

## Russian loanwords in Skolt Saami

The distribution of the Russian loan vocabulary within the Saami languages centers on Skolt, Akkala, Kildin, and Ter Saami. In Skolt Saami, this loanword stratum forms the largest loanword stratum and contains more than 750 lexemes. Despite the significance of the loanword stratum, there has hardly been any actual analysis of the Russian loanwords in the Saami languages. This paper aims to fill this gap by presenting an overview of Russian vocabulary in Skolt Saami from a phonological, morphological, and semantic point of view. Besides analyzing the loanwords, approximately 150 new loan etymologies are discussed and some thirty new comparisons with Russian loanwords proposed in other Saami languages. It turns out that the Russian loan lexicon is relatively recent, and most if not all the words were borrowed from the Northwestern dialects of Russian between the beginning of the 17th century and 1920. Semantically the vocabulary is heterogenous. The most important semantic categories include religion, clothing, buildings and houses, diet, as well as administration and society.

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## 1. Introduction

The Saami languages are usually divided into either two or three areal language groups based on phonological and morphological innovations. In both of these divisions, the border between the eastern and western or the eastern and northwestern branches lies between North Saami and Aanaar (Inari) Saami (e.g. Sammallahti 1998: 6–7; Aikio 2012: 76–77; for more specific details on the division of language groups, see Rydving 2013: 27–61). However, based on vocabulary, Aanaar Saami could be classified as a transitional language between eastern and western branches or even as the easternmost language of the western branch, as the lexical differences between Aanaar Saami and Skolt Saami are greater than the differences between Aanaar Saami and North Saami (Rydving 2013; Tillinger 2014). The lexical differences can mostly be explained by different contact languages. For example, the most important contact language of Aanaar Saami has been Finnish, while for the Saami languages spoken to the east of Aanaar Saami it has been Russian (see e.g. Lehtiranta & Seurujärvi-Kari 1991: 132).

The distribution of the Russian loan vocabulary within the Saami languages centers on Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami. In these languages, the Russian vocabulary forms the largest single loanword stratum (KKLS XX; Rießler 2022: 237), containing totally more than one thousand loanwords. However, there are only a small number of Russian loanwords in the Saami languages spoken to the west of Skolt Saami. For example, only some forty Russian loanwords have been presented in Aanaar Saami, mainly in the dictionary of Skolt and Kola Saami by Itkonen (hereinafter referred to as KKLS) and the dictionary of Aanaar Saami (InLpW), and even less in North Saami and the Saami languages spoken to the west of it. Moreover, a more accurate analysis of the presented Russian loanwords shows them to actually be Karelian loanwords.

In Skolt Saami and in the Saami languages more general, the Russian loanwords represent a relatively recent stratum. Even though the ancestors of Skolt Saami had at least seasonal contacts with the Russian-speaking population in the first centuries of the second millennium and some Russian loanwords were probably borrowed already then, most of the Russian loanwords must have been borrowed after the early 16th century. The close contacts between the Skolt Saami and the Russians began in the 1530s, when the monastery at Pechenga was founded in order to evangelize the Saami of the Kola Peninsula. The Russian influence on Skolt Saami

language and culture continued until the contacts between the Skolt Saami of Paččjokk (in Finnish Paatsjoki), Peäccam (in Finnish Petsamo) and Suõ'nn'jel (in Finnish Suonikylä) and the Russian contacts broke down in 1920, when the Skolt Saami of those siidas became Finnish citizens and Finnish became the most important contact language instead of Russian. However, the Skolt Saami of Mue'tk̄k̄ (in Finnish known as Muotka and in Russian Мотка), Njuõ'ttjäu'rr (Finnish Nuortijärvi, Russian Хорозеро) and Sâârvesjäu'rr (Finnish Hirvasjärvi, Russian Гирвасозеро) became citizens of the Soviet Union and mostly assimilated linguistically during the 20th century.

As most Finno-Ugric languages are spoken in Russia, Russian loanwords in different languages have been studied relatively extensively. For example, there are monographs dealing with the Russian loanwords of Komi (Kalima 1911) and Mari (Savatkova 1969) and the Slavic vocabulary of various stages of the Finnic languages has also been the subject of several studies (see e.g. Mikkola 1894; 1938; Kalima 1952; Plöger 1973; Ojanen 1985; Must 2000; Jarva 2003; Blokland 2009; Tavi 2018; and more specifically Jarva 2003: 38–44; Saarikivi 2009 and Kallio & Laakso 2020). In comparison, the Russian loan vocabulary in the Saami languages has been little studied. The present paper aims to fill this gap for Skolt Saami.

This paper aims to present an overview of Russian vocabulary in Skolt Saami from a phonological, morphophonological, morphological and semantic point of view. I answer the following research questions: 1) From which Russian variant has the vocabulary been borrowed? 2) How have the Russian nouns, verbs and adjectives been adapted to Skolt Saami? 3) Which semantic fields do the loanwords of Russian origin concern, and what do they tell us about the contacts between the Skolt Saami and the Russians?

## 2. Background

### 2.1. Previous studies

The most important source for studying the Russian loanwords in the Saami languages is KKLS. In this work, about 930 Russian loanwords in Skolt, Kildin and Ter Saami are presented. Some of these etymologies were presented already earlier (cf. Itkonen 1916; 1948: I, 164), while only a relatively small number of new Russian loanwords have been presented since then, mainly in the dictionary by Eliseev and Zajceva (2007) which

presents about fifty new Russian loanwords in Skolt Saami and somewhat more in the other eastern Saami languages. Besides representing loan sources, there has hardly been any actual analysis of the Russian loans in the Saami languages.

There are probably only three studies focusing solely on the Russian loanwords in the Saami languages and only two of them deal also with Skolt Saami. Both studies are sorely incomplete. The first and only study focusing exclusively on Skolt Saami is Senkevič-Gudkova's (1971) paper on the phonological structure of Russian loanwords in the Njuõ'ttjäu'r'r dialect of Skolt Saami. The second study is the master's thesis of Starowicz (1983), in which he studies the Russian loan vocabulary presented by Itkonen from two perspectives: the phonological equivalence of Russian loans within the Skolt and Kola Saami languages and their loan sources, as well as the semantic fields of loanwords (see Section 5).

In addition to the studies mentioned above, there are two other studies which deal with the Russian loanwords alongside other languages also in Skolt Saami: the comparative-onomasiological dialectal dictionary of Karelian, Vepsian and the Saami languages spoken in the Kola Peninsula by Eliseev and Zajceva (2007) and a paper studying the sound substitutions of the Russian loanwords in the dialects of Karelian, Vepsian and the Saami languages spoken in the Kola Peninsula (Mixajlova 2019), which is based on the dictionary by Eliseev and Zajceva. Although the Russian loanwords of Skolt Saami are not known to have been further studied, the Russian loanwords in Kildin Saami have been examined in some studies (e.g. Szabó 1987; Rießler 2009a; 2009b).

Although in the contacts between the Saami and the Russians, Russian has been the prestige language from which vocabulary has been borrowed into the Saami languages, there are some 120 words borrowed from the Saami languages into Russian (KKLS XX). These items mainly consist of words related to Arctic nature and reindeer husbandry and mostly appear only in the Russian dialects spoken on the Kola Peninsula. However, some words are also widespread in Russian, such as *морж* 'walrus' and *тундра* 'tundra', cf. Skolt Saami *moršš* 'walrus', *tuõddâr* ~ Kildin Saami *tũndar* 'fell (mountain)' (KKLS 613). The Saami loanwords in Russian have been studied by Itkonen (1932) and Pineda (2004).

It has also been pointed out in various studies (see e.g. Korhonen 1981: 52–55; Sammallahti 1998: 130) that part of the Russian-origin vocabulary of the Saami languages was, in fact, borrowed from Karelian. These words have

been listed separately in studies concerning the contacts between the Saami of the Kola Peninsula and the Karelians (Itkonen 1942; Korhonen 1977), but there has hardly been any actual analysis of this loanword stratum either.

## 2.2. Research materials and notation

The research materials used in this paper can be divided into three parts: the dictionary of Skolt and Kola Saami (KKLS), the comparative-onomasiological dialectal dictionary of Karelian, Vepsian and the Saami languages spoken in the Kola Peninsula (Eliseev & Zajceva 2007), and the Finnish–Skolt Saami dictionary (Moshnikoff & Moshnikoff 2020). From these dictionaries I have collected more than 750 Russian loanwords found in Skolt Saami, which are listed in the appendix. Most of these etymologies were proposed in various studies earlier, mainly in KKLS, but Eliseev & Zajceva present some fifty etymologies of their own. In this study I shall discuss approximately 150 new loan etymologies which have not been previously proposed for any Saami language, and some thirty new comparisons with Russian loanwords proposed in other Saami languages, mainly in Kildin Saami. Since the Russian loanwords represent a relatively recent stratum, they are fairly easy to distinguish on the basis of sound and word structure as well as semantics.

The KKLS is a dialect dictionary based on materials collected mostly in the early twentieth century in the traditional areas where Skolt Saami, Kildin Saami and Ter Saami were spoken. However, based on the KKLS it is not possible to determine the exact number of Russian loanwords in different dialects. The reason for this is that the dictionary is based on relatively short-term fieldwork, during which it was not possible to collect all the vocabulary of the respective dialects. In addition, the dictionary is quite uneven in terms of dialects. Most of the material is from the Paččjokk dialect, and quite a lot from the Njuõ'ttjäu'rr dialect, but there is much less material from the Suõ'nn'jel dialect and even less from the other dialects. However, these differences do not fully explain why more Russian loanwords are found in the Paččjokk dialect (KKLS XX) than in other dialects, but also differences in contact situations have to be taken into account (see 2.3).

The comparative-onomasiological dialectal dictionary by Eliseev and Zajceva (2007) includes material from the Tuállam (in Russian Тулома) dialect of Skolt Saami, which is a successor of the Njuõ'ttjäu'rr dialect. The

materials were collected in the late 1970s for the *Atlas Linguarum Europae* research project (see Rydving 2013: 93–107).

The Finnish–Skolt Saami dictionary by Moshnikoff and Moshnikoff (2020) is based on the Finnish–Skolt Saami dictionary by Sammallahhti and Moshnikoff (1991), in addition to which it contains other vocabulary from the Skolt Saami spoken in Če'vetjäu'rr (in Finnish Sevettijärvi) and a great deal of neologisms created for the written language. Some words in KKLS, especially from the Suõ'nn'jel dialect, that were excluded from the previous dictionary, are now included.

I have excluded the Finnish–Skolt Saami dictionary by Matti Sverloff (1989) from the research materials of present paper, because the orthography used in it is too inaccurate for a phonological analysis, and it seems that some of the Russian loanwords have been taken directly from dictionaries of Russian, so they are not suitable for this study. Usage of Russian dictionaries is indicated by the fact that the dictionary by Sverloff contains loans that are implausible for semantic reasons, such as *tramvajkjein* 'tramway' (Sverloff 1989: 67) < *трамва́й* 'tramway, tram' and *pojálka* 'grand piano' (Sverloff 1989: 20) < *рояль* id. In the latter example, the use of Russian dictionaries is further indicated by the fact that the plosive [p] corresponds to the Russian trill [r], apparently due to the confusion caused by the Cyrillic letter <р>.

More Russian loanwords in Skolt Saami can be found on the archive tapes, especially among the material collected in the former Soviet Union and today Russia, but also among the material collected in Finland in the 1960s and 1970s. In this study I have not included materials from archives, since it would have taken a great deal of time and the aim of this study is not to represent all Russian loanwords found in Skolt Saami, but rather only to give an overview of this loanword stratum.

For the sake of clarity, the example words presented in this study are taken from the Finnish–Skolt Saami dictionary (Moshnikoff & Moshnikoff 2020). Only if a word example is not included in the dictionary it is taken from the KKLS, followed by an indicator of the source dialect (P = Paččjokk, S = Suõ'nn'jel, Nj = Njuõ'ttjäu'rr). If a loan etymology has been proposed earlier in the KKLS or in the dictionary by Eliseev and Zajceva (2007), the reference to the former source is presented after the meaning of the example word. However, if the example word is not presented from Skolt Saami but only from some other Saami language, the word is equated with the notation (~KKLS).

If not mentioned otherwise, I have presented the Russian words according to the modern Russian spelling rules, as the dictionaries of Northwestern Russian dialects (Myznikov 2010; Durov 2011) lack much of the vocabulary studied in this paper, and the spelling in Russian dialect dictionaries sometimes poorly describes the actual dialectal pronunciation. For the Russian words, I have marked only the meanings corresponding to the meanings of the Skolt Saami words. If the meaning of a Skolt Saami word refers to a meaning found only in Russian dialects, I have presented the dialect dictionary source, too.

### 2.3. History of contacts between Skolt Saami and Russian

The ancestors of the Skolt Saami became acquainted with Russian culture and vocabulary initially through the Karelians. The Karelians had probably been visiting the Kola Peninsula as tax collectors and traders even before the 11th century and they continued to tax the Saami under Novgorod until the 15th century (Itkonen 1948: I, 30). As evidence that the Karelians collected tax among the Skolt Saami, we can mention the Karelian loanword *teä'ğğ* 'money' (KKLS 587) < Kar. *tenka* id. < *дѣньга* id. The ancestors of the Skolt Saami also became acquainted with Christianity through the Karelians, as evidenced by numerous religious words, such as *risttâd* 'baptize' < Kar. *ristie* id., *rosttov* 'Christmas' < Kar. *rostuva* id. < *Рождество* id. and *veâr* 'faith' < Kar. *viero* id. < *вѣра* 'trust' (Itkonen 1942: 53; 1948: I, 83).

At least seasonal contacts between the ancestors of the Skolt Saami and the Russians began in the early Middle Ages, as evidenced by the fact that Kola is mentioned in Russian sources as fishing grounds as early as 1263 (Itkonen 1918b: 36). Because of the contacts between the Skolt Saami and the Russians, the ancestors of the Skolt Saami supposedly widely spoke Russian already in the Middle Ages.

Closer contacts between the ancestors of the Skolt Saami and the Russians began in the early 16th century when the Orthodox Church wanted to secure its hold in the northern part of present-day Russia, also on the Kola Peninsula. In the 1530s, the monastery of Pechenga was founded with the purpose of evangelizing the Saami of the Kola Peninsula. The monastery was destroyed by the Finns a few decades later, after which the activities of the monastery moved to the vicinity of the fortress of Kola, which was founded in the 1550s. Due to the presence of the town of Kola and other Russian settlements, the Russian influence was stronger in coastal

areas than inland, where there were no permanent Russian settlements, only some hermits. For this reason, evangelization progressed slowly inland (see e.g. Granö & Itkonen 1918: 73–74; Itkonen 1918a: 34; 1948: I, 83–84). In the late 17th century, the Skolt Saami of Suõ'nn'jel were mentioned in Russian documents as newly baptized, and in the 19th century Finnish linguists still noted the syncretism of Skolt Saami religious customs (Itkonen 1948: I, 84–85; Castrén 2019: 353–354). However, the monastery's influence was felt inland otherwise, as the monks acquired rights to the best fishing grounds of the Suõ'nn'jel and Njuõ'ttjäu'rr, by partly buying those rights and partly obtaining them with false documents, which led the Skolt Saami to complain to the Tsar in Moscow in 1697, after which they got their territory back (Mikkola 1941: 61–65, 70; Itkonen 1948: I, 84). By the early 19th century, small churches had been built in all Skolt Saami villages, but priests rarely visited these remote villages (Itkonen 1948: I, 84–85; Castrén 2019: 353). At the end of the 19th century, church schools were also built in many winter villages (Granö & Itkonen 1918: 74).

The Skolt Saami also met with Russian public servants, as they had to pay taxes, attend meetings in the town of Kola and transport public servants between villages free of charge, which is mentioned in Russian sources as early as the 17th century (Mikkola 1941: 16–17, 30, 50). Since there were no roads on the Kola Peninsula before the beginning of the 20th century, travel took place mainly along waterways throughout the year (Itkonen & Granö 1918: 47–48). A particularly important route ran from Kandalaksha to Kola close to the Njuõ'ttjäu'rr Skolt Saami area. This route was used by large numbers of Russian-speaking fishermen when they traveled to fish for the summer on the northern coast of the Kola Peninsula, from where they returned for the winter via the same route to the White Sea coast (Lönnrot 1902b: 76, 85–88, 92, 96; Castrén 2019: 370–376, 382).

In addition to ecclesiastical life and administration, the Skolt Saami had contacts with the Russians also through trade, for example. A particularly important place for trade was the town of Kola (Mikkola 1941: 17, 42; Itkonen 1948: II, 212). In the 1830s for example, according to Lönnrot (1902a: 372–373), the Saami from all around the Kola Peninsula went on trading journeys 3–4 times in the winter.

In 1920, under the treaty of Tartu, the Skolt Saami area was divided between Finland and Soviet Russia so that the Skolt Saami of Paččjokk, Peäccam and Suõ'nn'jel became Finnish citizens and the Skolt Saami of Mue'tkkk, Njuõ'ttjäu'rr and Sâârvesjäu'rr became Soviet-Russian citizens.



The Njauddâm (Näätämö) Skolt Saami village had been separated from the other Skolt Saami villages in the early 19th century. In the Petsamo area, contacts between the Skolt Saami and the Russians broke down, and Finnish became the most important contact language instead of Russian (Linkola & Sammallahti 1995: 51–53). However, the Russian language still affected Skolt Saami for decades, albeit less and less over time. Older Skolt Saami knew Russian and used it with each other until at least the 1960s. They spoke Russian, for example, when they did not want the children to understand the conversation (Erkki Lumisalmi, personal communication). For the Skolt Saami who became Soviet citizens, the influence of Russian increased further during the 20th century. Today only a few Skolt Saami in Russia speak Skolt Saami, while in Finland, hardly any Skolt Saami speak Russian.

#### 2.4. The Skolt Saami word structure and the sound systems of Skolt Saami and Russian

In the beginning of the following section, I will introduce the Skolt Saami word structure, since it plays a large role in sound substitutions. When words are borrowed from one language to another, words are adapted to the word structure of the receiving language. However, the rules of adaptation may change over time. After discussing the word structure, I will introduce the sound systems of Skolt Saami and Russian. Since most of the Russian loanwords in Skolt Saami were borrowed from the Northwestern dialects of Russian, which are spoken on the coastal region of the Kola Peninsula, it is relevant for this study to introduce also the most distinguishing phonological features of these dialects.

Skolt Saami words comprise one or more syllables. The maximal length of a syllable is CCCVCC, but that is rare (see Koponen et al. 2022: 200). It is found, for instance, in *strangg* ‘iron wire’ < *strenɡ* ‘string’ borrowed from Norwegian.

Skolt Saami words can also be divided into one or more feet (or stress groups) containing one or more syllables. In Skolt Saami the maximal foot is disyllabic and can contain the following parts: Co (initium), V1 (vowel center), C1 (consonant center), V2 (latus), C2 (finis). Co, C1 and C2 may be either single consonants or consonant clusters and C1 may also be a geminate. V1 may be a monophthong or a diphthong, V2 only a monophthong. Russian loanwords are adapted to the Skolt Saami foot structure

according to following rules: when the word ends in a vowel preceded by a single consonant, the final vowel forms a foot of its own (V<sub>1</sub>), as in *truub|a* ‘chimney’ and *trååik|a* ‘three-piece suit’. If the word’s final vowel is preceded by a consonant cluster, then the border between the feet is set between the consonants, e.g. *lampat|ka* ‘altar lamp’ < *лампатка* id., *poteâš|ka* ‘suspender’ (KKLS 399) < *подтяжка* id. The oldest such vowel-ending nouns are borrowed from Russian (see Section 4.1). If a one-foot word ends in C<sub>1</sub>, an overshoot vowel may be heard after it, although it is not written in the modern orthography, e.g. *peehl* ~ *pēχl<sup>a</sup>* (S) ‘peel’ (KKLS 364) < *пехло* id. However, the overshoot vowel is not considered a full vowel, instead it should be understood as a signal showing the end of a foot. The overshoot vowel can also be heard in the case where C<sub>1</sub> is the last component of the first foot and the second foot begins with Co (Rueter & Koponen 2016: 261–264; Koponen et al. 2022: 200–201), e.g. *prå’šš|jōōttād* ~ *prošš’|jō’ttōv* ‘say goodbye’ (KKLS 402) < *прощаться* id. Examples of the foot structure of Russian loanwords in Skolt Saami are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Skolt Saami word structure adapted to Russian loanwords

One Foot	Two Feet
<i>ceerkav</i> ‘church’ (CoV <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> )	<i>blaus lōv</i> ‘blessing’ (CoV <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub>  CoV <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub> )
<i>uu’lec</i> ‘street’ (V <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> )	<i>gruuz a</i> ‘pear’ (CoV <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub>  V <sub>1</sub> )
<i>attu</i> hell.SG.ILL (V <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> )	<i>buk va</i> ‘letter’ (CoC <sub>1</sub>  CoV <sub>1</sub> )
<i>uuss</i> ‘mustache’ (V <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub> )	<i>voron ka</i> ‘funnel’ (CoV <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub>  CoV <sub>1</sub> )
	<i>bäinn ōōttād</i> ‘take a sauna’ (CoV <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub>  V <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub> V <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> )

In Skolt Saami a word-initial sequence of two consonants is somewhat common and is found already in Scandinavian loanwords older than the Russian loanword stratum. A word-initial sequence of three consonants is much rarer, restricted mainly to the Russian loans, e.g. *strääšnai* ‘terrible’ < *страшный* id., as well as recent loans like *stre’ss* ‘stress’ < Finnish *stressi* id. Unlike for example in Mansi (Bakró-Nagy 2018) or in Finnish (Plöger 1973: 269–270), in which the word-initial consonant clusters of Russian loanwords have most often been simplified in one way or another, the Russian loanwords in Skolt Saami have almost always preserved the word-initial consonant clusters. There are only few exceptions to this, e.g. *rååslai* ‘robust’ (KKLS 450) < *взрósлый* ‘adult’. Also, the word-initial consonant cluster *кв-* has been simplified, e.g. *vå’sinn* ‘sourdough’

(KKLS 724) < *квашня* ‘kneading trough’, cf. Tavi (2018: 337), but there are only two examples of this.

In Skolt Saami, the main stress is always on the V<sub>1</sub> vowel in the first foot of a word; the other feet have a weak or strong secondary stress on the V<sub>1</sub> vowel and all the V<sub>2</sub> vowels have weak secondary stress, while the overshoot vowels are unstressed (Korhonen 1973: 25–26; Koponen et al. 2022: 201). This is true also in the Russian loanwords. Conversely, in Russian the word stress can appear in any syllable and the stress can vary between different inflectional forms (Timberlake 2004: 29).

The consonant systems of Skolt Saami and Russian largely correspond to each other, as shown in Tables 2 and 3 where the consonant phonemes that exist in both languages are set in bold. In both languages, the plosives, sibilants and labiodental fricatives occur in pairs separated by whether a consonant is voiced (+) or voiceless (–). However, unlike in Skolt Saami, there is no voice opposition of the affricates or velar fricatives in Russian. In addition to the place of articulation, manner of articulation and voicing, also palatalization must be taken into account when analyzing the consonants of Skolt Saami and Russian. In Russian, most consonants come in phoneme pairs that differ by palatalization (Timberlake 2004: 28–29). The Russian non-palatalized and palatalized consonant phonemes are marked in the same cell in the Table 3 even though they are different phonemes. In Skolt Saami, however, palatalization can be analyzed as a suprasegmental phoneme which affects both consonants and vowels in a palatalized foot. In Skolt Saami consonants are palatalized if they were historically followed by a front vowel in the same foot. Unlike in Skolt Saami, there are no palatal plosives, dental fricative, palatal, or velar nasals, nor a palatal lateral in Russian.

The word-medial voiced plosives *b*, *d* and *g*, e.g. *cuâbb* ‘frog’, *lâ'dd* ‘bird’, *jiôgg* ‘spirit’, as well as the voiced sibilants *z* and *ž*, e.g. *põössâd* ‘wash’ : *põõzzam* [PRS.1SG], *põõššâd* ‘stay’ : *põõžžam* [PRS.1SG], occur in the Skolt Saami lexicon older than the Russian loan stratum. Even though, unlike for example Karelian (Sarhima 1995: 212), Skolt Saami has not received any new consonant phonemes from Russian loanwords, it should be mentioned that the voiced plosives *b*, *d* and *g*, e.g. *Bââžž* ‘God (children’s language)’ < *Бóже* ‘God’, *dââllat* ‘chisel’ (KKLS 26) < *долотó* id., *gâârad* ‘town’ (KKLS 34) < *зóрод* id., as well as the voiced sibilants *z* and *ž*, e.g. *zo'ntik* ‘umbrella’ < *зóнтик* id., *žaar* ‘fever, steam in sauna, heat’ (KKLS 565) < *жаp* id. have become possible in word-initial position along with the Russian loanwords.

Table 2: The Skolt Saami consonant system (Korhonen 1971: 83; Feist 2015: 45; Koponen et al. 2022: 199)

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Dental		Alveolar		Post-alveolar		Alveolo-palatal		Palatal		Velar	
voicing	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	
Stop	<b>p</b>	<b>b</b>					<b>t</b>	<b>d</b>				<b>k̑</b>	<b>g̑</b>	<b>k</b>	<b>g</b>	
	⟨p⟩	⟨b⟩					⟨t⟩	⟨d⟩				⟨k̑⟩	⟨g̑⟩	⟨k⟩	⟨g⟩	
Nasal		<b>m</b>					<b>n</b>					<b>ɲ</b>		<b>ŋ</b>		
		⟨m⟩					⟨n⟩					⟨ɲ⟩		⟨ŋ⟩		
Trill							<b>r</b>									
							⟨r⟩									
Fricative			<b>v</b>	<b>f</b>	<b>ð</b>	<b>s</b>	<b>z</b>	<b>š</b>	<b>ž</b>				<b>j</b>	<b>x</b>	<b>ɣ</b>	
			⟨v, u⟩	⟨f⟩	⟨ð⟩	⟨s⟩	⟨z⟩	⟨š⟩	⟨ž⟩				⟨j, i⟩	⟨h⟩	⟨g⟩	
Affricate						<b>ts</b>	<b>dz</b>			<b>tš</b>	<b>dž</b>					
						⟨c⟩	⟨ʒ⟩			⟨č⟩	⟨ǰ⟩					
Approximant													<b>j</b>			
													⟨i⟩			
Lateral							<b>l</b>						<b>ɭ</b>			
							⟨l⟩						⟨ɭj⟩			

Table 3: Standard Russian consonant system (Timberlake 2004: 52)

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Dental		(Alveo-)palatal		Velar	
voicing	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
Stop	<b>p</b>	<b>b</b>			<b>t</b>	<b>d</b>			<b>k</b>	<b>g</b>
	⟨p⟩	⟨b⟩			⟨t⟩	⟨d⟩			⟨k⟩	⟨g⟩
Nasal		<b>m</b>				<b>n</b>				
		⟨m⟩				⟨n⟩				
Trill						<b>r</b>				
						⟨r⟩				
Fricative			<b>v</b>	<b>f</b>	<b>s</b>	<b>z</b>	<b>š</b>	<b>ž</b>	<b>x</b>	
			⟨v⟩	⟨f⟩	⟨s⟩	⟨z⟩	⟨š⟩	⟨ž⟩	⟨x⟩	
Affricate					<b>ts</b>		<b>tš</b>			
					⟨ц⟩		⟨ч⟩			
Approximant									<b>j</b>	
									⟨й⟩	
Lateral						<b>l</b>				
						⟨л⟩				

One of the most distinguishing features of the consonants of Northern Russian dialects is the reflex of the Proto-Slavic voiced plosive \*g. In the Southern dialects, Proto-Slavic \*g is pronounced as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] in word-initial and word-medial positions, as in *голова́* [ɣolová] ‘head’ and *дру́га* [druɣa] friend.SG.GEN, and as a voiceless velar fricative [x] in word-final position, as in *другъ* [druχ] ‘friend’. In the Northern dialectal group \*g is pronounced as a voiced plosive [g] in word-initial and word-medial positions, as in [golová] and [drugá], and as a voiceless plosive [k] in word-final position, as in [druk]. (For more on this, see Kasatkin 1989: 200–205.) The Northern dialects of Russian are further divided into several subdialects, one of which is the Northwestern dialectal group, also referred to in some contexts as the Pomor dialects, as many speakers of these dialects call themselves Pomors. These dialects are spoken in the northern parts of Arkhangelsk Oblast, the Republic of Karelia, Vologda Oblast, and in the southern parts of the Kola Peninsula. One of the most distinguishing consonantal features of these dialects is the so-called soft *tsokanye*, which means that the Russian affricates ⟨ч⟩ and ⟨ц⟩ have merged and are pronounced as a palatalized affricate [tʃ], as in *честь* [tʃestʲ] ‘honor’ and *пе́рец* [pʲéretʃ] ‘pepper’ vs. Standard Russian [tʃestʲ] and [pʲérets]. (See e.g. Post 2005: 50–61 and more specifically Merkur’jev 1960; 1962.)

There are nine to ten vowels and ten to twelve diphthongs in Skolt Saami according to various grammar descriptions as shown in Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4: Skolt Saami vowels in the first syllable (Korhonen 1971: 74–76; Feist 2015: 64–77; Koponen et al. 2022: 197–198)

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i ⟨i⟩		u ⟨u⟩
Close-mid	e ⟨e⟩	ɛ ⟨õ⟩	o ⟨o⟩
Open-mid	(ɛ ⟨e̞⟩)	ɔ ⟨â⟩	ɔ̞ ⟨â̞⟩
Open	ä ⟨ä⟩		a ⟨a⟩

Table 5: Skolt Saami diphthongs in the first syllable (Korhonen 1971: 74–76; Feist 2015: 70–75; Koponen et al. 2022: 198)

iɛ ⟨iõ⟩	uɔ̞ ⟨uã̞⟩
ie ⟨ieʹ⟩	uo ⟨ueʹ⟩
iɛ ⟨iâ⟩	uã̞ ⟨uâ̞⟩
eɛ ⟨eâ⟩	ue ⟨uâ⟩
eä ⟨eä̞⟩	oa ⟨uä̞⟩
(iɛ ⟨ieʹ⟩)	(ue ⟨ueʹ⟩)

The vowels in the unstressed syllables are shown in Table 6. The monophthongs *â*, *ä* or *õ* or diphthongs have not traditionally been present in syllables without main or secondary stress. Syllables with secondary stress have the same monophthong phonemes as the second syllable of the foot,

in addition to which some diphthongs may also be present (Korhonen 1971: 79–82; Koponen et al. 2022: 198).

Table 6: Skolt Saami vowels in unstressed syllables (Korhonen 1971: 79–81; Koponen et al. 2022: 198).

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i ⟨i⟩		u ⟨u⟩
Close-mid	e ⟨e⟩		(o ⟨o⟩)
Open-mid		ǟ ⟨â⟩	
Open			a ⟨a⟩

As shown in Table 7, the Standard Russian has five to six vowel phonemes according to various grammar descriptions.

Table 7: Standard Russian vowel system (Timberlake 2004: 29–41)

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i ⟨и⟩	(ɨ ⟨ы⟩)	u ⟨у⟩
Mid	e ⟨е⟩		o ⟨о⟩
Open		a ⟨а⟩	

The most distinguishing feature in the vowels of the Northern Russian dialects is probably the absence of vowel reduction of ⟨o⟩, which means that this vowel is pronounced as [o] even in unstressed syllables, as in *окно́* [oknó] ‘window’. This absence of vowel reduction is a feature known as *okanye*. In the Southern and Central dialect groups as well as in Standard Russian, the vowel is reduced in unstressed syllables, as in [aknó] ‘window’, which is called *akanye* (see Kasatkin 1989: 200–205). Yet another Northwestern Russian dialectal feature which should be mentioned is that, unlike in Standard Russian and in the Southern dialects of Russian, in the Northwestern dialects the stressed vowels are not always singled out by length (Post 2005: 43–46).

It should also be noted that the Northwestern dialects of Russian have borrowed some vocabulary from Standard Russian, Southern dialects of Russian, and Church Slavonic, which is why in some cases it is difficult to decide from which source the word was borrowed into Skolt Saami.

### 3. Sound substitutions

In this section, the Russian loanwords of Skolt Saami are studied from the perspective of sound substitutions. Sound substitution is understood in this paper as the process by which a source-language sound is substituted with the phonetically closest phoneme of the target language. Such sound substitution applies to both single sounds and sound combinations, and the substituting rules may change depending on the time of the contact situation. In the first subsection we will determine from what Russian variant the loanwords were borrowed into Skolt Saami, while in the following subsection, we will see what can be deduced from the Russian loans about the sound changes that have occurred in the Russian loanwords in Skolt Saami and the development of the sound system of Skolt Saami in general.

#### 3.1. Identification of loan sources

This section deals with phonological factors that can be used to determine the language source from which the words were borrowed into Skolt Saami. The first subsection deals with consonants and the second with vowels.

##### 3.1.1. Consonants

In this section I will study the Russian voiced plosive ⟨ɾ⟩ and affricate ⟨ʧ⟩ as they are represented in loanwords in Skolt Saami. As shown in Section 2.4, these consonants are pronounced differently in the Standard Russian and in the Northwestern dialects of Russian, so the Skolt Saami substitutions of these consonants can reveal the loan source.

Most often the Russian voiced plosive ⟨ɾ⟩ is represented by the Skolt Saami voiced plosive [g] in both word-initial (1–3) and word-medial positions (5, 6). This shows that these words were borrowed from the Northwestern dialects of Russian, since in these dialects ⟨ɾ⟩ is pronounced as a voiced plosive [g] in word-initial and word-medial positions, not as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] as in the Southern dialects of Russian.

- (1) *godovai* ‘annual’ < годово́й id.
- (2) *gããrad* ‘town’ (KKLS 34) < го́род id.
- (3) *groom* ‘thunder (sound)’ < гро́м id.

- (4) *dragaceânnai* ‘precious (on stones)’ < драгоценный id.
- (5) *kruugg* ‘circle’ (KKLS 873) < круг id.
- (6) *uuggâr* ‘carbon monoxide’ (KKLS 698) < угар id.

Among the research material, there are also words in which the word-medial plosive ⟨r⟩ is represented by the Skolt Saami voiceless velar fricative [x] (7–9). In *blouslōv* ‘blessing’ (KKLS 24) < благословение id. the fricative has further weakened and been changed into a vowel after the loss of the second-syllable vowel. Since these words belong to the religious vocabulary, which have largely been borrowed to the Russian dialects from Standard Russian or Church Slavonic (cf. Kalima 1952: 65), the representation of ⟨r⟩ in Skolt Saami does not reveal the loan source.

- (7) *bohat* ‘rich’ (KKLS 24) < богáт id. (cf. Kalima 1952: 138–139)
- (8) *bo’htter* ‘hero, giant’ (KKLS 24) < богатыйрb id.
- (9) *sloovboh* ‘thank God’ < слава Бóгу id.

However, since *Vuâsppâ’d* ‘God’ (KKLS 796) is the only word in which the Russian word initial ⟨r⟩ (*Госно́д* id.) is represented as *v* in Skolt Saami, I find it likely that, unlike Kildin Saami *gospo<sup>dt</sup>* id., *Vuâsppâ’d* is not a Russian loan as stated in KKLS. Instead, it represents a Karelian loan from *Hospoti* id., which is a borrowing of Russian *Госно́д*. The Skolt Saami consonant *v* can be explained by the fact that the Karelian word-initial glottal fricative *h* has been left unsubstituted, as in *algg* ‘firewood’ < *halko* id., and in Skolt Saami *v*-prothesis has occurred before a word-initial diphthong, as in e.g. *vuei’nned* ‘see’ and *vuei’vv* ‘head’, cf. North Saami *oaidnit* ‘see’ and *oaivi* ‘head’.

There are also a few Russian loanwords in Skolt Saami in which the Skolt Saami voiced velar fricative [ɣ] corresponding to the Russian word-medial voiced plosive ⟨r⟩ cannot be explained by a fricative in Russian, but rather by a phonological rule in Skolt Saami. In the Russian loanwords a consonant cluster ⟨rp⟩ and ⟨rл⟩ has been substituted by the clusters *gr* and *gl*, respectively, as in (10–11), and in the word (12) the velar fricative has developed even further to a vowel. This is understandable, inasmuch as in Skolt Saami a word-medial consonant cluster *gr* occurs only in recent loanwords such as *agressiivlaž* ‘aggressive’ < Finnish *aggressiivinen* id. and *programm* ‘program’, cf. English *program*. In the word *pogoda* ‘snowstorm’ (13) the plosive has developed as a voiced velar fricative between vowels, as in



*puägganj* [pöäγγań] ‘belt’ and *pogsted* ‘laugh’, cf. North Saami *boagán* ‘belt’ and *boagustit* ‘laugh’.

- (10) *ooglâm* ‘tiller (in a boat)’ (KKLS 313) < *оглобля* ‘shaft’
- (11) *poogrev* ‘cellar’ (KKLS 390) < *пóгреб* id.
- (12) *bàura* (P) ‘drag’ (KKLS 23) < *базóр* ‘boathook’ : *базрá* [SG.GEN]
- (13) *pogoda* ‘snowstorm’ (KKLS 390) < *погóда* ‘weather’

In most of the words, the Russian affricate ⟨ч⟩ is represented in Skolt Saami by the alveolar affricate [ts] (14–19), as is also the Russian affricate ⟨ц⟩, e.g. *ceálai* ‘whole’ < *цéлый* id., *pee’rece* ‘pepper’ < *пéрец* id. and *peä’nec* ‘drunken’ < *пья́ница* id. This suggests that the words were borrowed from the Northwestern dialects of Russian in which the so-called soft *tsokanye* occurs, that is, the pronunciation of both Russian affricates as [tʃ].

- (14) *ceestva* ‘gift for church’ < *чéстование* ‘honoring’
- (15) *coolan* ‘corner shelf’ (KKLS 637) < *чула́н* ‘larder’
- (16) *trooccad* ‘caress, fondle’ (KKLS 611) < *дрочу́ть* id. (Durov 2011: 106), Standard Russian ‘masturbate’
- (17) *ku’ccer* ‘curl, curly’ (KKLS 184) < *кучеря́вый* ‘curly’
- (18) *pe’ccel* ‘sorrow’ (KKLS 361) < *печáль* id.
- (19) *oobrâc* ‘hoop’ < *óбруч* id.

There are only a few such words in Skolt Saami in which the Russian affricate ⟨ч⟩ is represented in Skolt Saami by the affricate č (20–25). Since in every of these words the affricate ⟨ч⟩ is pronounced [tʃ] also in the Northwestern dialects of Russian, e.g. *ча́стой* ‘dense, close together’ (Myznikov 2010: 468) and *чу́стумь* ‘clean, gut fish’ (Durov 2011: 440), it is difficult to identify the loan source from which the words were borrowed into Skolt Saami.

- (20) *čeástai* ‘dense, close together’ < *ча́стый* id.
- (21) *čiiistâd* ‘clean’ (KKLS 668) < *чу́стумь* id.
- (22) *čiiirpâč* ‘brick’ (KKLS 121) < *кирпíч* id.
- (23) *pričas* ‘(Holy) Communion’ < *прича́стие* id.
- (24) *sviiičč* ‘sacrificial gift’ (KKLS 539) < *свечá* ‘candle’
- (25) *u’čtee’l* ‘teacher’ (KKLS 703) < *учи́тель* id.

## 3.1.2. Vowels

In this section I will study the substitutions of the Russian first-syllable unstressed ⟨o⟩ as well as some cases in which the vowel [o] appears in the Northwestern Russian dialects in the place of the Standard Russian ⟨a⟩.

There are only a small number of Russian loanwords in which the first-syllable unstressed vowel ⟨o⟩ has been substituted by Skolt Saami [a] (26–30). Also for these words, it is difficult to identify the loan source from which they were borrowed into Skolt Saami, as there are words in the Northwestern dialects of Russian that are borrowed from Standard Russian and from the Southern dialects. In these words the unstressed ⟨o⟩ is reduced (see Kalima 1952: 32).

- (26) *manah* ‘monk’ (KKLS 237) < *мона́х* id.
- (27) *manaster* ‘monastery’ (KKLS 234) < *монасты́рь* id.
- (28) *namster* ‘monastery’ < *намасты́рь* ‘id. (dialectal)’ (see Must 2000: 188)
- (29) *sääldat* ‘soldier’ (KKLS 469) < *солда́т* id.
- (30) *taaurōš* ‘comrade’ (KKLS 576) < *товáрищ* id.

In most of the loanwords the Russian ⟨o⟩ has been substituted by either *o* or *â*, even in unstressed syllables (31–36), which shows that the words were borrowed from the Northwestern dialects of Russian, i.e. dialects in which *okanye* occurs, which means that also the unstressed ⟨o⟩ is pronounced as the labial vowel [o].

- (31) *mo’lidva* ‘prayer’ < *моли́тва* id.
- (32) *nozvai(-ree’ppiĭk)* ‘handkerchief tissue’ (*ree’ppiĭk* ‘scarf’) (~KKLS 909)  
< *носовой (плато́к)* ‘handkerchief’ (*плато́к* ‘scarf’)
- (33) *poddnōs* ‘tray’ < *подно́с* id.
- (34) *mââraĭk* ‘carrot’ < *морко́вь* id.
- (35) *ââ’ves* ‘oat’ (~KKLS 326) < *овёс* id.
- (36) *pâ’reâd* ‘order’ < *поря́док* id.

The Northern dialects of Russian have also preserved the original vowel [o] in some words in which ⟨a⟩ appears in the Standard Russian (Merkur’jev 1960: 8–9; Must 2000: 521 and the sources mentioned in it). As in the words mentioned above, in these words, too, the vowel has been substituted by either *o* or *â* (37–40), showing that these words were borrowed from Northwestern dialects of Russian.

- (37) *ròvteššvD* (Nj) ‘work’ (~KKLS 447) < *работать* id.  
 (38) *rozboineĵ* ‘robber’ (KKLS 450) < *разбойник* id.  
 (39) *stâkkan* ‘drinking glass’ (KKLS 523) < *стакан* id.  
 (40) *zâârad* ‘haystack’ (KKLS 515) < *зарод* id.

There are also a small number of words in the Northern dialects of Russian that have [o] in place of etymological [a] (Merkur’jev 1960: 9). The change of vowel was generated by analogy in a situation where the speakers of the Northern dialects were in contact with speakers of Southern dialects (see Kalima 1952: 172). In these cases, too, the vowel is substituted in Skolt Saami by either *o* or *â* (41–45).

- (41) *kârmman* ‘pocket’ (KKLS 148) < *карман* id.  
 (42) *rosttvôörrâd* ‘knead’ (KKLS 451) < *растворить* ‘dissolve’  
 (43) *rââssal* ‘seawater’ (KKLS 451) < *рассол* ‘brine’  
 (44) *târalka* ‘fish basin’ < *тарелка* ‘plate’  
 (45) *tâârkan* ‘cockroach’ (KKLS 608) < *таракан* id.

### 3.2. On the dating of some sound changes in Skolt Saami

In this subsection, I study dating criteria of some Skolt Saami sound changes and the dating of the loanwords borrowed from Russian. First, I will deal with denasalization, then with the substitution of the Russian vowel [e] in the first syllable and the labial vowel [o] in the second syllable of a foot. Finally, I will briefly present the changes that have taken place in the Skolt Saami consonant system due to Russian loanwords.

In Saami linguistics, denasalization means that clusters of a nasal and a stop or an affricate have turned into geminate half-voiced stops and affricates (*\*nD* > *dd*, *\*mB* > *bb*, *ŋG* > *gg*, *\*nʒ* > *ʒʒ*, *ńʒ* > *ʒʒ*). Denasalization spread from North Saami to Aanaar Saami probably in the late 16th or early 17th century (Sammallahti 1998: 29, 194), and probably only after that to Skolt Saami. The relatively recent spread of denasalization to Skolt Saami is also indicated by the fact that it has not spread to Akkala Saami, as that Saami variety has preserved clusters of a nasal and a stop/affricate, e.g. Skolt Saami *lâ'dd* ‘bird’ vs. Akkala Saami *lâ'ndd* (< Proto-Saami *\*loñdē*). However, in the Russian loanwords the clusters of a nasal and a stop have regularly been preserved (46–48), which indicates that the denasalization was no longer a productive sound change in Skolt Saami when these words were borrowed into the language,

and thus we must assume that most if not all the Russian loanwords were borrowed into Skolt Saami after the beginning of the 17th century.

- (46) *lampatka* ‘altar lamp’ < лампáтка id.
- (47) *liántt* ‘ribbon; tape’ (KKLS 210) < лéнта id.
- (48) *fintt* ‘screw’ (KKLS 32) < винт id.

Skolt Saami has many words in which Russian first-syllable ⟨e⟩ has been substituted by the Skolt Saami diphthongs *eâ*, *eä*, *iâ* or *ie* (49–52). Apparently, these words belong to an older stratum than those words in which the Russian vowel in question was substituted by a monophthong *e*. In Proto-Saami there was no monophthong *e* in the first syllable (Sammallahti 1998: 43). It seems that this situation also prevailed in connection with the borrowing of the oldest Russian loanwords of Skolt Saami, which is why the Russian first-syllable ⟨e⟩ was substituted by diphthongs (see also Korhonen 1981: 97). The quality of a diphthong in the first syllable is determined by the vowel in the second syllable of the foot or the stem vowel (see Koponen et al. 2022: 204–205), although there may be variation of first-syllable diphthongs even with the same vowel in the second syllable, e.g. *kreäppast* ‘mortgage deed, fortress’ (KKLS 155) < крéпость id. and *neâmtai* ‘dumb’ < немóй id.

- (49) *meäll* ‘chalk’ (KKLS 252) < мел id.
- (50) *veä'ncc* ‘marriage, crown’ (KKLS 744) < венéц ‘crown’
- (51) *pliâšš* ‘bald’ (KKLS 381) < плéшь id.
- (52) *vie'ssel* ‘glad’ (KKLS 729) < вéсел ‘gentle (short masculine)’

There are also quite many loanwords in Skolt Saami in which Russian first-syllable ⟨e⟩ is substituted by the Skolt Saami monophthong *e* (53–55). Apparently, these words were borrowed after the *i–e* vowel-height alternation (see Sammallahti 1998: 29; Feist 2015: 90) was developed in Skolt Saami, which made it possible for Skolt Saami to have a first-syllable monophthong *e*. Even though it is difficult to give an exact date when this sound change happened, it must be relatively recent, since it is not found in Aanaar Saami and only to a small extent in Kildin Saami.

- (53) *pee'rec* ‘pepper’ < пéрец id.
- (54) *steehl* ‘glass’ (KKLS 521) < стеклó id.
- (55) *žee'st* ‘metal plate’ (KKLS 565) < жéсть id.

In the old vocabulary of Skolt Saami, the labial vowel \**o* has lost its roundness in the second syllable of a foot and fallen together with *a*. This sound change has happened in Skolt Saami relatively recently, as it has not happened in Aanaar Saami, and it has also affected some secondary cases in Skolt Saami (Sammallahti 1998: 29). In most cases, in this position the Russian [o] is reflected by *a* (56–58) in Skolt Saami. However, unlike in other vocabulary, sometimes the Russian [o] is reflected by *â* (59–62). The sound change seems to have been still active quite recently, as there are some cases in which there is still a labial vowel in the dialects, but it has lost its roundness in the standard language. The Skolt Saami standard-language words *ceerkav* ‘church’ (KKLS 631) < *цѣрковь* id. correspond in the dialects to *tsèrkov* id. (P, Nj) and *gõroχ* ‘pea (pl.)’ (Nj), in which a labial vowel still appears in the second syllable, suggesting that the words must be relatively recent Russian loans. This is the case with *skeorâd* ‘frying pan’, which corresponds in the dialects to *skõrod* (S) ~ *skõurod* (Nj), in which the second-syllable labial vowel has not lost its roundness in the dialects.

- (56) *kâârab* ‘box’ (KKLS 148) < *кóроб* id.  
 (57) *râädast* ‘joy’ < *ра́дость* id.  
 (58) *žâärak* ‘burning hot’ < *жа́рок* ‘hot (short masculine)’  
 (59) *jaavâl* ‘devil’ < *дья́вол* id.  
 (60) *jaakân* ‘precentor’ < *дья́кон* ‘deacon’  
 (61) *proostâr* ‘loose-fitting’ (KKLS 402) < *простóрный* id.  
 (62) *skeorâd* ‘frying pan’ (KKLS 505) < *сковорода́* id.

It should also be noted that the loss of roundness of the labial vowel applies only to the second syllable of a foot. There are also many nouns that consist of two feet, and the labial vowel begins a new foot (63–66) (on the structure of nouns, see 4.1.). There are also some words (67, 68) that have not been adapted to the older prosodic structure of Skolt Saami. In these cases, a second-syllable labial vowel may appear.

- (63) *gram|fon* ‘gramophone’ < *граммофо́н* id.  
 (64) *pâär|hâ’d* ‘steamboat’ (KKLS 341) < *парохо́д* id.  
 (65) *sor|ok* ‘magpie’ < *соро́ка* id.  
 (66) *zav|o’d* ‘factory’ (~KKLS 540) < *заво́д* id.  
 (67) *pogod|a* ‘snowstorm’ (KKLS 390) < *пого́да* ‘weather’  
 (68) *voron|ka* ‘funnel’ < *воро́нка* id.

#### 4. Morphological and morphophonological adaption

In this section, I discuss the adaption of nouns, verbs and adjectives on the basis of foot structure (see 2.4). I examine from which inflected forms the words were borrowed, and to which inflectional classes the words have been adapted. In addition, I present some criteria by means of which the various loanword strata can be classified, for example, the presence or absence of consonant gradation is an important dating criterion for both nouns and verbs.

As in many other languages spoken in Russia, a great number of adverbs – *domoi* ‘home (motion)’ (KKLS 816) < *домой* id., *dââma* ‘at home’ (KKLS 816) < *дома* id., *ei'ddvââ* ‘hardly’ (KKLS 26) < *едва* id., *e'pet* ‘again’ (KKLS 361) < *онять* id., *krââ'ma* ‘without’ < *кроме* id., *kroota* ‘suddenly’ < *круто* id., *tožât* ‘maybe’ (KKLS 261) < *может* id., *naveârna* ‘probably’ < *навёрно* id., *poika* ‘until’ < *пока* id., *po-štqi* (P) ‘almost’ (KKLS 399) < *почтí* id., *saraaz* ‘at once’ < *зaráз* id., *tâ'lk* ‘if only’ (KKLS 604) < *только* ‘only’ –, conjunctions – *a* ‘but’ (KKLS 1) < *a* id., *da* ‘and’ (KKLS 25) < *да* id., *di* ‘and’ (~KKLS 25) < *да u* id., *hâ't* ‘at least’ (KKLS 42) < *хоть* id., *i* ‘and’ (KKLS 43) < *и* id., *le'be* ‘or’ (KKLS 202) < *либо* id., *leâša* ‘but’ (KKLS 196) < *лишь* ‘only, as soon as’, *seâža* ‘anyway, after all’ < *все же* ‘after all’, *što* ‘that’ (KKLS 561) < *что* id. – as well as particles – *beâddaa* ‘alas!’ (KKLS 23) < *беда* ‘misfortune’, *davai* ‘let's’ < *давай* id., *še* ‘also’ (KKLS 546) < *же*, *ve't* (KKLS 736) < *ведь*, *vot* ‘alright!’ (KKLS 760) < *вот* id. – have been borrowed from Russian into Skolt Saami. However, with regard to these, attention can be paid mainly to sound substitutions and not so much to morphological adaption, which is why in this paper I will not consider separately the borrowing of those word classes. However, it should be noted that morphological adaptation has also taken place in some adverbs. For example, the adverb suffix *-s* is connected to the adverb *dââttlas* ‘until there’ < *докуль* ‘until there’ (Durov 2011: 104). The Skolt Saami have apparently been familiar with Russian word derivation, as there are two variants of the adverb *dââras* ~ *dââram* ‘free of charge’ < *даром* id. ← *дар* ‘gift’, one with the Russian adverb suffix *-ом* (phonologically substituted in Skolt Saami) and one in which the suffix has been changed to the Skolt Saami adverb suffix *-s*, cf. *läâinas* ‘as a loan’ ← *läinn* ‘loan’.

## 4.1. Nouns

Most of the nouns seem to have been borrowed from the Russian nominative singular forms, which is shown by the fact that there are recently borrowed nouns which end in *a* in the nominative singular as they do in Russian, and in which apocope has not taken place in Skolt Saami (69–71). The research material also contains nouns that were borrowed from Russian nominative plural forms. These nouns inflect as plurals in Skolt Saami, too (72–75). The only two words in the material that were clearly not borrowed from the nominative forms are *bàura* (P) ‘drag’ (KKLS 23) and *šnuura* ‘lamp cotton’ (~KKLS 559), which may have been borrowed from the Russian vowel-ending genitive singular forms *багра́* and *шнура́* instead of the consonant-ending nominative singular forms *баго́р* ‘boathook’ and *шну́р* ‘cord’. However, it is not clear why the genitive singular form would have acted as a loan source.

- (69) *bukva* ‘letter’ < *бúква* id.  
 (70) *määma* ‘mom’ (KKLS 236) < *ма́ма* id.  
 (71) *trååika* ‘three-piece suit’ < *тро́йка* id.  
 (72) *laatt* ‘armor’ (KKLS 197) < *ла́ты* id.  
 (73) *noo’sleķ* ‘stretcher’ (KKLS 286) < *носи́лки* id.  
 (74) *saan* ‘sleigh’ (KKLS 472) < *са́ни* id.  
 (75) *suutk* ‘twenty-four hours’ (KKLS 537) < *су́тки* id.

The nouns of Skolt Saami can be divided into five main inflectional classes (see Koponen et al. 2022: 206–207), of which only three classes include also Russian loanwords.

The first inflectional class has a disyllabic final foot in the locative singular form (*põörtâst* ‘house’, *lââ’ddest* ‘bird’, *päällast* ‘ball’, *nuõrr|vuõðâst* ‘youth’, *porr|mõõžžâst* ‘food’, *pee’r|vee’sķest* ‘unmarried Skolt Saami girl’s headdress’, *dur|aakast* ‘idiot’) and the final foot of the genitive singular form is monosyllabic (*põört*, *lââ’dđ*, *pääll*, *nuõrr|vuõđ*, *porr|mõõžž*, *pee’r|vee’sķ*, *dur|aak*). This inflectional class can be further divided into two subclasses according to whether the final foot of the nominative singular form is largo (*põrtt*, *lâ’dđ*, *päll*, *nuõrr|vuõtt*) or allegro (*porr|mõš*, *pee’r|vesķ*, *dur|ak*). It is worth noting that in the old lexicon, all the lexemes belonging to this inflectional class, and for which the locative singular form is multisyllabic, are either compound words, e.g. *algg|veärr* ‘appetizer’

(*algg* ‘beginning’ + *veärr* ‘food’), *ķe’rjj|põrtt* ‘library’ (*ķe’rjj* ‘book’ + *põrtt* ‘house, building’), or contain some derivational suffix, e.g. *porr|mõõžžâst* ‘food’ < *poorrâd* ‘eat’, *nuõrr|vuõtt* ‘youth’ < *nuõrr* ‘young’, *siltt|õs* ‘skill’ < *siltteed* ‘can, know’.

The second inflectional class consists of nouns in which the final foot of the singular locative form is monosyllabic (*kõnnj|rest* ‘elbow’, *väll|sest* ‘whale’, *dâhtt|rest* ‘doctor’, *pä’zz|lmest* ‘pole’, *ka’ldd|jest* ‘ice hole’, *kaaup|šumm|šest* ‘selling’, *čodd|jest* ‘throat’, *siõmm|nest* ‘seed’) and the final foot of the genitive singular form is disyllabic (*kõnnjár*, *vällaz*, *dâhttar*, *ka’lddi*, *kaaup|šummuž*, *čoddi*, *seãmman*). This class can be further divided into two subclasses according to whether the final foot of the nominative singular form is disyllabic (*kõõnjár*, *vää’les*, *dâhttar*, *pää’zzelm*, *ka’lddi*, *kaaup|šummuš*) or monosyllabic (*čoodd*, *siõm*), the latter of which does not include any Russian loanwords. In the older lexicon, to this inflectional class belong all nouns consisting in the nominative singular form of one disyllabic foot and not including derivational suffixes, e.g. *võdnâs* ‘boat’, *käävas* ‘Saami hut’. All these lexemes in the older lexicon undergo consonant gradation (SG.GEN *võnnâz*, *kävvez*).

The third class has a monosyllabic final foot in the locative singular (*sä’m|last* ‘Skolt Saami person’, *sä’pp|leest* ‘mouse’), genitive singular (*sä’m|la*, *sä’pp|lee*) as well as in the nominative singular (*sä’m|laž*, *sä’pp|li*). This inflectional class does not include any Russian loanwords.

The fourth class has a disyllabic locative singular (*sii’dest* ‘little village’, *paallust* ‘little ball’, *kuâlast* ‘little fish’, *sä’m|lõõ’žžest* ‘small Skolt Saami person’, *sârvvast* ‘male reindeer’, *suõllust* ‘island’) and genitive singular (*sii’de*, *paallu*, *kuâla*, *sä’m|lõõ’žže*, *sârvva*, *suõllu*). This inflectional class does not include any Russian loanwords, except those which contain a diminutive suffix (*кнопкаž* ‘snap’ < *кнопка* id., *кууhlaž* ‘doll’ (KKLS 141) < *кúкла* id.) as the majority of nouns belonging to this class (e.g. *siidâž*, *päällaž*, *kuâlaž*).

The fifth class consists of nouns ending in a vowel in the nominative singular form (*karsiin|a* ‘petroleum’, *radi|o* ‘radio’, *truub|a* ‘chimney’), in which the final vowel forms a foot of its own. The nominative singular is homonymous with the genitive singular as can be also the illative singular form, but it can also have an alternative singular illative form (*karsinaa|’je*, *radioo|’je*, *truubaa|’je*) (Moshnikoff et al. 2020: 160–161). The final foot of the locative singular form is monosyllabic (*karsiin|ast*, *radi|ost*, *truub|ast*), too.



To the first inflectional class have been adapted all Russian monosyllabic nouns (76, 80, 84) (see Senkevič-Gudkova 1971: 50), as well as most of the nouns which were borrowed from the Russian vowel-ending disyllabic nouns (77–79, 81–83) (the rest of the Russian vowel-ending disyllabic nouns as well as other nouns which have preserved a word-final vowel, are adapted to the fifth inflectional class, see below). Most of these Russian loans are adapted as *â*-stem nouns (76, 77, 79), but fairly many are adapted also either as *a*-stem nouns (80, 82, 84) or *e*-stem nouns (78, 81, 83). All the Russian disyllabic nouns ending in a vowel *e* are adapted as *e*-stem nouns. The stem vowel can be seen in the locative singular form, e.g. *koossâst* scythe.SG.LOC, *kââ'fest* coffee.SG.LOC and *veelkast* fork.SG.LOC. The choice of stem vowel merits closer study in the future.

- (76) *cistt* 'honor' (KKLS 635) < *честь* id.  
 (77) *koss* 'scythe' (KKLS 149) < *коса* id.  
 (78) *kââ'ff* 'coffee' (KKLS 141) < *кофе* id.  
 (79) *liântt* 'ribbon; tape' (KKLS 210) < *лента* id.  
 (80) *râkk* 'crayfish' (KKLS 419) < *рак* id.  
 (81) *see'llj* 'gun powder' (KKLS 484) < *зѣлье* id. (dialectal) (Plöger 1973: 177), Standard Russian 'poison'  
 (82) *veelk* 'fork' (KKLS 731) < *вилка* id.  
 (83) *vâ'snn* 'sourdough' (KKLS 724) < *квашня* 'kneading trough'  
 (84) *ätt* 'hell' (KKLS 2) < *ад* id.

As do the lexemes in the older lexicon, most of these nouns borrowed from Russian undergo consonant gradation. However, quite many nouns have a weak grade stem, which does not undergo consonant gradation (84–91), e.g. *steehl* 'glass' : *steehlast* SG.LOC : *steehlu* glass.SG.ILL, indicating that these words belong to a more recent Russian loanword stratum. In the grammar of Skolt Saami by Moshnikoff et al. (2020: 138) these nouns are classified as exceptions within the monosyllabic main class. They can also be classified as a subclass of their own among the first inflectional class (cf. Sammallahti & Mosnikoff 1991: 181, 182, 184, 185), as there are a relatively large number of nouns inflecting like this in Skolt Saami. Besides the Russian loan nouns, this subclass consists of a couple of yet unetymologized nouns (*kaarc* 'bad smell', *škee'rm* 'dusk' and *vâäžž* 'absent-minded') as well as some recent Finnish loanwords, e.g. *duur* 'major' < *duuri* id.

- (85) *duuhh* ‘smell, scent’ < *дух* id.  
 (86) *voozz* ‘load’ (~KKLS 760) < *воз* id.  
 (87) *žaar* ‘fever, steam in sauna, heat’ (KKLS 565) < *жар* id.  
 (88) *meer* ‘people, village community’ (KKLS 256) < *мир* ‘village community (historical)’  
 (89) *peehl* ‘peel’ (KKLS 364) < *пехлó* id.  
 (90) *stuu'l* ‘chair’ (KKLS 524) < *стул* id.  
 (91) *zee'tt* ‘son-in-law’ (KKLS 540) < *зять* id.

Apparently, the Skolt Saami standard language favors monosyllabic first-inflectional-class nouns without consonant gradation to some extent, as the research material includes some nouns which undergo consonant gradation in the dialects but not in the standard language, e.g. *kruugg* ‘circle’ : *kruugg* [SG.GEN] vs. *kruġġ<sup>A</sup>* : *krüġġ<sup>A</sup>* (S) (KKLS 873) < *круг* id. and *luukk* ‘onion’ : *luukk* [SG.GEN] vs. *луġġk<sup>A</sup>* : *лүġġk<sup>A</sup>* (S) (KKLS 224) < *лук* id.

Besides the Russian monosyllabic consonant-ending and the disyllabic vowel-ending nouns, also some Russian multisyllabic lexemes have been adapted to the first inflectional class. As mentioned above, in the older lexicon, all the multisyllabic nouns which belong to the first inflectional class include some derivational suffix. That is why it is well understandable that also all the nouns which include a nominal derivational suffix *-цик/-чик* (92–94) and some of the nouns, which include a nominal derivational suffix *-ник* (95–97), have been adapted to this inflectional class. The other nouns which include a nominal derivational suffix *-ник* have been adapted to the second inflectional class. The denominal derivational suffix *-nik/-neċ* has become highly productive in Skolt Saami, e.g. *ķe'rjjneċ* ‘writer’ ← *ķe'rjj* ‘book’, *škooulneċ* ‘pupil’ ← *škooul* ‘school’, but the suffix *-šeċ* appears only in the Russian loanwords.

- (92) *jääm|šeċ* ‘coachman’ (KKLS 49, 825) < *ямицик* id.  
 (93) *tu'rm|šeċ* ‘prisoner’ < *тюремицик* ‘jailer’  
 (94) *vöbor|šeċ* ‘candidate, representative’ (KKLS 729) < *выборщик* ‘elector’  
 (95) *prizoov|neċ* ‘conscript’ < *призывник* id.  
 (96) *prää'z|neċ* ‘celebration’ (KKLS 401) < *праздник* id.  
 (97) *rozboi|neċ* ‘robber’ (KKLS 450) < *разбойник* id.

There are also some nouns (e.g. 98–100) which have been adapted to the first inflectional class by using morphological adaptation instead of clear

phonetic substitution. The reason for this is clearly the phonetic similarity between the second syllable of the Russian nouns and the Skolt Saami derivational suffix *-ōs*, e.g. *čuäjtōs* ‘presentation’ ← *čuä’jted* ‘present (v.)’, *niōggōs* ‘dream (n.)’ ← *niōggeed* ‘dream (v.)’.

- (98) *podd|nōs* ‘tray’ < *поднос* id.  
 (99) *ukss|ōs* ‘vinegar’ (~KKLS 700) < *уксус* id.  
 (100) *ukk|ōs* ‘sermon’ (KKLS 700) < *укáз* ‘ukase’

Yet there are some other multisyllabic Russian nouns, too (e.g. 102–105), that were adapted to the first inflectional class and not to the second class, but the reason for this is not clear.

- (101) *fam|iljj* ‘surname’ (KKLS 818) < *фáмíлия* id.  
 (102) *kap|us* ‘cabbage’ < *кaпúсtа* id.  
 (103) *pooh|me’l* ‘hangover’ (~KKLS 390) < *пoxмéлье* id.  
 (104) *sor|ok* ‘woman’s headdress; magpie’ (KKLS 510) < *сopóкa* id.  
 (105) *zav|o’d* ‘building site, logging site’ (~KKLS 540) < *завóд* id.

A small number of nouns (106–109) which were originally adapted to the second inflectional class, have been reanalyzed as nouns of the first inflectional class in the Skolt Saami standard language, e.g. *garmaan* ‘accordion’: *garmaan* [SG.GEN] : *garmaanâst* [SG.LOC] vs. *gärman* : *gärman* : *gärman<sup>a</sup>ñešt* (P) (KKLS 33) < *зaрмóн* id. It seems to be a tendency in the standard language to adapt nouns into the first inflectional class, as also many recent Finnish loan nouns are standardized as such, e.g. *artikkel* ‘article’: *artikkeel* [SG.GEN] : *artikkeel’lest* [SG.LOC] (Moshnikoff & Moshnikoff 2020: 22) < Finnish *artikkeli* id., even if they could be adapted to the second inflectional class, e.g. *artikkel* [SG.GEN] : *artikklest* [SG.LOC].

- (106) *manah* ‘monk’: *manaah* [SG.GEN] : *manaahâst* [SG.LOC] vs. *mánaχ* : *mánaχ* : *mán<sup>a</sup>χešt* (KKLS 237) < *монáχ* id.  
 (107) *manaster* ‘monastery’: *manastee’r* [SG.GEN] : *manastee’rest* [SG.LOC] vs. *manašt<sup>e</sup>er* : *manašt<sup>e</sup>er* : *manašt<sup>e</sup>er<sup>e</sup>ñešt* (KKLS 237) < *монастéрь* id.  
 (108) *patron* ‘patron’: *patroon* [SG.GEN] : *patroonâst* [SG.LOC] vs. *patron* : *patron* : *pàtr<sup>o</sup>ñešt* (KKLS 346) < *наmpóн* id.  
 (109) *samvaar* ‘samovar’: *samvaar* [SG.GEN] : *samvaarâst* [SG.LOC] vs. *samvar* : *samvar* : *samv<sup>r</sup>ñešt* (KKLS 472) < *самовáр* id.

As mentioned above, some of the one-foot nouns of Russian origin which belong to the first inflectional class, do not undergo consonant gradation. In contrast, all the two-foot nouns in this inflectional class which have been borrowed from Russian do undergo gradation in the Skolt Saami standard language, but not usually in the Skolt Saami dialects (110–112), with some exceptions, e.g. *preʷktʰš̥ʲɛʷk̚* ‘hireling’ (S) : *preʷktʰš̥ʲɛʷk̚<sup>E</sup>* [SG.GEN] (KKLS 401) < *прика́зчик* ‘salesman’ and *skõrlob̆* ‘eggshell’ (S) : *skõrlob̆* [SG.GEN] (KKLS 505) < *скорлупа́* ‘shell’.

- (110) *dur|ak* ‘fool’ : *dur|aak* [SG.GEN] vs. *durak* : *durak* (Nj) (KKLS 26) < *дурак* id.
- (111) *pokoi|neĵ* ‘the deceased’ : *pokoi|neeʷk̚* [SG.GEN] vs. *pokoiŋiʷk̚* : *pokoiŋiʷk̚* (P) (KKLS 391) < *покойник* id.
- (112) *päär|hãʹd* ‘steamboat’ : *päär|hããʹd* [SG.GEN] vs. *pãrohod* : *pãrohod* (S) (KKLS 341) < *пароход* id.

Except for the ones mentioned above, most of the Russian disyllabic (113, 114), trisyllabic (115–117) (see Senkevič-Gudkova 1971: 50) and four-syllable (118) nouns are adapted to the second inflectional class. Also, about half of the Russian nouns which include a derivational suffix *-ник* have been adapted to this inflectional class instead of the first one. The reason behind this should be studied in the future.

- (113) *kãʹšš̥el* ‘purse’ (KKLS 137) < *кошѐль* id.
- (114) *kããstar* ‘pile’ < *костѐр* id.
- (115) *boʹhtter* ‘hero’ (KKLS 24) < *богаты́рь* id.
- (116) *dãállat* ‘chisel’ (KKLS 26) < *долото́* id.
- (117) *meʹšš̥er* ‘brocade’ < *мишура́* ‘tinsel’
- (118) *skoorãd* ‘frying pan’ (KKLS 505) < *сковорода́* id.
- (119) *leedneĵ* ‘icehouse’ (KKLS 203) < *ледник* id.
- (120) *praavniĵ* ‘orthodox’ < *пра́ведник* id.
- (121) *uʹtreeʹlniĵ* ‘towel’ < *у́тренник* ‘cloth with which newlyweds wipe themselves in the morning on the second and the following days of the first wedding month’ (Дуров 2011: 421)

Unlike the nouns in the older lexicon, most of the Russian loan nouns in the second inflectional class do not undergo consonant gradation, not

even in the standard language. There are however some exceptions to this (122–126). The only word among these which does undergo consonant gradation also in the Skolt Saami dialects is *päälas* ‘sledge runner’, cf. Pačč-jokk *pōlas* : *pōllaz* [SG.GEN]. This exception can be explained by analogy given by older disyllabic one-foot sibilant-ending nouns, such as *käävas* ‘Saami hut’ : *kävvas* [SG.GEN].

- (122) *pääddal* ‘long line, bait’ : *päddal* [SG.GEN] (KKLS 388) < *подольник* ‘long line’  
 (123) *päälas* ‘sledge runner’ : *pällaz* [SG.GEN] (KKLS 391) < *пóлоз* id.  
 (124) *räässal* ‘seawater’ : *rässal* [SG.GEN] (KKLS 451) < *рассól* ‘brine’  
 (125) *strooi’tel* ‘institution; plant’ : *stroittel* [SG.GEN] < *строительство* ‘construction project’  
 (126) *sääbbar* ‘meeting’ : *säbbar* [SG.GEN] (KKLS 511) < *собóр* id.

There are a small number of Russian loan nouns which belong to the second inflectional class, end in a consonant cluster, and in which largo–allegro alternation takes place in the stressed syllable (127–130). In these words, the first foot is largo in two-foot word forms, such as in the locative singular form, e.g. *star|stest*, or in the illative singular form, e.g. *star|sta*.

- (127) *kreäppast* ‘mortgage deed, fortress’ : *kreäp|stest* [SG.LOC] (KKLS 155) < *крéность* id.  
 (128) *räädest* ‘joy’ : *räd|stest* [SG.LOC] < *ра́дость* id.  
 (129) *staarâst* ‘village elder’ : *star|stest* [SG.LOC] (KKLS 521) < *ста́роста* id.  
 (130) *voolâst* ‘volost (a historical administrative region)’ : *vol|stest* [SG.LOC] (KKLS 760) < *во́лость* id.

The Russian vowel-ending disyllabic (132, 133), trisyllabic (134, 135) or four-syllable (136) nouns, in which apocope has not taken place, have been adapted to the fifth inflectional class. The fact that apocope has not taken place indicates that these words belong to the recent Russian loanword stratum. The fifth inflectional class has developed in Skolt Saami along with Russian loanwords. In addition to Russian loans, a large number of nouns borrowed from Finnish have been adapted to this inflectional class, e.g. *historia* ‘history’ < Finnish *historia* id. and *teknologia* ‘technology’ < Finnish *teknologia* id.

- (131) *kruuška* ‘mug’ < *кружка* id.  
 (132) *peela* ‘two-man cross-cut saw’ (KKLS 352) < *пила* ‘saw’  
 (133) *vääda* ‘wadding’ (~KKLS 725) < *вата* id.  
 (134) *mo’lidva* ‘prayer’ (~KKLS 235) < *молитва* id.  
 (135) *lampatka* ‘altar lamp’ (~KKLS 192) < *лампадка* id.  
 (136) *rapahida* ‘requiem’ < *панихида* id.

#### 4.2. Verbs

In Skolt Saami verbs can be classified according to the finite forms. One inflectional class is formed by verbs in which the final foot of the infinite form is disyllabic, e.g. *poorrâd* ‘eat’, *vue’lğğed* ‘leave’, *âskkad* ‘believe’, *kagg|õöttâd* ‘stand up, rise’, another class by verbs in which the final foot is a monosyllabic largo, e.g. *haa’l|eed* ‘want’, and a third class by verbs in which the final foot is a monosyllabic allegro, e.g. *fi’tt|jed* ‘understand’. The first inflectional class is further divided into three subclasses according to infinitive suffix: *-âd*, *-ed* and *-ad*. (For details, see Koponen et al. 2022: 208–210.)

Although the majority of the Skolt Saami verbs do not contain any phonological features revealing the loan source, for some verbs it can be shown that the loan source was not an infinite form but a finite stem. For the verbs (137–140), this can be concluded from the Russian word-initial consonant alternations. For example, *priimâd* ‘accept’ was clearly borrowed from a stem *прим-* (e.g. *примú* FUT.1SG, *прúмет* FUT.3SG, *примú* IMP.SG) in which there is a word-initial nasal [m], and not [n], as in the infinite form *принять* ‘accept’. A similar tendency is found also in other languages, too, such as in Estonian and Finnish (see also Wohlgemuth 2009: 79), although in most studies it is thought that the loan source was the present-tense third-person form and not the finite stem. According to Must (2000: 541), the loan source of the Estonian verb *kladima* ‘put’ was the Russian third-person present form *кладёт* and not the infinite form *класть* ‘put’, which is revealed by the consonant alternation in Russian, but according to Blokland (2009: 358) the loan source could have been some other finite form, too, e.g. *кладу* PRS.1SG. In other cases, such as in the Finnish verb *taania* ‘coax’, the loan source is revealed by a long vowel in the first syllable, which is explained by the word stress on the first syllable in the third-person singular present form *мáнит*, unlike in the infinite

form *мані́ть* ‘beckon, attract’, in which the word stress is on the second syllable (Plöger 1973: 297). As in Skolt Saami, in both these cases and also more generally, one can analyze them as reflecting the finite stem as the loan source rather than some certain finite form.

- (137) *prooidâd* ‘fall, pass’ < *пройти́* id. : *пройд-*  
 (138) *každõöttâd* ‘appear’ (KKLS 96) < *казáться* id. : *каж-*  
 (139) *toʔp̄tsv̄d* ‘trample’ (KKLS 607) < *топнáть* id. : *топнч-*  
 (140) *priimmâd* ‘accept’ < *приня́ть* id. : *прімч-*

There is also at least one case in which the loan source was undoubtedly the infinite form. *Pleässjed* ‘dance’ (KKLS 381) was not borrowed from the Russian finite stem *пляш-* (e.g. *пляшет* PRS.3SG, *пляши́* IMP.SG) but the infinitive form *плясáть* ‘dance’, as revealed by the sibilant alternation in Russian. The Finnic languages, too, have borrowed at least some verbs from Russian infinite forms. According to Plöger (1973: 297), while in most cases it cannot be shown from which form Russian loan verbs were borrowed into Finnish, there are some verbs for which the loan source was clearly the infinite form. Interestingly, according to Must (2000: 541) and Blokland (2009: 297), the infinite form was the loan source for most of the Russian loan verbs in Estonian.

Wohlgemuth (2009) has created a verbal borrowing classification. His classification consists of four main strategies: direct insertion, indirect insertion, the light verb strategy and paradigm insertion. The direct and indirect insertions are cases where a borrowed verbal stem is combined with morphology of the target language. In direct insertion the inflectional suffixes attach directly to the borrowed verb stem, while in indirect insertion, a derivational suffix is added before the inflectional suffixes. Skolt Saami uses both of these strategies in the adaption of Russian loan verbs. However, Skolt Saami does not use the light verb strategy nor paradigm insertion strategy. The light verb strategy means that an uninflected loan verb is accompanied by an inflected verb of the target language. In these constructions, the most common light verb is ‘do’, which is used in Udmurt to adapt Russian nouns (Arkhangelskiy 2019: 527). The paradigm insertion strategy involves cases, the morphology of the source language is used to inflect the loan verb without the target language’s own inflectional morphology. However, it is often difficult to distinguish these cases from word-level codeswitching.

In most cases, Skolt Saami uses the direct insertion strategy to adapt Russian loan verbs. The verbs are adapted without any derivational suffix into the inflectional class in which the final foot of the infinite form is disyllabic and ends in *-âd* (141–143). Most of these verbs undergo consonant gradation and there is a long vowel in the first syllable in the infinitive form. In the Skolt Saami standard language, the only *â*-stem verb that has a short vowel in the first syllable in the infinite form is *fattâd* ‘be enough’ < *xvatímь* id.

- (141) *kaađđâd* ‘burn incense’ : *kaađam* [1SG.PRS] < *кадúть* id.  
 (142) *liâššâd* ‘lie’ : *liâžžam* [1SG.PRS] (KKLS 212) < *лежáть* id.  
 (143) *sniimmâd* ‘photograph’ : *sniitam* [1SG.PRS] < *снимáть* id.

However, a small number of verbs ending in *-âd* in the infinite form (144–149) do not undergo consonant gradation, e.g. *čiištâd* ‘clean’ : *čiištam* [PRS.1SG] : *čee’ste* [PRS.3PL] (KKLS 668) < *чúстить* id., which suggests that these are recent loanwords.

- (144) *kruužâd* ‘cut hide along its edge’ (KKLS 156) < *кружить* ‘spin around’  
 (145) *praavâd* ‘check’ < *прáвить* ‘correct’  
 (146) *priiskâd* ‘sprinkle’ < *бры́згать* id.  
 (147) *sluužâd* ‘serve’ (~KKLS 506) < *служúть* id.  
 (148) *tuužžâd* ‘grieve’ < *тужúть* id.  
 (149) *voozžâd* ‘transport’ (Eliseev & Zajceva 2007: 127; ~KKLS 76) < *возúть* id.

The loss of consonant gradation in the Russian loan verbs ending in *-âd* seems to be some kind of tendency, since there are a small number of such verbs that undergo consonant gradation in the Skolt Saami dialects but not in the standard language (150, 151). Interestingly, this change does not concern any other verbs besides Russian loan verbs. As we have seen in Section 4.1, also the Russian loan nouns in the first inflectional class display a similar tendency.

- (150) *dooidâd* ~ *doĩđvD* (P) ‘arrive’ (KKLS 26) < *доũту́* ‘reach’  
 (151) *uuidâd* ~ *uĩđvD* (P) ‘get away, leave’ (KKLS 699) < *yũту́* id.



There are also a small number of two-foot verbs in the research material which were adapted to Skolt Saami without any derivational suffix, and in which the infinitive form ends in either *-Ced* (other than *-jed*) (152–154) or *-eed* (155–156). The former verbs were borrowed from Russian three-syllable verbs and the latter verbs from Russian four-syllable verbs.

- (152) *näärved* ‘keep an eye on; wait’ (KKLS 274) < *наровѣть* ‘aim (dialectal)’ (Vasmer 227), Standard Russian *норовѣть* id.  
 (153) *koll<sup>h</sup>tted* (P) ‘knock; knock off’ (~KKLS 144) < *колотѣть* ‘beat’  
 (154) *uhää'ded* ‘waste’ (KKLS 698) < *уходѣть* ‘wear out’  
 (155) *pråppeed* ‘perish (of reindeer or other animals in the forest)’ (KKLS 402) < *пропадѣть* ‘be missing’  
 (156) *poppeed* ‘get caught’ (KKLS 395) < *попадѣть* ‘get caught (imperfective)’

There are also a handful of verbs in Skolt Saami ending in *-jed* in the infinitive form, which were borrowed from Russian. Fairly many of these verbs were borrowed from Russian first-conjugation verbs of which the third-person singular present tense form ends in either *-aem* [ajet] or *-eem* [ejet] (157–160), and in one case also *-aetся* [ajets’a] (161). It seems that these verbs were adapted into the inflectional class in which the infinite form ends in *-jed*, because the Russian third-person singular present tense form ends in *-jet*. However, this does not explain all the verbs adapted into this inflectional class, since this inflectional class consists also of some verbs which lack present-tense forms in Russian (162–163). Also, some Russian second-conjugation verbs, the third-person singular present tense form of which ends in *-aem*, have been adapted in the inflectional class of verbs ending in *-äd* (164–165).

- (157) *mää'rjed* ‘stain; dirty’ (KKLS 241) < *марѣть* id. : *марѣет* [PRS.3SG]  
 (158) *šää'l'jed* ‘go crazy’ (~KKLS 542) < *шалѣть* id. : *шалѣет* [PRS.3SG]  
 (159) *ža'll'jed* ‘feel sorry’ (KKLS 543) < *жалѣть* id. : *жалѣет* [PRS.3SG]  
 (160) *vää'l'jed* ‘knead dough’ (KKLS 715) < *валѣть* id. : *валѣет* [PRS.3SG]  
 (161) *snasmie'hhjed* ‘mock’ < *насмѣхѣтьсѣ* id. : *насмѣхѣетсѣ* [PRS.3SG]  
 (162) *pro'sttjed*<sup>1</sup> ‘forgive’ (KKLS 402) < *простѣть* id.

1. The complement is in the accusative, e.g. *pro'sttje miu!* ‘forgive me!’ as in Russian *простѣ меня!* id.

- (163) *vo'sttjed* 'admire' < *восхитить* id.  
 (164) *priiskâd* 'sprinkle' < *брызгать* id. : *брызгает* [PRS.3SG]  
 (165) *sniimmâd* 'photograph' < *снимать* id. : *снимает* [PRS.3SG]

In the case of borrowed Russian reflexive verbs, Skolt Saami uses the indirect insertion strategy. The Russian reflexive verbs have been integrated into Skolt Saami by adding the deverbal affix *-j-* or *-d-* and the reflexive verb suffix *-dōttâd* to the loan stem (166–170). The only exception in the research material is *snasmie'hhjed* 'mock' < *насмехаться* id., which has been adapted to the inflectional class in which the infinitive form ends in *-jed*.

- (166) *prâ'sšjōōttâd* 'say goodbye' (KKLS 402) < *прощаться* id.  
 (167) *râ'ddjōōttâd* 'be glad' (KKLS 415) < *радоваться* id.  
 (168) *na'ddjōōttâd* 'hope; rely' (KKLS 269) < *надёяться* id.  
 (169) *každōōttâd* 'appear' (KKLS 96) < *казаться* id.  
 (170) *spraavdōōttâd* 'manage, make' (~KKLS 519) < *справиться* 'manage'

### 4.3. Adjectives

In Skolt Saami, when an adjective functions as the head of a noun phrase, the adjective takes case and number marking in the same way as nouns, e.g. *pōrtt lij oodâs* 'the house is new', *pōört lie oodâz* 'the houses are new', *saattcō'ttem vuä'mm pōörtâst oodâsa* 'I moved from the old house to a new house'. If an adjective modifies a noun, a special attributive form is used which does not inflect like the predicative form, e.g. *tōt lij oodâ pōrtt* 'that is a new house', *tōk lie oodâ pōört* 'those are new houses', *saattcō'ttem oodâ pō'rtte* 'I moved to a new house'. However, not every adjective has an attributive form. In this case the nominative singular form is used when an adjective modifies a noun.

The research material contains almost one hundred words that were borrowed from Russian adjectives. Most of these words act as adjectives (171–173).

- (171) *poostai* 'desolate' < *пустой* 'empty'  
 (172) *pudovai* 'one pood in weight' < *пудовый* id.  
 (173) *teâtnai* 'dark' < *тёмный* id.

There are also a small number of words which, though they were borrowed from Russian adjectives, act as nouns in Skolt Saami. Only a few of these seem to be developed as nouns only in Skolt Saami (174–176). Some of the words appeared as nouns already in Russian (177–178) (cf. Ojanen 1985: 125–126; Must 2000: 534, 537–539). Most of these words, however, were borrowed from Russian noun phrases with an adjective modifier (179–181) (cf. Pyöli 1996: 236). There are also a few compound words in the research material, the first part of which is a direct loan from a Russian adjective modifier and the latter part is a loan translation of the Russian noun (183–184) (cf. Ojanen 1985: 181–183). However, the compound word *roodnai(ruätt)* ‘close relative’ (*ruätt* ‘relative’) < *родной* ‘related by blood’ has no parallel in Russian but has developed within Skolt Saami.

- (174) *žeevai* ‘animal’ (KKLS 565) < *живой* ‘lively’
- (175) *dostoini* ‘Prayer to Mary, Mother of God’ < *достойный* ‘worthy’
- (176) *lie'tni* ‘southwest, southwest wind’ (KKLS 212) < *летний* ‘id. (dialectal)’ (Durov 2011: 207), Standard Russian ‘summer (adj.)’
- (177) *nje'veârna* ‘infidel’ < *невёрный* id. (archaic)
- (178) *dí'seâckai* ‘civil servant in village (hist.)’ (KKLS 815) < *десятский* id.
- (179) *na'zvan* ‘friend’ < *названный брат* ‘sworn brother’ (*брат* ‘brother’)
- (180) *leâsnai* ‘forest ranger’ < *лесной сторож* id. (*сторож* ‘guard’)
- (181) *dovee'rnai* ‘person empowered to act for sb’ (KKLS 816) < *доверенное лицо* id. (*лицо* ‘person’)
- (182) *nozvai(ree'ppiĭk)* ‘handkerchief; tissue’ (*ree'ppiĭk* ‘scarf’) < *носовой платок* ‘handkerchief’ (*платок* ‘scarf’)
- (183) *sklädd(nei'bb)* ‘pocketknife’ (KKLS 504) (*nei'bb* ‘knife’) < *складной нож* id. (*нож* ‘knife’)
- (184) *troičĭki(pei'vv)* ‘Pentecost’ (KKLS 611) < *троицкий* ‘Trinity (adj.)’, cf. *троицын день* ‘Pentecost’

Unlike Russian, Skolt Saami has no grammatical gender. All the adjectives were borrowed from the Russian masculine forms (see below), which is also typical for other Uralic languages in contact with Russian, such as Komi (Kalima 1911: 32) and Ludian (Ojanen 1985: 152). As a matter of fact, the use of masculine forms is so dominant that they are used also in compound words that are borrowed from Russian feminine adjective phrases, e.g. *strääšnai(neä'ttel)* ‘Holy Week’ (KKLS 523) < *страстная неделя* id., or

neuter adjective phrases, such as *ro·Dimnqi-pietn<sup>v</sup>* ‘birthmark’ (KKLS 447) < *родимное пятно* id. (cf. Ojanen 1985: 152).

The Russian adjectives can be divided into long and short forms. In addition to gender (masculine, feminine, neuter) and number, long forms can be inflected in cases, unlike short forms. Long masculine forms have an adjective suffix *-ой, -ый* or *-ий*, but in Northern dialects of Russian it is often *-ой* even if the stress is on a syllable other than the last, e.g. *ста́рой* ‘old’, *хоро́шой* ‘good’, cf. Standard Russian *ста́рый, хоро́ший* (Post 2005: 61; Ojanen 1985: 153–155 and sources cited therein).

In Skolt Saami, adjectives borrowed from Russian long masculine forms end in *-oi, -ai* or *-i* (a–c).

a) The Russian stressed suffix *-о́й* appears in Skolt Saami as either *-oi* (185–186) or *-ai* (187–188).

(185) *holostoi(pä'rnn)* ‘bachelor’ (KKLS 41) (*pä'rnn* ‘boy’) < *холосто́й* ‘unmarried (man)’

(186) *sta·novoi-* ‘support-’ (KKLS 520) < *станово́й* id.

(187) *gluuhhai* ‘deaf’ < *глухо́й* ‘deaf’

(188) *poostai* ‘desolate’ < *пусто́й* ‘empty’

b) The Russian unstressed *-ый* appears in Skolt Saami as either *ai* (189–190) or *-i* (191–192).

(189) *ceâlai* ‘whole’ < *цело́ый* id.

(190) *totšnai<sup>2</sup>* ‘permanent’ < *то́чный* ‘exact’

(191) *ma'linovi* (*ruõpssâd*) ‘orange (adj.)’ (*ruõpssâd* ‘red’) < *мали́новый* ‘crimson’

(192) *lie'tni* ‘southwest’ (KKLS 212) < *ле́тний* ‘id. (dialectal)’ (Durov 2011: 207), Standard Russian ‘summer’

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2. Unlike in Russian, in this word there is no affricate but a combination of a stop and a sibilant (Facebook, Koltankieliset group 1.10.2020, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/185297610101/search/?q=totšnai>).

c) Russian unstressed *-ий* appears in Skolt Saami as *-ai* (193) or *-i* (194–195).

- (193) *reâtikai* ‘sparse’ (KKLS 439) < *рѣдкий* id.  
 (194) *nastojâšši* ‘real, ordinal’ (KKLS 275) < *настоящий* ‘real’  
 (195) *troički(-pei’vv)* ‘Pentecost’ (KKLS 611) < *троицкий* ‘Trinity (adj.)’,  
 cf. *троицын день* ‘Pentecost’

In a few rare cases, the Russian adjective suffix has been left unsubstituted. There are examples of this both among the words acting as adjectives (196–198) and among the compound words (199–201). Some of the adjectives, at least *vââstar* ‘brave, sharp-witted’ (KKLS 760) < *вострый* ‘sharp-witted (dialectal)’ (Durov 2011: 67) and *šää’lan* ‘troublemaker, crazy’ (KKLS 544) < *шалъно́й* ‘crazy’, have been adapted into the class of two-syllable consonant-ending adjectives so that the vowel of the second syllable divides the consonant cluster (see the corresponding adaption of nouns in 4.2).

- (196) *na’zvan* ‘friend’ < *назв́анный брат* ‘sworn brother’ (*брат* ‘brother’)  
 (197) *rīētk<sup>A</sup>* ‘sparse’ (P) (KKLS 439) < *рѣдкий* id.  
 (198) *spokoi* ‘calm’ < *споко́йный* id., cf. Karelian *spokoi* ‘free’  
 (199) *sklâdd(nei’bb)* ‘pocketknife’ (KKLS 504) (*nei’bb* ‘knife’) < *складно́й нож* id. (*нож* ‘knife’)  
 (200) *straš(-neĵĵĵtel)* (S) ‘Holy Week’ (KKLS 523) < *страстна́я неделя* id.  
 (201) *tròits(-peĵĵ)* (S) ‘Pentecost’ (KKLS 611) (*pei’vv* ‘day’) < *троицын день* id. (*день* ‘day’)

In addition to the adjectives borrowed from Russian long-form adjectives, Skolt Saami adjectives have also been borrowed from the short masculine forms (202–204). These adjectives form about a quarter of all adjectives borrowed from Russian.

- (202) *oddâl* ‘brave, energetic’ (KKLS 312) < *уда́л* ‘brave (short masculine)’  
 (203) *rââ’van* ‘straight’ (KKLS 453) < *ро́вен* ‘straight (short masculine)’  
 (204) *vie’ssel* ‘glad’ (KKLS 729) < *вѣсел* ‘glad (short masculine)’

Apparently, the choice of long and short forms as the loan source is not random, since usually the same adjective is borrowed from the same form for all Skolt Saami dialects (205–206). However, it is worth noting that

there is at least one adjective which exists in variants borrowed from different Russian adjective forms (207).

- (205) *prââstai*, *prõstâi* (S), *prõstâi* (Nj) ‘simple’ (KKLS 402) < *простой* id.  
 (206) *läâskav*, *läâskov* (Nj) ‘gentle’ (KKLS 195) < *ласков* ‘gentle (short masculine)’  
 (207) *reâdak* ‘sparse’ (KKLS 436) < *редок* ‘sparse (short masculine)’,  
*reât kai* ‘sparse’ (KKLS 439) < *редкий* id.

Adjectives borrowed from both Russian long and short forms are also found in the Finnic languages. Usually, the Finnic adjectives correspond to the forms of Skolt Saami (208–212). According to Ojanen (1985: 176–178), the Ludian adjectives borrowed from the short forms of Russian adjectives are older than those borrowed from the long forms. She argues this on the basis of the following: the adaptation of the adjectives to the morphology of Ludian, their domains of use, and the fact that Russian short forms have become rarer over the centuries, even though they were common in the past. Since the contacts between Skolt Saami and Russian are considerably newer than contacts between Ludian and Russian, it is not clear whether the adjectives borrowed from the short forms also in Skolt Saami belong to an older loanword stratum than the adjectives borrowed from the long forms. This should be studied in the future.

- (208) *bohat* ‘rich’ (KKLS 24) ~ Kar. *pohatta* id. < *богат* ‘rich (short masc.)’  
 (209) *vie’ssel* ‘glad’ (KKLS 729) ~ Kar. *vesselä* id. < *вёсел* ‘glad (short masc.)’  
 (210) *neâmmai* ‘dumb’ ~ Kar. *ñemoi* id. < *немой* id.  
 (211) *veâr nai* ‘honest’ ~ Kar. *viernoi* id. < *вёрный* id.  
 (212) *vääžnai* ‘important’ ~ Kar. *voašnoi* id. < *важный* id.

Both adjectives borrowed from the Russian short forms, as well as those adjectives borrowed from the long forms in which the Russian adjective suffix has been left unsubstituted, belong to the inflectional class of disyllabic consonant-ending adjectives that do not undergo consonant gradation (see Feist 2015: 174–175). In addition to the Russian loanwords, this inflectional class consists of some derived adjectives such as *loolâč* ‘jealous’ < *loollâd* ‘be jealous’. Like many other Skolt Saami adjectives, the adjectives belonging to this inflectional class often have, in addition to the predicative form, an attributive form. The attributive form is formed

with the suffix *-ōs* and before it the unstressed vowel undergoes syncope, e.g. *толкóв* ‘reasonable (short masculine)’ > *toolkav* ‘reasonable’: *toolkvōs* [ATTR], cf. *jǎ’ttel* ‘fast’: *jǎ’ttlōs* [ATTR].

Adjectives borrowed from the Russian long forms do not form one homogeneous class of adjectives. Many of these adjectives are disyllabic, they do not undergo consonant gradation and their stem is always in the weak grade (213–215).

(213) *prǎāstai* ‘simple, ordinary’ (KKLS 402) < *простóй* id.

(214) *seenai* ‘blue’ (KKLS 485) < *сúнный* id.

(215) *vǎǎžnai* ‘important’ < *вǎжный* id.

These adjectives resemble the Skolt Saami *i*-ending adjectives derived from nouns, e.g. *čǎccai* ‘watery’ ← *čǎǎ’cc* ‘water’, *sǎlttai* ‘salty’ ← *sǎ’ltt* ‘salt’, *piō’ǧgi* ‘windy’ ← *piōgg* ‘wind’ (see Feist 2015: 128–129). However, the stem of these derived adjectives is in the overlong grade. Also, unlike the adjectives derived from nouns, the attributive form of which is created regularly from the predicative form, e.g. *čǎccai* ‘watery’: *čǎccas* ‘watery (ATTR)’, *sǎlttai* ‘salty’: *sǎlttas* ‘salty (ATTR)’, only a few Russian loans have a separate attributive form. In fact, according to the KKLS, the Russian loan adjectives of this type do not have any attributive form at all. In contrast, the dictionary by Sammallahti and Moshnikoff (1991) as well as the dictionary by Moshnikoff and Moshnikoff (2020) also give attributive forms in connection with a few adjectives of this type, e.g. *snǎättnai* ‘faithful’: *snǎättnas* ‘faithful (ATTR)’ < *знǎтнный* ‘noble; outstanding’. Apparently, the attributive forms of these adjectives are formed according to the analogy given by *i*-ending adjectives derived from nouns.

There are also a few trisyllabic and four-syllable adjectives in the research material (216–218). These must be recent loans, as they have not been properly phonologically adapted to the Skolt Saami vocabulary. This can be concluded by the fact that in these words, the vowel of the second syllable has not syncopated and all the vowels are short, which was not possible in the older lexicon.

(216) *godovai* ‘annual’ < *годовóй* id.

(217) *ma’linovi* (*ruōpssǎd*) ‘orange (adj.)’ (*ruōpssǎd* ‘red’) < *мали́новый* ‘crimson’

(218) *o’dinakai* ‘only’ < *одинóкий* ‘lonely’

## 5. Semantics of the Russian loanwords

In this section, I will study the Russian loanwords in Skolt Saami from a semantic perspective. Since for this paper it does not make sense to present all the semantic fields, I analyze only the most common ones (religion, clothing, buildings and houses, diet, as well as administration and society), which reveal the most important contact situations between the Skolt Saami and the Russians. I also represent a couple of semantic fields (military, agriculture and nature) which contain only a few Russian loanwords in Skolt Saami, even though in Estonian and Finnish there are much more. The differences in the loanwords in these semantic fields reveal differences between the contacts of the Skolt Saami and the Russians and the contacts between the Estonians or Finns and the Russians. A more accurate description of the semantics of the Russian loanwords in Skolt Saami is left for other studies in the future. For this purpose, one could use, for example, the classifications developed by Plöger (1973: 307–308), Must (2000: 557–575) or Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009: 22–34).

As mentioned in Section 2.1, Starowicz (1983: 43–48) studied the semantics of Russian loanwords in Skolt, Kildin and Ter Saami. He divides Russian loanwords into four major fields, which are further divided into several subfields: 1) everyday life (customs, work and tools, society, dressing, construction, the household, food, family, weather, body parts and diseases, human settlement, colors, emotions), 2) livelihoods (agriculture, animal husbandry, animals, trade, traveling, fishing), 3) religion and belief and 4) other words (miscellaneous words, military service, pastime and toys, science). It is worth noting that sometimes his semantic division is incorrect. For example, under animals as a subgroup of livelihoods, there are words such as *kloopp* ‘bedbug’ (KKLS 131) < *κλον* id. and *leeff* ‘lion’ (KKLS 212) < *лев* id., which cannot be considered to belong to livelihoods.

The influence of the Orthodox Church on the life of the Skolt Saami is strong (see e.g. Itkonen 1948: I, 85–87, 295; II, 355–357, 413–422, 424, 518–519, 589), which is why Skolt Saami has borrowed a lot of religious vocabulary from Russian. There is also a lot of religious vocabulary of Russian origin in Kildin Saami, too (Rießler 2009a: 402), as well as in the eastern dialects of Estonian (Must 2000: 571–572), while such vocabulary is fewer in the more western dialects of Estonian and in Finnish (Plöger 1973: 307), which can be explained by the influence of the Orthodox Church in the eastern parts of Estonia and Finland.



- religious vocabulary: *Vääžž* ‘God (children’s language)’ < *Бóже* ‘God’, *praavniĵ* ‘orthodox’ < *п्रा́ведник* ‘righteous man’, *pričas* ‘(Holy) Communion’ < *прича́стие* id., *priiskâd* ‘sprinkle (e.g. holy water)’ < *брызгать* ‘sprinkle’, *prosttvõrr* ‘the Host’ < *просфора́* id., *Spa’site’l* ‘the Saviour’ < *Спаса́тель* id. (59 words)

Unlike more western Saami groups, the Skolt Saami calendar has traditionally been based largely on Orthodox holidays (Itkonen 1948: II, 487–489).

- religious holidays: *panahida* ‘requiem’ < *панихи́да* id., *raa’dnes(-pei’vv)* ‘commemoration of the deceased’ (KKLS 415) (*pei’vv* ‘day’) < *Ра́дунница* id., *veežnai(pei’vv)* ‘Exaltation of the Cross’ < *Воздв́ижение* id., *vo’zzen’ja(-pei’vv)* ‘Ascension Day’ < *вознесéние* id. (8 words)

A lot of clothing-related vocabulary has been borrowed into Skolt Saami from Russian. This is evidenced by the change of clothing to the Russian model, for example, at the end of the 19th century the Skolt Saami men switched to wearing the Russian-style jacket *kähhtan* ‘jacket’ (KKLS 80) < *кафтáн* ‘kaftan’ (Itkonen 1948: I, 348, 356).

- pieces of clothing: *faardik* ‘apron’ (KKLS 32) < *фáртук* id., *knoorkaž* ‘snap’ < *кно́пка* id., *käätnaĵ* ‘felt boot’ < *ка́танок* id., *poteâška* ‘suspend-er’ (KKLS 399) < *подтя́жка* id., *saarfán* ‘traditional gown’ (~KKLS 474) < *сарафа́н* id., *trååika* ‘three-piece suit’ < *тро́йка* id. (24 words)

Skolt Saami women began wearing Russian-style headwear as early as the beginning of the 18th century (Itkonen 1948: I, 368–369). Along with the new headwear, the Skolt Saami borrowed also the words for these items.

- headdress: *koolpiĵ* ‘woolly hat’ (KKLS 145) < *колпа́к* ‘cap’, *pee’rvesĵ* ‘unmarried Skolt Saami girl’s headdress’ (KKLS 357) < *перевя́зка* ‘bandage’, *poovdneĵ* ‘Skolt Saami widow’s headdress’ (KKLS 401) < *пово́йник* ‘married woman’s headdress’, *sorok* ‘woman’s headdress’ (KKLS 510) < *сорóка* id., *šaamšik* ~ *šāmšar* (P) ‘married Skolt Saami woman’s headdress’ (KKLS 544) < *шамшу́ра* ‘married woman’s head-dress’, *šleäpp* ‘brimmed hat’ (KKLS 557) < *шля́па* ‘hat’, *triiviĵ* ‘Skolt Saami woman’s winter cap’ (KKLS 610) < *треу́х* ‘winter cap’ (8 words)

Although only a few words for buildings have been borrowed from Russian into Skolt Saami, it can be concluded that the Skolt Saami have learned a lot about construction technology from the Russians, since there are a

number of construction-technology vocabulary items of Russian origin in Skolt Saami. The Skolt Saami also learned the use of some new building materials and tools from the Russians. In addition, such words as *domm* ‘home’ (KKLS 26, 816) < *дом* id. and the adverbs *domoi* ‘home (motion)’ (~KKLS 816) < *домой* id. and *dãama* ‘at home’ (~KKLS 816) < *дома* id. were borrowed from Russian.

- buildings: *leedneĵ* ‘icehouse’ (KKLS 203) < *ледник* id., *mostt* ‘bridge’ (KKLS 261) < *мост* id., *niuu’žniĵ* ‘toilet’ (KKLS 291) < *нужник* id. (archaic), *poogrev* ‘cellar’ (KKLS 390) < *пóгреб* id. (5 words)
- building materials and parts of a building: *mää’tec* ‘ridge beam’ (KKLS 242) < *мáтуща* id., *poodval* ‘bottom timber of a house’ (KKLS 389) < *подвáл* ‘basement’, *žããlab* ‘gutter’ (KKLS 565) < *жéлоб* id. (18 words)
- construction technology: *buurãfĵ* ‘gimlet’ (KKLS 25) < *бурáвка* ‘drill’, *preu’nn* ‘log’ (KKLS 25) < *бревнó* id., *fintt* ‘screw’ (KKLS 32) < *винт* id., *žee’st* ‘metal plate’ (KKLS 565) < *жесть* id. (12 words)

Only a few names of dishes in Skolt Saami have been borrowed from Russian. Names of sweets and pastries have also been only sparsely borrowed.

- names of dishes: *kuu’rniĵ* ‘fish baked inside a loaf of bread’ (KKLS 181) < *кúрник* ‘pie stuffed with chicken or fish’, *mie’lĵĵsállmat* ‘cheese soup with berries’ (*mie’lĵĵ* ‘milk’) ~ *sq’l’otmã’t* (P) ‘flour porridge’ (KKLS 514) < *салáмáта* ‘flour porridge’ (3 words)
- names of sweets and pastries: *bliin* ‘pancake’ (KKLS 24) < *блин* id., *kã’nfëât* ‘sweet’ < *конфéта* id., *pre’nneĵ* ‘gingerbread’ (KKLS 401) < *прýник* id., *soohar* ‘rusk’ (KKLS 512) < *сухáрь* id., *šã’ŋĵĵ* ‘sweet pasty’ (KKLS 544) < *шáньгá* id. (Myznikov 2010: 477) (5 words)

Starowicz (1983: 45) suggests in his semantic division that, for example, the words *kããrak* ‘pea’ (KKLS 34) < *зopóx* id., *ããvas* ‘vegetable’ (~KKLS 326) < *óвоици* ‘vegetables’ and *ããves* ‘oat’ (KKLS 326) < *овéс* id. are related to agriculture. However, in Skolt Saami such words do not relate to agriculture, as the Skolt Saami did not practice agriculture, but rather these words are related to purchased foodstuffs. Other names of foodstuffs borrowed from Russian are listed below.

- foodstuffs: *gruuža* ‘pear’ < *зрýша* id., *kapus* ‘cabbage’ < *канýста* id., *maa’liu(mue’rjj)* ‘raspberry’ (*mue’rjj* ‘berry’) < *мáли́на* id., *prããss* ‘millet’

(KKLS 402) < *npóco* id., *päättak̄* ‘syrup’ (KKLS 346) < *náтока* id., *roošš* ‘rye’ (KKLS 451) < *рожь* id., *ukssös* ‘vinegar’ (~KKLS 700) < *ýкyc* id., *ää'reh* ‘nut’ (KKLS 320) < *opéx* ‘nut’ (20 words)

Also other words related to cooking and eating have been borrowed from Russian.

- cooking and eating: *pävvar* ‘cook’ (KKLS 347) < *nóвар* id., *säähharne'cc* ‘sugar basin’ < *сáхарница* id., *velkk* ‘fork’ (~KKLS 753) < *вúлка* id., *vää'l jed* ‘knead dough’ (KKLS 715) < *валя́ть* id. (19 words)

Tea, known as *čee* (KKLS 655) < *чай* id., has been an important part of Skolt Saami culture since the 20th century. Almost every family had a samovar, a *samvaar* (KKLS 472) < *самовáр* id., of their own, in addition to which tea was made in a tea kettle, *čei'nnik̄* (KKLS 655) < *чáйник* id. Coffee *kää'ff* (KKLS 141) < *кóфе* id., on the other hand was an unknown drink still in the 19th century, but it was drunk by the early 20th century (Itkonen 1948: I, 296).

Also, alcohol was widely used by the Skolt Saami, especially during festivities and in winter villages in general. Liquor was bought both from the town of Kola and from Russian vendors (Itkonen 1948: I, 86, 297–298; II, 413–422). During a trip to Kola, alcohol could have also been consumed at a tavern, *kävve'k̄* (KKLS 76) < *кабáк* id.

- alcohol: *hloornâd* ‘take a sip’ < *хлóпнуть* id. cf. *хлóпнуть нúва* ‘drink a beer in one sip’, *poohme'l* ‘hangover’ (~KKLS 390) < *похмéлье* id., *spiirt* ‘spirit’ (KKLS 519) < *спирт* id., *šää'lan* ‘drunken troublemaker, crazy’ (KKLS 544) < *шалъно́й* ‘crazy’ and *tiörv'vuöttân* [health.ESS] ‘cheers’ and *tiörv'vsa* [healthy.SG.ILL] ‘cheers’ which both are loan translations from *на здорóвье* id. (10 words)

Before World War I the Skolt Saami did not smoke for religious reasons (Itkonen 1948: I, 295–296), which is why only the words *kuurâd* ‘smoke (v.)’ (KKLS 181) < *кyрúть* id. and *tääbbak̄* ‘tobacco’ (KKLS 566) < *табáк* id. have been borrowed from Russian.

The Russian administration and society had a great influence on the lives of the Skolt Saami, which is why related words have also been borrowed from Russian into Skolt Saami. There are also some words of Russian origin in Skolt Saami related to the maintenance of law and order. (Itkonen 1948: II, 253–256, 589)

- administration and society: *meer* ‘village community’ (KKLS 256) < *мур* id., *o’bjee’ččičk* ‘bailiff’ < *объездчик* ‘forest ranger’, *pječat* ‘seal, stamp’ (KKLS 361) < *печать* id., *voolâst* ‘volost (historical administrative region)’ (KKLS 760) < *во́лость* id., *ââ’ral* ‘stamp’ < *орёл* ‘eagle’, cf. the double-headed eagle on Russia’s coat of arms, which used to be also on stamps (16 words)
- law and order: *pleân* ‘prisoner’ < *плéнный* id., *pâ’reâd* ‘order’ < *порядок* id., *suud* ‘court’ (KKLS 525) < *суд* id., *štraaf* ‘fine’ (KKLS 561) < *штраф* id. (8 words)

By contrast, there are only a few items of Russian loan vocabulary in Skolt Saami related to the army: *prizoov* ‘conscription’ < *призыв* ‘military call-up’, *prizoovneĵ* ‘conscript’ < *призывник* id., *stiik* ‘bayonet’ < *штык* id. and *sääldat* ‘soldier’ (KKLS 469) < *солдат* id. This is understandable, since the Skolt Saami were not recruited into the army before the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) and World War I. In comparison, for example in Estonian (Must 2000: 570–571) and Finnish (Plöger 1973: 308) there is considerably more vocabulary of Russian origin related to the army, which is understandable, as Estonians and Finns were recruited into the Russian army well before the Skolt Saami and there were Russian military bases in Estonia and Finland, unlike in the Kola Peninsula.

If we compare the Russian loans of Skolt Saami with those in the Finnic languages, we notice some other clear differences. In the following, I will make some comparisons to Estonian and Finnish. I have chosen to compare Skolt Saami with Estonian and Finnish, since the Russian vocabulary of these languages has been studied better than the Russian loan vocabulary in the eastern Finnic languages (see however Pyöli 1996: 223–237 on Livvi Karelian), which can borrow new Russian loanwords to a virtually limitless extent (cf. Jarva 2003: 44).

Little agricultural vocabulary has been borrowed into Skolt Saami, with the exception of a few words related to sheep-raising and some names of animals.

- sheep-raising: *kaarât* ‘trough’ (KKLS 89) < *коры́то* id., *koss* ‘scythe’ (KKLS 149) < *коса́* id., *poĵĵ<sup>a</sup>* (P, Nj) ‘fodder for sheep’ (KKLS 391) < *пойво* ‘fodder for cattle (archaic)’, *poožn* ‘meadow’ (KKLS 399) < *пóжня* id., *seä’rpp* ‘sickle’ (KKLS 493) < *серп* id., *zâarad* ‘haystack’ (KKLS 515) < *зарóд* id. (6 words)

- animals: *beállšai* ‘white reindeer; gelding’ (KKLS 24) < *белыи* ‘name of a white animal’, *skoott* ‘cattle’ (~KKLS 505) < *скот* id., *tee’lec* ‘cow calf’ (KKLS 581) < *телену* id., *žeevai* ‘animal’ (KKLS 565) < *живой* ‘lively’ (4 words)

On the other hand, there is a lot of vocabulary related to both animal husbandry and agriculture borrowed from Russian into the Finnic languages (see e.g. Plöger 1973: 307; Must 2000: 557–558; Blokland 2009: 361–362). The difference between the vocabulary of Skolt Saami and Estonian as well as Finnish is natural, since farming is one of the main sources of livelihood for the Estonians and Finns, but the Skolt Saami did not practice it, with the exception of some small-scale sheep-raising.

Although eastern dialects of Estonian have borrowed quite a lot of words from Russian describing the landscape related to the Peipus region, as well as weather words and names of animals, fishes, plants and mushrooms (Must 2000: 574–575; Blokland 2009: 368), the Skolt Saami have borrowed only little vocabulary related to nature, which can be explained by the fact that the nature of the Kola Peninsula was foreign to the Russians who moved from the south. In Skolt Saami, however, there are only a few weather words as well as names of animals and insects. Special mention should be made of the names of fur animals *buurairie’mjj* ‘black fox’ (KKLS 24) (*rie’mjj* ‘fox’) < *чёрнобурая лисица* ‘black fox’ (*лисица* ‘fox’) and *seenairie’mjj* ‘blue fox’ (KKLS 485) < *синья лисица* ‘blue fox’, which are related to trade and taxation (see e.g. Mikkola 1941: 21). The fur trade may also involve *riiss* ‘lynx’ (KKLS 442) < *рысь* id., although its habitat extends just south of the Skolt Saami area, and apparently also *zoo’bbel* ‘sable’ (KKLS 541) < *соболь* id., which probably meant some other fur animal, as sables are not found in European Russia.

- weather: *kuu’rav* ‘gust of wind’ (KKLS 181) < *куре́ва* ‘blizzard with strong wind’ (Durov 2011: 199), *prooidâd* ‘clear (v.) (weather)’ < *пройти́* ‘fall (rain or snowfall)’, *rogoda* ‘snowstorm’ (KKLS 390) < *погода* ‘weather’, *viěχ’χēr* ‘whirlwind’ (KKLS 740) < *вихрь* id., *zōv<sup>A</sup>* ‘ripple’ (KKLS 541) < *зыбь*, *žaar* ‘heat’ (KKLS 565) < *жар* id. (6 words)
- animals: *jaškkrepp* ‘northern goshawk’ (KKLS 50) < *ястреб* ‘hawk’, *krääbbak* ‘shrimp’ < *крабка* ‘crab’, *räkk* ‘crawfish’ (KKLS 419) < *рак* id., *sorok* ~ *soorkōs* ‘magpie’ (KKLS 510) < *сорóка* id. (5 words)
- insects: *tseřv<sup>e</sup>* ‘bait worm’ (KKLS 631) < *червь* ‘worm, maggot’, *kloopp* ‘bedbug’ (KKLS 131) < *клоп* id., *toš<sup>ž</sup>k<sup>E</sup>* ‘midge’ (KKLS 261) < *мошка* id., *tâârkan* ‘cockroach’ (KKLS 608) < *таракáн* id. (4 words)

## 6. Conclusion

In this paper I have studied the Russian loanwords in Skolt Saami. The Russian loan words form the largest single loan word stratum in Skolt and Kola Saami languages. Since previously there had hardly been any actual analysis of the Russian loanwords in the Saami languages, the aim of this paper was to present an overview of this loanword stratum in Skolt Saami. The Russian loanwords were studied from a phonological, morphophonological, morphological and semantic point of view.

The Russian loanwords in the Saami languages are relatively recent.<sup>3</sup> This can be concluded from – besides the contact history between the Saami and the Russians – the sound history of Skolt Saami, as well as the word structure of loanwords. Most of the Russian loanwords must have been borrowed into Skolt Saami after the early 17th century, because the Russian loanwords have not taken part in the denasalization that apparently spread before that time from the west to Skolt Saami.

The study revealed also that there are several Russian loanword strata of different ages in Skolt Saami that can be identified based on certain phonological features which were presented in this study, namely substitution of the Russian first-syllable vowel ⟨e⟩ and the second-syllable ⟨o⟩. In older loans, Russian ⟨e⟩ was substituted with a diphthong, as there was no monophthong [e] in the language. After the monophthong developed in Skolt Saami, the Russian vowel ⟨e⟩ was substituted with a monophthong. If there is a labial vowel [o] in the second syllable of first foot, the word can be considered a recent Russian loan. In older loans the labial vowel has lost its roundness and become either [a] or [â]. Other criteria indicating that a loanword belongs to a more recent loanword stratum are the lack of syncope and/or apocope, as well as the lack of consonant gradation.

At least the majority of the Russian loanwords have been borrowed from the Northwestern dialects of Russian. This can be indicated by several phonological features discussed in this study: substitution of the voiced

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3. However, Rießler's (2022: 237–238) claim that most of the Russian loanwords have been introduced with modern-world items during or after the Soviet era, is clearly not correct, since most of the Russian loanwords have been borrowed to Skolt Saami before 1920 when the contacts between the Skolt Saami, who became Finnish citizens, and the Russians broke down. It is not plausible that most of the Russian loanwords in Kildin Saami were much more recent than in Skolt Saami.

plosive ⟨ᄋ⟩, the affricate ⟨ᄑ⟩, as well as the unstressed vowel ⟨o⟩ and some cases in which [o] occurs in the Northwestern dialects in the place of ⟨a⟩ in the Standard Russian. Some loanwords, however, could also have been borrowed from Standard Russian or Southern dialects of Russian, but probably many of these words, too, were borrowed from the Northwestern dialects, which have borrowed vocabulary from the Standard Russian and southern dialects.

The nouns are mainly borrowed from the Russian nominative singular or plural forms. In this study it was revealed that the noun inflectional class which ends in a vowel, e.g. *peela* ‘two-man cross-cut saw’, has developed in Skolt Saami along with Russian loanwords in which the apocope has not taken place. Afterwards also Finnish loanwords have been adapted to this inflectional class.

Only some Skolt Saami verbs contain phonological features showing from which form they were borrowed. In most of those words, the loan source was the finite stem, which can be concluded from the fact that some Skolt Saami verbs contain phonological features indicating it, and only in one case was the infinite form the loan source. Most of the Russian loan verbs have been adapted into the inflectional class in which the final foot of the infinite form is disyllabic and ends in the infinite suffix *-âd*; only a few have been adapted to other inflectional classes. Into this inflectional class have been adapted both Russian two-syllable verbs and longer verbs, as well as the Russian reflexive verbs, which have been integrated into Skolt Saami by adding the deverbal affix *-j-* or *-d-* and the reflexive verb suffix *-ôôttâd* to the loan stem, e.g. *prâ'sš|j|ôôttâd* ‘say goodbye’ (KKLS 402) < *прощ|аться* id. Even though most verbs ending in *-âd* which are borrowed from Russian undergo consonant gradation, there are also a small number of verbs which do not undergo gradation. It is noteworthy that all Skolt Saami verbs ending in *-âd* which do not undergo consonant gradation, were borrowed from Russian.

The adjectives have been borrowed either from the Russian long nominative singular masculine forms or the short masculine forms. The use of masculine forms is so dominant that they are used even in compound words that were borrowed from Russian feminine adjective phrases, e.g. *strääšnaineä'ttel* ‘Holy Week’ (KKLS 523) < *страстная неделя* id., or neuter, *ro-dimnqi-pietn<sup>v</sup>* ‘birth mole’ (KKLS 447) < *родимное пятно* id.

The Russian loanword strata include words from various semantic fields, which indicates that there were extensive contacts between the Skolt

Saami and the Russians. The most important semantic fields are religion, clothing, buildings and houses, diet as well as administration and society. This is in line with Kildin Saami, too (Rießler 2009a: 401–402), which is understandable since the languages are spoken in similar surroundings and the Skolt and Kildin Saami had similar contacts with the Russians until the beginning of the 20th century. If we compare the results with studies of the Russian loanwords in Estonian and Finnish, we see some clear differences, for example Finnish and Estonian have borrowed much more vocabulary related to the natural environment than Skolt Saami. This is well understandable, since the nature in the central area where Russian is spoken is much like that in the areas where Estonian and Finnish are spoken, while in the northern areas where Skolt Saami is spoken the nature is very different.

While this study concentrated only on the Russian loanwords in Skolt Saami, much of the results can be generalized also to the Russian loanwords in the other easternmost Saami languages, since the contact situations between the Russian and the Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Saami were quite alike until the beginning of the 20th century, but an analysis of the Russian loanwords of these languages is left for a separate study.

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## Appendix

The online appendix “List of Russian loan etymologies in Skolt Saami” is available at <https://doi.org/10.33339/fuf.110737>.