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SAAMI LANGUAGE POLICIES IN SAAMI ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH: PERSPECTIVES ON RESEARCH PUBLISHED IN FINLAND

Abstract

This article aims to determine what the use and non-use of Saami archaeological terms – for example, for different types of burials, dwellings, sacred sites, and artifacts – reveal about language policies in Saami archaeological research published in Finland from 1970 to 2019. The research data consist of Saami archaeological works published in scientific publication forums, such as archaeological and multidisciplinary journals, and publication series. The data contained 138 Saami archaeological publications. From the data, I collected the used Saami terms using the method of content analysis. The analysis of the data reveals that 65 different Saami terms were used in 63 publications. Thirty-nine of the terms were used only in one publication, and only five terms were used in more than ten publications. According to analysis, there were no formal policies or norms on how Saami terms should be used in archaeological research.

SAEMIEN GĪELEKONVENSJOVNH SAEMIEN ARKEOLOGIEN DOTKEMISNIE: PERSPEKTIVH DOTKEMI BĪJRE MAH LEAH SOEMESNE BÆJJOEHTAMME

Iktedimmie

Daennie artihkelisnie goerehtem maam saemien termi prāvkhoe jĭh ov-prāvkhoe arkeologijisnie gĭelekonvensjovni bĭjre soptseste. Saemien arkeologijen termh, v.g. ov-messie gaelmieh, ārromesijjeh, bissiesijjeh jĭh artefakth, daeverh mah arkeologijen dotkemisnie gāāvnesne. Manne daatam – dejtie saemien arkeologijen termide – arkeologijen jĭh multidaajroen publikasjovnijste, goh aejkietjaalegijstie jĭh dotkemeraajrojste, tjöönghkeme mah Soemesne bæjjoehtamme jaepeste 1970 jaapan 2019. Daatesne 138 saemien arkeologijen publikasjovnh, jĭh manne sisvegen goerehtimmien vuekiem nuhtjeme gosse saemien termh tjöönghkeme jĭh goerehtamme. Daatan goerehtimmie vuesehte 65 ov-messie saemien termh 63 publikasjovnine nuhtjesovveme. Golmeluhkieuktsie termh ajve akte publikasjovnesne, jĭh ajve vĭjhte termh jienebe goh luhkie publikasjovnine. Daate goerehtimmie vuesehte ij gāāvnesne naan byjjes gĭele- jallh termenjoelkedassh guktie saemien termh arkeologijen dotkemisnie nuhtjedh.

Keywords: Indigenous Archaeologies, Language policies, Saami archaeology, Sápmi, Terminology

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INTRODUCTION

In this article, I examine the language policies that concern the Saami¹ languages in archaeological research published in Finland. My goal is to determine what the use and non-use of Saami archaeological terms reveal about language policies in Saami archaeological research. To answer this question, I also consider the following questions: Which Saami terms have been used in archaeological research published in Finland? How has the term use changed from 1970 to 2019?

Central concepts in this article are the terms that are used to name different types of archaeological cultural heritage, such as different types of burials, dwelling sites or structures, sacred sites or structures, artifacts, or landscapes. To be more precise, I study the terms in Saami languages that name different types of archaeological cultural heritage. In this study, I call such terms *Saami terms*. *Archaeological cultural heritage* denotes relics, structures, strata, artifacts, and other finds that are discovered in the earth or in the water and have originated as a result of human activity in prehistoric or historical times (Ranta 2021). Thus, *Saami archaeological cultural heritage* refers to such remains that have a connection to the Saami people.

The use of Saami terms is the basis for the language policies examined in this article. The research on Saami archaeological cultural heritage is often conducted by non-Saami archaeologists who have no formal education in any of the Saami languages. The research is often published in English, Finnish, Norwegian, or Swedish.² However, different types of Saami archaeological heritage have – naturally – names in Saami languages, as they are parts of the cultures of Saami societies in which Saami language use was the norm in the past, before the forced assimilation of the Saami into the major societies of Finland, Norway, and Sweden (see Huuva & Blind 2016; Lindmark & Sundström 2016; Ranta & Kanninen 2019; Høybråten 2023). The use of foreign languages to research and present the Saami past is also partly the consequence of the forced assimilation and colonization of the Saami.

This article is not archaeological by its methods or data. However, it is related to archaeological

subdiscipline *Indigenous archaeologies*. Since the 1990s, Indigenous archaeologies has gained weight in the field of western archaeology. The idea behind Indigenous archaeologies is that archaeological thought is influenced by Western colonialism even today, which influences the research and interpretations of the past of Indigenous peoples. The aim of Indigenous archaeologies is to decolonize archaeological research and reach the views of the Indigenous peoples on their own past and on the research of their past before and after colonization. (E.g., Hart et al. 2012; Martinez 2014.) This article is an attempt to be a part of decolonization of the archaeological research of the Saami people, who are the only Indigenous people in the European Union. It will make visible the ways in which Saami terms have been (or have not been) used. In addition, I hypothesize that changes in the use of Saami terms are most likely connected to the development of Indigenous archaeologies and the (de)colonization of the Saami. Thus, I believe that along with the development of Indigenous archaeologies, Saami term use has increased.³

A note on the researcher's positioning and motivation to do this research

Why am I writing this study? I identify as Finnish by ethnicity and mother tongue. Thus, I am a member of the majority population that has, in the past – and to some extent even today – colonized and oppressed the Saami people. Today, I work in an institution as a researcher of South Saami past and a teacher of South Saami language.

My years of work with Saami people, culture, and language have taught me that some of my mental patterns have been that of the majority population, and without knowing it, I have most likely perpetuated such patterns in many situations. This realization has led me to work hard to remove such patterns from my mind and actions, even though I understand that as a non-Saami person, I will never understand wholly what the Saami people have had to go through. However, this research is one way for me to try to change my mental patterns and help other non-Saami researchers working with Saami culture recognize and change similar patterns

and, hopefully, advance the decolonization of Saami archaeology and the Saami past.

I have talked with many Saami about the topic of this research, and they find it important that their archaeological cultural heritage is discussed in words they themselves use in their languages. One such occasion arose in the symposium ‘Sacred Place Names in Sámi Landscapes’ in the Arctic University of Norway in 2019 in which I addressed these questions (Piha 2019). Using Saami terms for a particular concept will reveal much more about its function and nature than terms in foreign languages (see also Kaikkonen 2020: 2–3). Foreign terms are important from an archaeological perspective for ensuring that international archaeological terminology is available and comparison of remains in different areas is made easier.⁴ However, Saami archaeology should first and foremost be researched for the Saami people, and such a perspective needs Saami terms.

Structure of the article

The structure of the article is as follows. First, I will present the data of the research, i.e., the Saami terms that I have collected from archaeological research published in Finland, and the method used to collect and analyze the data: content analysis. Then, I will move on to analyze the terms. I will present the Saami terms used in archaeology and examine changes in term use from 1970 to 2019. In the next chapter, I will then discuss what kind of policies there are for Saami term use in archaeological research. It seems, however, that there are no policies or norms for Saami term use at all, or if there are, they are silent and non-systematic. Finally, I will ponder the steps toward decolonized term use in Saami archaeology and present future plans to achieve these steps.

DATA AND METHODS

Data: Archaeological research publications published in Finland

The data of this research are scientific publications that address questions of Saami archaeology. I have limited the data of this

paper to archaeological research published in the best-known journals and publication series in Finland. I will conduct similar data collection in Norway and Sweden in the future, as well as in international publication forums that are published outside of these three Nordic countries.

The journals and series included in the data are presented in Table 1. The publication forums included in the data consist of archaeological and multidisciplinary series and journals that contain significant contributions to Saami archaeology. As seen in Table 1, the first solely archaeological journals included in the data were established only in the 1980s in Finland. Before that, archaeological research was published in multidisciplinary journals, such as *Suomen Museo/Finskt Museum* and *Faravid*. The multidisciplinary nature of the journals limited the amount of archaeological research published, and perspectives on the Saami past would have been even more limited.

To date, only two purely Saami archaeological PhD dissertations have been published (Äikäs 2011 and Nylander 2023), and only one of these falls within the research period (1970–2019) of this paper. However, I included three other PhD dissertations that are significant to Saami archaeology because they include elements of Saami archaeology in their research in the data although they also handle non-Saami archaeological questions.

Only archaeological research done by researchers with formal education in archaeology (MA or PhD) were included, both in multidisciplinary and archaeological journals and series.⁵ If an article was done in multidisciplinary cooperation, it was included in the data only if the first author had a formal education in archaeology. Furthermore, in these publications, not only researchers affiliated with institutions in Finland publish their research but also researchers affiliated in institutions in other countries. I limited the data to research done by researchers affiliated with institutions in Finland, Norway, and Sweden.

From these journals and publication series, I went through scientific articles, review articles, discussion articles, articles based on scientific presentations, essays, and monographs to look for Saami terms. I did not include the following types of texts: book or exhibition reviews, travel reports, conference reports, columns, editorials, texts based on *lectio praecursoria*. Of PhD dissertations that

Table 1. Journals and publication series published in Finland that were included in the data. The first row presents academic archaeological PhD dissertations that were done at the Universities of Helsinki, Oulu, and Turku in Finland. Some were published by the universities, while other monographs were published in archaeological publication series, such as Monographs of the Archaeological Society of Finland. The last column of the table indicates whether a publication forum uses peer review. A question mark in this column indicates that I have not been able to find information about the peer review process or the lack of it.

Name of the journal/series	Archaeological/ Multidisciplinary	Publication year of the first volume	Peer review
Academic PhD dissertations	Archaeological		Yes
<i>Bidrag till kännedom av Finlands natur och folk</i>	Multidisciplinary	1858	?
<i>Faravid</i>	Multidisciplinary	1977	Yes
<i>Fennoscandia Archaeologica</i>	Archaeological	1984	Yes
<i>Iskos</i>	Archaeological	1976	Yes
<i>Monographs of the Archaeological Society of Finland</i>	Archaeological	2011	Yes
<i>Muinaistutkija</i>	Archaeological	1984	Not before 2019; only some articles were reviewed
<i>Publications of Giellagas Institute</i>	Multidisciplinary	2002	?
<i>SKAS</i>	Archaeological	1993	Not before 2017; only some articles were reviewed
<i>Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia</i>	Multidisciplinary	1890	Yes
<i>Suomen Museo – Finskt Museum</i>	Multidisciplinary	1894	Yes
<i>Tietolipas</i>	Multidisciplinary	1945	Yes

consisted of both an introductory part and articles, the introduction was handled separately from the articles, and articles were not included in the data if they had been published on a forum that was not in the data (e.g., articles published in a country other than Finland).

In the data, I only included publications in which Saami (or Lapp, as the Saami were previously called) culture played a central role or were situated in Lapland in Finland; the area north of Idre in Dalarna, Sweden; and the area north of Femund in Hedmark, Norway (see Zachrisson 1988: 115; Hamari & Halinen 2000: 155; Bergstøl 2008: 2–3). Of the research situated in these areas, I included all research about the Iron Age, the Middle Ages, and newer times, even if the Saami were not mentioned.⁶

Studies of the Stone and Bronze Ages in Lapland were not included if the Saami were not mentioned. Studies in Saami linguistics have shown that the Saami languages were not present in Lapland before c. 200–300 CE (e.g., Aikio 2012: 87; Heikkilä 2011: 76; Häkkinen 2010b: 59). Thus, we cannot speak of Saami-speaking existence in Sápmi (the land of the Saami) before this time (Aikio 2012: 66). However, studies of Stone and Bronze Ages in which the Saami played a central role were included in the data, as it is historically interesting to examine how the understanding of the Saami past and its dating has changed among archaeologists. These studies may also be connected to the use (or non-use) of Saami terms. In addition, it has an impact on how the majority and the Saami themselves see the Saami culture. If a study on an area south of the mentioned areas focused on the Saami (or the Lapps), it was included in the data.

Many of these limitations are artificial and constrained. The Stone and Bronze Age archaeological heritage in Lapland does connect to the Saami even if the makers and users of the Stone Age sites did not speak a Saami language. Even so, they are *cultural ancestors* of the Saami. In turn, based on linguistic research results, Saami speakers inhabited most of the area of Finland in the Iron Age (e.g., Aikio 2007; 2012: 88–92). Thus, Saami archaeological cultural heritage should be looked for in the whole area of Finland. This sort of research has not, however, been done in the southern parts of Finland in any significant amounts, and it is not

known which archaeological cultural heritage connects to which linguistic (or ethnic) group.⁷ The limitations have been implemented only to control the amount of the data. As the research is qualitative in nature, and I had to read every single article in the data, it was not possible to include everything (see Schreier 2014: 175).

I have limited the period of research to the 50 years between 1970 and 2019. Before the 1970s, Saami archaeology was not entirely an area of research in archaeology but in ethnology (e.g., Hansen & Olsen 2006: 9–11; Fossum & Norberg 2012: 25), although there were also archaeologists who discussed Saami questions before the 1970s. However, as seen in Table 1, most of the journals and series are far younger than 50 years. Only three of the journals and series (*Bidrag till kännedom av Finlands natur och folk*, *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia*, *Suomen museo – Finskt museum*) existed before the 1970s, and none of these are purely archaeological.

Methods

Content analysis

From the publications mentioned in the previous chapter, I collected all the Saami terms—words in Saami languages that denote Saami archaeological cultural heritage. The method of content analysis was used to collect and analyze these terms. Here, content analysis as a method is defined shortly. I then explain how I have used content analysis while collecting Saami terms from archaeological publications.

Content analysis is a flexible and suitable method for many kinds of material, from visual to written material (Schreier 2014: 180). It is a form of text analysis—although *text* should be understood broadly, with any document put into written form being accepted as a text. The purpose of content analysis is to find and examine meanings found in texts (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018: 117).

The aim is to link the results of content analysis to their context to make it possible to describe a specific phenomenon (Bengtsson 2016: 9; see also Schreier 2014: 181). The content analysis in this research is material based, which means that the aim of the analysis is to create a verbal

and explicit description (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018: 122, 127) of the data, i.e., the use and non-use of the Saami terms. Material-based content analysis aids in organizing incoherent and fragmentary data in a compact but articulate way (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018: 122). In this study, it helps to examine which terms are used, as well as when and how often they are used. Content analysis is based on interpretation and deduction, which progresses from empirical data toward a conceptualized understanding of the phenomenon in question (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018: 127; see also Bengtsson 2016: 10).

In the analysis, the data is first fractioned then conceptualized and combined into a logical entity (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018: 122). According to Miles and Huberman (1994; see also Bengtsson 2016), material-based content analysis is a three-phase process: first, the data is reduced; second, the data is classified; and third, theoretical concepts are created from the classified data (about classification, see also Schreier 2014: 174–179). It is also important to create a meaning unit, the smallest unit that contains insights that researchers need in their analysis (Bengtsson 2016: 11; Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2018: 122). In this research, meaning units are words in Saami languages that refer to Saami archaeological cultural heritage, i.e., Saami terms.

I began the analysis by downloading all the Saami archaeological publications on NVivo software and creating two main categories: publications with Saami terms and publications without Saami terms. In this paper, I concentrate mostly on the former, which I reduced to meaning units. I collected all the Saami terms from the publications then analyzed the meaning units based on 1) what kind of archaeological cultural heritage they referred to and 2) when and how much they had been used from 1970 to 2019. Finally, I made conclusions about what types of remains are most often referred to using Saami terms and the changes in this phenomenon over time. The analysis aims to give answers to questions about the beginning of Saami term use, changes in this term use over time, the frequency of term use, and the archaeological cultural heritage that most often gets called by Saami terms.

Notes on collecting the Saami terms

To collect all the Saami terms from the data, I went through every volume of every journal, series, and dissertation. I began by looking for the words *saame-/lappa-* (Finnish), *same/lapp* (Swedish, Norwegian), and *Saami/Sami//Lapp* (English) to see if there were articles that explicitly handled Saami archaeology. I carefully read those articles that often mentioned one or both of these words, and almost all of them have been included in the data. Many articles only mentioned the words once, and skimming through these articles revealed that they often did not handle matters in Saami archaeology. Some, for example, used Saami culture as an ethnological analogy. I also read the abstracts of all articles whenever they were available. With these methods, I found the texts that connect significantly to the Saami past. I also wrote some details of the publications in the data (such as a short synopsis of the publication and my own observations and comments on the data) in an Access database.

I collected Saami terms from body texts, captions, and attachments. If there were direct quotations from other research publications, I did not include the Saami terms from them because the quoted articles themselves might have been in the data.

Some Saami words have been borrowed and adapted to Finnish, Swedish, and Norwegian. If they have been borrowed to refer to objects in Saami archaeology, they were counted as Saami terms. One good example of this are the Finnish word *seita*, the Swedish *sejte* or *seite*, and the Norwegian *seide*, which are all loanwords from Saami words, e.g., the North Saami *sieidi*, and refer to, for example, sacred rocks and trees in the Saami culture. Saami terms can also be part of compound words in which another part (or other parts) is in the language of the article, e.g., Finnish *seitakivi* ‘*sieidi* stone’.

All the publications in my data are public, i.e., possible for anyone to read. A big part of the data is found on the web, and rest are available in public libraries. I do not aim to point fingers at any one person on how they have used or not used Saami terms. That is why, even though the publications in the data are public, I will, in this and future articles, refer to them using ‘P’ (for publication) and the tag that the Access database automatically gives to each entry, e.g., P1, P2, P3.

ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I analyze the data. First, I present the Saami terms that were used in the publications. This presentation includes perspectives on how many publications the terms were used in and how many times in total the terms appeared in the data. Such perspectives provide information about which terms were used more and which terms were used less. This will, in turn, aid the analysis of which types or categories of ancient remains get called by Saami terms. With the help of the article contexts of the terms and Saami language dictionaries, I also analyze in which Saami languages terms are given and why the language in question was chosen.

Second, I examine the changes that have occurred in term use from 1970 to 2019. It is of interest to see which terms were used, as well as when the term use began and how it progressed. I study more closely the use of the five most frequently used terms.

Used Saami terms

The data contains 138 publications that can be considered to handle the Saami past and/or the Saami archaeological cultural heritage in significant amounts or are situated in the traditional Saami area. Saami terms were used in 63 (45.65 %) publications, i.e., in less than half of all the publications in the data. In 75 (54.35 %) publications, not one Saami term appears.

All the Saami terms with meanings and appearances are listed in Appendix 1 of this paper. I went through all the terms and have provided the meanings that are found in Saami dictionaries, etymological dictionaries, or dictionaries for Finnish, Norwegian, and Swedish. It seems that many of the terms were given meanings in archaeological research that are not found in dictionaries. In such cases, I provide the archaeological meaning as well, but in some cases, this archaeological meaning might be wrong. Comments on the terms and their meanings are found in Appendix 1.

In this chapter, I first explore the problems in Saami term use that arise from the data. Then, I move on to describe the frequency and characteristics of Saami terms and the languages used in the articles. Lastly, a brief look at publications in the data that do not acknowledge the Saami past at all is presented.

Problems in the use of Saami terms

The problem in the publications is that most often, no reference was given to the source of the Saami term. In many cases, the terms were not written in any Saami language, occasionally even in articles in which the used Saami language was named. These types of problems are commented on and analyzed in the endnotes of Appendix 1.

Another problem is that in most articles, it is entirely unclear to the reader which Saami language was used, as the used Saami language was not named. Newer articles had notes on the language, but they quite often commented only the used orthography (how the word is written), not the language. In different Saami languages, word forms (sounds in the words) and meanings of words differ, as well as their orthography. For example, the North Saami word *sieidi* “sacred stone, rock, cliff or other” and the Lule Saami word *siejdde* “id” do not only have different orthography, but they also have different sounds—they are not pronounced the same way. For example, the North Saami *sáiva* “sacred lake” has a different meaning from the South Saami *saajive* “mythological beings living inside mountains,” and the two have different sounds in the word.⁸

The third problem is that in the articles, it is not described why a specific Saami language is used. There is, for example, an article in the data that handles the Pite Saami area—the area where the Pite Saami language is (traditionally) spoken—but Lule Saami language is used to describe the archaeological cultural heritage without any explanation on the choice of the language (P52). There might be a natural reason for this; for example, Pite Saami is such a small language nowadays that it is not easy to find Pite Saami terms for the phenomenon studied. However, such reasons are not explained in this or other articles.

Saami terms: amounts, semantic fields, and the Saami languages used

The 63 publications with Saami terms contain a total of 65 terms (Appx 1). However, 39 of these terms (60%) were used only in one publication, eight terms were used in two publications, and two terms were used in three publications. The rest of the terms are presented in Table 2. These are the 16 most frequently used terms by their

Table 2. The 16 most frequently used terms in articles, given in one of the Saami languages in which the term is found in the data, often the one that has the most frequent use in publications.

Term	Meaning in English	No. of publications
<i>sieidi</i> (SaN)	sacred stone, rock, tree, cliff, etc.	33
<i>siida</i> (SaN)	(Lapp) village; reindeer village; home	25
<i>goahti</i> (SaN)	hut; house; home	18
<i>stállo</i> (SaL)	scary and strong mythological being; troll type of a dwelling site in the fell area often with a circular or oval floor surface and centered hearth surrounded by a low bank	19
<i>boassjo</i> (SaL)	the back of a Saami <i>goahti</i> , often considered sacred	12
<i>noaidi</i> (SaN)	Saami religious expert; shaman	9
<i>árran</i> (SaN)	hearth	7
<i>sáiva</i> (SaN)	fresh water; small lake; lake without an outlet or a river that brings water to the lake; sacred lake, often believed to be double bottomed	6
<i>purnu</i> (SaN)	storage that is dug in the ground and supported by a log structure	6
<i>uksa</i> (SaN, SaL)	door	6
<i>bearpmet</i> (SaN)	a row of stones or logs that lead to the <i>árran</i>	5
<i>vuobme</i> (SaL)	forest; wide valley with forest; inland area with a lot of forest	4
<i>vuomen</i> (Fi)	a funnel-shaped fence for catching deer	4
<i>buvri</i> (SaN)	storage shed	4
<i>lávvu</i> (SaN)	tent; light-structured <i>goahti</i> made of canvas	4
<i>loaidu</i> (SaN)	sitting and sleeping areas on either side of an <i>árran</i> in a <i>goahti</i>	4

appearance in publications. These cover the rest of the terms in the data: those appearing in four publications or more.

As Table 2 shows, eleven of the terms appeared in less than ten publications, and it is not clear if they can be called as systematically or widely used terms. It can be considered that even though Saami archaeology has progressed vastly and quickly in recent decades, many Saami archaeological phenomena are relatively understudied. Some of the terms in the data may concern phenomena that are studied only in a few research projects and thus may not appear in many publications. This means that the infrequent use of some terms does not (always) denote archaeologists' lack of knowledge about the Saami term; rather, it highlights the amount of research done on the archaeological phenomenon to which the term is connected.

However, in this study, I decided to classify terms that appear in ten or more publications as systematically used. This leaves five Saami terms that are used very frequently in the publications published in Finland. They are (given in one of the Saami languages found most often in the data) *boassjo* (SaL), *goahti* (SaN), *stállo* (SaL), *siida* (SaN), and *sieidi* (SaN). These are widely used, and the use of each of these terms became systematic at some point within the research period (1970–2019) (see the next chapter).

Four of the frequently used terms are connected to religious phenomena: *boassjo* 'the sacred back part of a Saami hut (*goahti*)', *noaidi* 'Saami religious expert', *sáiva* 'sacred lake', and *sieidi* 'sacred stone, rock, cliff, or other.' The word *stállo* 'scary and strong mythological being' is a part of the mythological world, but in archaeology, it widely refers to a type of dwelling site in the fell area of Norway and Sweden (about *stállo* sites, see Hedman 2003: 27–28 and the references there). The number of religious words among the Saami terms indicates that Saami indigenous religion is one of the most studied fields within Saami archaeology, which is not surprising because Saami indigenous religion has been a topic of deep interest since the colonization of the Saami began along with the Christianization of the Saami in the 17th century (see e.g., Pentikäinen & Pulkkinen 2018: 77–91; Hansen & Olsen 2022: 300–312).

The other terms listed in Table 2 connect to the social organization of traditional Saami society: dwellings, hunting, and storing goods. The rest of the terms (Appx 1) concern all sorts of matters, such as reindeer, sacred sites and sacred phenomena, dwellings and dwelling places, travelling, storing, tools and other artifacts, and hunting and fishing. In Appendix 1, I present my analysis of the semantic field of every term.

As seen in Appendix 1 and Table 2, the three Saami languages used in archaeological research were Lule, North, and South Saami. North Saami was, expectedly, the most frequently used language with respect to Saami terms. North Saami has the most speakers of all the Saami languages (Arctic Council), and thus, it is quite understandable that words related to Saami archaeological cultural heritage are known and easy to find in this language. South and Lule Saami were used in some publications published in 2009 or later. In addition, Saami loanwords in Finnish, Norwegian, and Swedish were used in the data, as explained earlier in this article.

It is interesting that in the research published in Finland, terms are found in South and Lule Saami, which are spoken in Scandinavia, but not in Inari and Skolt Saami, which are spoken in Finland. The South and Lule Saami terms are mostly used by Swedish and Norwegian researchers who do research in South and Lule Saami areas in Scandinavia; researchers in Finland working with the Inari and Skolt Saami areas do not use the respective languages—they use North Saami or Saami loanwords in Finnish. In the future, it would be fruitful to study what kind of discourses within archaeology or Saami politics have caused researchers in Finland to not use Saami languages other than North Saami.

The non-use of Skolt and Inari Saami cannot be attributed to poorer opportunities to find terms. The situations of these four small Saami languages (Skolt, Inari, Lule and South Saami) are quite similar: they are seriously endangered, but in recent years, there have been successful attempts to revitalize these languages. All these languages are becoming academic languages with possibilities to study the languages at the university level.⁹ Additionally, dictionaries have been developed for all these Saami languages in the recent decades, and Giellatekno, the research group for Saami language technology,

was established in 2005 at the Arctic University in Tromsø (Giellatekno 2005). The online dictionaries for Saami languages have gradually increased in size as well.

However, it is not entirely clear if researchers themselves know which Saami language they are using. As noted earlier, the used Saami languages were often not mentioned, and this also concerns the publications that I interpreted (based on the word forms and search in dictionaries) to use South or Lule Saami. According to my interpretation of the languages, these two Saami languages were used in 14 publications, and out of these, nine did not define the used Saami language. In two publications (P80 and P81), both North and Lule Saami were used, according to my interpretation of the word forms (e.g., *goahiti* and *lávvu* in North Saami and *boassjo* in Lule Saami). In one of the publications that defined the language (P119), the language was given as South Saami, but the word used was, in fact, a Lule Saami word.

In addition to the mentioned Saami languages, there are four other Saami languages spoken

nowadays: Ume and Pite Saami in central and northern Scandinavia and Kildin and Ter Saami in the Kola Peninsula in Russia. These languages are extremely endangered; for example, Pite Saami has approximately 50 speakers remaining (Arctic Council). None of these languages were visible in the data of this research. However, some of them should, perhaps, be. For example, P52 defined the Pite Saami area as their research area, but they used Lule Saami terms in their research. P81 researched the Inari Saami area but used North and Lule Saami terms (without mentioning which language was used, however). As noted earlier, no motivation for the use of these exact Saami languages was given.

Publications without acknowledgement of Saami archaeological cultural heritage

Publications without Saami terms may acknowledge the Saami in ways other than by using Saami terms (see Discussion). Some of these publications might also be theoretical contributions to Saami archaeology, and

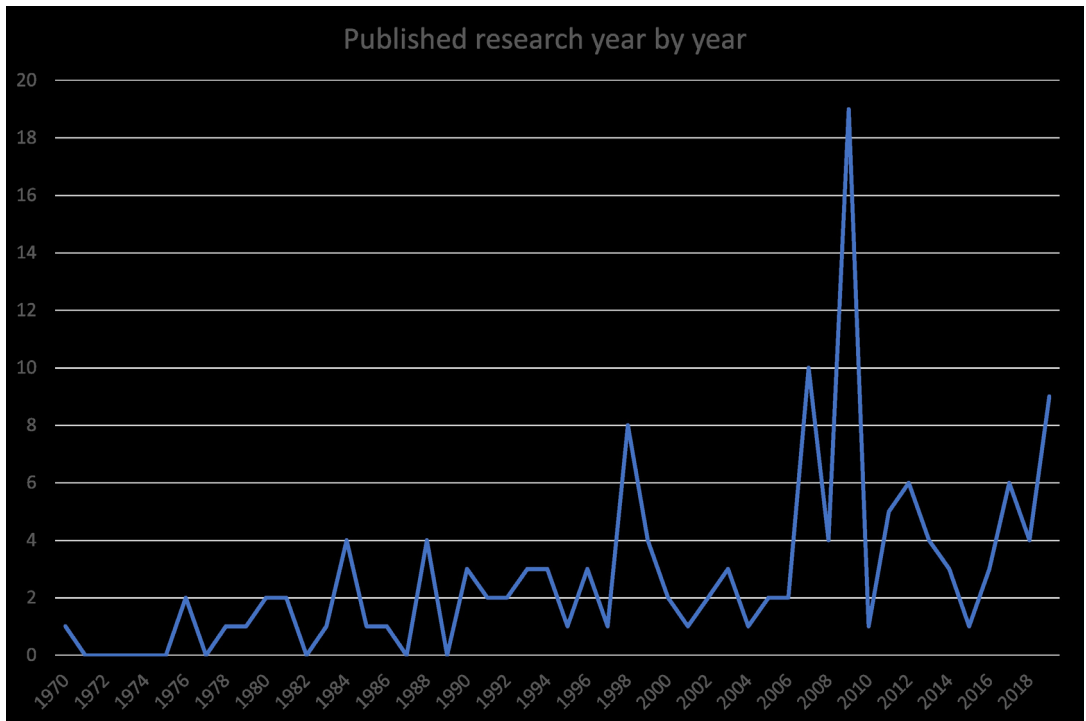


Figure 1. Published research 1970–2019. Figure: M. Piha

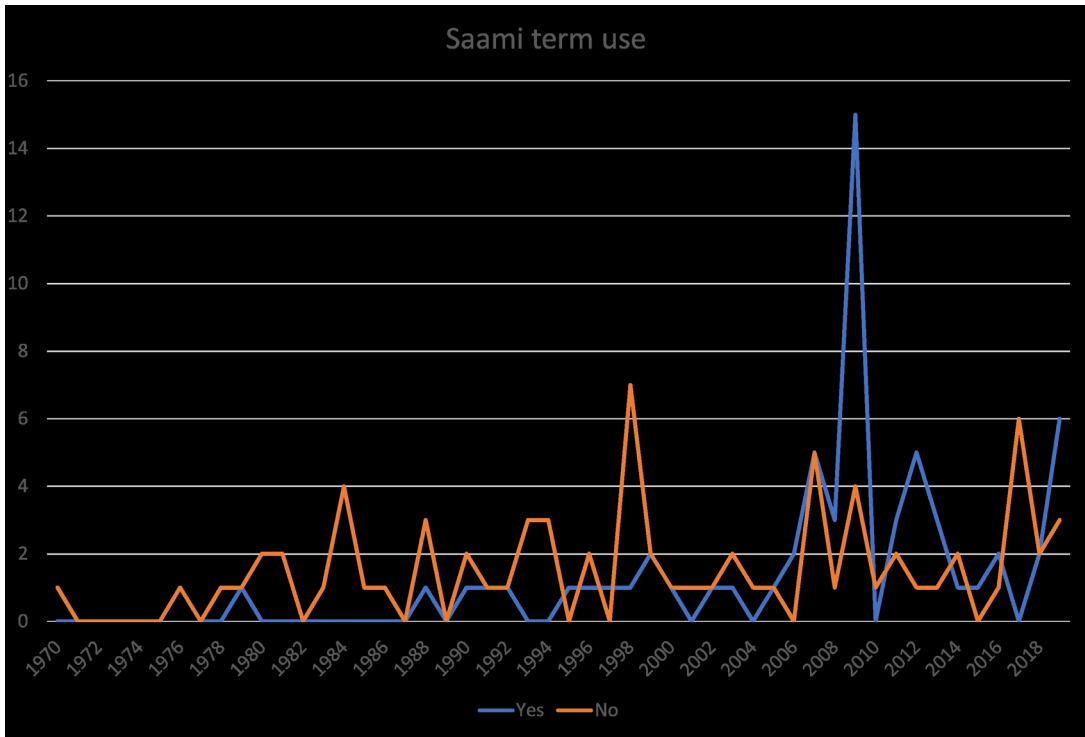


Figure 2. Saami term use in publications per year. The blue line depicts the publications in the data that used Saami terms. The orange line depicts the publications in the data that did not use Saami terms. Figure: M. Piha

they do not handle any Saami archaeological cultural heritage but instead, for example, colonialism in Sápmi.

However, some publications may have handled archaeological cultural heritage that might very well be Saami but do not use Saami terms or acknowledge the Saami past in any way. A few publications even denied the possibility of connecting archaeological cultural heritage to any ethnic or linguistic groups. In a recent publication (P109), it was noted that the connection between archaeological material and ethnic groups is unfounded. It was stated that it was a bold conclusion to claim that the Saami lived in northern Fennoscandia already during the Iron Age.

It is true that ethnicity is not easy to point out in archaeological material. However, at the time of the publication linguists argued the same but pointed out that linguistics

can prove the existence of *Saami languages* in northern Finland during the Iron Age and criticized the way archaeologists had connected material culture, ethnicity, and language as one and the same (e.g., Aikio & Aikio 2001: 13; Häkkinen 2010a: 21–28). It is possible to connect some archaeological material with people who spoke Saami. However, P109 fails to consider the research history on Saami ethnicity, language, and culture. It is a fact that the Saami have often had their history denied. From a decolonizing perspective, such publications may be interpreted as implicitly endorsing narratives that support Saami colonialism.

Changes in term use from 1970 to 2019

Figure 1 shows that while interest toward Saami archaeology has visibly increased closer to the 2000s, there has been constant

interest in the Saami past since the 1980s. This interest, however, did not, in many cases, include the use of Saami terms.

Figure 2 highlights that the use of Saami terms has somewhat increased over decades. In the 1970s and 1980s, only one publication used Saami terms. The use of Saami terms increased in the 1990s and particularly after the turn of the millennium. The year 2009 was significant to the use of Saami terms, with 15 out of 19 publications published that year using Saami terms. During the year, two publications concentrating solely on Saami questions were published: *Recent perspectives on Sámi archaeology in Fennoscandia and North-West Russia* (Halinen et al. 2009) and *Máttut – Máddagat. The Roots of Saami Ethnicities, Societies and Spaces/Places* (Äikäs 2009). Most writers in these anthologies adopted the use of Saami terms. However, there were no Saami terms used in publications in the following year.

Similar peaks – although not as high – can be seen in the years 1998, 2007, and 2019 (Fig.

1). In the last issue of *Muinaistutkija* in the year 1998, papers from a seminar concentrating on archaeological perspectives of the roots of populations of Finland were published (Halinen 1998: 1). Not all of the papers dealt with Saami archaeology, but many did, resulting in the peak. However, the difference with the peak eleven years later in 2009 is that Saami terms were used in only one article (Fig. 2).

The peak in 2007 (Fig. 1) was mainly the result of another anthology concentrating on archaeology in *Sápmi, Peurakuopista kirkkokenttiin. Saamelaisalueen 10 000 vuotta arkeologin näkökulmasta. Arkeologiseminaari Inarissa 29.9.-2.10.2005* (Harlin & Lehtola 2007). Figure 2 shows an interesting phenomenon this year: out of the ten publications in the data, five contained Saami terms, and five did not. Between the peak of 1998 without Saami terms and the peak in 2009 with Saami terms, this seems to be halfway in terms of the use of Saami terms, but these terms were not yet used by majority of researchers.

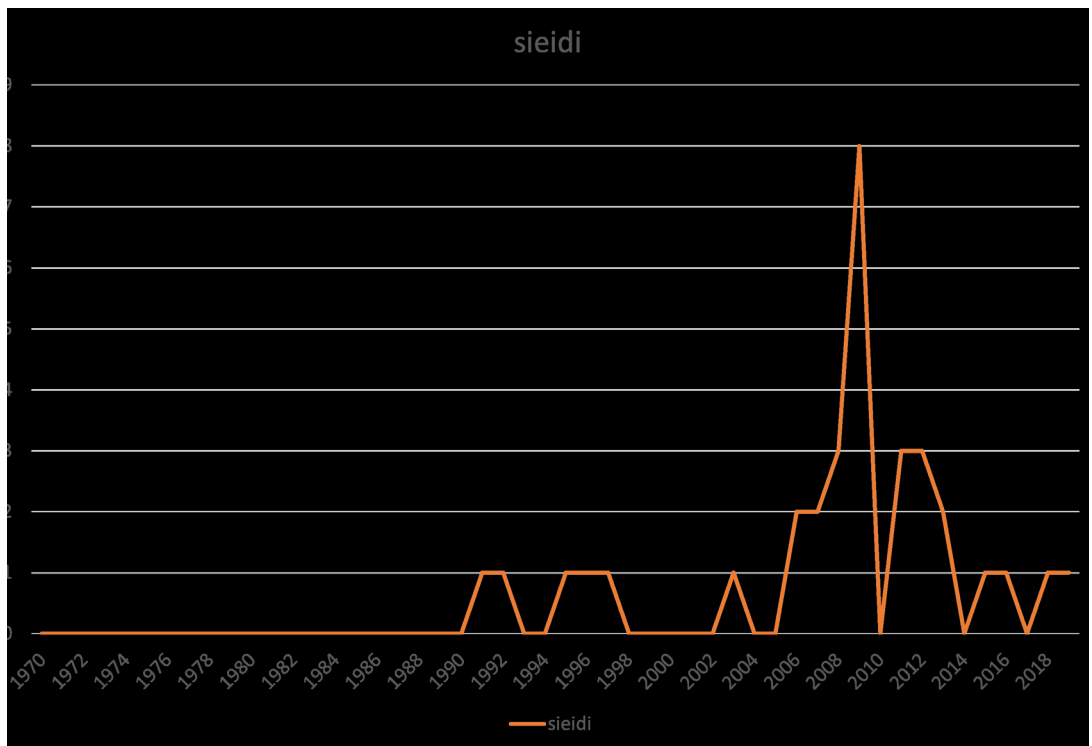


Figure 3a. Number of publications with and without the Saami term sieidi. Figure: M. Piha

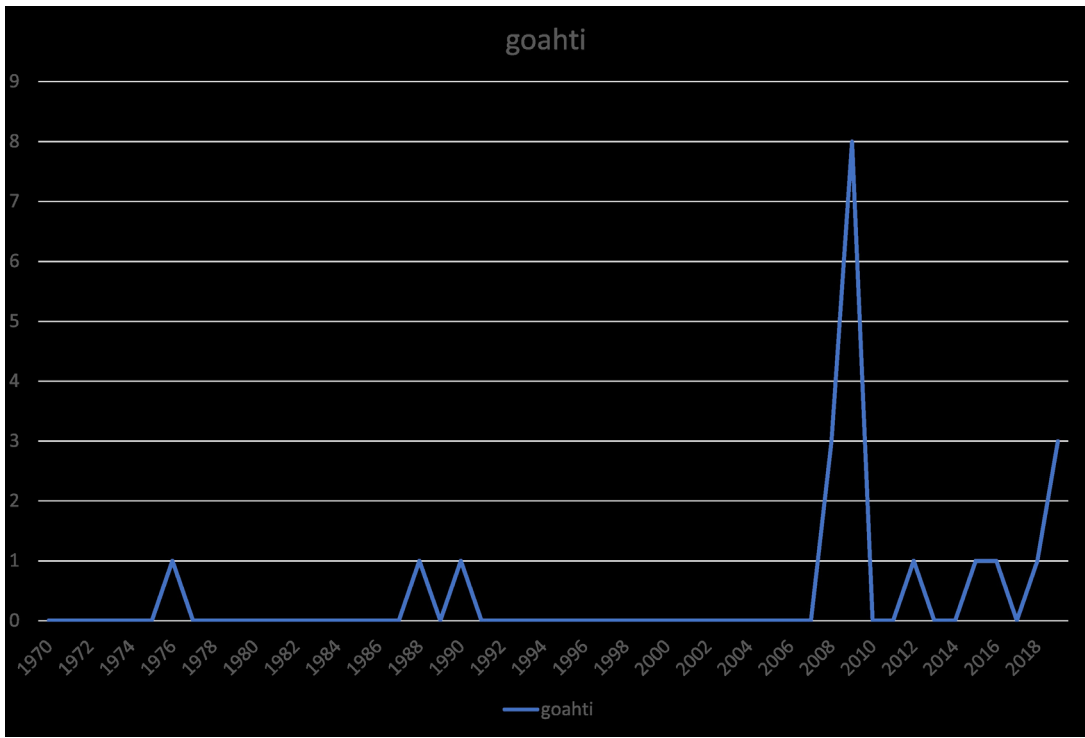


Figure 3b. Number of publications with and without the Saami term gohti. Figure: M. Piha

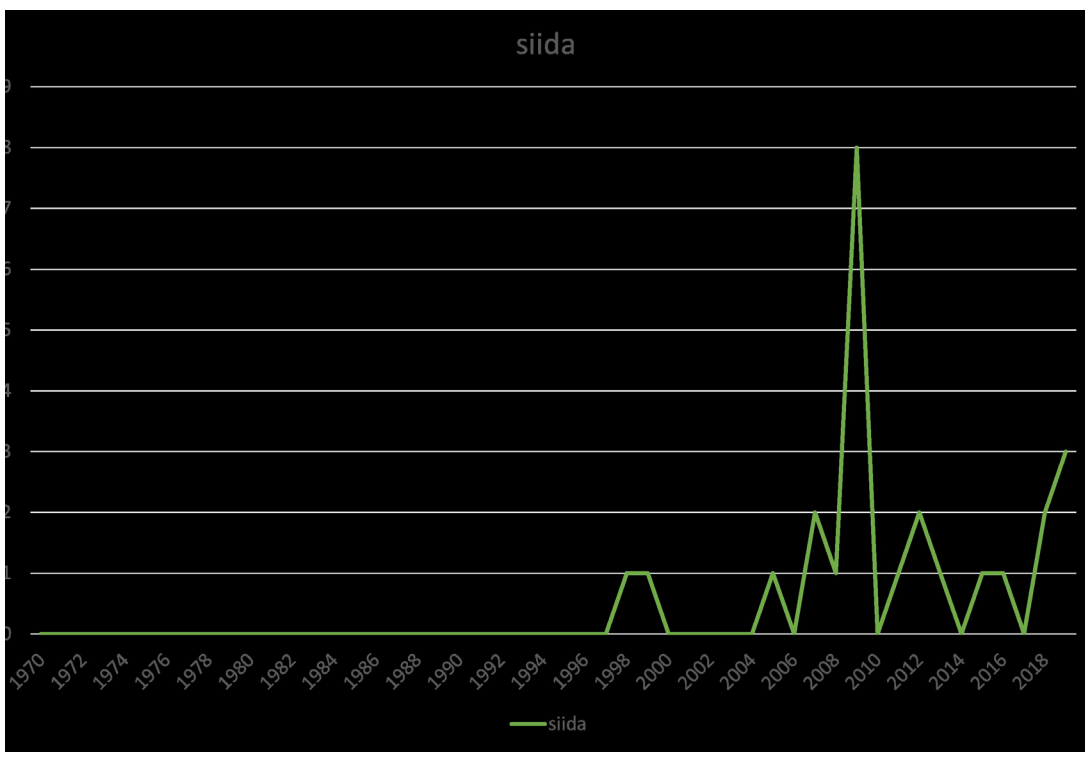


Figure 3c. Number of publications with and without the Saami term siida. Figure: M. Piha

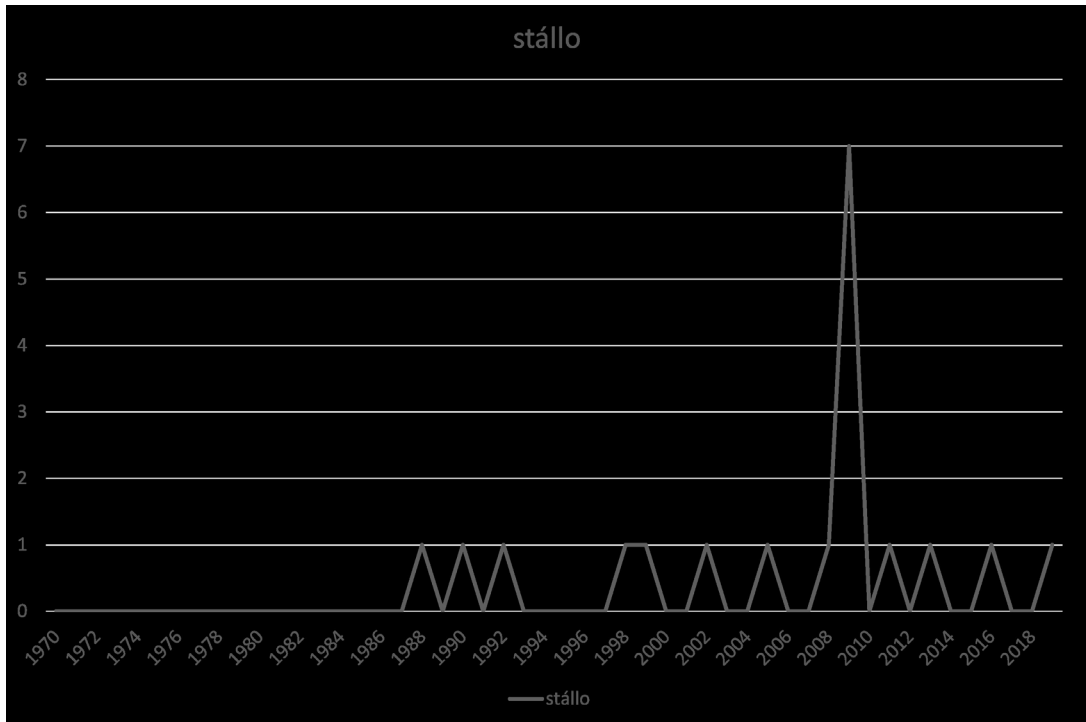


Figure 3d. Number of publications with and without the Saami term stáallo. Figure: M. Piha

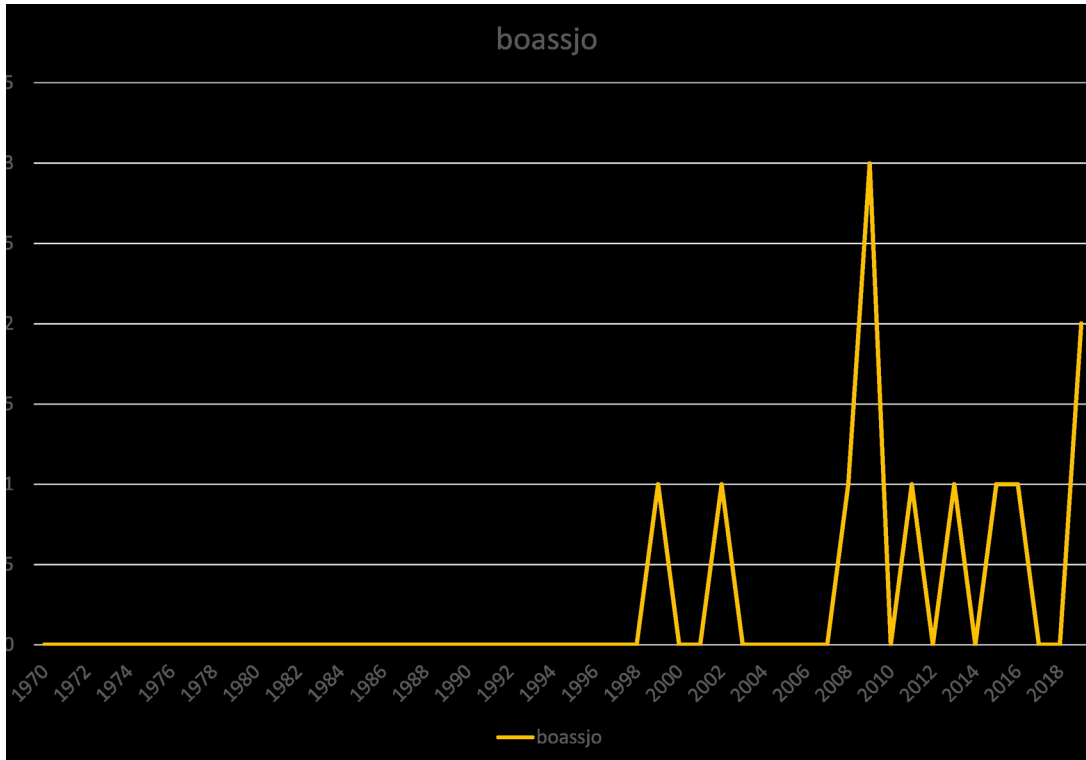


Figure 3e. Number of publications with and without the Saami term boassjo. Figure: M. Piha

However, a similar tendency was revealed even after the great peak of Saami term use in 2009: in 2017, six Saami archaeological publications were published (Fig. 1), but no Saami terms were used at all (Fig. 2). Two years later, a similar number of publications were published with terms, with three additional publications without terms. In the last peak seen in the data, in 2019, the number of publications using Saami terms surpassed those that did not use Saami terms (Fig. 2).

Changes in term use over time in the five most frequently used terms

I chose to analyze changes in the use of the five most frequent terms (see Table 2) to determine when the use had become systematic. The most frequently used terms are depicted in Figure 3a–e, and they are SaN *sieidi*, *siida*, *goahti* and SaL *stállo* and *boassjo*, as well as their cognates in other Saami languages and borrowed items in Finnish and the Scandinavian languages.

As depicted in Figures 3a–e, all the most frequently used terms had their first use before the turn of the millennium. The term *goahti*, which was used for the first time in 1976, is a somewhat special case. It was the first time a Saami term was used in the history of Saami archaeology in a publication that was included in the data. However, it was not used in Saami but in its Swedish form *kåta* (P89). *Stállo* was first used at the end of the 1980s, also in its Swedish form *stalo* (P88). The other three terms were used in the 1990s for the first time: *sieidi* in its Finnish form *seita* in 1991 (P104), *siida* in its North Saami form in 1998 (P15), and *boassjo* in its Finnish form *posio* in 1999 (P20). Thus, it seems that the first uses of Saami terms were not actual uses of Saami languages but rather the use of Saami loanwords in Finnish and Swedish.

The use of these terms in Saami languages began later, mostly after the turn of the millennium. The North Saami *sieidi* was used for the first time in 2006 (P45), and Lule Saami *siejdde* was used in 2009 (P123). The North Saami *goahti* was first used in 2009 (P73; P76; P122; P125). As for the Lule Saami word for “hut”, it is not entirely clear if any of the forms meaning “hut; house; home” are actual Lule Saami, but it is possible that the form *goathe* (pro *goahte*) is Lule Saami, but written systematically

wrong (P120; see Appx 1, endnote 19). It had its first use in 2009 as well. As mentioned, *siida* was used in its North Saami form the very first time the term was used. *Stállo* was first used in Lule Saami in 2009 (P120; P123), and this term did not appear in any other Saami languages in the data. *Boassjo* was used in the Lule Saami language for the first time in 2008 (P62) and North Saami in 2009 (P115).

The developments and changes seen in the use of the five most frequent Saami terms show that these terms were first used as loanwords from Saami to Finnish and Swedish; it was only in the 2000s that language changed in favor of the Saami languages. The Saami loanwords in publications written in Finnish and Scandinavian (and occasionally English) were still used in the 2000s and 2010s, but it seems that the Saami languages have become more popular for Saami terms. The year that had the strongest contribution to this was 2009, which can be seen as a peak in Figures 1–3. It can be stated that the two previously mentioned anthologies in Saami archaeology (Halinen et al. 2009; Äikäs 2009) were the most influential publications in the systematization of the use of Saami terms in Saami languages in research published in Finland. However, the 1990s could be seen as the birth period of the use of Saami terms.

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I first answer the question that I set on to solve: What does the use and non-use of Saami archaeological terms reveal about language policies in Saami archaeological research? It seems that there are no systematic policies in Saami term use, and here I discuss what kind of challenges in the Saami term use the data reveal and why Saami terms should be used in archaeological research. At the end, I explain some of the next steps toward decolonized term use within Saami archaeology.

Policies on Saami language use in archaeology

The analysis of term use and changes in it do show that there is a growing understanding of the importance of Saami term use in archaeological research published in Finland. This understanding began mainly in the 1990s with the use of

terms borrowed from Saami languages to the Scandinavian languages and Finnish. In the 2000s, the use has progressed toward using the terms in original Saami languages, although the Scandinavian and Finnish versions are also in use. Such a development toward term use is contemporaneous with the development of the perspectives of Indigenous archaeologies, as hypothesized in the introduction of this paper. However, this contemporaneous development with Indigenous archaeologies requires further analysis, which will be conducted later in the same project ‘Saami terms in archaeological research’ that this paper is a part of.

The decision to use Saami loanwords in Finnish and Scandinavian might be caused, for example, by the fact that it is easier to use words that have been adapted to the morphophonology of the language of the research. This concerns Finnish in particular, as it is an agglutinative language, meaning that inflective and conjugative elements are added to words as suffixes. Yet, no mention of such a reason is given in the publications. Additionally, Saami terms in Finnish and Scandinavian are sometimes used in publications written in English (e.g., P71, P75).

However, there are several shortcomings of Saami term use, and it is questionable whether there are policies of term use in Saami archaeology. The shortcomings connect with used Saami languages, used Saami terms, and the origins of the terms used.

Saami archaeological fieldwork is done in all the geographical areas of Sápmi (and outside of it), but in the data, only three different Saami languages were used: North Saami, Lule Saami, and South Saami. These languages are occasionally used to refer to areas in which they are not spoken. South Saami terms might be used in Lule or North Saami areas, while Lule Saami terms might be used in Pite Saami areas (e.g., P52; P124; see also Piha 2020a: 122). Another problem is that languages get mixed. For example, one researcher mistakenly called a Lule Saami word a South Saami word (P119). A third challenge related to this is that the language used is seldom specified; there might be notes on orthography, but talking only about orthography indicates that perhaps it is not quite clear to all that Saami languages have more differences (e.g., in phonology, semantics) than orthography

alone. Or, perhaps, the meaning of *orthography* is not quite clear to researchers in archaeology, and they use it in the meaning of “language.”

The use of Saami terms, though increasing, is not systematic. The analysis shows that only five terms were used in more than ten publications, and 60% of the terms were found in only one publication. In 55% of the publications, no Saami terms were used at all.

In some cases, the non-use of Saami terms does not mean that the Saami past or Saami archaeology is not acknowledged at all. In these articles, Saami toponyms might have been used or, simply, the acknowledgement was in the form of the word *Saami/Sami/Sámi* (or *Lapp* in the earlier research) or its counterparts in the Nordic languages. The word *Saami* is, naturally, used in publications with Saami terms as well as in, for example, theoretical contributions to Saami archaeology that do not concentrate on some or any Saami archaeological remain types (e.g., P56; P58; P63; P78).

In addition, even until the 2010s, there were publications that handled possible or likely Saami archaeological heritage or were situated in the geographical area of Sápmi, but Saami terms were not used in these publications to name different types of remains. Even a mention that the heritage handled in the research might belong to the Saami past was lacking in some publications (e.g., P54; P109; P111; P114).

The origin of Saami terms, i.e., where the writer found or adopted the used terms from, is mainly not given in the publications included in the data. In some cases, there were mentions of using the terms found in historical documents or rare references to adopting a term from previous research (P43). However, it was often impossible to trace the origin of the used terms. Knowing the origins of the terms is important for the reader to be able to judge and understand the correct use(s) of a term. Different publications used terms in different ways, and the different Saami languages have different meanings for cognate terms, so definitions are needed.

The need of Saami language policies in archaeological research

According to the analysis of the data, it seems that there are no language policies regarding

Saami term use in Saami archaeology. It is a positive development that the Saami terms have an increasing use in the research of the Saami past, but the systematic use of terms and instructions on how to use them is missing. This causes a lot of confusion and mistakes in Saami terms, as can be seen in the endnotes of Appendix 1 of this paper.

It is possible that there are some invisible and silent policies around Saami term use as a preferable tendency, but they are not binding or formal. Rather, researchers themselves may opt whether to use them or not, and there is no obligation to motivate the use or non-use of the terms, or the choice of the language used.

Another perspective on Saami language policies regarding term use is the question of whether it is at all clear why Saami terms should be used. To use archaeological terms and define them is a normal procedure in archaeology, just as it is in any science. Archaeological terms describe characteristics and functions of archaeological concepts and serve as understandable and commensurate terminology that can be used in national and international research. This makes it easier to compare archaeological material in different geographical areas.

In the case of Indigenous studies and, in this case, Indigenous archaeologies, it is not just a question of making international comparisons between areas easier but first and foremost to write about the past of an Indigenous people. As noted in the introduction of this article, Saami terms, when used systematically and critically, describe the functions of objects in the archaeological material in a more detailed and precise way than foreign terms; using non-Saami terms might cause something essential about the function and nature of the archaeological cultural heritage to be missed (see Kaikkonen 2020: 2–3). In addition, foreign terms might make the Saami past unfamiliar and strange to the Saami people, who would fail to recognize their heritage from the usage of foreign terms.

The use of Saami terms in Saami archaeology does not exclude the usage of more internationalized archaeological terminology. These two different types of terminology can be used in parallel. In fact, such a policy in which both these terminologies are used is beneficial to different audiences: on one hand, researchers

and other professionals, and on the other hand, the people whose past is studied. The use of international and Saami terminology will also help researchers describe their research to diverse audiences in different language registers—the academic community is not responsible for communicating their research only to other researchers but to the public as well.

In addition, the use of Saami terms can be a significant part in the decolonization of mental patterns of researchers and the non-Saami public. Specialists have a strong influence on what kind of language, e.g., terminology, is used in the popularization of science (Kaikkonen 2020: 6–7). Any changes in practices are gradually transferred into the popular presentations of the topic. When knowledge on the cultural heritage of the Saami is shared using Saami terms, the conceptions of the audience are reformed. The Saami terms highlight the fact that the Saami have as diverse and interesting a past as any other people. However, to make the decolonization process efficient and meaningful, the term use should be made systematic, and in the following chapter, I discuss some ways to conduct such systematization.

Steps toward decolonized term use

This article is the beginning of a project that aims to develop Saami archaeological terminology further and make Saami term use systematic. In this article, I concentrated on the data of research published in Finland. Similar research will be conducted in Norway and Sweden to determine how Saami term use differs between archaeological publications in these three Nordic countries. In addition, a study on term use in publications published by large international academic publishers will be conducted to see if there are differences in how term use is handled in Nordic and international publication forums. After that, at least three steps should be taken to make term use visible, systematic, and sensible: the identification and deconstruction of colonized mental patterns, the collection of terms referring to Saami archaeological heritage, and the creation of a database of Saami terms for the academic and public community to use. Before pondering these steps in more detail, I will present some general remarks of what an

individual researcher or institution can do to be part of the systematization of Saami terms before any open access database for Saami terms is available.

Individual input for systematic term use

All the challenges and unsystematic uses of Saami terms described above are understandable. It is not possible to expect a researcher to know every single Saami language or be able to distinguish words in different Saami languages that look very similar. However, some skills in the Saami language of the area that is the researcher's particular interest might be profitable. In addition, significant help could come from cooperation with the Saami-speaking community of the area of interest.

Nowadays, there are several online dictionaries for all the Saami languages (e.g., Giellatekno online dictionaries), and training to use these would be beneficial for Saami term use in archaeology. It is probable that some researchers used the dictionaries, given that the use of Saami terms in Saami languages has increased simultaneously with open access online dictionaries of the Saami languages. However, there is no way to know if dictionaries were used because the source of the terms were not given in the research.¹⁰

Stating the sources of used Saami terms would be useful for the readers of research. Indicating whether the terms were obtained from historical documents, previous (archaeological) research, dictionaries, Saami informants, or other sources would make it easier to critically examine the used terms and develop their use further.

Furthermore, a section for self-reflection in research would make term use more visible and conscious. I will consider this aspect a little further in light of the data of this paper in the following subchapter.

Self-reflection: Identification and deconstruction of colonized mental patterns

One of the aims of this project is to examine the motivations for using or not using Saami terms in archaeological research. It is of

interest why researchers working with Saami archaeology or archaeology of the traditional Sápmi area (or outside of it) use or do not use the terms. What makes researchers use or not use the Saami terms, and what do they want to communicate with this use or non-use?

Motivating the use or non-use of Saami terms should be a part of the self-reflection of the research in which the researcher justifies the research and the perspectives in it. Why is it me doing research on Saami past? How does this research benefit the Saami people? How does the language I use in my research affect the Saami past and the Saami people? Such a self-reflective part is missing from most of the studies in the data. Only a few publications include such a section, and no comment on the use or non-use of Saami terms are given in any of them.

Implicit motivations might be possible to find with the help of discourse analysis, but it is outside of the cope of this study. A quick note on them should, nonetheless, be given. There may be silent practices and conventions for the use and non-use of Saami terms that are not visible in publications, and it is important to ask the researchers' views on these. Additionally, the questions of temporal and spatial dimensions of the Saami languages might make it difficult to know which Saami terms to use and how they should be used. For example, if archaeological research concerns the area of the extinct Kemi Saami language in the southern and central parts of Finnish Lapland, which Saami language should be used to name archaeological cultural heritage? Kemi Saami is not documented well enough to use this language. Answers to these questions are not visible in the data of this paper, but in the future, I plan to conduct a questionnaire for archaeologists working with Saami archaeological cultural heritage to ask about their views on the use and non-use of Saami terms. The data will be analyzed using discourse analysis. Such research will most likely raise challenges like the ones described above. Making these matters visible will help archaeologists see and analyze their own (non-) use of Saami terms and find ways to tackle the challenges that the diversity of Saami languages and cultures create for Saami archaeological research.

Collection of and an open access database for Saami terms

A side benefit of the current project is that all the Saami terms used in archaeological material will be collected. The list of Saami terms used in research published in Finland is attached to this paper as Appendix 1, and the plan is to do the same for the terms used in publications published in Norway and Sweden and by international publishers. However, as the analysis of the data has shown, there are many uncertainties regarding the use of the Saami terms. First, many terms do not represent any of the Saami languages. Second, a Saami language might have been attributed to an area in which that language was not in use. Third, some of the meanings used in archaeological research are not found in Saami dictionaries. Last, some terms have been used very sporadically.

To be able to systematize Saami term use, terminological work must be done. This should be done in cooperation with the institutional community working with the Saami past and the Saami community whose past is being researched. With the Saami(-speaking) communities' help, it would be possible to, for example, uncover which terms are (or were) in real use in the languages and determine whether there are more terms that should be added to the list. With archaeologists' input, the needs of the research community regarding term use can be solved.

A good example of such work has already been done in the South Saami region: Ellen Bull Jonassen and her team (2011) gathered a list of terms referring to South Saami cultural heritage. As Bull Jonassen and the team (2011: 80) stressed, their list of terms is not ready to be used as a formal terminology in cultural heritage registration and research. However, it is, as they point out, a good pre-work for further and systematic terminological developments. Similar work should be done with other Saami languages, to broaden the work toward a terminological database to be used as a reference for Saami archaeological cultural heritage. The finding of Saami terms within the current project is meant to serve as the beginnings of such a terminological database for all cultural heritage workers and Saami communities to use. This

database will enhance the systematic use of Saami terms, instruct term use and the choice of the right Saami language, and detail how to motivate term use.

ABBREVIATIONS

Fi	Finnish
Nw	Norwegian
SaL	Lule Saami
SaN	North Saami
SaS	South Saami
Sw	Swedish

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APPENDIX 1

Saami terms in archaeological research published in Finland

Notes on the table

The table lists all the word forms used in the publications included in the data. I list the language of the term in brackets. It is quite rare that the language of the terms is defined in the research; thus, I have looked for the words in Saami dictionaries. If the term is not found in any of the (modern) languages, and there is no definition of the language in the publications, I marked the term with a question mark.

The English meaning of the word is translated from the definitions found in Saami dictionaries, and if the word has a special meaning in archeology, that is also given. If a word is not found in Saami dictionaries, I used the meaning given in the article(s) in which the term appears. Such meanings are marked with “(ARC)” for ‘archaeology’, and it must be considered that they might be incorrect. Sometimes, I give two different

meanings: the one in dictionaries and the one used by archaeologists. In the latter case, the one used by archaeologists is not found in dictionaries.

Sometimes, the English translation of the meaning of the word requires Saami words, such as *bearpmet* ‘a row of stones or logs that lead to the *árran*’ in which the word *árran* in bold font is a North Saami word that is needed to define the North Saami word *bearpmet* in English. These are given in the same Saami language as the term in question. All the Saami words used in English translations can be found in the table as Saami terms. Saami words in English translations are preferred because Saami terms are often difficult to translate into English in a concise way without using other Saami words.

The last column names the semantic field of the term. In some cases, the semantic field I have listed is marked with a question mark. In those cases, the semantic field is often connected to the concept that archaeologists use but is uncertain from the perspective of definitions given in dictionaries.

In the endnotes of the paper, I comment the use of the terms, as there are many confusions in word use, spelling, and the meanings of the terms.

Saami term	Meaning in English	No. of publications	Total no. of mentions in publications	Semantic field
<i>aevsie</i> (SaS)	crown of horns	1	3	reindeer
<i>áiligas</i> (SaN)	sacred	1	1	sacred sites & phenomena
<i>árran</i> (SaN)	hearth hearth-row (ARC)	7	42	dwelling
<i>baeljek</i> (?)	framework of paired curved poles that give the floor of a hut a larger and more oval outline (ARC)	1	1	dwelling?
<i>bálges</i> (SaL)	trail	1	1	travelling
<i>bassi</i> (SaN), <i>basse</i> (?) ¹¹	sacred	2	4	sacred sites & phenomena
<i>bearpmet</i> (SaN), <i>permikkä</i> (Fi), <i>permukka</i> (Fi)	a row of stones or logs that lead to the <i>árran</i> ¹²	5	11	dwelling
<i>bearpmetárran</i> (SaN)	a central fireplace with two rows of stone; a type of open hearth with a stone border (ARC)	1	1	dwelling

Saami term	Meaning in English	No. of publications	Total no. of mentions in publications	Semantic field
<i>boaššu</i> (SaN), <i>boassjo</i> (SaL), <i>posio</i> (Fi), <i>boassju</i> (?), <i>boassu</i> (?)	the back of a Saami <i>goahti</i> , often considered sacred the sacred back part of a Saami <i>goahti</i> (ARC)	12	63	sacred sites & phenomena, dwellings
<i>borra</i> (SaN)	meat storage pit	1	2	storage
<i>buvri</i> (SaN), <i>puura</i> (Fi)	storage shed	4	6	storage
<i>čearpmat</i> (SaN) ¹³	last year's calf	1	1	reindeer
<i>daektiesijjie</i> (SaS)	bone cache (ARC) ¹⁴	1	1	sacred sites & phenomena
<i>dálvvadis</i> (SaN)	winter dwelling place; winter land; winter market place	1	1	dwelling place
<i>Duorpun</i> (SaL?) ¹⁵ , <i>Tuorpon</i> (?)	a fishing method that involves the use of a pole to scare the fish into a net or fish trap (ARC)	2	6	hunting & fishing
<i>geinnodat</i> (SaN)	migration road; passageway	1	3	travelling
<i>gieddi</i> (SaN) ¹⁶	field; meadow; milking grounds (ARC)	2	3	topography, reindeer?
<i>giedtieh</i> (SaS) ¹⁷	reindeer corrals	1	1	reindeer
<i>gieres</i> (SaL?) ¹⁸	boat-shaped Saami sledge pulled by reindeer (ARC)	1	7	travelling, reindeer
<i>goahti</i> (SaN), <i>goahhte</i> (SaL?), <i>goathe</i> (?) ¹⁹ , <i>gáahti</i> (?), <i>koahte</i> (?), <i>káta</i> (Sw)	hut; house; home	18	203	dwellings
<i>godderoggi</i> (SaN)	hunting pit for deer	1	1	hunting & fishing
<i>jiekiö</i> (Fi)	a tool for shaping skin	1	3	tools & artifacts
<i>jutata</i> (Fi)	to move with the reindeer	2	3	travelling, reindeer
<i>jáartasijjie</i> (SaS)	bone cache (ARC) ²⁰	1	1	sacred sites & phenomena
<i>jártesie</i> (SaS) ²¹	bone deposit, bone cache	1	1	sacred sites & phenomena
<i>kannus</i> (Fi) ²²	<i>noaidi</i> drum	3	8	sacred sites & phenomena
<i>kitta</i> (Fi?)	working area for women (ARC)	1	1	dwellings
<i>kurtta</i> (Fi)	reindeer milk; dried reindeer milk (ARC)	1	2	reindeer
<i>launi</i> (Fi) ²³	wooden fish hook	2	5	hunting & fishing

Saami term	Meaning in English	No. of publications	Total no. of mentions in publications	Semantic field
<i>lávvgastat</i> (SaN)	small decorative leaflet in a piece of jewelry	1	1	tools & artifacts
<i>lávvu</i> (SaN), <i>lavvo</i> (Nw) ²⁴ , <i>lavvu</i> (SaN?) ²⁵ , <i>laavu</i> (Fi)	tent; light-structured <i>goahti</i> made of canvas	4	6	dwelling
<i>loaidu</i> (SaN) ²⁶ , <i>loido</i> (?), <i>loito</i> (Fi), <i>luoito</i> (?) ²⁷	sitting and sleeping areas on either side of an <i>árran</i> in a <i>goahti</i> the left side of a <i>goahti</i> (ARC)	4	12	dwelling
<i>luojddo</i> (SaL) ²⁸	floor in a tent or <i>goahte</i> the areas alongside a hearth (ARC)	1	1	dwelling
<i>loude</i> (Fi) ²⁹	hut cover; hut fabric	3	11	dwelling
<i>luopsi</i> (?) ³⁰	the back part of the <i>goahti</i>	1	1	dwelling
<i>luovve</i> (?) ³¹	sacrificial platform (ARC)	1	1	sacred sites & phenomena?
<i>luovvi</i> (SaN)	storage place	1	1	storage
<i>nammaláhpat</i> (SaN)	A male reindeer over eight years old A male reindeer over six years old (ARC)	1	1	reindeer
<i>nili</i> (Fi)	a small storage hut that stands on one pole	1	1	storage
<i>noaidi</i> (SaN), <i>noajdde</i> (SaL), <i>nájd</i> (Sw), <i>noid</i> (?)	Saami religious expert; shaman witch; Lapp shaman (ARC)	9	35	sacred sites & phenomena
<i>orda</i> (SaN)	tree line the upper forest zone (ARC)	1	1	topography
<i>orohat</i> (SaN)	reindeer grazing area; area with Saami residence	2	5	dwelling place, reindeer
<i>peski</i> (Fi)	reindeer fur coat Lapp coat (ARC)	1	3	clothing & textiles, reindeer
<i>purnu</i> (Fi)	storage that is dug in the ground and supported by a log structure a storage that is dug in a field of rocks; fish cellar (ARC)	6	35	storage
<i>raanu</i> (Fi)	wool blanket with the base fabric made of cotton or linen and pattern fabric made of wool	1	4	clothing & textiles
<i>sáiva</i> (SaN) ³² , <i>saivo</i> (Fi) ³³ , <i>sájva</i> (?) ³⁴	fresh water; small lake; lake without an outlet or a river that brings water to the lake; sacred lake, often believed to be double bottomed	6	152	sacred sites & phenomena
<i>sarva</i> (SaS)	reindeer bull	1	1	reindeer
<i>sarve</i> (SaS)	elk	1	1	animal

Saami term	Meaning in English	No. of publications	Total no. of mentions in publications	Semantic field
<i>sieidi</i> (SaN), <i>siejdde</i> (SaL), <i>seita</i> (Fi), <i>sejte</i> (Sw), <i>seite</i> (Sw?), <i>seid</i> (?)	sacred stone, rock, tree, cliff, etc. sacred site (ARC)	33	1307	sacred sites & phenomena
<i>šiella</i> (SaN)	present given to the newborn; reward for finder metal artefact made of pewter or silver for offering; gift; reward (ARC)	1	2	sacred sites & phenomena
<i>siieppuri</i> (Fi)	a short cape; round cape made of bear skin with neckline in the middle neck wrapping (ARC)	1	2	clothing & textiles
<i>siida</i> (SaN), <i>sijdda</i> (SaL) ³⁵ , <i>siita</i> (Fi), <i>sijda</i> (Sw?) ³⁶	(Saami) village; reindeer village; home Saami village; traditional administration unit; notion used for people, the political organization, and the resource area/territory used by each group in Saami society; territorially autonomous social unit consisting of a collection of households; Saami community functioning as an independent social and economic unit (ARC)	25	144	social organization
<i>šillju</i> (SaN)	yard site area (ARC)	1	1	dwelling place
<i>sjiele</i> (SaS), <i>sjiele</i> (SaS?) ³⁷	wedding gift; sacrificial gift; amulet; (metal) artefact used as an offering	2	10	sacred sites & phenomena
<i>sjielegierkie</i> (SaS), <i>sjielegierkie</i> (SaS?) ³⁸	sacrificial stone	2	2	sacred sites & phenomena
<i>slahpa</i> (SaL)	a room under a stone where it is possible to take shelter during storms or for overnight stays	1	1	dwelling, topography
<i>stállo</i> (SaL), <i>stallo</i> (?) ³⁹ , <i>staalo</i> (Fi), <i>stalo</i> (Sw)	scary and strong mythological being; troll type of a dwelling site in the fell area often with a circular or oval floor surface and centered hearth surrounded by a low bank (ARC) ⁴⁰	19	119	sacred sites & phenomena, dwellings
<i>suohpáš</i> (SaN)	crossing point bottleneck of a passageway (ARC)	1	1	travelling
<i>suopunki</i> (Fi)	lasso	1	3	reindeer
<i>Talv-sijd</i> (?) ⁴¹	winter village (ARC)	1	1	dwelling place

Saami term	Meaning in English	No. of publications	Total no. of mentions in publications	Semantic field
<i>tseegkuve</i> (SaS)	sacrifice; reindeer sacrifice	1	13	sacred sites & phenomena
<i>uksa</i> (SaN, SaL)	door front area of a <i>goahti</i> (ARC)	6	14	dwellings
<i>ushta</i> (?) ⁴²	spoon bait	1	1	hunting & fishing
<i>vuobme</i> (SaL), <i>vuome</i> (SaL?) ⁴³ , <i>vuoma</i> (?)	forest; wide valley with forest; inland area with a lot of forest Saami community; regional network of related families (ARC)	4	7	topography, social organization?
<i>vuobman</i> (SaN?) ⁴⁴ , <i>vuomen</i> (Fi), <i>vuobma</i> (?)	a funnel-shaped wire fence for catching deer	4	32	hunting & fishing

NOTES

¹ I use the form *Saami* for naming the different Saami languages or referring to the languages as a group. I have chosen this form after consulting Sámi Giellagáldu, the joint organization of the Saami in Nordic countries that is responsible for matters on Saami languages. Giellagáldu recommends this long vowel form that does not favor the North Saami form *Sámi* above word forms in other Saami languages (such as Skolt Saami *sää'mm* and South Saami *saemie*) but shows the important long vowel of the word (Sven-Erik Duolljá e-mail to Piha 16.12.2019; see also Piha 2020b: 25–26).

² The Saami live also in Russia, but Saami archaeology in Russia has been excluded from this article due to a language barrier and the present geopolitical situation.

³ The role of Indigenous studies and Indigenous archaeologies within Saami archaeology and in relation to the use of Saami terms will be discussed in more length and detail in a future paper of this ongoing project ‘Saami terms in archaeological research’.

⁴ However, Saami terms can be turned into international terms (Kaikkonen 2020: 9–10). An example of a minority-language term that has become an international scientific term is ‘shamanism’ (see e.g., Tieteen termipankki 28 February 2024: *Uskontotiede: shamanismi*. Exact address: <https://tieteentermipankki.fi/wiki/Uskontotiede:shamanismi>), which originates in the Evenki word *shaman* “the one who knows/sees” (SESK s.v. *samaani*).

⁵ Archaeological journals do publish research from other disciplines, such as anthropology and linguistics, if they are relevant to archaeology.

⁶ The only exceptions to these are studies that are clearly not connected with Saami archaeological cultural heritage, e.g., dissertation by Tiina Väre (2017) that studies a body of one deceased person, Vicar Nikolaus Rungius, who lived in Lapland. Even if Rungius had connections with the Saami, the study is not about certain or possible Saami archaeological cultural heritage. The urban archaeological studies of Lapland towns are not included either if they do not have a Saami perspective or if they do not see the towns specifically as places for major population (Finnish, Norwegian, Swedish) in which there was no place for the Saami.

⁷ One such archaeological remain type that connects to Saami speakers might be Lapp cairns, and I have included research about these in my data whenever they are published on forums that are in my data. The traditional name of the remain type indicates a connection to the Saami, as the name *Lapp* is convincingly argued to point to the Saami people (Aikio 2012: 95).

⁸ Nowadays e.g., *Fennoscandia archaeologica* (<https://journal.fi/fennoscandiaarchaeologica/about/submissions>, read 28 February 2024) gives instructions on how to deal with Saami terms: ‘Saami languages/terms: The used Saami language in which the Saami terms are given should be indicated and used coherently’.

⁹ South and Lule Saami is taught and researched at Nord University in Norway and Umeå University in Sweden; South Saami can, to some extent, be studied also at Uppsala University in Sweden. Inari and Skolt Saami are taught and researched in the University of Oulu in Finland.

¹⁰ Training on the use of dictionaries could be a part of academic education in Saami archaeology, and a course in Saami archaeology should be compulsory in studies in archaeology in Scandinavia and Finland. This is, however, a note for institutions, not to individual researchers who do not have much power to decide what is studied in universities.

¹¹ The form *basse* was only used in one publication (P64) in a context in which historical documents about Saami religion are described. It is not entirely clear if this form is cited from these old documents. The language of the word is not mentioned, but in the publication, it is described that North Saami orthography is used unless otherwise stated. *Basse* is ‘sacred’ in Lule Saami, but presumably, Lule Saami is not used in this case. In addition, it is acknowledged in the publication that the root *basse-* is found in North Saami toponyms when the word is the attributive first part of a compound, e.g., *Bassečielgi*.

¹² In one of the publications (P51), the meaning ‘a central fireplace with two rows of stone’ is given in reference to this term, but it is the meaning of the term *bearpmetárran*.

¹³ This term is found only in one publication (P115), and a wrong meaning is given to this term. It is written that the meaning is that of *bearpmet* ‘a row of stones or logs that lead to the *árran*’.

¹⁴ The word *daektiesijie* is not found in dictionaries, but it is a compound word with parts *daektie* ‘bone’ and *sijie* ‘place’. The word is not found in the ‘*Áarjelsaemien baakoe kultuvremojhtesidie*’ ‘The South Saami word list of cultural heritage’ (Bull Jonassen et al. 2011).

¹⁵ In P120, the word *Duorpun* (with a capital letter in the beginning of the word) is used and defined as a Lule Saami word. Most likely, this word is meant to refer to the meaning of the word *duorbun* ‘white-painted piece of wood (shaped like a fish) with a lead sinker at one end, which is sent toward a school of herring to chase it in a certain direction’.

- ¹⁶ This is a cognate word with SaS *giedtieh* that has a different meaning.
- ¹⁷ This is a cognate word with SaN *gieddi* that has a different meaning. The SaS word is in nominative plural form.
- ¹⁸ In P55, the word *gieris* ‘open sledge that is built like a boat’ is probably meant; the meaning of *gieres* in Lule Saami is ‘darling, beloved; loving’.
- ¹⁹ In P120, the Lule Saami form *goahte* is probably intended, but it is systematically written wrong.
- ²⁰ The word *jáartasijjie* is not found in any dictionaries. It is a compound word with parts *jáarhta* ‘soil’ and *sijjie* ‘place’. It is probable that in P124, it is meant as *jártesie* ‘bone deposit, bone cache’, which is found in the *Åarjelsaemien baakoe kultuvremojhtesidie* ‘The South Saami word list of cultural heritage’ (Bull Jonassen et al. 2011). According to the list (id. 85, endnote 20), *jártesie* is not written by the modern orthography because the word is not found in modern dictionaries. The form is taken from Bäckman & Kjellström (1979: 60).
- ²¹ This word is obtained from Bäckman & Kjellström (1979: 60) and does not conform to modern South Saami orthography.
- ²² It is not quite certain whether this Finnish word is a loanword from Saami to Finnish. The only meaning is ‘Saami *noaidi* drum’, and it is found specifically in northern Finnish dialects (SKES s.v. *kannus*). Thus, it could be a word of Saami origin, e.g., SaN *goavddis* and SaL *goabdes*. However, the sound substitutions might not be regular.
- ²³ It is not entirely clear if this is a loanword from Saami. The Saami and Finnish words might be cognates that originate in the same protolanguage (SKES s.v. *launi*).
- ²⁴ In P51, *lavvo* is presumably given as a term in a Saami language even though it is not explicitly specified. It is, however, a Norwegian word that is borrowed from Saami.
- ²⁵ In P49, it was stated that North Saami designations are used unless otherwise indicated. However, *lavvu* is not a North Saami word, and no other language is stated for the word. The North Saami word *lávvu* was probably intended.
- ²⁶ This is a cognate word with SaL *luojdo* that has a different meaning.
- ²⁷ In P117, this word is inflected in nominative plural *luoidot* according to the Finnish inflection system. Additionally, the Finnish word for the concept is given (*loito*) in the same publication. However, it is not entirely clear which language *luoidot* is in. The Finnish nominative singular of *luoidot* would be *luoito*.
- ²⁸ This is a cognate word with SaN *loaidu* that has a different meaning.
- ²⁹ In the publications, this word is used as the attributive part of a compound *loudekota* ‘hut covered with fabric’.
- ³⁰ This word in P20 might refer to the Inari Saami word *luopsá* ‘the place for dish in the back part of the *kuáti* (hut)’, but it has been misunderstood to refer generally to the back part of the hut.
- ³¹ It is not clear which Saami word this is, and the language is not specified in the publication (P69). In Lule Saami, *luovve* means ‘storage place that stands on four poles and is used for storing food, clothes and equipment’; In North Saami, *luovvi* has a similar meaning. The meaning ‘sacrificial platform’ given to the word in archaeological research is not found in any of the dictionaries.
- ³² In P64, the different meanings of the word *sáiva* (or its cognates in different Saami languages) are noted and described. According to the descriptions, in the west, *sáiva* lakes were associated with fells and mountains, while specifically in the areas of Finland and Sweden, a *sáiva* lake meant a lake with a double bottom (about the *sáiva* as a concept, see Pelttari 2012: 40–42).
- ³³ In P49, the terms *sáiva* and *saivo* are written with a capital letter at the beginning of the words, but it is not explained why.
- ³⁴ The form *sájva* in P49 might refer to the Lule Saami word *sájvva* ‘sacred lake or mountain’. The Lule Saami word takes part in consonant gradation and is inflected as *sájva* in weak grade. This form is used in the context of ‘Southern Sámi areas’ in P49. However, the word is *saajve* in South(ern) Saami. Lule Saami is a Saami language that is undeniably spoken south of North Saami but not traditionally in the Southern Saami areas.
- ³⁵ In P119, it is written that *sijdda* is the South Saami form of the word. However, it is a Lule Saami word; South Saami word would be *sijte*.
- ³⁶ This word is used in P62 as the Swedish translation of the Saami word. However, it is not found in dictionaries or in SAOB.
- ³⁷ In P82, *sjiele* is claimed to be a South Saami word, but the correct form is *sjiele*.
- ³⁸ Also in this compound word, the correct form for the first part is *sjiele*; however, in P72, it is written as *sjiele*.
- ³⁹ This form seems to appear in publications in which the used Saami language is North Saami (e.g., P76; P81; P125), and in one of the publications it is explicitly noted that the used Saami language is North Saami (P125). However, the North Saami form for this word would be *stállu*.
- ⁴⁰ This word has a well-established meaning in Saami and Nordic archeology that many archaeologists use to discuss this particular type of dwelling site.
- ⁴¹ The capital letter at the beginning of the word is originally from P84.

- ⁴² In P21, it is stated that this is a word in ‘Norwegian Lapp language’; it is probably the North Saami word *ušta* ‘spoon bait’.
- ⁴³ This is probably the form of *vuobme* in weak grade that is used when the noun is inflected in certain cases and numbers.
- ⁴⁴ The correct form of North Saami would be *vuopman*. *Vuobman* is a word in Lule Saami that means ‘volume; space’.