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COLLECTIVE NOUNS DENOTING TREES IN THE SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES

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This article discusses the collective names of trees used in the Scandinavian languages, as well as the formation process of similar collective names in Eastern and Western Germanic. It should be emphasized that the Northern Germanic languages used the suffix **-ijan* for creating collective nouns which denote 'a group of trees', e. g. ON. *birki* n. coll. 'birch forest', Icel. *birki* 'birch forest; birch', Norw. *birki* 'birch forest', Swed. *björke* 'birch forest, birch grove' (< PG. **berkijan* n. coll. 'a group of birches, birch forest, birch grove' – PG. **berkō* f. 'birch, *Betula*'). The same suffix denoting collectivity and originating from the Proto-Indo-European language is also present as **-bje* in most Slavic languages, cf. Ru. dial. *берѣзье* n. coll. 'birch forest, birch twigs'; OPol. *brzezie* n. 'birch grove or forest'; Cz. *březí* n. 'small birch-grove, also *břízí* n. 'birch twigs, birch-wood'; Slovak *brezie* n. 'small birch-forest, birch-grove'; SC. *brêzje* n. coll. 'birch forest', Sloven. *brêzje* n. 'id.' (< PSi. **berzbje* n. coll. 'group of birches, birch forest, birch-grove' – PSi. **bërza* f. 'birch, *Betula*'). Further possible traces of the same suffix can be found in the Baltic languages (cf. OPrus. *pannean* n. 'mossy fen' vs. Go. *fani* n. 'mud', OSax. *feni* n. 'fen') suggesting that the Proto-Indo-European collective suffix can be reconstructed as **-ijom* (n. coll.). It seems probable that some northern Indo-European tribes used the derivative word **b^herh₂gijom* (n.) to denote 'a group of birch trees', especially 'a birch grove' or 'a birch forest'.

Keywords: archaism, collectives, Danish, etymology, Germanic-Slavic relations, Indo-European languages, Norwegian, Old Norse, Proto-Germanic, Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Slavic, Scandinavian peoples, Swedish language, tree names, word-formation.

1. INTRODUCTION

Collective nouns (*nomina collectiva*) when defined from a descriptive point of view are denominal derivatives with a singular form (*singularia tantum*) demonstrating a collective meaning and function revealing the sense of ‘multiplicity and collectivity of what is specified in the base’, e. g. ON. *birki* n. coll. ‘birch forest’ ← ON. *björk* f. ‘birch (a deciduous tree: *Betula*)’; Icel. *þelli* ‘pinewood’ ← Icel. *þöll* f. ‘young pine tree’; Far. *eskja* n. coll. ‘ash grove’ ← Far. *ask* f. ‘ash tree’; Go. *awēpi* n. ‘herd of sheep’ ← PG. **awiz* f. ‘sheep’, OE. *imbe* n. coll. ‘swarm of bees’ ← PG. **imbiō* f. ‘bee’ (cf. MDu. *imme* f. ‘bee’); OSax. *saherahi* n. coll. ‘sedgy place’ ← PG. **sahazaz* m. ‘sedge’ (cf. OHG. *sahar* m. ‘sedge’); OHG. *chindahi* n. coll. ‘a group of children’ vs. G. *Kind* ‘child’. The number of collective nouns denoting trees, animals or people found in Indo-European languages attest this e. g. Lat. *quercētum* n. coll. ‘oak forest, oak wood’ ← Lat. *quercus* f. ‘oak tree’; Ved. *gávyam* and *gavyám* n. ‘cattle, herd of cows’, also *gávyā* f. ‘a cow-herd’ ← Ved. *gáuh* m./f. ‘ox; cow’; Lith. *gaujà* f. ‘flock, pack, herd, bunch, band, gang’; Latv. *gauja* f. ‘crowd, a lot of (people); multitude’ (originally ‘a herd of cows’); Gk. Lac. *βούα* f. ‘a band of young boys’, originally **g^uóujā* f. ‘a herd of cows’ [Kaczyńska, 2019, p. 93–103].

The research in this paper examines North Germanic collectives in *-i*, which seem to refer to the plant world, especially trees. The lexical evidence strongly hints that at one time it was a productive formation in Nordic languages. Today, however, as evinced in modern Scandinavian languages, collective nouns have lost productivity. Despite this, it is still possible to find some items with the preserved collective meaning in Norwegian, Swedish or Danish (e. g. Norw. *birki* ‘birch forest’, Swed. *björke* ‘birch forest, birch grove’, Dan. *æske* ‘ash grove’). There are numerous examples where the old collective nouns denote a single tree (e. g. Icel. *elri* n. ‘alder tree’ vs. ON. *elri* n. coll. ‘alder grove’; Icel. *heslí* ‘the common hazel, *Corylus avellana* L.’ vs. ON. *hesli* n. coll. ‘hazel shrub’; Elfd. *áyve* n. ‘yew tree’ (<PG. **īwījan* n. coll. ‘yew grove’) vs. Swed. *ide* ‘yew grove’ (<PG. **īwīþijan* n. coll. ‘id.’) — a frequently used language process common in the singularization of old collective nouns. This phenomenon appears as

early as in the Old Norse period, cf. ON. *espi* n. ‘aspen’ (originally n. coll. ‘a group of aspen trees; aspen forest or grove’) vs. Swed. dial. *äspe* ‘Espenwäldchen / aspen grove’ ← ON. *ǫsp* f. ‘aspen’, Swed. *asp* ‘id.’ [de Vries, 1977, p. 106]; ON. *greni* n. ‘Tanne, Fichte / fir, spruce’ (orig. n. coll. ‘a group of fir trees; fir forest’) vs. Norw. *grene* ‘Tannenwald / fir forest’ ← ON. *grǫn* f. ‘Tanne / fir’, Norw. *gran* ‘id.’ [de Vries, 1977, p. 187].

The aim of our paper is to compare some selected Nordic and Scandinavian tree collectives in *-i* with their possible Slavic equivalents in **-bje*, as well as to demonstrate the common origin of the North Germanic and Slavic collective nouns.

2. TREE COLLECTIVES IN SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES

Within collective nouns, the Old Norse and Scandinavian derivational type in *-i* (< PG. **-ijan*) deserves closer attention for three reasons. Firstly, the collectives in *-i* in the North Germanic languages create a number of nouns which refer exclusively to a group of trees (e. g. ON. *elmi* n. ‘elm forest’, *elri* n. ‘alder grove’; Icel. *beyki* n. ‘beech forest, beech grove, beech’; Far. *eskja*, Dan. *æske* ‘ash grove’; Norw. *birki* ‘birch forest’, Swed. *björke* ‘birch forest, birch grove’), whereas Gothic and the West Germanic languages use the same collectives to denote items referring to natural phenomena including also animals (cf. Go. *fairguni* n. ‘mountain range’; Go. *fani* n. ‘mud’, OSax. *feni* n. ‘fen’; OE. *imbe* n. coll. ‘swarm of bees’ and so on). Secondly, the North Germanic tree collectives seem to have exact cognates in the Slavic tree collectives in *-bje* [Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 35], cf. OPol. *brzezje* n. ‘birch forest’, Pol. *brzezje* n. ‘birch grove or forest’; Cz. *březí* n. ‘small birch-grove’, also *břízí* n. ‘birch twigs, birch-wood’; Sla. *brezje* n. ‘small birch-forest, birch-grove’; SC. *brêzje* n. ‘birch forest’, Sloven. *brêzje* n. ‘id.’; Ru. *берёзье* n. ‘birch forest, birch twigs’ (< PSL. **berzōje* n. coll. ‘birch grove, birch forest’). Thirdly, the Proto-Germanic suffix **-ijan*, attested in the North Germanic languages as ON. *-i*, Icel. *-i*, Far. *-ja*, Norw. *-i*, Swed. *-e*, Dan. *-e*, clearly represents the same origin as the suffix *-bje* in the Slavic languages, cf. OCS. *-ije*, ORu. *-ije*, Pol. *-e* or *-ie*, Cz. *-í*, Sla. *-ie*, SC. *-je*, Sloven. *-je*. The suffix can be reconstructed as **-ijom* in Proto-European. This observation seems to suggest that the Germanic and Slavic collectives share a common heritage.

It is worth emphasizing that Proto-Slavic **-bje* is “the most productive derivational affix used when forming collective nouns primarily

from the names of inanimate objects, and especially from the names of trees, shrubs, berries” [Sławski, 2011, p.61] (our own translation). Moreover, it is often claimed that the Slavic collectives in **-bje* acquired productivity most notably in the lexicon related to the plant world [Bernstein, 1985, p.362]. In Old Church Slavonic, the following collectives are attested, e. g. *bylije* ‘grass’, *vr̃bije* ‘willow’, *d̃obije* ‘trees’ etc. Likewise, in Old Russian texts, one can find numerous plant collectives, e. g. ORu. *derevije* ‘trees’, *kropivije* ‘nettle’, *kustovije* ‘bushes, shrub thickets’, *smokvije* ‘fig trees’. The same development seems to be attested in North Germanic languages.

In the following two sections (3 and 4) we intend to demonstrate that the Old Norse and Scandinavian collectives in **-ijan*, like the Slavic ones in **-bje*, refer exclusively to plants, especially trees.

3. OLD NORSE LEXICAL EVIDENCE FOR TREE COLLECTIVES

There are numerous collective formations denoting trees in Old Norse, as well as the modern Scandinavian languages. Below are quoted the most plausible or probable examples.

3.1. ON. *birki* n. coll. ‘Birkenwald / birch forest’, Icel. *birki* ‘birch forest; birch’, Far. *birki*, Norw. *birki* ‘birch forest’, (Nynorsk) *birkje*, *byrkje*, Swed. *björke* ‘birch forest, birch grove’ < PG. **berkijan* n. coll. ‘birch forest, birch grove’ [Falk, Torp, 1910, p.74–75, s. v. *Birk*; Jóhannesson, 1956, p.623; de Vries, 1977, p.37, s. v. *birki*; Magnússon, 1989, p.56; Bjorvand, Lindeman, 2000, p.77–78; Orel, 2003, p.42]. The collective noun in question plainly derives from the Proto-Germanic dendronym **berkō* f. ‘birch’ (cf. ON. *björk* f. ‘birch’, Icel. *björk* ‘id.’, Far. *björk* ‘id.’, Norw. *björk* ‘id.’, Swed. *björk* ‘id.’; Du. *berk* c.; OE. *beorc* f. ‘id.’¹; OHG. *biricha*, G. *Birke* f. ‘id.’ [Bjorvand, Lindeman, 2000, p.77–78; Wessén, 2002, p.44; Orel, 2003, p.43; Levitskiy, 2010, p.98; Kroonen, 2013, p.61]) by means of the Proto-Germanic suffix **-ijan*.

3.2. ON. *eldi* n. ‘Wald / forest’ [de Vries, 1977, p.99] < PG. **aldijan* n. coll. ‘a group of trees, forest’. There is no obvious arboreal motivation for this appellative found in the Germanic languages. Of course, it is

¹ The English lexical material (OE. *beorc* f., *birce* f. ‘birch’, E. *birch*) is worth considering. OE. *beorc* f. ‘birch’ derives from PG. **berkō* f. ‘birch’. The Modern English *birch* cannot be a reflex of OE. *beorc*. It evidently derives from OE. *birce* f. ‘birch’, which seems to represent a singularized nomen collectivum **berkiō* f. ‘a group of birches; birch forest or grove’.

possible to derive the Old Norse appellative from PG. **aldaz* adj. ‘old’, cf. Lat. *altus* adj. ‘high’ [Orel, 2003, p. 13; Kroonen, 2013, p. 20]. If this derivation is correct, then the voiced dental stop **d*, caused by Verner’s Law, suggests the original oxytone stress of the collective noun (PG. **aldijan* < **alþiján* n. coll.). It is worth emphasizing that ON. *eldi* can be related to OSwed. *alda* ‘oak with acorns / fruchtttragende Eiche’ (originally ‘old & high tree’). This observation leads us to the conclusion that the meaning of ON. *eldi* is nothing other than ‘oak-forest’.

3.3. ON. *elmi* n. ‘elm forest’, Swed. dial. *älme*, *alme* ‘elm grove / dunge av almar’ < PG. **almijan* n. coll. ‘elm forest’ [Falk, Torp, 1910, p. 21, s. v. *Alm*; Jóhannesson, 1956, p. 72; Wessén, 2002, p. 10]. Note that the Proto-Germanic tribes used the term **almaz* (m.) for denoting ‘a singular elm tree’, cf. ON. *almr* m. ‘elm tree’, Icel. *álmur* m., Far. *álmur*, *almur* m. ‘id.’; Norw. (Nynorsk) *alm*, Dan. *alm/elm*, Swed. *alm*, OE. *elm*, OHG. *elm(o)* [de Vries, 1977, p. 7; Magnússon, 1989, p. 12; Bjorvand, Lindeman, 2000, p. 31–32; Orel, 2003, p. 83; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 65], cf. also OE. *ulmtrēow*, OHG. *ëlm-boum*, MHG. *ulm-boum*, G. *Ulme* f. ‘elm’ (← Lat. *ulmus* f. ‘elm, elm tree’).

3.4. ON. *elri* n. ‘alder grove’, Icel. *elri* n. ‘alder tree’ < PG. **alizijan* n. coll. ‘alder grove’ [de Vries, 1977, p. 101; Orel, 2003, p. 15; Kroonen, 2013, p. 22]. The collective noun in question derives from PG. **alisō* / **alirō* f. ‘alder’, cf. Sp. *aliso* m. ‘alder tree’ (a Gothic loanword); Du. *els* c., OE. *alor*, E. *alder*; OHG. *elira*, also *erila*, G. *Erle* ‘alder’ [Orel, 2003, p. 15; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 65; Kroonen, 2013, p. 22] and it seems to demonstrate either an initial accent (see 3.7, 3.9) or an oxytone stress (see 3.2; 3.11; 5.3).

3.5. ON. *eski* n. ‘Eschenwald, Eschenholz; Speer, Schachtel / ash forest, ash wood; spear, (ashen) box’, as well as Icel. *eski*, Far. *eskja*, Norw. dial. *øskja*, Dan. *æske* ‘Eschenwäldchen / ash grove’, seem to derive from PG. **askijan* n. coll. ‘ash forest, ash grove’ [Falk, Torp, 1910, p. 34, s. v. *Ask*; Jóhannesson, 1956, p. 90–91; de Vries, 1977, p. 106, s. v. *eski*; Orel, 2003, p. 26], cf. also MDu. *esch* ‘ashen box’, *esche* ‘ash’. Note that the Proto-Germanic term **askaz* m. / **askō(n)* f. ‘ash tree’ is securely attested in most Germanic languages, cf. ON. *askr* m. ‘ash tree’; OE. *æsc* m. ‘id.’, E. *ash*; OHG. *asc* m. ‘ash’; Far. *ask* f. ‘ash’, ODu. *aska* f., G. *Esche* f. ‘id.’ [Orel, 2003, p. 26; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 79; Kroonen, 2013, p. 38].

3.6. ON. *espi* n. ‘aspen / Espe’, OSwed. *æspe-* (attested in toponymy) and Swed. dial. *äspe* ‘Espenwäldchen / aspen grove’ represent a collective noun **aspijan* denoting originally ‘a group of aspen; aspen forest or

grove' [Falk, Torp, 1910, p. 25, s. v. *Asp*; de Vries, 1977, p. 106, s. v. *espi*], cf. ON. *oſp* f. 'aspen', OE. *æsp*, E. *aspen*; Du. *esp*, OHG. *aspa* f. 'aspen', G. *Espe* f. 'id.' (< PG. **aspō*, earlier **apsō* f. 'aspen', *Populus tremula* L.' [Orel, 2003, p. 26; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 80; Kroonen, 2013, p. 39]).

3.7. ON. *fyri* n. 'Föhrenwald / fir-forest', Norw. *fyre*, Swed. dial. *fyre* 'id.' (< PG. **furhijan* n. coll. 'fir forest'), cf. ON. *fura* f. 'fir', OE. *furh* f. 'id.'; OHG. *vor(a)ha* f. 'id.', G. *Föhre* f. 'fir' (< PG. **furhōn* f. 'fir') [Orel, 2003, p. 120; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 197; Kroonen, 2013, p. 161]. The Proto-Germanic collective noun demonstrates an original barytonesis (PG. **furhijan*).

3.8. ON. *greni* n. 'Tanne, Fichte / fir, spruce' (orig. n. coll. 'a group of fir trees; fir forest'), Icel. *greni* 'id.', Norw. *grene* 'Tannenwald / fir forest' < PG. **granijan* n. coll. 'id.' [de Vries, 1977, p. 187]. It derives from ON. *grøn* f. 'Tanne / fir', Icel. *grön* f. 'id.', Norw. *gran* 'id.', Swed. *gran*, Dan. *gran* 'id.' < PG. **granō* f. 'fir tree' [de Vries, 1977, p. 193].

3.9. ON. *hesli* n. 'Haselstaude / hazel shrub', Icel. *heslí* 'the common hazel, *Corylus avellana* L.', Norw. *hesle-* (in the Norway toponymy); OSwed. *häsle*, Dan. *hæssel*, *hasle-træ* 'hazel tree' < PG. **haslijan* n. coll. 'hazel grove' [Jóhannesson, 1956, p. 256; de Vries, 1977, p. 225, s. v. *hesli*], cf. ON. *hasl* m. 'hazel tree', OE. *hæsel* m., E. *hazel*; MDu. *hasel* m. 'id.'; OHG. *hasal* m. and *hasala* f. 'hazel tree', G. *Hasel* f. 'id.' < PG. **haslaz* m. 'hazel' [Orel, 2003, p. 164; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 251; Kroonen, 2013, p. 213], cf. OIr. *coll* m. 'hazel', OW. *coll* 'id.', Lat. *corulus*, *corylus* f. 'hazel tree'. The Proto-Germanic **s* indicates that the accent of the collective noun was originally placed in the initial position.

3.10. ON. *ilstri* n. 'Lorbeerweide [= bay willow, *Salix pentandra* L.]; Norw. *ilster*, Swed. dial. *ilster*, *hilster* 'common sallow, *Salix cinerea* L.' [de Vries, 1977, p. 285] < PG. **el(u)strijan* n. coll. 'willow shrubs', cf. ON. *jölstr* f. 'bay willow', Swed. *jolster*, dial. *jalstr*, *justr*, *alster* 'willow' < PG. **elustrō* f. 'a kind of willow' [de Vries, 1977, p. 295].

3.11. ON. *lindi* n. 'Lindenwald, Lindenholz / lime forest, lime wood' < PG. **lindijan* n. coll. 'lime forest' [Pokorny, 1959, p. 677; de Vries, 1977, p. 357] represents a collective noun derived from PG. **lindō* f. 'lime tree, *Tilia* L.', cf. ON. *lind* f. 'lime tree', Far. *lind* f. 'id.', Elfd. *lind* f. 'id.'; OE. *lind* f. 'id.'; OSax. *linda* f. 'lime tree', Du. *linde* c. 'id.'; OHG. *linta* f. 'id.', G. *Linde* f. 'id.' [Levitskiy, 2010, p. 359]. The Germanic dendronym goes back to IE. **lentā* f. 'a kind of tree' (< PIE. **lent-éh₂*), cf. Lith. *lentà* f. 'board, plank', Latv. *leņta* f. 'id.' [Orel, 2003, p. 240; Kroonen, 2013, p. 338]. The Proto-Germanic voiced stop **d* (< IE. **t*) clearly documents

the effect of Verner's law. In other words, both the basic term for 'lime tree' and the related collective noun demonstrate an oxytone stress (PG. **lindijan* n. coll. < **linþiján* n. coll. < PIE. **lentiǵm*).

3.12. ON. *tyrvi* n. 'Kienholz / pinewood', Icel. *tyri* 'id.', Norw. *tyri* 'pine-wood', Swed. *tyre, töre* 'trockenes Holz / dry wood, brushwood' < PG. **terwijan* n. coll. 'pine trees' [de Vries, 1977, p.603; Magnússon, 1989, p.1076; Wessén, 2002, p.487], cf. MHG. *zirben* m. 'pine' (< PG. **terwjan*-m.) and ON. *tjara* f. 'tar', OE. *tierwe* f. 'tar', E. *tar*; Du. *teer* n./c. 'tar' (< PG. **terwō* f.) [Orel, 2003, p.405; Kroonen, 2013, p.514], cf. Lith. *dervà* f. 'pine-wood, tar'; MW. *derw* 'oaks' (sg. *derwen*), Bret. *deru, derw* 'oaks' (< PC. **derwos* adj. 'firm (as an oak)', m. 'oak' [Matasović, 2009, p.96]).

3.13. ON. *þelli* n. 'junges Kieferholz; Schiff / young pine(wood); ship'; Icel. *þelli* 'pinewood' < PG. **þalnijan* n. coll. [de Vries, 1977, p.608] seems to attest to a collective formation derived from PG. **þalnō* f. 'young pine', cf. ON. *þoll* f. 'junger Fichtenbaum'; Icel. *þöll* f. 'id.'; Norw. *toll, tall*; Swed. *tall*, Dan. *tall* 'id.'; LG. dial. *Dale* 'pine / Kiefer' [de Vries, 1977, p.631].

4. FURTHER SCANDINAVIAN EVIDENCE FOR TREE COLLECTIVES

The collective nouns indicating trees are not productive formations in the modern Scandinavian languages. Many of them are secondarily singularized. In other words, their original collective semantics has been lost. It is worth emphasizing that additional formations are attested in the Scandinavian linguistic area.

4.1. Icel. *beyki* n. 'Buchenwald, Buchenwäldchen, Buche / beech forest, beech grove, beech' [Falk, Torp, 1910, p.126; Jóhannesson, 1956, p.597; de Vries, 1977, p.69; Magnússon, 1989, p.53] preserves this collective sense, though it also demonstrates a singulative meaning ('a single beech tree' [Bérkov, Böðvarsson, 1962, p.71]). It securely derives from ON. **bæki* n. coll. 'beech forest' (cf. the Old Norse compound *bækiskógr* m. 'beech forest' < NG. **bōkija-skōgaz* m. 'id.²) < PG. **bōkijan* n. coll. 'a group of beech trees' [Magnússon, 1989, p.53; Orel, 2003, p.51; Kroonen, 2013, p.72]).

² The Old Norse compound noun *bækiskógr* m. 'beech forest' seems to contain the original adjective **bōkijaz* 'of beech, beechen' and ON. *skógr* m. 'forest / Wald'. Of course, the first part of the compound can also derive from ON. *bæki* 'beech / бѣк' (< **bōkijan* n. coll. 'a group of beech trees'), if such a noun existed in Old Norse, as some researchers believe [Zalizniak, 1965, p.206].

4.2. Elfd. *åyve* n. ‘yew tree’ (<PG. **īwijan* n. coll. ‘yew grove’) and Swed. *ide* ‘yew grove’ (<PG. **īwīþijan* n. coll. ‘id.’). According to Kroonen [2013, p. 271], both the Elfdalian and Swedish terms represent collective nouns derived from the basic term for ‘European yew, *Taxus baccata* L.’, cf. ON. *ýr* m. ‘yew’, OE. *īw*, *ēow* m. ‘yew’, E. *yew* ‘id.’; OHG. *īwa* f. ‘yew’, G. *Eibe* f. ‘id.’ (<PG. **īwaz* m. / **īwō* f. ‘yew’ [Levitskiy, 2010, p. 302]) by means of two parallel and evidently cognate suffixes: PG. *-*ijan* (<PIE. *-*iōm*) and PG. *-*īþ-ijan* (<PIE. *-*it-* and PIE. *-*iōm*).

5. OTHER PROTO-GERMANIC COLLECTIVES

Collective nouns in *-*ijan* are also attested in East Germanic (i. e. in Gothic) and West Germanic languages. It is clearly apparent that they are not productive formations and rarely refer to the tree terminology. Generally, they seem to represent a Proto-Germanic heritage. Some of them may represent traces of a Northern Indo-European vocabulary.

5.1. Go. *fani* n. ‘mud’, ON. *fen* n. ‘fen, bog’, OE. *fen* n. (also m.) ‘marsh, mud’, E. *fen*; OSax. *feni* n. ‘fen’, MDu. *veen*, *vene* n. ‘bog’, Du. *veen* n. ‘bog’, *ven* n. ‘small lake’; OHG. *fenni* n. ‘swamp’, G. *Fenn* n. ‘id.’ <PG. **fanijan* n. ‘fen, swamp’ [Orel, 2003, p. 92; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 165; Kroonen, 2013, p. 128]. According to Guus Kroonen, the Proto-Germanic term in question represents a collective noun “potentially identical” to OPrus. *pannean* n. ‘mossy fen’ (as if from Proto-Baltic **paniijan* n. ‘marsh, swamp / Sumpf’ [Trautmann, 1923, p. 20]). Theoretically, the Germanic and Baltic formations go back to the Northern Indo-European collective noun **poniōm* or the like.

5.2. Go. *fairguni* n. ‘mountain range’ and OE. *firgen* n. ‘mountain’ seem to represent a collective noun derived from PG. **fergunijan* n. coll. ‘the range of mountains’ [Orel, 2003, p. 99; Kroonen, 2013, p. 136]. A related collective noun (of the feminine gender) is attested in OHG. *Firgunnea* f. ‘Ore Mountains’ (<PG. **fergunjō* f. coll.). See also a North Germanic singulative attested in ON. *ffjörgyn* f. ‘Mother Earth’ (<PG. **ferguni-* f.).

5.3. OE. *imbe* n. ‘swarm of bees’; OHG. *impi* m. ‘swarm of bees’, also ‘bee’, MHG. *imbe*, *imme* m. ‘swarm of bees’ (<PG. **imbijan* n., secondarily **imbijaz* m. ‘id.’) vs. MDu. *imme* f. ‘bee’ (<PG. **imbijō* f.). According to Kroonen [2013: 117], “[t]he neuter OE *imbe* continues a collective **imbja-*, but OHG *impi* and MDu. *imme* in the sense of ‘bee’ probably represent different formations, i. e. **imbja-* and **imbjō*”. The West Germanic collective noun **imbijan* (neuter *o*-stem) ‘swarm of bees’ seems

to be related to Greek ἐμπίς (gen. sg. ἐμπίδος) f. (secondary *d*-stem) ‘gnat’ [Pokorny, 1959, p. 311]. The primitive oxytone stress of the Proto-Germanic collective noun **imbijan* (earlier **imfiján*) documents the Proto-Indo-European archetype **h₁empiiōm* n. coll. ‘swarm of insects (esp. gnats or bees)’. The place of accent is clearly indicated by Verner’s law.

There are also collective nouns in the Eastern and Western Germanic languages, demonstrating a complex suffix **-īþ-ijan* [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 149], as well as a secondary suffix **-ah-ijan*, attested only in the West Germanic languages [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194], e. g.

5.4. Go. *awēþi* n. ‘flock od sheep’, OE. *eowde*, *eowede* n. ‘id.’, OHG. *ouwiti*, *ewiti* n. ‘id.’ < PG. **awīþijan* or **awidijan* n. ‘flock od sheep’ n. coll. — PG. **awiz* f. ‘ewe’ < PIE. **h₃éwis* m. / f. ‘sheep’ [Lehmann, 1986, p. 52; Orel, 2003, p. 31; Levitskiy, 2010, p. 84; Kroonen, 2013, p. 45]. The Proto-Germanic collective noun in **-ijan* seems to contain an additional suffix **-īþ-* (see additionally 4.2)³.

5.5. OFris. *kedde* n. ‘herd’; MDu. *cudde* n./f. ‘herd’, Du. *kudde* c. ‘id.’; OHG. *kutti* n. ‘herd’, G. Bav. *kütt* n./f. ‘flock of birds’ < PG. **kudijan* n. coll. and **kudijō* f. coll. ‘herd, flock (of cows)’ ← PIE. **g^uh₃eus* m./f. ‘ox, cow’ [Kroonen, 2013, p. 308–309]. The West Germanic languages demonstrate the collective noun of neuter gender, as well as that of feminine gender.

5.6. OHG. *chindahi* n. coll. ‘Kinderschar / a group of children’ (as if from PG. **kind-ah-ijan* n. coll. ‘id.’) ← OHG. *chind* n. ‘child’, G. *Kind* n. ‘id.’ (< PG. **kinþan* / **kindan* n. ‘child’) [Orel, 2003, p. 212; Kroonen, 2013, p. 288]. The collective noun in question contains the complex suffix **-ah-ijan* [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194].

5.7. OHG. *steinahi* n. coll. ‘stony ground / steiniges Gelände’ (as if from PG. **stain-ah-ijan* n. coll.) ← OHG. *stein* m. ‘stone’ (< PG. **stainaz* m. ‘stone’). Claims that that the Old High German collective derives, in fact, from the Proto-Germanic adjective **stainahaz* ‘stony’ (cf. Go. *stainahs* adj. ‘id.’⁴) by means of the simple suffix **-ijan* [Kra-

³ It is worth emphasizing that Guus Kroonen compares the Germanic terms in question with Lith. *avidė* f. ‘sheepfold’, deriving them finally from the Proto-Indo-European archetype **h₃eui-d^hh₁-iōm* n. coll. ‘flock of sheep’ [Kroonen, 2013, p. 45].

⁴ Note that OE. *stānīz* adj. ‘stony’ and OHG. *steinag* adj. ‘id.’ derive from PG. **stainagaz* adj. ‘stony’ [Makaev, 1966, p. 40; Orel, 2003, p. 369], which represents an alternative variant of Go. *stainahs* (< PG. **stainá haz* adj. ‘stony’) [Guhman, 1958, p. 205], caused by an accentual difference (Verner’s law). The double reflex of PG. **-h-* in OHG. *steinahi* n. coll. ‘stony ground’ and OHG. *steinag* adj. ‘stony’ is noteworthy.

he, Meid, 1967, p. 194; Lehmann, 1986, p. 321; Matasović, 2014, p. 40.] should not be dismissed. Of course, we agree that the adjectives in **-aha-* suppose a principal source for creating the West Germanic collective nouns in *-ahi*.

It is worth noting that a number of collective nouns in *-ahi*, attested in West Germanic, refer to plants, including trees:

5.8. OHG. *aganahi* n. coll. ‘Spreu / chaffs’ ← OHG. *agana* f. ‘chaff’ (< PG. **aganō* f. ‘chaff, awn’ < **ahanō* f.) [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194].

5.9. OHG. *eihhahi* n. coll. ‘Eichengehölz / oak-wood’ (as if from WG. **aik-ah-ijan* n. coll.) ← OHG. *eih* f. (*i*-stem) ‘oak’ (< PG. **aiks* f. ‘oak’) [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194].

5.10. OHG. *ascahi* n. coll. ‘Eschengehölz / ash-wood’ (< WG. **ask-ah-ijan* n. coll.) ← OHG. *asc* m. ‘ash’ < PG. **askaz* m. ‘ash tree’ [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194; Matasović, 2014, p. 40].

5.11. OHG. *boumahi* n. coll. ‘Baumreichen Ort / a place full of trees’ (as if from WG. **bag^{um}-ah-ijan* n. coll.) ← OHG. *boum*, G. *Baum* m. ‘tree’ (< PG. **bag^{um}maz* m. ‘beam, tree’) [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194].

5.12. OHG. *rōrahi* n. coll. ‘Röhricht / field of reeds, rushes’ (as if from WG. **rauz-ah-ijan* n. coll.) ← OHG. *rōr* n. ‘reed (stalk)’ (< PG. **rauzan* n. ‘id.’) [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194], cf. Go. *raus* n. ‘reed’ (< PG. **rausan*) [Orel, 2003, p. 299; Kroonen, 2013, p. 407].

5.13. OSax. *saherahi* n. coll. ‘sedgy place’ ← PG. **sahazaz* m. ‘sedge’, cf. OHG. *sahar* m. ‘sedge’, MHG. *saher* m. ‘id.’ [Kroonen, 2013, p. 421].

5.14. OHG. *wīthahi* n. coll. ‘Weidicht / willow thickets’ (as if from WG. **wīp-ah-ijan* n. coll.) ← OHG. *wīda* f. ‘willow’, G. *Weide* f. ‘id.’ [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194].

It is obvious that the West Germanic collectives in *-ahi* (e. g. OHG. *ascahi* n. ‘ash-wood’ < PG. **askahijan* n. coll. ‘a group of ash trees’; see 5.10) indicate a related and complex formation which seems to be secondary when comparing North Germanic tree collectives in *-i* (e. g. ON. *eski* n. ‘ash forest, ash-wood; spear, box’, Icel. *eski* ‘ash forest, ash grove’, Far. *eskja*, Norw. dial. *øskja*, Dan. *æske* ‘ash grove’ < PG. **askijan* n. coll. ‘a group of ash trees; ash forest, ash grove’, see 3.5). Both collective nouns are parallel and not identical from the morphological point of view. They attest to the so-called “derivational doublets” as in PSl. **berzovje* and **berzbje* n. coll. ‘a group of birch trees’ (see 6.1 and fn. 5), **bukovbje* and **bučbje* n. coll. ‘a group of beech trees’ (see 7.1).

6. COGNATE TREE COLLECTIVES IN THE SLAVIC LANGUAGES

The North Germanic tree collectives in *-i* (< PG. **-ijan*) should not be treated as a native innovation for two reasons. Firstly, the East and West Germanic languages demonstrate obvious traces of collectives ending with **-ijan* (see 5.1–5.3 and additionally 5.4–5.14). Secondly, it is possible to quote numerous Proto-Slavic tree collectives in **-bje*, as well as North Germanic ones in **-ijan*, which seem to indicate an identical form of derivation and the same or similar meaning. It is highly probable that certain Slavo-Germanic pairs represent an Indo-European heritage. The following points discuss these Slavic collectives and their North Germanic equivalents:

6.1. OPol. *brzezje* n. ‘birch forest’, Pol. dial. *brzezje* n. ‘birch grove or forest’; Cz. *březí* n. ‘small birch-grove’, also *břízí* n. ‘birch twigs, birch-wood’; Sla. *brezje* n. ‘small birch-forest, birch-grove’; SC. *brêzje* n. ‘birch forest’, Sloven. *brêzje* n. ‘id.’; Ru. *берёзье* n. ‘birch forest, birch twigs’ (< PSl. **berzbje* n. coll. ‘birch grove, birch forest’ [Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 35; Habrajska, 1995, p. 122–123])⁵. The Proto-Slavic tree collective seems to designate an exact cognate and equivalent of PG. **berkijan* n. coll. ‘birch forest, birch grove’ (3.1). The Nordic and Slavic forms regularly derive from PIE. **b^herh₂ǵijom* n. coll. ‘birch grove, birch forest’, originally ‘a group of birch trees’. It should be emphasized that some Slavists have reconstructed the adjective **berzbjъ* [Trubachev, 1974, p. 208] or **berzъ* ‘birch-colored, with white spots, stripes’, cf. Cz. *břízí* adj. ‘of birch’ [Sławski, 1974, p. 212].

6.2. OPol. *drzewie* n. coll. ‘growing trees, arbores’ [Habrajska, 1995, p. 139], also ‘wood, lignum’; OCz. *dřievie*, *dřevie* n. ‘growing trees, forest; (fire)wood, a certain amount of wood’, Cz. *dříví* n. ‘(fire)wood, a certain amount of wood’, dial. ‘growing trees, forest’; Sla. *drievie*, dial. *drevie* n. ‘drwa’; Sloven. *drévje* n. ‘trees’; SC. *drjêvlje*, *drêvlje* n. ‘growing trees; wood’ [Frančić, 1961, p. 38]; CS. *дръвие* n. ‘trees, wood / arbores; ligna’; MBulg. *дръвие* n. coll. ‘(growing) trees’; ORu. *деревие* n. ‘trees’; Ru.

⁵ There is a derivational doublet in the Slavic languages: SC. *brêzovlje* n. coll. ‘small birch-forest / lasek brzozowy’ [Frančić, 1961, s. 48]; Sloven. *brêzovje* n. ‘birch grove’; Cz. *březoví* n. ‘small birch-grove’, also *břízoví* n. ‘birch twigs’; Ru. dial. *березовье* n. coll. ‘birch trees’ (< PSl. **berz-ov-bje* n. coll. ‘a group of birch trees; birch forest, birch grove’) [Trubachev, 1974, p. 207; Sławski, 1974, p. 213]. It is evident that the collective noun in question derives from the adjective **berzovъ* ‘of birch’, e. g. OCz. *březový* ‘of birch’, Pol. *brzozowy* adj. ‘id.’ [Trubachev, 1974, p. 205–206; Sławski, 1974, p. 211–212].

dial. *дєрвѣ* n. 'growing trees', also 'large, thick tree'; BRu. dial. *дзєрѣвье* n. 'większa ilość drzew'; OUkr. *дєрєвье* n. 'trees / arbores' < PSl. **dєrvьje* n. coll. 'growing trees; wood' [Trubachev, 1977, p. 213; Sławski, 1979, p. 59–60]. In our opinion, the Proto-Slavic collective **dєrvьje* cannot be separated from PG. **terwijan* n. coll. '(pine) wood' < IE. **deruijōm* n. coll. 'a group of (pine) trees' (see 3.12).

6.3. OPol. *olsze* n. coll. 'alder grove' [Rykiel-Kempf, 1985, p. 21; Habrajska, 1995, p. 192]; OCz. *olšie* n., Cz. *olší* n. 'alder grove', Sla. *olšie* n. 'id.'; Ru. dial. *олѣшье* n. 'alder grove', *алѣшье* n. 'alder tree'; BRu. *алѣшша* n. 'alder grove'; Sloven. *ôlšje* n. 'alder grove'; SC. *jôšje* n. coll., also *jëlâšje*, *jelšje* n. coll. 'alder grove, alder forest' < PSl. **olbšьje* / **jelbšьje* n. coll. 'a group of alder trees', cf. Pol. *olsza* f. 'alder, *Alnus* L.'; Ru. *олъха* f. 'id.'; SC. dial. *jëlša* f. 'id.' [Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 34; Trubachev, 2005, p. 83]. The Proto-Slavic collective noun **olbšьje* seems to be identical to PG. **alizijan* n. coll. 'alder grove' (see 3.4) from the point of view of the semantics and Indo-European word-formation.

6.4. Ru. dial. *освѣ* n. 'aspen forest, aspen grove / осиновый лес, осинник', also 'a single aspen tree' and 'aspen-wood; aspen twigs' < PSl. **opsьje* n. coll. 'aspen forest, aspen grove' [Trubachev, 2005, p. 98]. The Proto-Slavic lexeme is also attested in Czech and Polish place names, cf. Cz. *Vůsí, Osí, Vosí*; Pol. *Osie, Zaosie* [Borek, 1988, p. 90; Bańkowski, 2000, p. 434]. The basic term **opsa* is reflected in HSorb. *wosa* f. 'aspen, *Populus tremula* L.', LSorb. *wósa* f. 'id.'; Pol. dial. *osa* f. 'aspen, *Populus tremula* L.'; BRu. *acá* f. 'aspen' [Trubachev, 2005, p. 93], as well as many derivatives, e. g. **opsica* f. 'aspen', **opsičina* f. 'id.', **opsika* f. 'id.' and **opsina* f. 'id.' [Trubachev, 2005, p. 93–96]. It resembles PG. **aspō* f. 'aspen' not only semantically, but also phonologically, though a metathesis of consonants (**Ps* > **sp*) should be considered for the Proto-Germanic language [Levitkiy, 2010, p. 80]. It seems highly probable that PG. **aspijan* n. coll. 'aspen forest, aspen grove' (see 3.6) represents an exact (though metathesized) cognate of PSl. **opsьje* n. coll. 'id.'⁶.

6.5. PSl. **jьlmbьje* n. coll. 'elm grove': onomastic reflexes of this word are seldom identified in Polish toponymy: *Ilmie* [Bańkowski, 1972,

⁶ It is worth emphasizing that the Baltic names for 'aspen' (OPrus. *apse* f. 'id.', Latv. *apse* f. 'id.', Lith. *āpušė* f. 'id.'), as well as Arm. *op'i*, gen. pl. *op'ēac'* (*ā*-stem) 'white poplar, *Populus alba* L.' [Witczak, 1991, p. 65–75], regularly derive from a similar archetype **opsijā* f. 'aspen' (< PIE. **h3eps-ijeh2* f. 'id.'). However, it is impossible to check whether the archetype in question originally represented an old collective noun in **iā* or not.

p.282; 2000, p. 540]. Polab. *jělmüvë* (*jělmüvə*) n. ‘elm (grove)’ points to the derivational doublet **jvl(ь)movьje*. It derives from OPol. *ilem*, Pol. *ilm* m., także *ilma* f. ‘elm, *Ulmus*’, Polab. *jělmə* f. ‘elm tree’ < PS. **jvl(ь) m̄ m.* / **jvl(ь)ma* f. ‘id.’, cf. Cz. *jilm* m. ‘elm, *Ulmus*’, also *jilma* f. ‘id.’, [Trubachev, 1981, p.222]. The North Germanic collective noun **almijan* n. ‘a group of elm trees’ (see 3.3) represents an alternative formation demonstrating a full degree of the root or an apophonetic *o*-vocalism.

6.6. OCz. *lútie* n. ‘young lime tree; twigs’; Ru. *лутьѣ* n. ‘young lime trees to be stripped of their bark’, dial. ‘young lime grove / молодой липняк’; Ukr. *луття* n. ‘young lime trees; twigs of a willow’ [Vasmer, 1986, p. 536] < PS. **lɔtvje* n. coll. ‘young lime grove’ [Trubachev, 1990, p. 162; Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 35–36]. The Proto-Slavic collective is undoubtedly related to PG. **lindijan* n. coll. ‘lime forest’ (see 3.11), though it demonstrates a zero-grade or apophonetic *o*-vocalism of the root.

It can be concluded that there are four exact cognates among the Slavic and North Germanic tree collectives (see 6.1–6.4). On the basis of lexical data, we can confidently reconstruct the following Indo-European archetypes: PIE. **b^herh₂ǵiiom* n. coll. ‘a group of birch trees’; PIE. **deruiiom* n. coll. ‘a group of (pine-)trees’; PIE. **h₂elisiom* n. coll. ‘a group of alder trees’; PIE. **h₃epsiom* n. coll. ‘a group of aspen trees’. Two further equivalents seem to be possible (see 6.5–6.6), though they demonstrate some peculiar features e. g. a semantic divergence or an apophonical variant (NG. **almijan* n. coll. ‘a group of elm trees’ vs. PS. **jvlm̄vje* n. coll. ‘id.’) or both (NG. **lindijan* n. coll. ‘lime forest’ vs. PS. **lɔtvje* n. coll. ‘young lime grove’).

7. PARALLEL TREE COLLECTIVES IN SLAVIC AND GERMANIC

There are numerous tree collectives demonstrating parallel formations discernable in the North Germanic and Slavic languages. The following section reviews three selected examples.

7.1. OPol. *bucze* n. coll. ‘beech forest’ [Borek, 1988, p. 88; Habrajska, 1995, p. 123], Pol. dial. *bucze* ‘id.’; Cz. *bučí, boučí* n. ‘beech trees; young beech forest’; Sla. *búčie* ‘beech grove’; SC. dial. *bučje* n. ‘beech forest; beech pulp’; Bulg. dial. *búče* ‘beech grove’; Ukr. dial. *бучя* n. coll. ‘beech trees; beech-wood’ < PS. **bučvje* n. coll. ‘beech grove, beech forest’ [Sławski, 1974, p. 433; Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 37]. The derivational

doublet **bukovъje* (cf. OPol. *bukowie* n. coll. 'beech forest; beech nuts'; Cz. *bukoví* 'beeches, beech forest'; SC. *bùkkòvlje* n. 'beeches'; Sloven. *bùkovje* n. 'beech forest') is also attested in the West and South Slavic languages [Sławski, 1974, p.444; Habrajska, 1995, p.124]. Both collective nouns were created on the basis of PSl. **bukō* m. / **buky* f. 'beech, *Fagus*' (← PG. **bōk-* 'id.') though it should be noted that Icel. *beyki* n. 'beech forest, beech grove, beech tree' (<PG. **bōkijan* n. coll. 'beech forest') may only represent a parallel formation (see 4.1).

7.2. SC. *jāsēnje* n. coll. 'ash forest, ash grove' [Frančić, 1961, p.37]; Sloven. *jesēnje* n. 'ash forest'; Cz. *jasaní*, dial. *jasení* n. 'a group of ash trees' (<PSl. **jasenъje* n. coll. 'a group of ash trees, ash forest, ash grove') [Trubačev, 1974, p.80]. The collective noun in question derives from PSl. **asenō* m. or **asenō* f. 'ash, *Fraxinus*', cf. SC. *jāsēn* m. 'ash'; Sloven. *jāsen*, *jésen* m. 'common ash, *Fraxinus excelsior* L.'; Cz. *jasan*, dial. *jasen*, *jasen̄* m. 'ash'. The Proto-Germanic term **askaz* m 'ash, *Fraxinus*' is etymologically related to the Proto-Slavic dendronym as well as Lat. *ornus* f. 'the wild mountain-ash' (<OLat. **osēnos*), Lith. *úosis* f. 'ash', OIr. *uinnius* f. 'ash tree', MIr. *onn* f. coll. 'ash trees' (<PC. **osnā*) and so on [Pokorny, 1959, p.782; Matasović 2009, p.300–301]. Theoretically, NG. **askijan* n. coll. n. 'a group of ash trees, ash forest, ash grove' (cf. 3.5), WG. **askahijan* n. coll. 'id.' (cf. 5.10) and the Proto-Slavic collective **jasenъje* 'id.', should be treated as three parallel derivations.

7.3. SC. *jêlje* n. coll. 'fir forest, fir branches' (as if from PSl. **edlbje* n. coll. 'a group of fir trees; fir forest') derives from SC. *jêla*, *jêla* f. 'fir tree, *Abies*' (<PSl. **edla* f. 'id.'), cf. OPol. *jedła*, Pol. *iodła* f. 'fir tree', Polab. *jadlā* f. 'id.', LSorb. *jedła* f. '*Abies alba* Mill.', HSorb. *jêdla* f. 'fir tree'. Undoubtedly, the North Germanic collective **granijan* n. 'a group of fir trees; fir forest' (3.8) derives from a completely different nominal root. It appears to be a parallel and unrelated formation. However, we cannot exclude an alternative possibility that PSl. **edla* f. 'fir tree' is related not only to OPrus. *addle* f. 'fir tree', Lith. *ėglė* f. 'id.', Latv. *egle* f. 'id.', OIr. *aidlen* f. '*Abies*', Corn. *etlen* f. 'ash tree', Bret. *aedlen* f. 'fir tree', Alb. *halë* f. 'Austrian pine, black pine, *Pinus nigra* L.', but also (if we accept a simple metathesis of consonants) to OSwed. *alda* f. 'oak with acorns' (see 3.2). If the suggested comparison is correct, then PSl. **edlbje* n. and NG. **aldijan* n. 'forest' (3.2) could easily be treated as two cognate collectives. Note that the metathesis of a consonant cluster is attested in the different pair of collectives denoting 'a group of aspen trees' (see 6.4).

There are numerous tree collectives in **-bje* in Slavic languages demonstrating the same semantics as the Scandinavian collective nouns in **-ijan*, e. g.

7.4. PSl. **lěščbje* n. coll. 'a group of hazel trees' or PSl. **orešbje* n. coll. 'id.' [Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 37] vs. NG. **haslijan* n. coll. 'id.' (3.9);

7.5. PSl. **lozbje* n. coll. 'a group of willows' or PSl. **orkytbje* n. coll. 'id.' or PSl. **vǫrbvje* n. coll. 'id.' [Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 38] vs. NG. **ilustrijan* n. coll. 'id.' (3.10) or WG. **wīpahijan* n. coll. 'id.' (5.14).

7.6. PSl. **lipbje* n. coll. 'a group of lime trees' vs. NG. **lindijan* n. coll. 'id.' (3.11).

7.7. PSl. **tisbje* n. coll. 'a group of yew trees' vs. NG. **īwijan* or **īwīpijan* n. coll. 'id.' (4.2).

All the parallel formations (7.1–7.7) seem to prove the ancient productivity of the tree collectives in **-ijom* in both the Slavic and North Germanic languages.

8. INDO-EUROPEAN DERIVATION

The two preceding sections of this paper have endeavoured to demonstrate that the Northern Germanic neuter collectives in **-ijan* and the Slavic ones in **-bje*, denoting a group of trees, represent a common formation which should be treated as a Late Indo-European heritage (see especially 6.1–6.4). The collective suffix can be reconstructed as IE. **-ijom*. The derivation of the Germano-Slavic collectives may easily be explained from the point of view of the Indo-European word-formation. Previous research has suggested four phases of derivation [Sławski 1974, p. 86; 2011, p. 61]:

- 8.1. a specific plant name;
- 8.2. a denominal adjective in **-iġo-* derived from the plant name;
- 8.3. an abstract formation in **-iġom*;
- 8.4. a singular collective name in **-iġom*.

There is little existing lexical evidence attesting the third phase (8.3) of this suggested development in Slavic languages. Most etymologists reconstruct numerous Proto-Slavic collective nouns (8.4); however, they are unable to distinguish convincing traces of abstract nouns derived from trees (8.3)⁷. Moreover, it is extremely difficult to include

⁷ Note that Cz. *břízí* n. 'birch twigs, birch-wood' can hardly represent a *nomen abstractum*. Moreover, Cz. *břízovní* n. 'birch twigs' demonstrates a concrete meaning.

Slavic forms in this class of nouns when comparing the abstract and perceived sense of noun (e. g. ‘wood of a specific tree; branches or twigs of the same tree; an item made of the wood’). The perceived (concrete) sense in question seems to be secondary in comparison to the basic collective meaning (‘a group of specific trees’). This is why the third phase (8.3) is sometimes treated as secondary or even rejected by researchers [Habrajska, Witczak, 1994, p. 32–33].

Table 1. The derivation of collectives in **-vje* in the Slavic languages

Lp.	8.1	8.2	8.3	8.4
	a specific plant name	a denominal adjective derived from the plant name	an abstract formation in <i>*-ijom</i>	a singular collective name in <i>*-ijom</i>
birch in Slavic (Czech examples are used)	OCz. <i>břieza</i> f. ‘birch’, Cz. <i>bříza</i> f. ‘id.’ (<PSL. <i>*bërza</i> f. ‘birch, <i>Betula</i> ’)	(1) Cz. <i>břízí</i> adj. ‘of birch’ (<PSL. <i>*berzvjb</i> adj.) (2) OCz. <i>březový</i> ‘of birch’ (<PSL. <i>*berzovb</i> adj. ‘of birch’)	no obvious traces are registered (see fn. 7) no traces (see fn. 7)	(1) Cz. <i>březí</i> n. ‘small birch-grove’, (<PSL. <i>*berzvje</i> n. coll.) (2) Cz. <i>březoví</i> n. ‘small birch-grove’ (<PSL. <i>*berzovbje</i> n. coll.)

Source: our own work.

The North Germanic lexical material included and explained in Table 2 demonstrates no abstract noun derived from appellatives for ‘ash tree’⁸, ‘beech’⁹ or ‘birch’. It may be observed that much research treats the Germanic formations in **-ahijan*, **-ijan* or **-ipijan*, which demonstrate the concrete meaning ‘wood of a specific tree’ (vel sim.), as typical collective nouns and not abstract nouns, hence OHG. *asahi* n. ‘ash-wood’

Most Slavists agree that both Czech forms derive from the collective nouns **berzvje* and **berzovbje*, respectively.

⁸ In our opinion, the meanings ‘ash-wood’, ‘spear made of ash tree’ and ‘(ashen) box’, which are attested for ON. *eski*, cannot derive from an abstract noun. Furthermore, OHG. *asahi* n. ‘ash-wood’ evidently represents a collective noun and not an abstract one.

⁹ ON. *ǫlbæki* n. ‘beer cask made of beech-wood’ (<PG. **alup-bōkijan* n.) cannot be interpreted as a compound derived from an abstract noun.

and *eihhahi* n. 'oak-wood' are usually included in the *nomina collectiva* [Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 194; Matasović, 2014, p. 40].

Table 2. The derivation of tree collectives in the Germanic languages

Lp.	8.1	8.2	8.3	8.4
	a specific plant name	a denominal adjective derived from the plant name	an abstract formation in *-ijom	a singular collective name in *-ijom
1. ash tree	ON. <i>askr</i> m. 'ash tree', Icel. <i>askur</i> m. 'id.', Norw. <i>ask</i> , OSwed. <i>asker</i> , Swed. <i>ask</i> , Dan. <i>ask</i> 'id.' (< PG. * <i>askaz</i> m.)	(1) ON. <i>eskja</i> f. 'earth', originally 'an area grown by ash trees' [de Vries, 1977, p. 106] (if it is a substantivized adjective * <i>askijaz</i> adj. 'of ash tree, ashen') ? the adjective * <i>askahaz</i> 'of ash tree; ashen' is not attested	there is no noun with an abstract semantics (see fn. 8) no example	ON. <i>eski</i> n. coll. 'ash forest', Icel. <i>eski</i> 'id.', Far. <i>eskja</i> 'id.', Norw. dial. <i>øskja</i> 'id.', Dan. <i>æske</i> 'ash grove' (< PG. * <i>askijan</i> n. coll.) (2) OHG. <i>ascahi</i> n. 'ash-wood' (orig. n. coll.)
2. beech	ON. <i>bók</i> f. 'beech', Icel. <i>bók</i> , Far. <i>bók</i> , Norw. <i>bøk</i> , <i>bøk</i> , Swed. <i>bok</i> , Dan. <i>bøg</i> 'id.' (< PG. * <i>bök-</i> f.)	ON. <i>bæki</i> adj. 'of beech, beechen' (< PG. * <i>bökijaz</i>), attested in ON. <i>bæki-skógr</i> m. 'beech forest' [de Vries, 1977, p. 69]	no abstract noun is found (see fn. 9)	Icel. <i>beyki</i> n. 'beech forest, beech grove, beech' (< PG. * <i>bökijan</i> n. coll.)
3. birch	ON. <i>björk</i> f. 'birch', Norw. <i>björk</i> 'id.', Swed. <i>björk</i> 'id.' (< PG. * <i>berkō</i> f.)	(1) ON. <i>birkja</i> f. 'birch sap', Norw. <i>byrkja</i> 'id.' (< PG. * <i>berkijō</i> f.). It seems to derive from the adjective * <i>berkijaz</i> 'of birch' (2) ON. <i>birkinn</i> adj. 'of birch-wood'	no example is attested	(1) ON. <i>birki</i> n. coll. 'birch forest', Icel., Norw. <i>birki</i> 'id.', Swed. <i>björke</i> 'birch forest, birch grove' (< PG. * <i>berkijan</i> n. coll. 'birch forest, birch grove')

Source: our own work.

9. CONCLUSIONS

To the best of our knowledge, neither the Slavic collective suffix **-bje* has ever been compared to the Germanic collective suffix **-ijan* nor vice versa in the basic comparative grammars of the Indo-European, Germanic or Slavic languages [Brugmann, Delbrück, 1906, p. 187–189; Meillet, Vaillant, 1934, p. 357–358; Krahe, Meid, 1967, p. 70–72; Sławski, 1974, p. 85–87; 2011, p. 60–61; Jurišić, 1992, 52–54; Matasović, 2014, p. 145–146]. Nevertheless, the lexical material gathered and presented in the present paper leads to the conclusion that the North Germanic as well as the Slavic affixes at issue are descended from a common ancestor, which was most probably Late Indo-European or Northern Indo-European.

Supporting this conclusion is not only the phonological correspondence but also its derivational function and semantics. The emergence and development of the Proto-Indo-European derivation in **-ijom* (n. coll.) may be charted in the following sequence:

- (1) a specific plant name;
- (2) a denominal adjective in **-ijō-* derived from the plant name;
- (3) a singular collective name in **-ijom* being a substantivized neutrum of the denominal adjective, derived from a specific plant name.

The following pairs of the Proto-Germanic and Proto-Slavic arboreal collectives seem to derive from a common Indo-European archetype:

PG. **berkijan* n. coll. (3.1) = PSl. **berzbje* n. coll. (6.1) < PIE. **h²er-h₂ǵijom* n. coll. ‘a group of birch trees, birch forest, birch grove’;

PG. **terwijan* n. coll. (3.12) = PSl. **dervbje* n. coll. (6.2) < PIE. **derujom* n. coll. ‘a group of (pine) trees, (pine) forest’;

PG. **alizijan* n. coll. (3.4) = PSl. **olbšbje* n. coll. (6.3) < PIE. **h₂elisiom* n. coll. ‘a group of alder trees, alder forest, alder grove’;

PG. **aspijan* n. coll. (3.6) = PSl. **opsbje* n. coll. (6.4) < PIE. **h₃epsiom* n. coll. ‘a group of aspen trees, aspen forest, aspen grove’.

Apart from reconstructing the common etymon of the collectives in **-ijom* using Slavic and Germanic material as is argued in the present paper, there may be other issues worth examining: firstly, other functions of the Proto-Slavic suffix **-bje* and the Proto-Germanic **-ijan*, and secondly, possible cognate suffixes in other Indo-European branches.

LANGUAGE ABBREVIATIONS

Alb.	— Albanian	Norw.	— Norwegian
Arm.	— Armenian	OCS.	— Old Church Slavich
Bav.	— Bavarian	OCz.	— Old Czech
Bret.	— Breton	OE.	— Old English
BRu.	— Belorussian	OFris.	— Old Frisian
Bulg.	— Bulgarian	OHG.	— Old High German
CS.	— Church Slavich	OIr.	— Old Irish
Corn.	— Cornish	OLat.	— Old Latin
Cz.	— Czech	ON.	— Old Norse
Dan.	— Danish	OPol.	— Old Polish
Du.	— Dutch	OPrus.	— Old Prussian
E.	— English	ORu.	— Old Russian
Elfd.	— Elfdalian (Övdalian)	OSax.	— Old Saxon
Far.	— Faroese	OSwed.	— Old Swedish
G.	— German	OUkr.	— Old Ukrainian
Gk.	— Greek	OW.	— Old Welsh
Go.	— Gothic	PC.	— Proto-Celtic
HSorb.	— High Sorbian	PG.	— Proto-Germanic
Icel.	— Icelandic	PIE.	— Proto-Indo-European
IE.	— Indo-European	Pol.	— Polish
Lac.	— Laconian	Polab.	— Polabian
Lat.	— Latin	PSl.	— Proto-Slavic
Latv.	— Latvian	Ru.	— Russian
LG.	— Low German	SC.	— Serbo-Croatian
Lith.	— Lithuanian	Sla.	— Slovak
LSorb.	— Low Sorbian	Sloven.	— Slovenian
MBulg.	— Middle Bulgarian	Sp.	— Spanish
MDu.	— Middle Dutch	Swed.	— Swedish
MHG.	— Middle High German	Ukr.	— Ukrainian
MW.	— Middle Welsh	Ved.	— Vedic
NG.	— North Germanic	WG.	— West Germanic

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СОБИРАТЕЛЬНЫЕ ИМЕНА СУЩЕСТВИТЕЛЬНЫЕ, НАЗЫВАЮЩИЕ ДЕРЕВЬЯ В СКАНДИНАВСКИХ ЯЗЫКАХ

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В статье рассмотрены выступающие в скандинавских языках собирательные названия деревьев, а также процесс становления сходных с ними собирательных названий в восточногерманских и западногерманских языках. Следует подчеркнуть, что для образования собирательных существительных, обозначающих группу деревьев, северогерманские языки использовали прежде всего суффикс **-ijjan*, напр., старонорд. *birki* ср. р. собир. 'березовый лес', исланд. *birki* ср. р. 'березовый лес, березовая роща', вторично 'березовое дерево', норв. *birki* 'березовый лес', швед. *björke* 'березовый лес, березовая роща' (< прагерм. **berkijan* ср. р. собир. 'группа берез, березовая роща, березовый лес' — прагерм. **berkō* ж. р. 'береза'). Тот же суффикс, обозначающий коллективность и происходящий из индоевропейского языка, в большинстве славянских языков фиксируется также как **-vje*, ср. рус. диал. *берэзье* ср. р. собир. 'березы, березовый лес, ветки березы'; др.-польск. *brzezie* ср. р. собир. 'березовый лес'; чешск. *březí* ср. р. 'березовый лес', а также *břízī* ср. р. 'березовая поросль, ветки березы, древесина березы'; свц. *brezie* ср. р. 'березовая роща'; сербохорв. *brězje* ср. р. собир. 'березы, березовый лес', словенск. *brězje* ср. р. 'березовый лес' (< праслав. **berzъje* ср. р. собир. 'группа берез, березовая роща, березовый лес' — праслав. **bërza* ж. р. 'береза'). Другие потенциальные следы присутствия данного суффикса можно найти в балтийских языках (ср. старонорд. *pannean* ср. р. 'мшистая топь' в соотношении с готск. *fani* ср. р. 'грязь', др.-сакс. *feni* ср. р. 'топь'). Это подсказывает, что индоевропейский суффикс, образующий собирательные существительные, можно реконструировать как **-ijom*. Кажется также, что некоторые индоевропейские племена использовали дериват **b^herh₂ǵijom* для обозначения группы берез, прежде всего «березовой рощи» или «березового леса».

Ключевые слова: архаизм, коллективы, этимология, германо-славянские отношения, индоевропейские языки, древнескандинавский язык, норвежский язык, протогерманский язык, скандинавские народы, шведский язык, названия деревьев.

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