chapter presents the findings from the research carried out in Njauddâm, Ķeârkknjargg, Če'vetjäu'rr, and Aanar to document the occurrence of signage in Skolt Sami language. 213 language elements were identified and photographed. 40 from Njauddâm, 101 from

Ķeârkknjargg, 27 from Če'vetjäu'rr, and 45 from Aanar. At the end of this chapter, we will have a basic idea of the occurrence of Skolt Sami language in the public space in the researched areas.

The photos of signs in this thesis are all taken by me. The photos are cropped to make language elements appear as large and readable as possible. Although cropping removes some context, the focus of this thesis is first and foremost on the actual language elements and the occurrence of these in Skolt Sami language in the studied areas. The photos included in the text are there as examples of the findings made during the research trips. Tables of signs and languages can be found in the appendix section.

In the following section, findings are grouped according to the number of languages displayed on each sign. The purpose of this organising is to identify trends in the occurrence of Skolt Sami language elements. The reader is encouraged to read the whole chapter 6 before drawing any conclusions about the signage situation in the researched areas.

6.1 Monolingual language elements

Monolingual language elements are elements displaying information in one language only. In both Norway and Finland, many such signs can be found. In the following, I will present the findings from Norway, and then from Finland.



Norway

In Norway, having entered the village Njauddâm from the North, passing the turn leading to the Ä'vv Skolt Sami museum, the next road signs inform the passer-by that the village Mikkelsnes and the Neiden chapel are nearby. The signs are top-down (authority-initiated) and are in Norwegian. Passing by Neiden Kroa diner, the building sign is in Norwegian only, with a bottom-up sign (sign initiated by a civil society or private actor).

Fossheim school, the community primary school in Njauddâm, is owned by Sør-Varanger municipality, but was closed in 2018. Fossheim primary school has likely had pupils with Skolt Sami cultural background and with Skolt Sami as a family heritage language, but this is not visible by looking at the building signs. The signs are top-down (issued by Sør-Varanger municipality) and in Norwegian only.



In Njauddâm village, passing the driveway up to Neiden chapel, a road leads to the Mikkelsnes settlement and a small pier serving the Neiden fjord. Here, information posters about the use of the pier are in Norwegian only. This is a bottom-up language element, initiated by a civil society grouping (the local boating association). After having arrived at the main road in Njauddâm village again, one can turn eastward and continue through what may be considered to be the main street in Njauddâm. The sign to the central Skoltefossen waterfall put up by the Norwegian Public Roads Administration (top-down), is in Norwegian only. Passing by the Neiden Hotel, the building sign (bottom-up) is in Norwegian only.



Approaching Ķeârkknjargg via the miniature suburb of Hesseng, a collection of direction signs are mainly in Norwegian. These are top-down elements put up by the Public Roads Administration. On the way into central Ķeârkknjargg one is welcomed by a sign in Norwegian. A



visit to Ķeârkknjargg church provides you with brief information about the upcoming sermons, and a number to call if one is having problems in life. These are top-down elements, issued by the Church of Norway. Information is in Norwegian only.

Walking towards Sør-Varanger town hall in central Ķeârkknjargg, one sees many municipal service cars with top-down text in Norwegian language. The Sør-Varanger town hall itself has its building name in Norwegian only. The town hall is open, says an information poster in Norwegian. Information about the Covid-19 pandemic is also provided in Norwegian only. If you wanted to vote in the elections in advance at Sør-Varanger town hall in 2021, it appeared that you could only do so in Norwegian in Sør-Varanger municipality. Navigating the offices of the town hall can also be done only in Norwegian, except in one instance when information is given in English only and initiated by the local travel agency (bottom-up). Many of the buildings owned by Sør-Varanger municipality, including Kirkenes primary school, have building names and other top-down signage on display only in Norwegian. Entering the Sør-Varanger public library located inside the community centre building by the town square, one can find books in many different languages, but can seemingly only navigate the premises in top-down signage in Norwegian language.



Sør-Varanger municipality has an extensive history from World War II. Many monuments have been put up after the war. The direction sign leading to the commemorative monument in honour of the partisan helpers at Langøra during WWII is in Norwegian only, a top-down language element. The municipality also has a lot of popular hiking routes which have signs organized by the Finnmark Outdoor Council (Finnmark friluftsråd). These bottom-up direction signs are also in Norwegian only.

Finland

In Finland, stopping by the Orthodox church in Ķe'vetjäu'rr, the information outside the church gate is in Finnish, such as a top-down poster informing us of upcoming services at the Sevettijärvi Orthodox Church. Having passed through the Ķe'vetjäu'rr community centre and

going southward towards Aanar, the signs are increasingly just in Finnish. One distance sign to Ivalo is translated into Skolt Sami, but the distance sign to Kaamanen is only in Finnish. The Youth and Nature House on the way to Aanar has a sign in Finnish only.

In Aanar town, a shop has information about special opening hours reserved for people at risk of severe complications from the Covid-19 pandemic, but this bottom-up information is only on display in Finnish. The sign leading to the Aanar hiking area ski resort, as well as the sign pointing to the ski slopes, are top-down and in Finnish only. A pedestrian street outside Aanar town centre has information in Finnish only.



6.2 Bilingual language elements

Bilingual language elements are elements displaying information in two languages. Both in Norway and Finland, many instances of bilingual language elements were found, and they varied greatly in their combination of languages. When a language pair is described here, it is in the order displayed on the sign, read from top to bottom. In the following the findings from Norway will be presented, followed by the findings from Finland.

Norway

Norwegian and Finnish

In Njauddâm, the site of the traditional k p l  fishing (salmon fishing with a cast net) is located by the Skoltefossen waterfall. On the site, one can find a variety of language elements including name signs and information posters. Some of these are bilingual, in Norwegian and Finnish. The official (top-down) sign informing about the working hours of the Njaudd m customs office near the fishing site is in Norwegian and Finnish.



Norwegian and Russian

Ķeârkknjargg is famous for its Norwegian and Russian street signs.

On the way towards central Ķeârkknjargg from Hesseng, a top-down distance sign is found in Norwegian and Russian. In central

Ķeârkknjargg, many of the street names are displayed both in Norwegian and Russian language. Next to the town square, one can

find top-down signage to a public toilet. Information about the

opening hours of the public toilet is given in Norwegian and Russian language. The Sør-

Varanger public library in the community centre next to the town square has a top-down

building sign in Norwegian and Russian. Outside the community centre, there is a top-down

sign with information on the parking facilities in Norwegian and Russian, and the shop

Spareland at the outskirts of Ķeârkknjargg centre has commercial information signs (bottom-

up) in Norwegian and Russian. A commercial for Jotun boating paint (bottom-up) is in

Norwegian and Russian. A top-down street sign says “*Kaisvingen Кайсвинген*”, in

Norwegian and Russian. Another municipality sign (top-down) informs about who can use the parking space, in Norwegian and Russian language.



So far, the language order on bilingual elements in

Ķeârkknjargg have been Norwegian first. One element

was found, however, where the order has been reversed

– the Russian Orthodox Holy Tryphon of Pechenga

Congregation building has a bilingual sign with Russian

first and Norwegian second.



Norwegian and Northern Sami

Inside Kirkenes hospital, a large share of the direction

signs and information signs are bilingual, with

Norwegian and Northern Sami text.



Finland

Finnish and English

Approaching Aanar town, one of the first signs is the official information sign about the Siida Sami museum and nature centre, which is in Finnish and English. The main sign at the driveway to the Siida Sami museum and nature centre, a sign initiated by the museum, is also in Finnish and English. Having entered Aanar town, the bottom-up sign to the jewellery shop Inarin Hopea is found in Finnish and English.

At Sajos, the building that houses the Sami Parliament in Finland, no language elements show signs of Skolt Sami culture at the Sajos info desk. Here, signage was mainly in Finnish and English.



It is natural to think that the English language elements here are made for English speaking tourists. If the intended audience of this information would have been Sami visitors from the Russian side of the border who do not speak a Sami language, the natural choice of language would be Russian.

Finnish and Northern Sami

Crossing the border to Finland, to reach the Če'vetjäu'rr community centre, one passes through large parts of the Inari municipality. Along this road, some signs are in both Finnish and Northern Sami language, such as the official (top-down) placename signage for entering into Lapland county and Inari municipality, but also the road sign for the direction to Supeluohhta and Toaivunjárga settlements.



A top-down direction sign at the outskirts of Aanar shows the placenames Ķeârkknjargg, Njauddâm and Če'vetjäu'rr in Finnish and Northern Sami.



Finnish and Swedish

Alongside Finnish, Swedish is an official language in Finland. In Aanar, you can be informed by an official information sign (top-down) about how the postbox system works in Finnish and Swedish.

Finnish and Skolt Sami

Having passed through the Če'vetjäu'rr community centre and going southward towards Aanar town, the signs, most of them top-down road signs, turn more and more Finnish-only.

However, along the road between Če'vetjäu'rr and Aanar, an official (top-down) direction sign to Vuaskkjäu'rr is in Finnish and Skolt Sami. The same is true of the official placename sign (top-down) for the settlement Nje'ž žjäu'rr. These signs,

however, do not form part of the quantitative material as they are outside of the areas of study, in this case between Če'vetjäu'rr and Aanar.

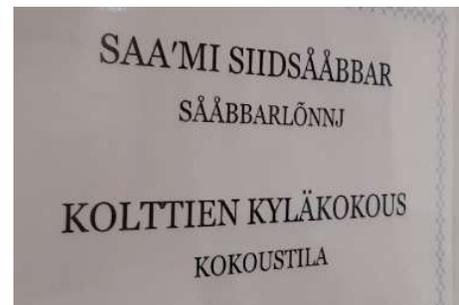


After crossing the border to Finland and driving southwards towards the Če'vetjäu'rr village, a bilingual distance sign (top-down) in Finnish and Skolt Sami language appears. Another settlement nearby, Jiöññjäu'rr, has a bilingual placename sign (top-down) in Finnish and Skolt Sami. Arriving in Če'vetjäu'rr, the main placename sign is in Finnish and Skolt Sami. The health station and school have signs in Finnish and Skolt Sami (see picture).



Skolt Sami and Finnish

In the Če'vetjäu'rr community, the Skolt Sami house, where the offices of the Skolt Sami Council are located, has many bottom-up bilingual signs in Skolt Sami and Finnish. The front door invites the visitor with signage in Skolt Sami and Finnish. The office doors are decorated with information signs in Skolt Sami and Finnish. There are signs in



Skolt Sami and Finnish on all doors on the first floor. If your sole language were Skolt Sami, you could navigate these premises easily.

At the Skolt Sami house, the bottom-up sign to the restroom in Skolt Sami language reminds us of the Skolt Sami people's close connections to the Skolt Sami territories within today's Russia. The word *nuu'žniĳ* gives connotations of "something necessary" in Russian language.



Leaving the premises of the Skolt Sami house in Če'vetjäu'rr, there is signage in Skolt Sami and Finnish. An official (top-down) direction sign shows the way to the Skolt Sami traditional house, in Skolt Sami (with typos) and Finnish. The Če'vetjäu'rr community work centre has (bottom-up) signage in Skolt Sami and Finnish. The Skolt Sami traditional house has (bottom-up) signage in Skolt Sami and Finnish.



Inside the Sajos building in Aanar, a screen in the lobby displays an illustration of proper ways to cough in different Sami languages. The screen picture shifts from language to language in a loop, where one of the languages is Skolt Sami language. This way of shifting between different Sami languages in a loop gives the feeling that Skolt Sami language is equal to Inari Sami and Northern Sami language, or is deserving of equal "screen-time", in contrast to being listed at the bottom of a sign with several Sami languages.

6.3 Multilingual language elements

Multilingual language elements are elements displaying information in three or more languages. There were many different combinations of languages found on multilingual signs in both Norway and Finland. In the following, the findings and language combinations from Norway are presented, followed by the findings and combinations from Finland.

Norway

Norwegian, English, and Finnish

Exploring the buildings on the Skolt Town heritage site in Njauddâm there is mainly information in Norwegian, Finnish, and English, and in a few places one can see elements of Russian. Even Church Slavonic script was found on the ikons on display as well as on the church bells outside St.



George’s chapel. This leads us to multilingual signs with Norwegian, English, and Russian text:

Norwegian, English, and Russian

In various places throughout Ķeârkknjargg town, information on private businesses is provided in Norwegian, English, and Russian language, such as the bottom-up signage outside the building complex of the Syd-Varanger Gruve mining company. The Kimek shipyard building also has bottom-up language elements with Norwegian, English, and Russian texts.



Norwegian, Northern Sami, and Finnish

Entering Njauddâm, an official (top-down) placename sign shows the name of the village in Norwegian (*Neiden*), Northern Sami (*Njâvdân*) and Finnish/Kven (*Näätämö*). Although a simple placename sign, it serves to connect Norwegian, Northern Sami, and Finnish and Kven cultures, history, and contemporary society to the Njauddâm area. This language element has no text in Skolt Sami language, and the sign does not inform the reader of the historical and contemporary presence of the Skolt Sami people and culture in this area.



Norwegian, Skolt Sami, and Finnish

Upon entering the village Njauddâm, a large official information sign tells the passer-by of the presence of a museum about the Skolt Sami, with written text in three languages: Norwegian (*Skoltesamisk museum*), Skolt Sami (*Á'vv' sáá' mi mu'zei*), and Finnish (*Kolttasaamelainen museo*). In this sign, Skolt Sami language appears as though it has taken the place of Northern Sami language (referring to a sign on display before entering the village), which serves to underline the importance of the Skolt



Sami minority and its *historical* presence in Njauddâm. The sign may lead one's thoughts in the direction of the Skolt Sami minority being understood as a historical fact about this area, rather than as a contemporary influence. A follow-up sign shows the passer-by or visitor where to make a right turn to arrive at the Skolt Sami museum. The sign is in Norwegian, Skolt Sami, and Finnish.

Driving in Njauddâm, we see a street sign pointing in the direction of the Skolt Town heritage site, Sää'msijdd. This is the site of St. George's chapel, an Orthodox chapel of great significance to the Skolt Sami minority as they converted to Eastern Orthodoxy during the 17th century. The sign leading to the Skolt Town heritage site is in Norwegian, Skolt Sami, and Finnish languages. With the heritage site symbol next to the place name, the sign reveals that this is a historical Skolt Sami place.



Finland

Finnish, English, and German

In Aanar, at the Holiday Village Inari, you can access information in Finnish, English, and German languages.

Finnish, English, Northern Sami, Inari Sami, and Skolt Sami

Visiting the Sami parliament building Sajos in Aanar, one sees a large roll-up poster is on display in the hall, presenting ways to greet each other in Finnish, English, Northern Sami, Inari Sami, and Skolt Sami languages. Visually, the biggest words are in Finnish and English, as if to point visitors from outside the Sami communities (tourists) to the right words in a Sami language.



Finnish, English, Inari Sami, Northern Sami, and Skolt Sami

At the premises of the Siida Sami museum and nature centre, some information is provided in all of the Sami languages in the area. Information posters regarding the renovation process of the museum is on display, in Finnish, English, Inari Sami, Northern Sami, and Skolt Sami, respectively.



Finnish, Swedish, English, Northern Sami, Inari Sami, and Skolt Sami

In one of the grocery shops in Aanar, the doors are decorated with the text “Welcome” in six languages:

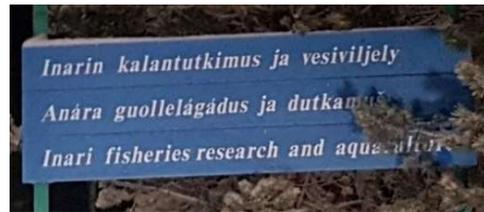
Finnish, Swedish, English, Northern Sami, Inari Sami, and Skolt Sami. It serves to remind the viewer of the diversity of the area, but at the same time has a “touristy” flavour to it.



The element is put up by the grocery store and is therefore a bottom-up language element.

Finnish, Northern Sami, English

The Inari fisheries research and aquaculture centre in Aanar has a bottom-up sign in Finnish, Northern Sami, and English languages.



Northern Sami, Finnish, and English

In Aanar, entering the Siida Sami museum and nature centre premises, some information is given in Northern Sami, Finnish, and English. Outside the Siida museum there are direction signs with information in Northern Sami, Finnish, and English.



Finnish, Inari Sami, and Northern Sami

In Finland, having passed Če'vetjäu'rr and several other small settlements along the way towards Aanar, a direction sign with information about the way to Ivalo, Utsjoki and Karigasniemi is found in Finnish, Inari Sami, and Northern Sami languages.

Finnish, Northern Sami, Skolt Sami, and Inari Sami

The offices of the Sami Education Centre in Aanar has a sign in Finnish, Northern Sami, Skolt Sami, and Inari Sami languages.



Skolt Sami, Finnish, and English

At the main entrance of the community work centre in Če'vetjäu'rr, one is welcomed in Skolt Sami, Finnish and English.



6.4 Analysis of the findings

On the signs photographed, the most proliferate languages were Norwegian (N=141) and Finnish (N=80). Of all signs, N=133 were monolingual and most of them displayed only the national language Norwegian or Finnish. The majority of these monolingual signs were top-down, and the total number of top-down elements was N=146. There were also several bilingual signs (N=54), where the most frequent languages were Norwegian or Finnish in combination with another language. The number of multilingual languages was N=26, also here always featuring a national language together with other languages.

Norway

The total number of signs photographed in Njauddâm was N=40. All signs had text in Norwegian. Finnish text was found in N=10 of those signs. Skolt Sami text was found on N=6. In one of those six signs, Skolt Sami text came first. English text was also found on N=6 signs. Russian text was found in N=2 signs that were multilingual. Northern Sami text was also found on one sign, in this case after Norwegian text and before Finnish/Kven text. N=27 monolingual signs, N=4 bilingual, and N=9 multilingual signs were found in Njauddâm. Out of the 40 signs, N=25 were considered top-down signs.

Of the six signs with Skolt Sami text in Njauddâm, four signs were considered top-down signs and two were considered to be bottom-up or privately initiated. These numbers are, however, so few that it is hard to extrapolate anything from them, other than that Skolt Sami signage is almost non-existent in Sør-Varanger municipality.

The total number of signs photographed in Ķeârkknjargg was N=101. All signs had text in Norwegian, except for one which was solely in English. N=19 signs had Russian text, N=5 had Northern Sami text, N=5 had English text, and N=0 had Skolt Sami text. N=78 monolingual signs, N=18 bilingual, and N=5 multilingual signs were found in Ķeârkknjargg. Of the multilingual signs, the majority had Russian text, and some also had English text. Out of the 101 signs, N=77 were considered top-down signs. Many of these were initiated by Sør-Varanger municipality and were mostly in Norwegian. Other top-down signs were the famous Norwegian-Russian street signs. The bottom-up signs consisted of mainly private enterprise-initiated informational signage, such as warnings and where to park, in Norwegian, English, and sometimes Russian text.

Finland

The total number of signs photographed in Ķe'vetjäu'rr was N=27. All signs had text in Finnish, of which N=11 had Finnish text first. N=21 signs had Skolt Sami text, of which N=10 had Skolt Sami text first. One of the signs in Skolt Sami had significant typographical errors. N=2 signs had text in English, these were multilingual signs with Finnish and Skolt Sami text as well. N=6 signs were monolingual, N=19 bilingual, and N=2 were multilingual. Out of the 27 signs, N=15 were considered top-down signs. Of the 21 Skolt Sami signs, N=11 were considered top-down signs, and N=10 were considered bottom-up or privately initiated signs. This suggests a great effort at the grassroots level in Ķe'vetjäu'rr, but may also indicate that the authorities have facilitated Skolt Sami signage practices in the community.

The total number of signs photographed in Aanar was N=45. N=42 signs had text in Finnish, of which N=17 had Finnish text first. N=15 signs had text in English, N=13 signs had text in Northern Sami, N=8 signs had text in Inari Sami, N=5 signs had text in Skolt Sami, N=2 signs had text in Swedish, and N=1 sign had text in German language. Of the five signs with text in Skolt Sami, none of them were with Skolt Sami text first. Of the signs with Northern Sami and Inari Sami text, N=21 in all, three signs had typographical errors. N=22 signs were monolingual, N=13 bilingual, and N=10 multilingual. Finnish and English were a frequent combination on bilingual signs. The multilingual signs often displayed all the three Sami languages of the area in addition to Finnish and English. Out of the 45 signs, 29 were considered top-down signs, often found by the road or near the various institutions in Aanar town. Of the five Skolt Sami signs, four were considered top-down signs. Perhaps the low

number of privately initiated Skolt Sami signs indicates that it is harder to carry out signing measures for a small language like Skolt Sami in a multilingual environment such as Aanar. Another reason could be that it may be regarded as more important to carry out Skolt Sami signage in Če'vetjäu'rr, where one already to some extent could be able to navigate the village only knowing Skolt Sami language. However, these two alternative explanations could not be confirmed by the data collected during the research trips.

No independent language elements were found where Skolt Sami language was the sole language.

7 Discussion

In terms of the Sami language policies governing the researched areas, several Acts where Sami language is mentioned are similar in Norway and Finland. However, Finland has passed a separate Act with the aim of securing Skolt Sami language and culture. In Norway, the Skolt Sami and their language appear largely overlooked, and only in the regulations to the Placename Act is Skolt Sami language mentioned explicitly. In Finland, Skolt Sami language is protected under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, whereas in Norway, protection under the Charter does not extend to Skolt Sami language. The fact that Norway has ratified ILO 169, where Finland has not, does not seem to have any positive impact on the situation for the Skolt Sami people in Norway. Norwegian legislation says in effect that if Skolt Sami language is not in use, then signs should not be put up with Skolt Sami text. This means that the door to top-down, government initiated strengthening of Skolt Sami language in public space is closed.

We have seen how Skolt Sami signs were few and far between in Norway. With the exception of the handful of language elements with text in Skolt Sami language, no signage in the researched areas in Sør-Varanger municipality, give away the “secret” of the traditional and contemporary presence of the Skolt Sami minority and the relevance and influence of Skolt Sami culture. The number of signs with Russian text (almost exclusively found in Ķeârkknjargg) was in itself an interesting feature of the signage here. Russian text tells the story of a close trade relationship with Russia, and also make visible the Russian minority

residing in Ķeârkknjargg. This begs the question of why the Skolt Sami minority in the area are not shown the same courtesy. At the same time, Skolt Sami text on signs is more of a symbolic phenomenon as long as so few people speak it, while Russian text on signs may be more of a practical measure for a minority who use their language on a daily basis.

Upon driving to Northern Finland, the expectation was that there would be more signs in Skolt Sami language and that there would be both publicly initiated signs and private signs. The Če'vetjäu'rr community had a range of Skolt Sami signs to offer. Although they were bilingual, many of the signs were also with Skolt Sami text first. In Aanar, Skolt Sami language on signage became more invisible among a multitude of other languages, and only five signs with Skolt Sami text were found here. Most of those signs were also multilingual constellations. Some of them had a touristy feel to them, in the sense that they did not come across as being there for the practical use of a Skolt Sami speaker, but rather to show how many languages there are in Aanar. At the same time, not all touristic places had Skolt Sami language elements (such as the sign outside Holiday Village Inari), and, similarly, not all Skolt Sami language elements could be regarded as touristic (e.g. the Sami Education Centre's sign). The Skolt Sami screen picture on display in the Sami parliament building Sajos and the Skolt Sami poster outside the Siida museum building also came across as signage that was there for the Skolt Sami community itself, and not just as a touristic feature.

The impression from the research trip was that *systematic* signage in Skolt Sami was not in place outside of the centre of the Če'vetjäu'rr community area. In Če'vetjäu'rr, it would have been possible to navigate only knowing the Skolt Sami language, although some sites were also lacking in Skolt Sami signage (such as the Sevetijärvi church). Interestingly, language elements on church premises in Njauddâm, Ķeârkknjargg, or Če'vetjäu'rr were not found in Skolt Sami except for one commemorative monument near Sevetijärvi Orthodox Church.

We have seen how the Skolt Sami people, along with their language and culture, lost ground to forced relocation, loss of access to natural resources, socio-economic changes and displacement by other groups. May (2012, pp. 135-6) argues the close relationship between language, identity, and community. We see from the case studies that the situation in the Skolt Sami homeland today is one where national languages have achieved relative hegemony over minority languages in the public space. From the perspective of De Korne's (2021) idea

that minority languages are always in a state of “constant negotiation” (pp. 3-4) – in our case, the Skolt Sami language has lost the negotiation.

We recall Spolsky’s (2004) concepts of *language management*, *language practices* and *language beliefs* and how they may influence one another (p. 14). In our case, it appears that these three factors have further hampered the visibility of Skolt Sami language in the public space, from the effects of socio-economic change to the consequences following ill-managed language policy.

Or is the current situation for Skolt Sami signage a case of simple overlooking by the authorities? Helander (2014, p. 32) points out what may happen when indigenous language is kept in the dark, as the Skolt Sami language is in terms of its very limited visibility in the public space in the Skolt Sami homeland; she warns against the consequences of excluding practices. Cenoz and Gorter (2006) argue that by way of policymaking, signage practices affect who is represented in a society (pp. 67-8). The current lack of visibility for Skolt Sami language means that Skolt Sami language users⁴ are relatively less visible and audible in our democracies, compared to the majorities, Norwegian and Finnish, but also Northern Sami.

According to Puzeý (2012), “The kinds of information shown in a given minority language in top-down signage can be an important indication of the true scale of official provision for these languages” (p. 144). From the analysis of the findings in the case studies, it looks as if Norwegian and Finnish authorities both have a long way to go in terms of taking Skolt Sami language into account.

⁴ I use the term “language user” here as something other than a “speaker”, for the term to include not only fluent speakers of Skolt Sami, but also those who want to learn it or who use Skolt Sami language in different ways beyond being fluent in it.

7.1 Recommendations

I explained earlier in my analysis a view based on my findings, that the strengthening of Skolt Sami language visibility in the public space by the authorities, especially in Norway, will likely not happen. As a consequence, grassroots and private initiatives must fill that void. And here is where the Sami Parliaments in Norway and Finland can play an important role, by allocating budget funds to measures carried out on the grassroots level to strengthen the visibility of Skolt Sami language. This may be a way to break the vicious cycle that otherwise may lead to the extinction of Skolt Sami language altogether.

Similarly, there are two ways in which Skolt Sami language visibility is important. One way is practically – to provide the Skolt Sami minority a way to navigate in their home area by seeing and using Skolt Sami language around them, just as other people do in their language. The other way is no less important, in my opinion, and that is the symbolic importance of Skolt Sami signage visible in the public space. In this way even multilingual signs displaying a range of different languages may have their function, to show the surroundings that all indigenous and minority languages matter.

8 Concluding chapter

Signs and written information in the public space are language elements that help us navigate our surroundings. These language elements also tell another story: The story of authorship and audience, and they reveal who is included in the narrative – or excluded from it.

This thesis has had as its geographical focal point an area that comprises core Skolt Sami areas in Norway and Finland. It has focused on the situation for Skolt Sami language in signage in the Skolt Sami homeland, specifically the settlements of Njauddâm and Ķeârkknjargg (Norway), Če'vetjäu'rr and Aanar (Finland). The aim of the thesis has been to look at the national Sami language policies in Norway and Finland, and to map the current situation for Skolt Sami language on signage in public space in the research areas, in order to identify possible connections between policy and reality.

The following research question was addressed:

- What connections, if any, can be identified, between Sami language policy and the occurrence of signage in Skolt Sami language in public space in the researched areas of the Skolt Sami homeland?

To answer this question, it was necessary to first ask two more questions:

- What characterises the Sami language policies in Norway and Finland?
- To what extent is Skolt Sami language represented on signage in the public space in the researched areas of the Skolt Sami homeland?

The thesis found that what characterizes Norwegian language policy in relation to Skolt Sami language is that it is largely non-existent. Similarly, Skolt Sami language elements are few and far between in areas under Norwegian jurisdiction. In the case of Finland, a Skolt Sami Act has been passed and, in contrast to the Norwegian case, Skolt Sami language in Finland *is* protected under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Still, Skolt Sami language elements in the researched areas were mainly found around the settlement of Če'vetjäu'rr.

By looking at the Skolt Sami case, I find there is compelling evidence to claim that there is a connection between national Sami language policy and indigenous language reality in the case of the visibility of Skolt Sami signs in the public space in the Skolt Sami homeland.

In a worldview where the fundamental premise is that there are limited resources, as May, Puzey, Helander, Pietikäinen, and De Korne problematize in their works, languages covering the same area are competing for the same space to exist, to be seen, and to develop. In this struggle, majority language(s) will dominate. Contrary to this worldview would be an understanding and appreciation of the value of all languages, and a will to facilitate for the presence, visibility, and development of all languages belonging to an area, including indigenous or minority languages. Only in this way may we be able to linguistically landscape a future for seriously threatened languages such as the Skolt Sami language.

8.1 Areas of future research

Further research into Skolt Sami language visibility in the public space should strive to include also Skolt Sami areas on the Kola Peninsula. This should also include looking into Russian indigenous language policy, or, the language policies in Russia aimed at the indigenous small-numbered peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East (коренные малочисленные народы Севера, Сибири и Дальнего Востока), and how the Skolt Sami language fares under Russian minority language policy.

The brevity of this thesis did not allow for a discussion on local and regional language policy in Norway and Finland. Local and regional language policies could be included in further research on the topic.

The Skolt Sami language situation is not unique. As the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley and Nicolas, 2017) shows, there are other indigenous or minority languages which are at risk of disappearing. In this perspective, there may be things to learn from comparing the case of Skolt Sami language to another indigenous or minority language in a similar situation and under a different national language policy. Technical developments also open opportunities for future linguistic landscape research on indigenous or minority languages.

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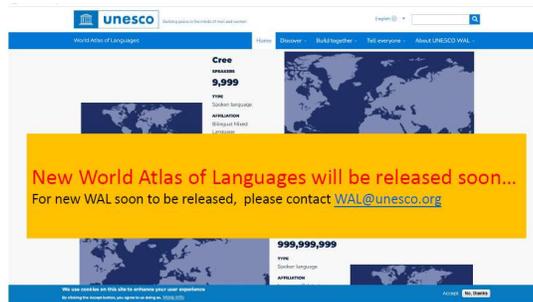
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Appendices

Appendix I – Findings from the research trips (all four places)

Findings from the research trips

Njauddâm - Keårkknjargg (Norway) August 23 - 25, 2021, Če'vetjäu'rr - Aanar (Finland) November 26 - 28, Nina M. Austad-Sivertsen

Photo code	Area	No. of signs	Monolingual	Bilingual	Multilingual	Skolt Sami	Skolt Sami first	Northern Sami	Northern Sami first	Inari Sami	Norwegian	Norwegian first	Finnish	Finnish first	Russian	English	German	Swedish	No. of languages	Bottom-up sign	Top-down sign
A 1	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	
A 2	Njauddâm	1									1	1	1			1			3	1	
A 3	Njauddâm	1		1							1	1	1						2		1
A 4	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	
A 5	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 6	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	1
A 7	Njauddâm	1			1	1					1	1	1						3		1
A 8	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	
A 9	Njauddâm	1			1			1			1	1	1						3		1
A 10	Njauddâm	1			1	1					1	1	1						3		1
A 11	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	1
A 12	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 13	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	
A 14	Njauddâm	1		1							1	1				1			2	1	
A 15	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 16	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	1
A 17	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 18	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	1
A 19	Njauddâm	1			1	1					1	1	1						3		1
A 20	Njauddâm	1			1	1					1	1	1						3		1
A 21	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 22	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	
A 23	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 24	Njauddâm	1			1						1	1	1		1	1			4	1	
A 25	Njauddâm	1			1						1	1	1		1				3		1
A 26	Njauddâm	1		1		1					1	1							2	1	
A 27	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	
A 28	Njauddâm	1			1	1	1				1		1		1	1			5	1	
A 29	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	
A 30	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 31	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	
A 32	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	
A 33	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 34	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	1
A 35	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	1
A 36	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	1
A 37	Njauddâm	1		1							1	1				1			2		1
A 38	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	1
A 39	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	1
A 40	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
B 1	Keårkknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 2	Keårkknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 3	Keårkknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 4	Keårkknjargg	1	1								1								1		1

B 5	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1						1		1		
B 6	Ķeārknjargg	1		1						1	1					1		2	1	
B 7	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	
B 8	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	
B 9	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	
B 10	Ķeārknjargg	1		1						1								1	2	1
B 11	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 12	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 13	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 14	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 15	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 16	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 17	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 18	Ķeārknjargg	1		1			1			1	1							2	1	1
B 19	Ķeārknjargg	1		1			1			1	1							2	1	1
B 20	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 21	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 22	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 23	Ķeārknjargg	1		1						1	1							2	1	1
B 24	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 25	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 26	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 27	Ķeārknjargg	1		1			1			1	1							2	1	1
B 28	Ķeārknjargg	1			1					1	1							3	1	1
B 29	Ķeārknjargg	1			1					1	1							3	1	1
B 30	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 31	Ķeārknjargg	1		1			1			1	1							2	1	1
B 32	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 33	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 34	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 35	Ķeārknjargg	1		1						1	1							2	1	1
B 36	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 37	Ķeārknjargg	1		1						1	1							2	1	1
B 38	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 39	Ķeārknjargg	1		1						1	1							2	1	1
B 40	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 41	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 42	Ķeārknjargg	1			1					1	1							3	1	1
B 43	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 44	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 45	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								2	1	1
B 46	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 47	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 48	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 49	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 50	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 51	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 52	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 53	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 54	Ķeārknjargg	1	1							1								1	1	1
B 55	Ķeārknjargg	1			1			1		1	1	1						3	1	1

D 30	Aanar	1			1	1		1		1			1	1		1		1	6	1	
D 31	Aanar	1	1							1								1	1		
D 32	Aanar	1		1			1			1	1							2		1	
D 33	Aanar	1		1						1	1		1					2	1		
D 34	Aanar	1			1	1		1	1		1	1		1				5		1	
D 35	Aanar	1	1										1					1	1		
D 36	Aanar	1			1	1		1	1				1					4		1	
D 37	Aanar	1	1							1								1		1	
D 38	Aanar	1	1										1					1		1	
D 39	Aanar	1		1			1				1	1						2		1	
D 40	Aanar	1	1								1							1		1	
D 41	Aanar	1	1								1							1		1	
D 42	Aanar	1			1				1	1		1	1					3		1	
D 43	Aanar	1		1							1						1	2		1	
D 44	Aanar	1	1								1							1		1	
D 45	Aanar	1			1						1			1	1			3		1	
Sum		213	133	54	26	32	11	19	2	8	141	30	80	28	21	28	1	2	332	67	146
	No. of signs																				
	Monolingual signs																				
	Bilingual signs																				
	Multilingual signs																				
	Slot Sami																				
	Slot Sami first																				
	Northern Sami																				
	Northern Sami first																				
	Inari Sami																				
	Norwegian																				
	Norwegian first																				
	Finnish																				
	Finnish first																				
	Russian																				
	English																				
	German																				
	Swedish																				
	No. of languages																				
	Bottom-up signs																				
	Top-down signs																				

Appendix II – Findings from the research trips (Njauddâm)

Findings from the research trips

Njauddâm (Norway) August 23 - 25, 2021.

Nina M. Austad-Sivertsen

Photo code	Area	No. of signs	Monolingual	Bilingual	Multilingual	Skolt Sami	Skolt Sami first	Northern Sami	Northern Sami first	Inari Sami	Norwegian	Norwegian first	Finnish/Kven	Finnish first	Russian	English	German	Swedish	No. of languages	Bottom-up sign	Top-down sign
A 1	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	
A 2	Njauddâm	1		1							1	1	1			1			3	1	
A 3	Njauddâm	1		1							1	1	1						2		1
A 4	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	
A 5	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 6	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 7	Njauddâm	1		1	1						1	1	1						3		1
A 8	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	
A 9	Njauddâm	1		1				1			1	1	1						3		1
A 10	Njauddâm	1		1	1						1	1	1						3		1
A 11	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 12	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 13	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	
A 14	Njauddâm	1		1							1	1				1			2	1	
A 15	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 16	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 17	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 18	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 19	Njauddâm	1		1	1						1	1	1						3		1
A 20	Njauddâm	1		1	1						1	1	1						3		1
A 21	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 22	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	
A 23	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 24	Njauddâm	1		1							1	1	1		1	1			4	1	
A 25	Njauddâm	1		1							1	1	1			1			3		1
A 26	Njauddâm	1		1	1						1	1							2	1	
A 27	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 28	Njauddâm	1		1	1	1					1		1		1	1			5	1	
A 29	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 30	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 31	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 32	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1	1	
A 33	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 34	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 35	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 36	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 37	Njauddâm	1		1							1	1				1			2		1
A 38	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 39	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
A 40	Njauddâm	1	1								1								1		1
Sum		40	27	4	9	6	1	1	0	0	40	12	10	0	2	6	0	0	65	15	25

Appendix III – Findings from the research trips (Ķeārknjargg)

Findings from the research trips

Ķeārknjargg (Norway) August 23 - 25, 2021.

Nina M. Austad-Sivertsen

Photo code	Area	No. of signs	Monolingual	Bilingual	Multilingual	Skolt Sami	Skolt Sami first	Northern Sami	Northern Sami first	Inari Sami	Norwegian	Norwegian first	Finnish/Kven	Finnish first	Russian	English	German	Swedish	No. of languages	Bottom-up sign	Top-down sign
B 1	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 2	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 3	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 4	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 5	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 6	Ķeārknjargg	1		1							1	1			1				2		1
B 7	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 8	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 9	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 10	Ķeārknjargg	1		1							1				1				2		1
B 11	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 12	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 13	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 14	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 15	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 16	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 17	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 18	Ķeārknjargg	1		1				1			1	1							2		1
B 19	Ķeārknjargg	1		1				1			1	1							2		1
B 20	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 21	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 22	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 23	Ķeārknjargg	1		1							1	1			1				2		1
B 24	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 25	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 26	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 27	Ķeārknjargg	1		1				1			1	1							2		1
B 28	Ķeārknjargg	1			1						1	1			1	1			3		1
B 29	Ķeārknjargg	1			1						1	1			1	1			3		1
B 30	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 31	Ķeārknjargg	1		1				1			1	1							2		1
B 32	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 33	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 34	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 35	Ķeārknjargg	1		1							1	1			1				2		1
B 36	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 37	Ķeārknjargg	1		1							1	1			1				2		1
B 38	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 39	Ķeārknjargg	1		1							1	1			1				2		1
B 40	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 41	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 42	Ķeārknjargg	1			1						1	1			1	1			3		1
B 43	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 44	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 45	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1				1				2		1
B 46	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 47	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 48	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 49	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1
B 50	Ķeārknjargg	1	1								1								1		1

Appendix IV – Findings from the research trips (Če'vetjäu'rr)

Findings from the research trips

Če'vetjäu'rr (Finland) November 26 - 28, 2021.

Nina M. Austad-Sivertsen

Photo code	Area	No. of signs	Monolingual	Bilingual	Multilingual	Skolt Sami	Skolt Sami first	Northern Sami	Northern Sami first	Inari Sami	Norwegian	Norwegian first	Finnish	Finnish first	Russian	English	German	Swedish	No. of languages	Bottom-up sign	Top-down sign
c 1	Če'vetjäu'rr	1			1	1	1						1						3		1
c 2	Če'vetjäu'rr	1	1			1							1	1					2		1
c 3	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1							1	1					2		1
c 4	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1							1	1					2		1
c 5	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1							1	1					2		1
c 6	Če'vetjäu'rr	1	1										1						1	1	
c 7	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1							1	1					2		1
c 8	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1							1	1					2		1
c 9	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1	1						1						2	1	
c 10	Če'vetjäu'rr	1			1	1	1						1			1			3	1	
c 11	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1	1						1						2		1
c 12	Če'vetjäu'rr	1	1										1						1	1	1
c 13	Če'vetjäu'rr	1	1										1						1		1
c 14	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1							1	1					2		1
c 15	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1							1	1					2		1
c 16	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1	1						1						2	1	
c 17	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1							1	1					2	1	
c 18	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1	1						1						2	1	
c 19	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1	1						1						2	1	
c 20	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1	1						1						2	1	
c 21	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1	1						1						2	1	
c 22	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1	1						1						2	1	
c 23	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1							1	1					2	1	
c 24	Če'vetjäu'rr	1	1										1						1		1
c 25	Če'vetjäu'rr	1	1										1						1		1
c 26	Če'vetjäu'rr	1		1		1							1	1					2		1
c 27	Če'vetjäu'rr	1	1										1						1		1
Sum		27	6	19	2	21	10	0	0	0	0	0	27	11	0	2	0	0	50	12	15
	No. of signs		Monolingual signs	Bilingual signs	Multilingual signs	Skolt Sami	Skolt Sami first	Northern Sami	Northern Sami first	Inari Sami	Norwegian	Norwegian first	Finnish	Finnish first	Russian	English	German	Swedish	No. of languages	Bottom-up signs	Top-down signs

Appendix V – Findings from the research trips (Aanar)

Findings from the research trips

Aanar (Finland) November 26 - 28, 2021.

Nina M. Austad-Sivertsen

Photo code	Area	No. of signs	Monolingual	Bilingual	Multilingual	Skolt Sami	Skolt Sami first	Northern Sami	Northern Sami first	Inari Sami	Norwegian	Norwegian first	Finnish	Finnish first	Russian	English	German	Swedish	No. of languages	Bottom-up sign	Top-down sign
D 1	Aanar	1			1			1					1	1					3	1	
D 2	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 3	Aanar	1		1	1			1		1			1	1					4		1
D 4	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 5	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 6	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 7	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 8	Aanar	1	1													1			1	1	
D 9	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 10	Aanar	1		1									1			1			2	1	
D 11	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 12	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 13	Aanar	1		1									1	1		1			2		1
D 14	Aanar	1		1						1			1	1					2		1
D 15	Aanar	1		1						1			1	1					2		1
D 16	Aanar	1		1									1	1		1			2		1
D 17	Aanar	1		1									1	1		1			2		1
D 18	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 19	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 20	Aanar	1		1				1					1	1					2		1
D 21	Aanar	1		1				1	1				1			1			3		1
D 22	Aanar	1		1				1	1				1			1			3		1
D 23	Aanar	1		1	1			1		1			1	1		1			5		1
D 24	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 25	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 26	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 27	Aanar	1		1				1					1	1					2		1
D 28	Aanar	1		1				1					1	1					2		1
D 29	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 30	Aanar	1		1	1			1		1			1	1		1		1	6	1	
D 31	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 32	Aanar	1		1				1					1	1					2		1
D 33	Aanar	1		1									1	1		1			2	1	
D 34	Aanar	1		1	1			1		1			1	1		1			5		1
D 35	Aanar	1	1										1			1			1	1	
D 36	Aanar	1		1	1			1		1			1						4		1
D 37	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 38	Aanar	1	1													1			1	1	
D 39	Aanar	1		1				1					1	1					2		1
D 40	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 41	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 42	Aanar	1		1						1			1	1					3		1
D 43	Aanar	1		1									1				1		2		1
D 44	Aanar	1	1										1						1	1	
D 45	Aanar	1			1								1						1	1	
Sum		45	22	13	10	5	0	13	2	8	1	0	42	17	0	15	1	2	87	16	29
		No. of signs	Monolingual signs	Bilingual signs	Multilingual signs	Skolt Sami	Skolt Sami first	Northern Sami	Northern Sami first	Inari Sami	Norwegian	Norwegian first	Finnish	Finnish first	Russian	English	German	Swedish	No. of languages	Bottom-up signs	Top-down signs

