

VILJA OJA (Tallinn)

WORDS FOR FLAX IN THE FINNIC LANGUAGES*

About the 3rd millennium BC the ancient inhabitants of the present-day Finnic area began to change from the habitual "deerskin" into woven clothing. The primitive cloth was made of wool and nettle, which was the most important fibre of the times (Kurrik 1938 : XVI). About the first millennium BC nettle was gradually replaced by flax. According to archaeological results the earliest fragments of bone hackles and swingles discovered in the Estonian territory also date from that period.

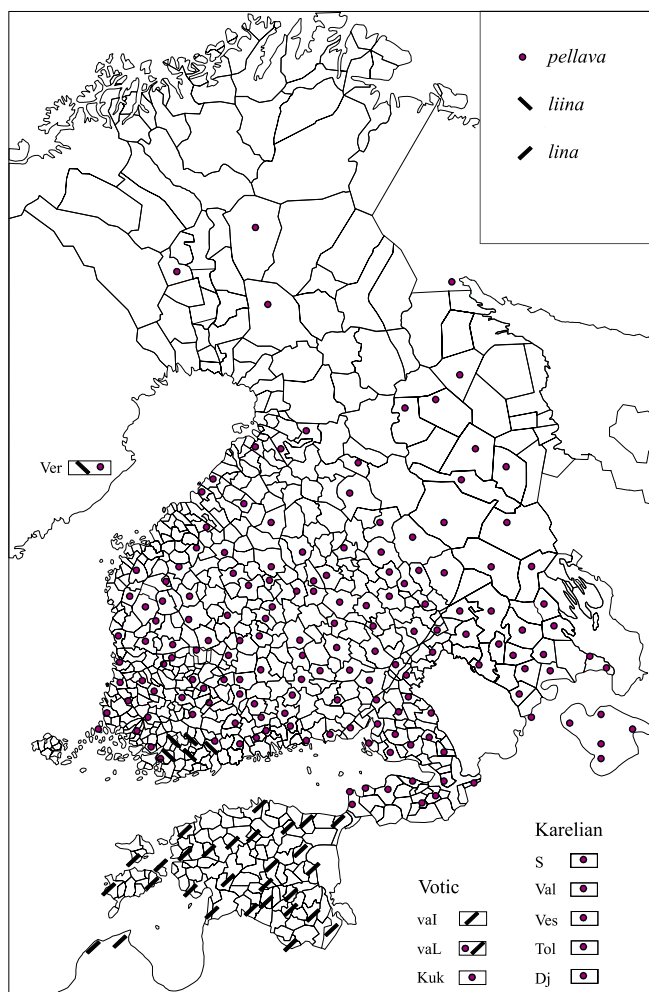
In Estonian, Votic and Livonian flax is called *lina*¹ (in Estonian dialects also *linä*, *lena*, or *lõna*). Most likely the word has been mediated into the southern Finnic dialects by the Baltic tribes together with the fibre crop, cf. Latvian *lini*, Lithuanian *linai*, Prussian *lymno* (Ariste 1955 : 200). Those words, in turn, have been associated with the ancient Russian word *лѣнъ*, cf. Russian *лѣн* 'flax' (EEW 1316).

The northern Finnic dialects use a Germanic loanword *liina* originating in the same Indo-European stem and occurring in Finnish and Izhorian *liin(a)*, Gen. *liinan*, Karelian *liina*, *liin(a)*, Lude *liine*, Olonets *liinlu*, -o, North-Veps *liin*, South- and Middle Veps *lin* (-ii- > -i), Gen. -an — cf. Old Norse, *lín*, Norwegian and Modern Swedish *lin* 'flax, linen cloth; headkerchief' (SSA 2 : 74). However, although the *liina*-stem is widespread almost everywhere in Northern Finnic languages, it does not denote the flax plant anywhere except in a narrow area in Varsinaissuomi and Värmland dialect, in which it can be considered a Swedish influence (see Map 1).

Throughout the northern Finnic languages and part of the Votic area (Western dialects and Kukкуси — Posti 1980 : 360; VKS 4 : 202) the flax plant is referred to by terms originating in the same root as the literary Finnish *pellava*. In the Finnish dialects we can meet the terms *pellava*, *pellavas*, -ves, *pellova*, *pellovain(en)*, *pellovas*, *pellain(en)*, *pellavaittiin*, *pelva(a)ś*; in Izhorian and Votic *pellavaz*, *pellovaz*; in Karelian *pellava(š)*, *pelvalš*, -s, -z; in Veps *pöulvaz*, *piulvaz* (*pü(az)*, Gen. -han, *pöölváz*, Gen. -hän.

* This study has been supported by ETF grant no. 4193.

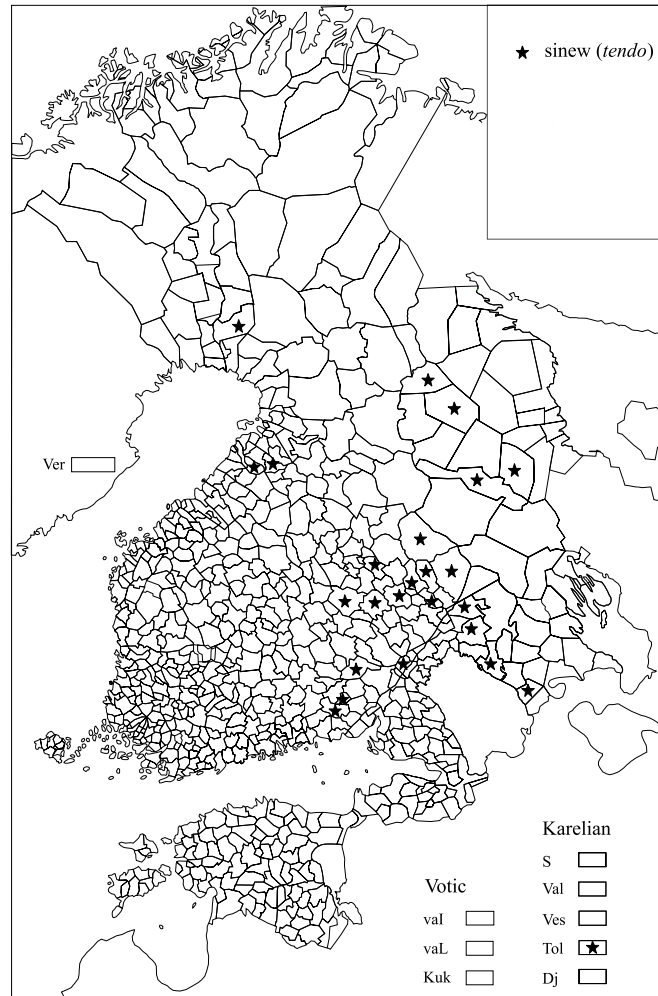
¹ The article is based on the dialect material collected by local dialectologists for the "Atlas Linguarum Fennicarum" (ALFE), which is supposed to reflect the usage of the 1920s—1940s.



Etymologically the Finnic *pellava*-family has been associated with the Ob Ugrian terms for other fibre plants, like the Vogul *polnā*, *panlā*, *ponlā*, *ponal* 'hemp' and Khanty *polān*, *putān* 'hemp; nettle'. The phonetic difference, however, discredits their common origin (SKES 514–515; SSA 2 : 333). According to Paul Ariste *pellava* seems to be an ancient genuine Finnic word, which leads to the conclusion that the local inhabitants may have known a fibre plant even before developing any closer contacts with the Baltic tribes, so that the new crop acquired the old name of the fibre plant prevalent before flax was introduced (Ariste 1955 : 200). Considering the ancient and widespread character of the stem, one could even suspect a Proto-Indo-European substratum, i.e. a word used by the earliest, non-Finno-Ugric inhabitants of the Finnic area (cf. Latin *pellis*, Greek *πέλας*, 'hide, skin'; Middle Low German *pels* (> Danish, Swedish *pels*) 'fur'; Russian *пелена* 'shroud', *пелёнка*, dial. *пелька* 'baby's napkin' etc.).

Flax does not prosper either on sands or on heavy gley soils. As for nutrients, the soil need not be very rich, though. Although in Finland flax has once been grown even as far North as Rovaniemi, Ii, and Kemi (18th century), the traditional area for flax cultivation has been the southern and middle part of the country, centered in Häme, Savo and south-eastern Fin-

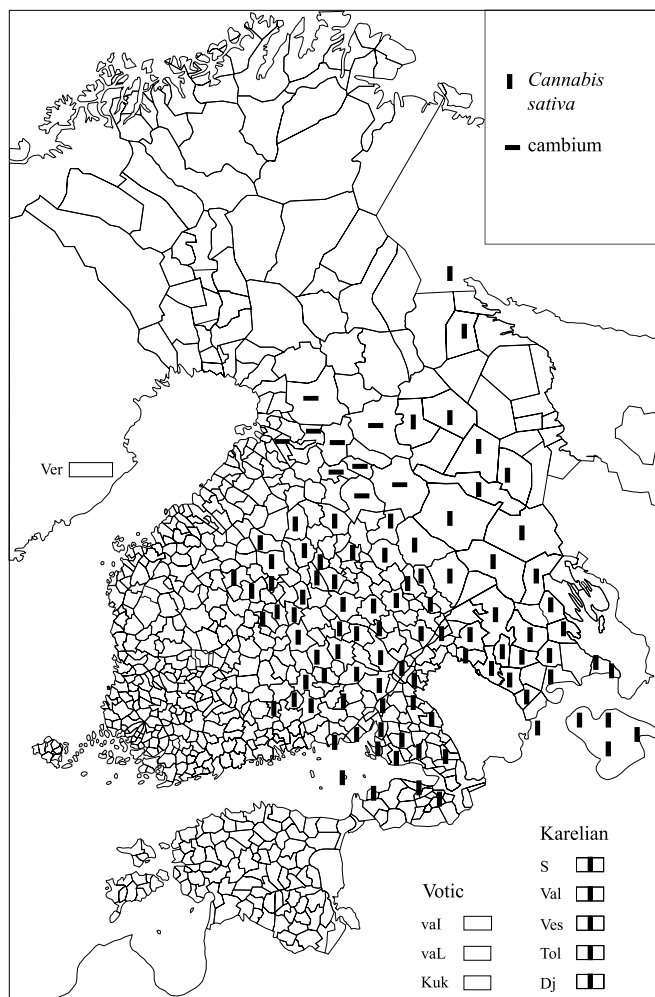
Map 2



land, and around Olonets in Karelia (Virrankoski 1963 : 21, 27). Throughout the Finnic territory the term for the flax plant is also used to refer to raw flax, fully or half-processed fibre, and in Finnish also to linen cloth. As half-processed fibre as well as thread and cloth were imported further to the north, the dialect usage of the term also reaches further north than the area where flax was cultivated.

Beside flax, *pellava* is used to denote sinew in Karelian and eastern Finnish dialects (see Map 2). In the Finnish dialects the term mostly denotes the cervical sinew of a farm animal (neat, horse, sheep) as well as a fibrous tough spot in meat. In Karelian dialects the word also refers to the sinews of human limbs, e.g. Nekkula-Riibuškala *pelvaz leikkavui, käzi heitti d'iestvuitšendan* 'a sinew was severed, the hand was disabled'. In the Karelian language we meet such compound words as *jalgu-*, *käzi-*, *sormilpelvaz* 'leg, arm and finger tendon' (KKS IV 196). The use of the noun for sinew is too widespread to be labelled either just as occasional or local figurative.

The use of *pellava* (or variants) for two rather different notions — flax and sinew — leads one to look around for a common semantic denominator for the two, which could be a strong, yet flexible material. An alleged



association between the visual aspects of a tough tendon and a fibre plant does not look creditable to me.

This leads us to ask what is the function of the Germanic loanword *liina* in those areas where flax is called *pellava*? In the eastern Finnic areas it means 'hemp' (*Cannabis sativa*) (Map 3), which is another essential fibre plant of old. To the west and south of that area the hemp plant is referred to by terms originating in the same Indo-European stem as the Latin word. As for the situation in Finnish dialects, *hamppu* occurs mainly in the western part of the country, while examples are also found in the southern and western parts of the Central Finnish dialect and the dialects of Kainuu and Värmland (SMS II 681). In Livonian we meet such phonetic variants as *kañip*, *kañipâz*, in Salatsi *kanep* (Kettunen 1938 : 105), in Estonian dialects we find *kanep*, *kañ(n)ep*, *kanep*, *kañõp*, *kanemp* (EMS II 653). The western Votic villages use *kaneppi*, *kanõppi* (Jõgõperä); *kañiva*, *kañivo* (-n-), *kañevo*, (-n-) and in Kukkusi *kaneppi* (Posti 1980 : 127; VKS 2 : 70, 73).

According to etymological dictionaries the Finnish *hamppu* is a Scandinavian loanword (< Swedish and Old Swedish *hampa* < Germanic **hanap-*), whereas the Estonian and Livonian *kanep*-words has lain via the Baltic

languages (cf. Latvian *kaņepe*, *kaņipe*, *kaņupe* etc.; Lithuanian *kaņãpės*; Old Prussian *konapios*). The Izhorian *kaneppi*, however, has been borrowed from the Estonian language (SKES 54; SSA 1 : 136). According to Lembit Vaba the Estonian and Livonian words are Latvian loans and beside Izhorians the Votes have also got their term for hemp from the Estonian language (Vaba 1997 : 80). This point is confirmed by the dialectal distribution of the Latvian variants: in Kurland we find *kaņepe*, *kaņipe*, *kaņipis*; while in this part of the Vidzeme dialect area, which lies closer to Estonia, the prevalent form is *kaņepe* (*kaņipe* and *kaņupe* occur more seldom) (LVDA 374, Map 43).

The main uses for hemp fibre have been rope, cord, fishing nets, sails etc., as hemp (particularly when wet) is much more durable than linen. In the Finnish part of Karelia and in Savo hempen cloth has been used to make bedsheets, towels, working clothes, sometimes even neckerchiefs and aprons. Hemp plants are easier to grow than flax, as no weeding is necessary. As hemp is also less tender than flax, the former can be grown further to the north and so the area of hemp cultivation reaches up to the southern boulder of Lapland (Virrankoski 1963 : 125, 129).

In the dialect areas of Northern Ostrobothnia and Kainuu in Finland, mainly in the basin of Oulujoki *liina* stands for the cambium of conifers (pine and spruce) (see Map 3). More likely than not, the term refers to the upper fibrous bast layer. The motivation of the term might be seen in the outer looks as well as the uses of cambium. If the latter is true, it indicates that coniferous bast has been used in a means of tying or fastening, in carrying straps, or in various woven commodities. A comparative look at Maps 3 and 1 reveals that *liina* in the sense of 'cambium' is known farther north than the words for flax. In the dialect areas of Northern Ostrobothnia and Kainuu the flax plant (*pellava*) has been mentioned in just five subdialects. It would be logical to suppose that the name of the linen material as well as linen products imported from the west by water was transferred to their local equivalents. In the years 1809–1865 the northern boundary of flax cultivation ran about the Kalajoki–Valtimo line (see the map in Virrankoski 1963 : 29). If the local name for cambium has been inspired by hemp fibre, it could be assumed to be the remnant of an earlier term for hemp, which was later replaced by *hamppu* as a newer loan. The map, at least, does not exclude such a possibility.

From the semantic point of view there is a partly overlap between *liina* and *lina*. In the northern and western Finnish areas, where *liina* does not mean 'hemp', it is the common name for plain-woven (usually white) linen, half-linen, or cotton cloth. (Cotton is a relatively new material here, having not become competitive with linen before the mid-19th century — Virrankoski 1963 : 136 ff.). In addition, the word is used in terms for various commodities that have once been made of a cloth of vegetative origin. In those terms the objects are specified by an attributive component to show the function and added to *liina* as the basic component, e.g. *pyyheliina* 'towel' (*pyyhkiä* 'to wipe'), *nenäliina* 'pocket handkerchief' (*nenä* 'nose'), *esiliina* (Pusula, Hattula, Maaninka *etuliina* SMS II 187) 'apron' (*esi-*, *etu-* 'front'). The Votic name *põlviliina*, ~ *-lina* (*põlvi-* 'of knees') for an apron belonging to the folk costume is likely to bear some traces of Finnish influence. The word *liini* 'linen cloth' written down from the Viru-Nigula

subdialect of the Estonian North-Eastern Coastal dialect must be a Finnish or Swedish-Finnish loan.

In the Livonian and North-Estonian languages the word *lina* stands for a large (originally linen) object of the form of a piece of cloth. The common meaning of the word is 'bedsheet'. In parallel, compound words are used, e.g. Estonian *voodi-*, *aseme-*, *sängillina* 'bedsheet', *magamise lina* 'lit. sleeping sheet', etc. Such a large sheet could be used for various purposes, such as e.g. to serve as a seeding bushel (Jõhvi *külvilina* 'seeding cloth'; *ennevanast õli niisikene lina ja lina sies õli sieme. lina õtsad õlivad siutud ümbär piha* 'In old times there was such a cloth and in it there was seed. The ends of the cloth were tied around the waist'), to dry oneself (Martna *kuivatamise lina* 'drying sheet'; *üks lena võeti sauna juure, kas alos lena või...* 'A sheet was taken down to the sauna, a bedsheet or...'; Hageri *kui pesid, siis võtsid valge lina ümmer, et kuevatada* 'after washing, one would wrap oneself in a white sheet to get dry'). The 20th century brought special big bath towels called *saunalina* (today also *vannilina*).

A rather old tradition known on either side of the Gulf of Finland is the use of a shroud. The dead body was typically covered with a white cloth (earlier it would have been wound in the sheet and so buried). This cloth was called *liina* by the Finns and *lina* (~ *surnu-*, *surillina*) by the northern Estonians. At Käina (Hiiumaa) they still remember how the body was sewn into a sheet: *Suurt lina kutsuti surnulina. Linane riie võeti alt üle ja õmmeldi päältpoolt kinni piki surnu keha, silmnägu jäeti lahti.* 'There was a big sheet called *surnulina*. The sides of the cloth placed under the body were raised up and sewn together along the body, while the face was left open'. Depending on the local tradition, white pieces of cloth have had other uses at funeral. In older times white (interpreted as colourless) served as a symbol of mourning, while black came to replace white in this function in Estonia before the mid-19th century (Kaarma, Voolmaa 1981 : 15). There are some Estonian reports of a *lina* having been used to cover the coffin: *Vändra oli neid ko, kel kirstu peale pandi lina* 'there were some whose coffin was covered with a sheet'. In Finland white ribbons called *liina* were tied to the harness of the horse in the funeral procession; the same term *liina* denoted the long pieces of cloth used to lower the coffin to the grave.

Tablecloth is a relatively new phenomenon in the Finnic culture. This is called *lina* (~ *laud-*, *lauallina*) in northern as well as southern Estonian dialects, and *liina* (~ *pöytäliina*) in the Finnish language.

In Finnish dialects *liina* (*kirkko-*, *alttarilliina*) occurs more often in the sense of a cloth used at the church ritual of the Eucharist. By one edge that cloth was fastened to the altar balustrade, while the opposite edge was spread over the hands of the people so that not a single crumb of the blessed bread should drop to the ground. From that ritual towel the term *liina* has, in turn, extended to the group of people who share in the Holy Communion at a time. You can ask, for example, *Montako liinaa oli ehtool-lisella?* 'How many 'tables' took the Holy Communion?' (NS III 158). According to Toivo Vuorela the communicants were called *liinaihmiset* 'lit. towel people' (Vuorela 1979 : 243). As of the rest of the time the white cloth used to hang down like a curtain, the Finns are known to have used the term *liina* even for the altar balustrade hidden behind it.

One of the Finnish terms for a woman's quadrangular kerchief is *liina*, also *pääliina* (*pää* 'head'). This meaning is more frequent in the southern and southwestern part of the country, i.e. in Varsinaissuomi, Häme, and Kymenlaakso, and also in Central Finnish dialects, but some reports come from other places up to the eastern border and North-Savo.

The Estonian Dialect Archives (IEL) have *lina* in the sense of a wife's or bride's attribute as recorded from the western islands and — in a folk song — from the Kuusalu coast. These are two different ethnographic objects, one of which is a headkerchief, while the other is a bride's veil.

A white linen kerchief about 2 metres long used to cover the hair of an Estonian wife as early as in the late Iron Age (Kurrik 1938 : XVII). Alongside with other recent developments in the folk costume this kerchief has been generally replaced by a coif. A large kerchief called *huntu* was used to hide a wife's hair in the eastern part of Finland (Manninen 1929 : 14). A headkerchief was still considered an obligatory part of the Estonian folk costume as late as the 18th–19th centuries, in Setu even in the 20th century. At Kuusalu and Hiiumaa *lina* used to be worn by married women, while in eastern Saaremaa and on the Sõrve peninsula at Jämaja *lina* was also worn over the head of a bride (Kaarma, Voolmaa 1981 : 40, 217, 353, 362).

Even though at the time the dialect material was collected (the 1920s — 1930s) *lina* had ceased in the function of a headkerchief, the object as well as its wearing traditions were well known at Hiiumaa and the parish of Jämaja. *Vallali(si)lina*, which was the former everyday headgear of Hiiumaa women, has been described as follows: *Vallaleslina oli pikk valge kalengorist riidetükk, mis visati üle pēe nagu nüüd sallid* 'Vallali(si)lina was a long piece of calico cast over the head like shawls are now'. A festive occasion was celebrated by wearing *nuutislina* (*nuutis* 'wound up high'): *Emmaste nuutislina seoti kõrgele üles nuutislina was tied high up*'. The last function of what had formerly been a wife's attribute was to cover the heads of the bride and bridesmaids at the wedding ceremony: *Reigi nuutislina kannab tüdruk senne aja ku ta pruut on nuutislina is worn by a girl as long as she is the bride*'. The festive headgear in Jämaja was the so-called *punane* 'red' *lina*, the white cloth of which was decorated by red ribbons: *punane lina pēes [---] otsa vahele pandi kõvad pappi, see oli siis keik lina änd, see pandi püsti taa* 'wearing a red kerchief [---] some strong cardboard was placed between the ends, all this made up the tail of the kerchief, it was put up at the back'. Mourning in Jämaja required a kerchief with black ribbons: *leina lina, siis oli kahe linaga* 'mourning kerchief — in this case two kerchiefs were worn'. On the islands *lina* has also been worn together with a coif: *Jämaja lina ala käis lina tanu* 'under the kerchief there was a special coif'.

The areal distribution of the word *liina* or *lina* denoting headkerchief in Finnish and Estonian is suggestive of Swedish contacts. In Swedish dialects *lin* means both flax and a headkerchief (SOFI). According to the people of Hiiumaa a (*pēe*)*lina* need not always have been a local product: *Käina pēelina oli, see toodi Talinast* 'there was a headkerchief, it was brought from Tallinn', *Pühalepa linad Soomest toode* 'kerchiefs were brought from Finland'.

In western Estonia and on the islands the bride's face used to be covered by a white *uju* (~ *ojo*). On the isle of Muhu the material for such a veil was called (*ojo*)*lina* or *ruutlina* (*pruut* > dial. *ruut* 'bride'). The application of that particular element of the costume of a Muhu bride has been described as follows: *must lakkk`olli ja`valge lina üle, siis`olli noorik ojo all; ojo lina`pandi tanu`külge, teine silm jähi üksi`välja jälle* 'there was a black cardboard base and a white cloth over it, then the bride was under the veil; the veil was fastened to the coif, only one eye was left out'; *valge lina, ruutlina õmmeldi tanu`ümber`kinni* 'a white cloth, the bride's veil was sown fast around the coif'.

In addition the ethnographers know of the old term *lina* to have denoted the former linen shoulder wrap. That *lina* consisted of two widths of fine homespun linen cloth sown together and lined with fringe, hemstitch or lace. In the early 19th century the wrap was still worn so that the seam ran vertically along the back, since the mid-19th century, however, the tradition changed and the wrap was folded across the diagonal (Ränk 1995 : 102). This sense of *lina* has failed to make its way to the IEL Dialect Archives.

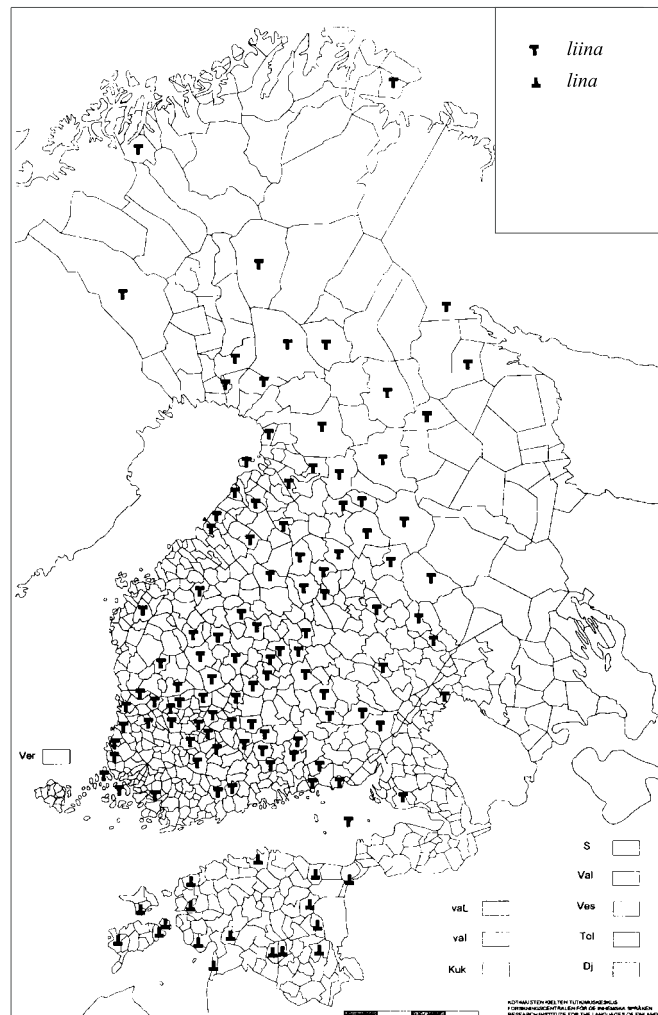
The three kinds of ethnographic objects described above were all made of fine white fabric. The coarser wrap used earlier is known to have been called differently (Kaarma, Voolmaa 1981 : 38). This implies that the term *lina* could have spread around the northern and western coastal areas of Estonia as a translation loan (< Finnish *liina*; Swedish *lin*) to denote a kerchief made of a fine imported cloth.

Meshwork for a fishing net is called *liina* in Finland and north-western Karelia, and *lina* in Estonian (see Map 4). For the sake of clarity an attributive component is attached to the word, like the Estonian *võrgu-*, *mõrra-*, *noodallina*; *Rannu vana võrk, saab muti linass* 'this is an old net, it will make meshes for a dragnet'; *sellest ei saa muud kui muti lina, vana võrgu rääbälä keideti muti arude`külge* 'this is good for nothing but dragnet meshes, the old tatters of a net would be tied to the arms of a dragnet'.

Those words occur in dialects spoken in the vicinity of relatively large bodies of water, where big fishing-nets are used. The Swedish word *lin* normally used for flax (*Linum ussitatissimum*) may also mean meshes, but nowhere else but in just three dialects: Gotland, Västerbotten, and Norrbotten (SOFI). Could it perhaps be a semantic loan from the Baltic Finns?

In the course of time the Finnish *liina* and Estonian *lina* have developed into terms for certain commodities and as such made their way into the literary language. The material and colour of the object, as well as its way of production have ceased to make any difference. In Estonian you can say, for example, *magab siidist linade vahel* '(he/she) is sleeping between silken sheets'; *kapronniidist tehakse noodalina* 'kapron thread is used for making meshes for fishing nets'. In the Palamuse subdialect they say: *mul olid kõik`toimsed linad* 'my bedsheets were all twilled'. In standard Finnish we find: *punainen joululiina* 'red Christmas tablecloth'; *kirjava muoviliina* 'coloured plastic tablecloth'; and in the Somero dialect: *Seppä veti nahkasen esiliinan pöksyis suojaks* 'The blacksmith took a leather apron to protect his trousers' (SMS II 141). The linen material is pointed out by means of a compound word (e.g. Finnish *pitsi-*, *silkki-*, *muovi-*, *viljaliina* 'lace, silk, plastic, woollen tablecloth', Estonian *pits-*, *siidlina* 'lace,

Map 4



silk tablecloth’, or by a specifying adjectival attribute (e.g. Estonian *villane lina*, *linane lina* ‘woollen tablecloth, linen tablecloth/bedsheet’).

In dialects the areal distribution of terms for different objects does not coincide, though. In the northern part of the central Finnish dialect and in the Savo dialect, where *liina* is not used as a general term for cloth, the word may denote a headkerchief, an altar towel, or the sheets or other pieces of cloth used at funeral. Of those meanings, that of a ‘headkerchief’ is more southern than the rest.

‘Rope, cord, string, line’ belong to the meanings of *liina* only in Finnish. In dialects those uses of the word can be met in the southern part of the country, mostly in the south-eastern dialects and in the Kymenlaakso region. Although from the outside the word does not differ from those discussed above, here we have a more recent Swedish loan. In literary Swedish there is a phonetic difference between *lin* ‘flax; fabric; kerchief’ and *lina* ‘line, string, cord, rope’; in Swedish dialects, however, the forms may coincide. Originally the Swedish *lina* is known to have denoted linen thread (< Germ. *liniōn* ‘linen’ — SKES 293). In Estonian and Livonian the loanword for line is *liin*. It has a long vowel in the first syllable and when inflected it re-

veals a different stem-end vowel than the word for flax, linen etc. This is why neither the Estonian *liin* Gen. *liini* (North-Estonian Coastal dialect *liini*) nor the Livonian *līn* pl. *-âd* (Kettunen 1938 : 198) can be mixed up with *lina* in whatever sense. The Estonian and Livonian words are considered Swedish or Middle Low German loans (SSA 2 : 74). The dialectal distribution of the word (western subdialects of the North-Eastern Coastal dialect and the subdialects of Põide, Emmaste, Pühalepa, Martna, Varbla, Kihnu, and Häädemeeste), however, seem indicative of Swedish origin.

Near the northern border of Finland (Vesisaari) and in North-Karelia (Kiestinki — KKS III 101) *liina* means a hook line (a long line with a row of fishing hooks hanging down from it). The Norwegian Lapps also call it *liina* or *liid'nâ*. Both the Finns and Lapps have borrowed the term from Norwegian (cf. Norwegian *lina* 'cord, rope; hook line' (SSA 2 : 74). The Karelian word may have been mediated either by Lappish or Finnish.

To sum up, we can say that the term used for flax divides the Finnic area roughly into two: the southern *lina*-group and the northern *pellava*-group. The linguistic contacts of the two groups are reflected in the Votic language, in which we can find both *lina* and *pellavlaz*, *-oz*. Although the Germanic loan *liina* has spread to all northern Finnic languages, it is used to denote the flax plant only in a small number of dialects, which are under Swedish influence.

A comparative semantic analysis of *lina* and *liina* reveals that the northern and western Finnish dialects have a lot in common with the southern Finnic, in particular with the North-Estonian dialect usage ('covers and sheets'; 'headkerchief'; 'meshes'), whereas eastern Finland goes together with the eastern Finnic languages ('hemp').

The power of the innovation introduced from the west can be read from the semantic relations of *pellava* vs. *liina* in Finland. Notably, *liina* is ever acquiring new meanings, whereas the semantic field of *pellava* is stable, if not becoming narrower.

The frequent use of a word in a relatively narrow sense may lead to the development of a term with a semantic field that is separate from the original one. In Estonian, for example, a double term *linane lina* 'linen sheet' is now used to express one of the former senses of *lina* (a large piece of linen cloth).

If languages spoken in adjoining territories use words that are close both phonetically and semantically, like Finnish *liina*, Scand. *lin* or *lina*, Estonian *lina*, there appears a tendency to treat the words as translation loans by fitting a new meaning into the native form.

Abbreviations

Dj — Džorža; **Kuk** — Kukkuzi; **S** — Selissa (Tihvin); **Tol** — Tolmačču; **vaI** — East Votic; **Val** — Valdai; **vaL** — West Votic; **Ver** — Värmland; **Ves** — Vesjegonsk.

Gen. — Genitive; **lit.** — literal; **pl.** — plural.

EEA — L. Jaanits, S. Laul, V. Lõugas, E. Tõnisson, Eesti esiajalugu, Tallinn 1982; **IEL** — Institute of Estonian Language, Tallinn; **KKS** — Karjalan kielen sanakirja I–V. Päätoim. P. Virtaranta (A–N), R. Koponen (O–S), Helsinki 1968–1997 (LSFU XVI); **LVDA** — Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants. Leksika, Riga 1999; **NS** — Nykysuomen sanakirja III, Porvoo–Helsinki 1964; **SMS II** — Suomen murteiden sanakirja, Toinen osa: emali–havuvasta, Helsinki 1988 (Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisu 36); **SOFI** — Språk- och folkminnes-

institutet (Uppsala); VKS — Vadja keele sõnaraamat 1—4. Toimetanud Elna Adler ja Merle Leppik, Tallinn 1990—2000.

L I T E R A T U R E

- A r i s t e, P. 1955, Vanimast läänemeresoomlaste põllundusest keeleliste andmete põhjal. — Ajaloo-Keeleteaduskonna töid. TRÜT 38, Tallinn 193—203.
- K a a r m a, M., V o o l m a a, A. 1981, Eesti rahvarõivad. Эстонская народная одежда. Estonian Folk Costumes. Estnische Volkstrachten, Tallinn.
- K e t t u n e n, L. 1938, Livisches Wörterbuch mit grammatischer Einleitung, Helsinki (LSFU V).
- K u r r i k, H. 1938, Eesti rahvarõivad, Tartu.
- M a n n i n e n, I. 1929, Soome sugu rahvaste etnograafia, Tartu.
- P o s t i, L. 1980, Vatjan kielen Kukkosin murteen sanakirja. Toimittanut S. Suhoonen, Helsinki (LSFU XXV).
- R ä n k, A. 1995, Etnograafiasõnaraamat, Tallinn.
- V a b a, L. 1997, Uurimusi läti-eesti keelesuhetest, Tallinn—Tampere.
- V i r r a n k o s k i, P. 1963, Myyntiä varten harjoitettu kotiteollisuus Suomessa autonomian ajan alkupuolella (1809—noin 1865), Helsinki (Historiallisia tutkimuksia LXIV).
- V u o r e l a, T. 1979, Kansanperinteen sanakirja, Porvoo.

ВИЛЬЯ ОЯ (Таллинн)

СЛОВА, ОБОЗНАЧАЮЩИЕ ЛЕН,
В ПРИБАЛТИЙСКО-ФИНСКИХ ЯЗЫКАХ

В северных и восточных языках прибалтийско-финского ареала (финский, ижорский, карельский, вепсский) лен как растение (*linum usitatissimum*) обозначает слово *pellava(s)* или его варианты (см. карту 1). В южных языках прибалтийско-финского ареала (эстонский, ливский) общераспространенным стало балтийское заимствование *lina*. Межъязыковые контакты двух указанных групп нашли отражение в водском языке, где встречаются как *lina*, так и *pellav/az*, *-oz*. Германское заимствование *liina* служит наименованием для растения лен только в тех финских диалектах, которые попали в сферу влияния шведского языка, — в вермландском (на территории Швеции) и частично в юго-западном (собственно-финском). Те же слова используются для обозначения льна-сырца и волокна после первичной обработки, а в финском языке и льняной ткани.

Из этих трех наименований самым старым в прибалтийско-финских языках является *pellava(s)* — возможный субстрат какого-то неизвестного протоевропейского языка, существовавшего в этом ареале до прихода сюда финно-угров, первоначально обозначавший какую-то одежду из звериных шкур или нечто подобное. Кроме льна, слово *pellava* в финских и карельских диалектах встречается в значении 'сухожилие (латин. *tendo*)' (см. карту 2).

Анализируя семантические отношения *lina* и *liina*, обнаруживаем в распространенных в западной части Финляндии диалектах сходство в словоупотреблении с южной группой прибалтийско-финских языков, а восточная часть Финляндии образует общий ареал с прибалтийско-финскими языками восточной группы.

В центральной и восточной частях Финляндии, а также в карельском и вепсском языках *liina* называет другое давнее и важное волокнистое растение, коноплю (*sanabis sativa*). В бассейне р. Оулуйги так именуют оболонь (*sambium*) некоторых хвойных деревьев (ели и сосны) (см. карту 3).

В ареалах, где слово *liina* не обозначает коноплю, оно и южнее *lina* в исконной традиции используются и для наименования вещей, сшитых из белой ткани полотняного переплетения. В финском языке встречаются значения 'льняная и хлопча-

тобумажная ткань', 'саван', 'покрывало', 'салфетка, дорожка' и др., в эстонском языке — 'саван', 'простыня' (в ливском тоже), 'скатерть' и др. По обе стороны Финского залива известно значение букв. 'материал для рыболовецкой сети' (см. карту 4). При необходимости добавляется уточняющее определение, например, эст. *võrgu-* 'сетевой', *nooda-* 'неводный', *mõrra-* 'мережный' / *-lina*; *laud-* или *laua/lina* 'скатерть'; *voodilina* 'простынь'.

Со временем *liina/lina* превратилось в термины для наименования определенных предметов, причем материал, цвет или техника изготовления предмета никакой роли здесь уже не играют. В литературном языке, например, для наименования скатертей из разных тканей используются такие сложные слова, как эст. *pitslina* 'кружевная скатерть', *siidlina* 'шелковая скатерть', фин. *villaliina* 'шерстяная скатерть', *muoviliina* 'скатерть из пленки' и т.д.

Со временем употребление старых заимствований *lina/liina* подверглось влиянию скандинавских языков. На контакты со шведским языком указывает распространение фин. *liina* в некоторых диалектах в значении 'головной платок' (ср. швед. *lin* 'лен, льняная ткань; головной платок'). Наименование *lina* для этнографических предметов XVIII—XIX вв. — женского головного убора и невестинной вуали — на западных островах и северном побережье Эстонии представляет собой, очевидно, заимствование-кальку для обозначения головного покрывала из (импортной) тонкой ткани.

В фонетическом плане с германским заимствованием *liina* совпадают встречающиеся на юге Финляндии в значении 'веревка, канат' шведское заимствование (< швед. *lina* 'веревка, канат') и известное на самом севере карельского ареала норвежское заимствование, обозначающее перемет (ср. норв. *lina* 'веревка, канат; перемет').