

## The Indo-European Origin of Albanian Arboreal Collectives Ending with *-ishtë*

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The arboreal collectives in Albanian end with *-ajë*, *-ét* and *-ishtë*. Two former classes are relatively small and both are of Latin origin: the Albanian endings *-ajë* and *-ét* derive clearly from Lat. *-ārium* and *-ētum*, respectively<sup>1</sup>, e.g.

- (1) Alb. *bungájë* (f.) ‘oak grove/Eichenwäldchen’ (WAD 72) ~ *bung* (m.) ‘Traubeneiche’; see, however, Roum. *bunget* ‘thicket’ (< *\*bhāgnētum*);
- (2) Alb. *dushkájë* (f.) ‘oak forest/Eichenwald’ (WAD 114) ~ *dushk* (m.) ‘oak/Eiche’;
- (3) Alb. *kashnjét* (m.) ‘chestnut grove/Kastanienwäldchen’ (WAD 219) ~ *gësh-tenjë* ‘chestnut-tree’; The Albanian collective form derives directly from Lat. *castanētum* (n. coll.) ‘chestnut grove’.
- (4) Alb. *shkozét* (m.) ‘Buchenwald, Buchenhain’ (WAD 536) ~ *shkozë* (f.) ‘Hainbuche, Weißbuche’ (< IE. *\*skrābhṛdyā* f.);
- (5) Alb. *shkurrájë* (f.) and *shkurrét* (m.) ‘Gebüsch, Gestrüpp, Dickicht’ (WAD 539) ~ *shkurre* (f.) ‘Strauch, Busch, Unterholz, Dickicht’.

The Albanian collective formations ending with *-ishtë* (and also *-shhtë*) are the most numerous ones and they create an extensive class of words. They refer usually (if not exclusively) to a gathering of trees (or plants) and designate ‘a field in which a certain kind of vegetation, plant or tree, grows’ (PONG 31). It is possible to list a number of these collective formations:

- (6) Alb. *abishtë* (f.) ‘beech forest/Buchenwald’ (WAD 30) and shortened *ashtë* (AW 123) ~ *ab* ‘beech’ (< IE. *\*oskos*);
- (7) Alb. *blinishtë* and *blishtë* ‘linden forest/Lindenwald’ (AW 123) ~ Alb. *Gheg bli*, Tosk. *bli* m. ‘lime-tree, linden/Linde’ (< IE. *\*blindhos*, cf. Lith. *blindis*, *blendis* ‘a kind of willow, *Salix caprea*’, G. *Linde*).
- (8) Alb. *bredhishhtë* (f.) ‘fir forest/Tannenwald’ (WAD 67) and shortened *breshhtë* ‘id.’ (AW 123) ~ *bredh* ‘fir, spruce’ (< IE. *\*bhroidhos*);
- (9) Alb. *dardhishhtë* (f., orig. coll.) ‘Holzbirne, Waldbirne’ (WAD 91) or ‘pear tree field’ (according to D. J. GEORGACAS, PONG 31, who refers to the Arvantika place name ἡ Νταρδιστιά [*Dardhishtja*] in Panou Psari, Triphyly) ~ *dardhë* (f.) ‘pear-tree, pear/Birnbaum, Birne’ (< IE. *\*āgherdā* f.);
- (10) Alb. *halishtë* ‘forest of the black-fir-trees/Schwarzkieferwald’ (WAD 179) ~ *halë* (f.) ‘black fir / Schwarzkiefer’ (< IE. *\*adhlā* f. ‘fir, *Abies*’).
- (11) Alb. *lajthishhtë* (f.) ‘grove of hazel-trees/Haselnusshain’ (WAD 268) ~ *lajthë* (f.) ‘hazel-bush, hazel-tree/Haselnussstrauch, Haselnuss’ (< IE. *\*logsdā* ‘hazel-tree’);

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lat. *ficāria* ‘Feigenpflanzung’ vs. *ficētum* ‘fig-tree grove’; Sp. *olivera* vs. *olivedo* ‘grove of olive-trees/Ölbaumhain’ (< Lat. *\*olivārium* vs. *olivētum*), see LKUBA 294–295.

- (12) Alb. *plepíshtë* (f.) ‘poplar-grove/Pappelhain’ (WAD 432) ~ *plep* (m.) ‘poplar’;  
 (13) Alb. *shelgjishtë* (f.) ‘willow bush, grove of willows/Weidengebüsch, Weidenwäldchen’ (WAD 524) ~ *shelqe, shēlg* ‘willow/Weide’ (< Lat. *salix, salicis* ‘willow’).  
 (14) Alb. *thaníshtë* (f.) ‘cornel cherry bush/Kornelkirschengebüsch’ (WAD 587) ~ *thanë* (f.) ‘cornel cherry tree/Kornelkirsche’ (< IE. \**k̑ȓnā* f. ‘cornel cherry tree’);  
 (15) Alb. *verrishtë* (f.) ‘alder forest, alder/Erlenwald, Erle’ (WAD 610) and *verishtë* f. ‘a tree, probably alder’ (HAED 551) ~ *verr* ‘alder/Schwarzerle’ (< IE. \**awigery-os*)<sup>2</sup>.

Further examples, quoted after WAD, are far from being certain. They may represent old collectives, but they also may derive from adjectival formations, e.g.

- (16) ? Alb. *búshtë* (adj.) ‘made of boxwood’, (f. coll.) ‘boxwood trees (WAD 73) ~ *bush* ‘boxwood tree/Buchsbaum’ (< Lat. *buxus* f.);  
 (17) Alb. *drushtë* (f., orig. coll.) ‘Stange, Mast’ beside *drushtë* ‘oak forest/Eichenwald’ (AW 123) ~ *dru* (m.) ‘tree/Baum’;  
 (18) Alb. *fráshtë* (adj.) ‘made of ash’, *dru e frashtë* ‘ash-tree wood’ (WAD 144) ~ *fráshër* ‘ash-tree/Asche’ (< Lat. *fraxinus*).

Furthermore, there are formations ending with *-ishtë*, which hardly represent arboreal collectives, for example:

- (19) Alb. *buníshtë* (f.) ‘Sennerei’ ~ *bun* (m.) ‘Sennhütte’ (WAD 72).

A number of different forms ending with *-isthë* appears also in the Albanian and Arvantika toponymy, e.g.

- (20) Alb. PN *Vidhishtë* (orig. ‘elm grove’), Arvantika PN ή Βιδιστιά [*Vidhishtja*] in Raches, Triphylyia (PONG 31) vs. Alb. *vidh* m. ‘elm’ (< IE. \**wīgōs* ‘id.’).  
 (21) Arvantika PN ή Λιπιστιά [*Libishtja*] in Vasiliko, Triphylyia (PONG 31) ~ South Alb. *lipë* f. ‘lime-tree, linden’ (< Slavic \**lipa* f. ‘id.’).  
 (22) Arvantika PN ή Ρεπιστιά [*Rrepishtja*] in Bambes, ep. Olympia, and in Makraína, Triphylyia (PONG 31) ~ South Alb. *rrap* m. (pl. *rrapa, rrepe*) ‘plane-tree’. GEORGACAS (PONG 31) quotes also *rrepishtë* (or *rrapishtë*) ‘grove of plane-trees’.

Moreover, we should pay attention to Albanian *kopsht* ‘garden, orchard’, which seems to contain the suffix *-sht*, as well as OChSl., OBulg. *kapište* n. ‘pagan temple’, ORuss. *kápišče* n. ‘heathen temple or sacred grove’ (< Sl. \**kap-ist-je* ‘sacred grove [full of trees]’):

- (23) Alb. *kopsht* (m.) ‘garden, orchard’ (EWAS 198-199) < Palb. \**kāp-isht-*, a derivative of \**kāpos*, cf. Gk. Ionic, Attic κῆπος, Doric κᾰπος m. ‘garden, orchard, plantation’, also ‘unbearbeitetes Grundstück’ in Creta; Cyprian *ka-po-se* ‘bepflanztes Grundstück, Garten’, dat. sg. *ka-po-i*, acc. sg. *ka-po-ne*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WITCZAK (1997: 215–215)

(WIKS 59); Gk. dial. *κάπυς* (according to Hesychius); OChSl., OBulg. *ka-pište* n. 'pagan temple', ORuss. *kápišče* n. 'heathen temple or sacred grove' (< Sl. \**kap-ist-je*); ONord. *hōf* 'Tempel mit Dach' (see my remarks published in SEC 9: 179-187).

The origin of the Albanian collectives ending with *-ishtë* is uncertain. The traditional etymology connects them with the Albanian adverbs in *-isht* (e.g. *italisht* 'Italian-fashion'), which can be used as adjectives (e.g. *gjuha italishte* 'the Italian language'). The suffix *-isht*, added to nouns and adjectives to denote manner or custom, must be related to Greek *-ιστι* (cf. Gk. *θηρακιστί* 'in the Thracian fashion, in the Thracian language', *σχυθιστί* 'in the Scythian fashion', *φρυγιστί* 'in the Phrygian fashion'), while the feminine suffix *-ishtë*, used to create (arboreal) collectives, seems to reflect a different formation analogous to Greek *πλατάνιστος* (f.), derived clearly from Gk. *πλατάνος* (f.) 'plane-tree, *Platanus orientalis*'. Moreover, the traditional derivation is relatively weak, both from the semantical and morphological point of view.

GEORGACAS (PONG 32), following N. JOKL (SAEW 111; LKUBA 248), derives the Albanian local (sic!) suffix *-ishtë* from Slavic \**-išce*, through Serbo-Croatian *-ište*. It became productive in Albanian, receiving a collective function. There exist many examples of the South Slavic influence, both in the Albanian vocabulary and toponymy, e.g. Alb. PN *Rapshisht* (Gk. *Ραψίστα*) derives from Slav. *Vrabčišta* and further from SCr. *vrabca* 'sparrow'. However, it is uncertain whether the Albanian arboreal collectives can derive secondarily from the borrowed Slavic local formations. The collective function (in Albanian) seems older and more archaic than the local one.

In my opinion, the origin of the Albanian (arboreal) collectives must be explained in a different way. We should refer to Stuart E. MANN, who in his Indo-European Comparative Dictionary (henceforth *IECD*) reconstructs the Indo-European collective suffix *-īstos* on the basis of the Greek and Slavic lexical data. The entry in question (*IECD* 435) is relatively short:

*-īstos* (2), collective extn.

Gk. cf. *platán-istos* 'grove of plane-trees'; OCS *-ište* (fr. \**īstjom*)

It is worth emphasizing that the formations ending with *-išče* are very productive in Slavic, but they represent *nomina loci* rather than collectives. In Greek the (collective) formations ending with *-ιστος* are found in few forms only.

This comparison would be relatively weak, if it would be based only on two Indo-European stocks, as given by Stuart E. Mann. However, it is possible to extend the suggested comparison. The collective formations ending with *-istos*, *-ist-yom* and *-ist-ōn-* are attested not only in GREEK and SLAVIC, but also in ALBANIAN (see the above-mentioned collectives ending with *-ishtë*, *-sht* and so on), ANATOLIAN (cf. Hitt. *alkištaneš* pl. 'boughs, branches' < \**alk-istōn-es*), CELTIC (cf. OIr. *uinnius* f. 'ash-tree', orig. collect. \**osen-istōn* 'ash-tree grove'), GERMANIC (cf. G. *Forst*, E. *forest* 'silva' < Gmc. \**fúrbistaz* 'fir forest'; G. *Herbst*, E. *harvest* < Gmc. \**hárfristaz* 'time of crops'). This lexical material, attested in as many as six Indo-European subgroups (see Appendix 1, below), suggests that the collectives, which end with *-istos* or *-istōn*, referred originally to a gathering of trees or plants.

The collective formations in question preserve their productiveness and their original character only in Albanian. In Slavic the formations ending with *-išče* (< *\*-ist-je*) remain productive, but they change completely their original character of the arboreal collectives and at the same time they coalesce partially with the (locative) formations ending with *-isko*. In other Indo-European languages, namely in Greek, Hittite, Old Irish and Germanic ones, the arboreal collectives in *-istos/-istōn* lost completely their productiveness.

My conclusion is that the Albanian arboreal collectives ending with *-ishtë* represent an old Indo-European formation. Thus in this case Albanian seems more archaic than all other Indo-European languages.

#### Appendix: Suffix *-isto-/-iston-* in Indo-European

- GREEK: Gk. πλατάνιστος (f.) 'plane-tree, *Platanus orientalis*' (orig. collect. 'grove of planes') vs. πλατάνος (f.) 'plane-tree';
- ALBANIAN: Alb. *ahishtë, ashtë* (f.) 'beech forest' (< IE. *\*osk-istos*); Alb. *bredhishhtë, breshtë* (f.) 'fir forest' (< IE. *\*bhroidh-istos*); Alb. *halishtë* 'forest of the black-fir-trees' (< IE. *\*adhlistos*); Alb. *lajthishte* (f.) 'grove of hazel-trees' (< IE. *\*logsd-istos*); Alb. *plepishhtë* (f.) 'poplar-grove' and so on;
- ANATOLIAN: Hitt. *alkištāš* (c.) 'bough, branch', pl. *alkištaneš* 'boughs, branches' (orig. a collective of IE. *\*alk-* 'grove', created most probably by means of two collective suffixes *-ist-* and *-ōn-*);
- CELTIC: OIr. *uinnius* (f.) 'ash-tree' (< Celt. *\*os'n-ist-ōn* f. coll., orig. 'gathering of ash-trees; grove of ash-trees', formally = Alb. *ahishtë* f. 'beech forest'), cf. Lat. *ornus* (f.) 'ash-tree', Slavic *\*asenъ* 'ash-tree';
- GERMANIC: (1.) G. *Forst*, E. *forest* 'silva' < Gmc. *\*furhistaz* (m. coll.) 'fir forest' ~ G. *Föhre*, ang. *fir* (< Gmc. *\*fúrhō* f. 'fir, pine'); (2.) OE. *hærfest*, E. *harvest*, G. *Herbst* 'time of crops' (m. coll.) vs. Gk. *κάρπος* 'fruit', Lat. *carpere* 'to pluck, pick, gather (fruits); to crop'.
- SLAVIC: OChSl., OBulg. *kapište* n. 'pagan temple', ORuss. *kápišče* n. 'heathen temple or sacred grove' (< Sl. *\*kap-ist-je*; formally = Alb. *kopshtë*); also OChSl. *kapъ* (f.) 'image, portrait, phantom, idol' (if this meaning derives from orig. 'sacred grove, holy cult place'). There are numerous nomina loci ending with *\*-išče* (< *\*-ist-je*) in the Slavic languages. Only some of them refer to the arboreal collectives, e.g. *\*derv-išče* coll. 'gathering of trees' (cf. LSorb. *dřowiščo* n. 'forest, grove, trees'), also 'grave' in East Slavic (ESSJ 4, 211) vs. *\*dervo* 'tree'.

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