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ALBANIAN *kopsht* 'GARDEN' AND ITS COGNATES

It was observed many years ago that Albanian *kopsht* (m.) is a phonetic and semantic reminiscence of Greek (Ionic-Attic) κῆπος, Doric κᾶπος m. 'garden'. Some researchers believed that Alb. *kopsht* is an early borrowing from Greek, others treated it as a native equivalent not only of the Greek terms.

The second possibility became a wide-spread opinion, for the Albanian and Greek forms were compared with two Germanic forms, namely:

**hōbō* (f.) 'a piece of land' (cf. OSax. *hōba* 'id.'; OHG. *huoba* 'Grundstück', MHG. *huobe* 'Stück Land von einem gewissen Maße', G. *Hufe, Hube*; Du. *hoeve* 'farm');

**hōfa-* (m. / n.) denoting 'court, yard', also 'garden' and 'pagan temple' (cf. OE. *hof* n. 'court, yard'; ON. *hof* n. 'Tempel mit Dach', Norw. *hov* 'small hill'; Du. *hof* 'court, yard, garden', Fris. *hōf* 'orchard'; OHG. *hof*, G. *Hof* 'court-yard').

After comparing the Albanian, Greek and Germanic terms the comparative linguists like Alois Walde, Julius Pokorny and Stuart E. Mann (*WP* I 345-346; *IEW* 529; *IECD* 472) could have easily reconstructed two Indo-European archetypes **kāpos* and **kāpā* (both with the velar **k-* in the initial position).

Recently some researchers (e.g. Bailey *DKhS* 355; Adams in *EIEC* 200) suggested that the Greek-Germanic forms should be connected with the Pashto *sābah* 'grass, vegetables' (< *'that [produced] of a garden'), Roshani *sēpc* 'cultivated field' and Shughni (Bajui dial.) *sāpc* 'id.' (< Iranian **sāpāčī*). This comparison seems to change our opinion not only on the Indo-European proto-form and its distribution (see *EIEC* 8: "we also have a term **kāpos-* that indicates cultivated land in both the European stocks and in Iranian"), but also on the origin of the Albanian word for 'garden' (see *EIEC* 200: "Albanian *kopsht* 'garden' presumably represents an early borrowing from Greek; an inherited **kāpos* should have given Alb **thop*").

I cannot agree with these arguments. This is why I would like to demonstrate below that (1) the Iranian forms belong to another family of words and (2) there is an additional evidence for the traditional reconstruction **kāpos* and the inherited character of the Albanian word for 'garden'.

1. On Indo-Iranian term **śāpa-* and its derivatives

The above-mentioned Iranian term for ‘cultivated field’, **sāpačī*, cannot be dissociated from OInd. *śāpa-* m. ‘pasture, common / пастбище, выгон’ (Kochergina *SRS* 641). If the Old Indian item is not a ghost-word, then its comparison with Greek *κῆπος / κᾶπος* m. ‘garden’ and Germanic **hōfa-* (m. / n.) would be convincing from both the phonological and semantic points of view. In fact, the semantic divergence, observed here, would be analogical to that between Lat. *ager*, Gk. *ἀγρός* (m.) ‘field’ and OInd. *ājra-* ‘pasture’ (*WP* I 37; *IEW* 6; *IECD* 4; *EIEC* 200). Unfortunately, I am afraid that Kochergina has committed an error, as the different Sanskrit dictionaries, available for me, register only two Sanskrit appellatives *śāpa-* (m.), denoting (1) ‘Fluch, Verwünschung’ and (2) ‘Trift, Geflöß’ (Cappeller *SW* 441).¹ As the German word *Trift* means both ‘pasture, common’ and ‘floating; rafting; drift’, the semantics given by Kochergina in her Sanskrit-Russian dictionary may be false. Thus the meanings and attestations of Sanskrit *śāpa-* should be checked afresh by the Indologists.

Now I would like to pay attention to the Pamir term for ‘pod’: Roshani *sabēc*, Khufi *sabæc* ‘pod (of beans, etc.)’. Morgenstierne (*EVSG* 71) derives it (with a question mark) from ***sapaθrī-*, though the Iranian protoform **sapaiθra-* seems more convincing. Moreover, we can find the exact equivalent in the Indic branch, namely Skt. *śāpeṭa-* m. ‘angeschwemmtes Schilf’ (as if from **śāpaitra-* m.). The Sanskrit term derives from OInd. *śāpaḥ* m. ‘what floats in water; driftwood, floating’ and IE. **kópos* m. (*o*-stem), cf. Lith. *šāpas* m. ‘straw, blade of grass, stalk’, *šāpai* m. pl. ‘what remains in the field after a flood’ (*WP* I 345; *IEW* 529; Illič-Svityč 1979:26; *EIEC* 206). It is clear that the long *ā* in Indo-Iranian derives from a short IE. **o* in agreement with the so called Brugmann’s rule (see Lubotsky 1988:71, 76-77). Thus the Indo-Iranian character of the word **śāpaitra-* seems firmly established.

The Indo-European root, seen in the Indic and Lithuanian equivalents, was differently reconstructed and defined (e.g. **kǎ̃po-* ‘vom Wasser vertragenes’, *WP* I 345; **kǎpo-* ‘vom Wasser Forteschwemmtes’, *IEW* 529; **kópos* ‘something fragmented, shattered’, Illič-Svityč 1979:26; **kópos* ‘flotsam’, *EIEC* 206). The Indo-European reconstruction, suggested by Illič-Svityč, A. Lubotsky and R. S. P. Beekes (in *EIEC*), seems firm. On the other hand, both the original semantics and distribution of the Indo-European root should be completely

¹ The same meanings are given by Böhtlingk and Mylius, e.g. (1) ‘Fluch, Verfluchung; *Schwur’ and (2) ‘was fliessendes Wasser mit sich führt; Trift, Geflösstes’ (Böhtlingk *SW* VI 223); (1) ‘Fluch; Lösen eines Fluches’ and (2) ‘fluviale Sedimente’ (Mylius *WSD* 478); (1) ‘a curse, malediction, abuse, oath, imprecation, ban, interdiction’ and (2) ‘floating wood or other substances’ (Monier-Williams *SED* 1065).

changed. In my opinion, the Indo-European item **kópos* (m. *o*-stem) means ‘straw, pod, vegetable, grass’, also ‘oats; a kind of millet’ and appears in the following Indo-European stocks (see Danka, Witczak 2002):

ANATOLIAN: Hittite *kappar-* c. ‘vegetable; a product of the garden’ (‘Gemüse, Gartenerzeugnis’, according to Taracha 1999:672; 2000:102-103, 238);

INDIC: OInd. *śápaḥ* m. ‘what floats in water; driftwood, floating’, perhaps also ‘pasture, common’ (?); Skt. *śāpeta-* m. ‘flowing reed’ (= Ir. **sāpaitra-*);

IRANIAN: Pashto *sābah* m. ‘vegetables, greens’, also ‘a kind of grass’ (< Iran. **sāpa-ha-* m.²), Pashto dial. *sābū* ‘a species of grass growing in the hills, *Panicum colonum*’, Waziri *sōbā* m. pl. ‘a kind of vegetable eaten with bread’ (formally = Lith. *šāpai*); Pashai *savī* ‘grass’; Shughni *sip(i)yak* ‘a kind of millet’, *sepyak* ‘a grain of wheat’ (< Iran. **sāpṛ-ku-*, cf. CELTIC); Alanic *sabar* ‘oats’ (< Iran. **sāpar-* or **sāpṛ*, formally = Hitt. *kappar-*); NPers. *sabz* ‘green, grass’, Shughni Bajui *sāpc*, Roshani *sēpc* ‘cultivated field’ (< Iran. **sāpa-čī*); Roshani *sabēc*, Khufi *sabæc* ‘pod (of beans, etc.)’ (< Iran. **sāpaitra-* = Skt. *śāpeta-*); see Morgenstierne *EVP* 66, *EVSG* 71, 74, 75; Abaev *IESOJ* IV 306, s.v. *zætxæ*;

GREEK: Gk. Boeotian *κόπηθρον* (n. or acc. sg. m.) ‘a wild vegetable’. This term appears only in Hesychius’ lexicon: *κόπηθρον* · *φυτὸν λαχανῶδες ἄγριον* (*HAL* κ-3552);

CELTIC: Mlr. *coirce* m. ‘avena’ (acc. pl. *corca*), Irish *coirce*, Gaelic *corc*, *coirce*, Manx *corkey*; Welsh *ceirch*, Cornish *kergh*, *kerch*, *keirch*, MBret. *querch*, Bret. *cerc*’h ‘oats’ (< Celt. **kopṛ-k[y]u-*; Stalmaszczyk, Witczak 1991-1992: 83-87, differently Vendryes *LEIA* I C-208);

GERMANIC: ONord. *hafri* m. ‘oats’, OSax. *haboro*, Du. *haver*, E. dial. *haver*; OHG. *habaro*, G. *Hafer*, dial. *Haber* (< Gmc. **habrán-*); OSwed. *hafre* beside *hagre*, Swed., Norw. dial. *hagre* ‘oats’ (< Gmc. **hagrán-* by assimilation of the consonants, as seen in the Fennic loan-word *kakra* ‘oats’);

BALTIC: Lith. *šāpas* m. ‘straw, blade of grass, stalk’, *šāpai* m. pl. ‘what remains in the field after a flood’.

The above-mentioned lexical material, attested in six Indo-European subgroups, strongly suggests that Iranian **sāpa-čī* ‘cultivated field; green, grass’ should be derived from IE. **kópo-* or **kópṛ* (and not from an alleged **kāpo-* ‘piece of land, garden’, proposed in *EIEC* 200). It is clear now that the Indo-Iranian forms beginning with **sāpa-* have nothing to do with Greek and Albanian terms for ‘garden’.

² For the origin of Pashto *sābah* ‘vegetables, greens’ (< Iran. **sāpa-ha-* < Indo-Iranian **śāpa-*), see especially Skt. *yávasa-* (m. / n.) ‘grass’, Pali *yawasa-* (n.) ‘grass, hay’, Prakrit *javasa-* n. ‘grass, wheat and other grains’, Marathi *javas* m. ‘linseed plant’, n. ‘linseed’ = Ashkun *yūs* ‘grass’, Khovar *još* ‘grass’ = Awest. *yavaṇha-* n. ‘Weide’ versus Skt. *yáva-* (m.) ‘grain, corn, barley’ = Awest. *yava-* (m.) ‘grain’.

2. On the distribution and semantics of IE. **kāpos*

The traditional reconstruction **kāpos* (m.) ~ **kāpā* (f.), petrified in the etymological dictionaries (see Meyer *EWAS* 198-199; *WP* I 345-346; Buck *DSS* 490; *IEW* 529; *IECD* 472), includes equivalents taken from three Indo-European subgroups: Greek, Albanian and Germanic. It explains the Albanian term for ‘garden’, *kopshtë*, as a genuine inheritance. The alternative protoform **kāpos*, suggested in *EIEC* 200, seems hardly convincing for two reasons. Firstly, we should expect the velar guttural (IE. **k-*) before the vowel *-*ā-* rather than the palatalized one (IE. **k̑-*). Thus the phonetic environments strongly suggest the traditional reconstruction. Secondly, there is an exact cognate of the Albanian term for ‘garden’ in the Slavic languages, which confirms the presence of **k-* in the Indo-European archetype. In my opinion, the Slavic term for ‘heathen temple or cult place (on the hill)’, attested in Old Church Slavic and Old Bulgarian *kapište*, as well as in Old Russian *kápišče* (n.), must be derived from the Indo-European root **kāp-* like Alb. *kopshtë* (m.) ‘garden’ and Old Nordic *hof* (n.) ‘temple with the roof’. I quote these two cognates consciously. The former contains the same suffixal enlargement -*īst-* (denoting *nomina loci* in both Albanian and Slavic), the latter presents a parallel semantic development of ‘piece of land, garden, orchard’ to ‘(heathen) temple’. Thus the Slavic term for ‘pagan temple’, *kap-ist-je*, fits very well to this Indo-European family of words.

The etymology of the aforesaid Slavic word for ‘heathen temple’ has not been yet established. As far as I know, four different explanations were suggested so far:

(1) Meringer (*IF* 18, 220) and A. Meillet (*MSL* 14, 339) connected the item with the Slavic verb *kopati* ‘to dig’ and Gk. *κόπτω*.

(2) Solmsen (1909, 206) and Berneker (*SEW* I 468) proposed that it belongs to the same family of words as Lat. *scāpus* (m.) ‘shaft, yarn beam’, Greek *σκήπτρον* (n.) ‘staff; walking-stick; sceptre’ and OHG. *skaft* ‘shaft’.

(3) Max Vasmer (*ESRJ* II 185-186) preferred a derivation from OChSl. *карь* f. ‘εἰδωλον, εἰκών / image, phantom, idol, portrait’, which is explained as a borrowing from the language of the Turkic Bulgarians. In fact, a derivation of the OChSl. *карь*, as well as ORuss. *кыр* ‘image’, from Turkic **kāp* ‘form, picture’ (cf. Uyghur *kep* ‘id.’) is possible, but not necessary. It should be emphasized that Chuvash, a language closely connected with the speech of the Proto-Bulgarians, knows only a metathesized form *päk* ‘form, shape’. Thus Vasmer explains ORuss. *kápišče* as ‘a place of the idols’.

(4) Aleksander Gieysztor (1986:183) suggested a derivation from **kop-*, the Slavic verb for ‘smoke, give off soot’. He registered the Old Russian *tre-bišče* (n.) ‘pagan offering-place’, adding: “another Old Russian name of the cult

place was *kapišče* (from *kop-*, *kopotь* – ‘soot, black’), a place (or a circle of pillars) signed by sacrificial smokes”.

None of these etymologies seems secure and none explains the semantic aspects of the suggested derivations. Max Vasmer rightly rejects first two explanations, but his theory also seems doubtful. Carl Darling Buck in his *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* cites no examples of semantic development from ‘image, phantom, idol, portrait’ to ‘pagan temple’. On the contrary, idols are sometimes named after holy places. After referring to Buck, I am able to quote three such instances:

(a) OE. *hearh* ‘idol’, also ‘(heathen) shrine, temple’ < ‘sacred grove’ < ‘stone altar’ < ‘pile of stones’, cf. OHG. *haruc* ‘sacred grove’, ON. *hǫrgr* ‘pile of stones’, also a sort of ‘stone altar’ (Buck *DSS* 1466, 1467, 1491);

(b) OE. *wēoh*, *wīh* ‘idol’ < ‘holy image’ < ‘holy place, temple’ < ‘holy’, cf. ONord. *vē* ‘shrine, temple’, Goth. *weiks* adj. ‘holy’ (Buck *DSS* 1466, 1491);

(c) Latv. *elks* ‘idol’ < ‘sacred grove’. Buck *DSS* 1492 stresses that “Lett. *elks* with sense of ‘idol’ abstracted fr. phrase *elka dievs* (so reg. for ‘idol’ in Lett. NT), lit. ‘god of the grove’ (*elka* gen. sg. : Lith. *elkas*, *alkas* ‘sacred grove’). See also Goth. *alks* f. ‘temple’, OSax. *alah* m., OE. *ealh* ‘id.’ (*WP* I 89-90; *IEW* 32; *IECD* 16).

On the basis of the above-mentioned semantic development I am inclined to derive both Old Church Slavic terms, *kapь* (f.) ‘idol, image’ and *kapište* (n.) ‘heathen temple’ (orig. ‘holy place, sacred grove’), from IE. **kāp-* ‘piece of land, garden, orchard’. In the Slavic languages, as well as in Nordic, the following development may be suggested: ‘piece of land, garden, orchard’ > ‘holy place, sacred orchard’ > ‘sacred grove’ > ‘(heathen) temple’ (and ‘shrine with the roof’, as seen in Old Nordic).

Reflexes of the Indo-European root **kāp-* comprise four basic semantic fields, as seen in Table 1. The double resemblance of the meanings in the Greek-Albanian items (‘garden’) and in the Nordic-Slavic ones (‘heathen temple’) is noteworthy. The full lexical evidence for IE. **kāp-* is given below.

Table 1: Semantic distribution of IE. **kāp-*

Languages	Semantic fields			
	(1) ‘piece of land’	(2) ‘garden, orchard’	(3) ‘court, yard’	(4) ‘heathen temple, *idol’
Greek	+ in Cretan dialects	+ in all the dialects		
Albanian		+ common		
Germanic	+ in West-Germanic	+ in Dutch and Frisian	+ in most Gmc languages	+ in Nordic
Slavic				+ in East-South Slavic

Lexical evidence

GREEK: Ionic, Attic κῆπος, Doric κᾶπος m. 'garden, orchard, plantation', also 'unbearbeitetes Grundstück' in Creta; Cyprian *ka-po-se* 'befanztes Grundstück, Garten', dat. sg. *ka-po-i*, acc. sg. *ka-po-ne* (Egetmeyer 1992:59); Gk. dial. κάπος (according to Hesychius);

ALBANIAN: *kopsht* m. 'garden, orchard' (Meyer *EWAS* 198-199);

GERMANIC: OSax. *hōba* 'piece of land'; OHG. *huoba* 'Grundstück', MHG. *huobe* 'Stück Land von einem gewissen Maße', G. *Hufe, Hube* f.; LG. *hauw* 'smallholding; outfield' (LG has several dialectal variants); Du. *hoeve* 'Bauernhof / farm' (< Gmc. **hōbō* f. 'a piece of land'); OE. *hof* n. 'court, yard'; ON. *hof* n. 'Tempel mit Dach', Norw. *hov* 'small hill' (perhaps orig. 'heathen holy hill'); Du. *hof* 'court, yard, garden', Fris. *hōf* 'orchard'; OHG. *hof*, G. *Hof* m. 'courtyard' (< Gmc. **hōfa-* m. / n.);

SLAVIC: OChSl., OBulg. *kapište* n. 'pagan temple', ORuss. *kápišče* n. 'heathen temple or sacred grove' (< Sl. **kap-ist-je*; formally = Alb. *kopsht*); also OChSl. *kapь* (f.) 'image, portrait, phantom, idol' (if this meaning derives from orig. 'sacred grove, holy cult place').

The Slavic and Albanian forms, though they demonstrate different meanings peculiar to their geographical distribution, represent two similar formations derived from the Indo-European root **kāp-* by means of the relatively rare suffix **-īst-* (denoting *nomina loci* in both these languages).³ This suffix appears in many Albanian forms, see e.g. *ahishtë* (f.) 'beech forest / Buchenwald' (*WAD* 30) ~ *ah* 'beech' (< IE. **oskos*), *bredhishtë* (f.) 'fir forest / Tannenwald' (*WAD* 67) ~ *breth* 'fir, spruce' (< IE. **bhroidhos*), *bunishtë* (f.) 'Sennerei' ~ *bun* (m.) 'Sennhütte' (*WAD* 72), *verrishtë* (f.) 'alder forest, alder / Erlenwald, Erle' (*WAD* 610) ~ *verr* 'alder / Schwarzerle' (< IE. **awigeryos*) and so on (Witczak 2004). Therefore I am inclined to think that *kopsht* m. 'garden' belongs to the genuine ingredients in the Albanian vocabulary and it was inherited by the Bessans, the ancient ancestors of the Albanians (see Witczak 1994; 1995), from the lexical stock of the Indo-European community.

³ See Mann *IECD* 435, s.v. *-īstos* (2). He cites Gk. *platán-istos* 'grove of plane-trees' and the Old Church Slavic suffix *-ište* (fr. **-īstjom*) with no Albanian equivalent. The same suffix appears in Germanic **furhistaz* m. or *furhistō* f. '(fir) forest' (see E. *forest* and G. *Forst* m. / f.), which derived regularly from Gmc. **furhō* f. 'fir, *Pinus silvestris*' (see OHG. *forha, foraha* f., G. *Föhre*; OE. *furh*; ON. *fura*, Dan. *fyr*, hence E. *fir*).

3. Conclusions

The careful analysis of the accessible lexical data demonstrated clearly that we should distinguish two different Indo-European roots: **kāpo-* 'piece of land, garden, orchard' and **kópo-* 'straw, pod, vegetable, grass', also 'oats; a kind of millet' (Danka, Witczak 2002: 58). New and abundant material was provided for the reconstruction of both lexical items. The Slavic word for 'heathen temple', **kap-ist-je*, should be added to the former, while Hittite *kappar-* c. 'vegetables, greens' and numerous Iranian terms, including these denoting 'cultivated field' (Roshani *sēpc*, Shughni Bajui *sāpc* 'id.' = NPers. *sabz* 'green, grass' < Iranian **sāpačī*), must belong to the latter. It is worth noticing that the Celtic and Germanic continuants, as well as a number of Iranian forms (e.g. Alanic *sabar* 'oats'; Shughni *sip(i)yak* 'a kind of millet', *sepyak* 'a grain of wheat'), derive from the archetype **kóppr* and demonstrate an exclusive sense of 'oats; a kind of millet' (see Stalmaszczyk, Witczak 1991-1992).

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