It was observed many years ago that Albanian *kopsht (m.) is a phonetic and semantic reminiscence of Greek (Ionic-Attic) κῆπος, Doric κἄπος 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:


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.) sēpc ‘id.’ (< Iranian *sāpācī). 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’, *śāpa-, cannot be dissociated from Old Indian *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 / κόπος m. ‘garden’ and Germanic *höfa- (m. / n.) would be convincing from both the phonological and semantic points of view. In fact, the semantic divergence, observed here, would be analogous to that between Lat. ager, Gk. ἀγρός (m.) ‘field’ and Old Indian ḍhra- ‘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). 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 sabex ‘pod (of beans, etc.)’. Morgenstierne (EVSG 71) derives it (with a question mark) from **sapaṭra-, though the Iranian protoform *sapaθra- seems more convincing. Moreover, we can find the exact equivalent in the Indic branch, namely Skt. śāpet /Śaapt m. ‘angeschwemmtes Schilf’ (as if from *śāpaitra- m.). The Sanskrit term derives from OldInd. śāpah m. ‘what floats in water; driftwood, floating’ and IE. *kópos m. (stem), cf. Lith. šąpas m. ‘straw, blade of grass, stalk’, śąpai 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 ą 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 *śāpaṭra- seems firmly established.

The Indo-European root, seen in the Indic and Lithuanian equivalents, was differently reconstructed and defined (e.g. *kāpo- ‘vom Wasser vertragenes’, WP I 345; *kāpo- ‘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

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1. The same meanings are given by Böhlulingk and Mylius, e.g. (1) ‘Fluch, Verfluchung; *Schwur’ and (2) ‘was fließendes Wasser mit sich führt; Trift, Geflößtes’ (Böhlulingk SW VI 223); (1) ‘Fluch; Lösen eines Fluches’ and (2) ‘fluviatile 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, Witzczak 2002):

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

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

IRANIAN: Pashto sábah m. ‘vegetables, greens’, also ‘a kind of grass’ (< Iran. *sápa-ha- m.2); Pashto dial. sábū ‘a species of grass growing in the hills, Panicum colonum’, Waziri sábə m. pl. ‘a kind of vegetable eaten with bread’ (formally = Lith. šápa); Pashai savi ‘grass’; Shugnī sip(i)yak ‘a kind of millet’, sēpək ‘a grain of wheat’ (< Iran. *sāp-ku-, cf. CELTIC); Alanic sabar ‘oats’ (< Iran. *sāpar- or *sāp, formally = Hitt. kappar-); NPers. sabz ‘green, grass’, Shugnī Bajui sāpəc, Roshani sēpc ‘cultivated field’ (< Iran. *sāpa-ch); Roshani sābəc, Khufi sabəc ‘pod (of beans, etc.)’ (< Iran. *sāpa-ch = Skt. śāpet); see Morgenstierne EVP 66, EVSG 71, 74, 75; Abaev IESOJ IV 306, s.v. zetxə;

GREEK: Gk. Boeotian κόπηθρον (n. or acc. sg. m.) ‘a wild vegetable’. This term appears only in Hesychius’ lexicon: κόπηθρον · φυτòν λαχαν
Eδες
Yγριον (HAL κ-3552);

CELTIC: MIr. coirce m. ‘avena’ (acc. pl. corca), Irish coirce, Gaelic corc, coirce, Manx corkey; Welsh ceirch, Cornish kerch, keirch, MBret. kerch, Breton cerc’h ‘oats’ (< Celt. *kop-g-fy-hu-; Stalmaszczyk, Witzczak 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. havre beside hagre, Swed., Norw. dial. hage ‘oats’ (< Gmc. *hagrán- by assimilation of the consonants, as seen in the Fennic loan-word kakra ‘oats’);

BALTIIC: Lith. šąpas m. ‘straw, blade of grass, stalk’, šąpai 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-ch ‘cultivated field; green, grass’ should be derived from IE. *kópo- or *kópsy (and not from an alleged *kópo- ‘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 sábah ‘vegetables, greens’ (< Iran. *sápa-ha- < Indo-Iranian *sápo), see especially Skt. yávasa- (m. / n.) ‘grass’, Pali yavasasa- (n.) ‘grass, hay’, Prakrit javasasa- n. ‘grass, wheat and other grains’, Marathi javas m. ‘linseed plant’, n. ‘linseed’ – Ashkun yūs ‘grass’, Khowar jot ‘grass’ – Awest. yavajha-n. ‘Weide’ versus Skt. yàva- (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 EWS 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’, kopštë, 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. *-k-). 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 kapščje, as well as in Old Russian kap-ist-je(n.), must be derived from the Indo-European root *kāp- like Alb. kopštē (m.) ‘garden’ and Old Nordic hof (n.) ‘temple with the roof’. I quote these two cognates consciously. The former contains the same suffixal enlargement -n(š)(t)- (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 σκότρον (n.) ‘staff; walking-stick; sceptre’ and OHG. skaft ‘shaft’.

(3) Max Vasmer (ESRJ II 185-186) preferred a derivation from OChSl. kapъ f. ‘εικόναν, εικόναν / image, phantom, idol, portrait’, which is explained as a borrowing from the language of the Turkic Bulgarians. In fact, a derivation of the OChSl. kapъ, as well as ORuss. kypъ ‘image’, from Turkic *käp ‘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. kapišče 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 trebišče (n.) ‘pagan offering-place’, adding: ‘another Old Russian name of the cult
place was *kapišče* (from *kop-, kopotb* – ‘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. *heah* ‘idol’, also ‘(heathen) shrine, temple’ < ‘sacred grove’ < ‘stone altar’ < ‘pile of stones’, cf. OHG. *haruc* ‘sacred grove’, ON. *hógr* ‘pile of stones’, also a sort of ‘stone altar’ (Buck DSS 1466, 1467, 1491);

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


On the basis of the above-mentioned semantic development I am inclined to derive both Old Church Slavic terms, *kapb* (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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>(1) “piece of land”</th>
<th>(2) “garden, orchard”</th>
<th>(3) “court, yard”</th>
<th>(4) “heathen temple, idol”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>+ in Cretan dialects</td>
<td>+ in all the dialects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albanian</td>
<td>+ common</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germanic</td>
<td>+ in West-Germanic</td>
<td>+ in Dutch and Frisian</td>
<td>+ in most Gmc languages</td>
<td>+ in Nordic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>+ in East-South Slavic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lexical evidence

GREEK: Ionic, Attic καπος, Doric κάπος m. ‘garden, orchard, plantation’, also ‘unbearbeitetes Grundstück’ in Creta; Cyprian κα-πο-σε ‘beflanztes 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);


SLAVIC: OChSl., OBulg. kapište n. ‘pagan temple’, ORuss. kápišče n. ‘heathen temple or sacred grove’ (< Sl. *kap-ist-je; formally = Alb. kopsht); also OChSl. kapi (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 *-īšt- (denoting nomina loci in both these languages). This suffix appears in many Albanian forms, see e.g. ahišhtë (f.) ‘beech forest / Buchenwald’ (WAD 30) – ah ‘beech’ (< IE. *oskos), bredhishëtë (f.) ‘fir forest / Tannenwald’ (WAD 67) – bredh ‘fir, spruce’ (< IE. *bhroidhos), bunishëtë (f.) ‘Sennerei’ – bun (m.) ‘Sennhütte’ (WAD 72), vërrishëtë (f.) ‘alder forest, alder / Erlenwald, Erle’ (WAD 610) – vërr ‘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. -ītos (2). He cites Gk. platán-istos ‘grove of plane-trees’ and the Old Church Slavic suffix -ište (fr. *-štĕm) 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, foruha f., G. Föhre; OE. fiht; ON. fira, 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 *kōpo- ‘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 sēpc ‘id.’ = NPers. sabz ‘green, grass’ < Iranian *sāpcaē), 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)yk ‘a kind of millet’, sepyak ‘a grain of wheat’), derive from the archetype *kópE and demonstrate an exclusive sense of ‘oats; a kind of millet’ (see Stalmaszczyk, Witczak 1991-1992).

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