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Studies in the Historical Development
of the Ossetic Vocalism

by
Johnny Cheung

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DR. LUDWIG REICHERT VERLAG

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Preface

My first introduction in the Iranian language Ossetic was in 1993 when Dr. A. Lubotsky instructed me and a fellow-student in this rarely taught language. At first, it was a subject like another. But gradually, I became enchanted with this last trace of the Iranian languages which used to be spoken in the vast plains of Eurasia before the arrival of the Turks and Mongols. Regrettably, it is little-known to the public, even to the educated, that numerous Iranian tribes have existed in antiquity. While some who are versed in the classical languages are familiar with tribal names like Scythians, Sarmatians or Alans mentioned by Herodotus and Pliny, only few are able to link them with a small Caucasian people who seldom "make the headlines". I have experienced at first hand that the Ossetians take great pride in their illustrious past. When reading and learning about their history I cannot help recalling the motto of Herodotus: "For most of those which were great once are small today; and those which used to be small were great in my own time" (transl. A. de Sélincourt).

Due to this fascination I have devoted much time and effort in the clarification of several aspects of Ossetic, especially lexical, which brought me into contact with the most divergent language families like Finno-Ugric, Turkic, East and West Caucasian. The study of Ossetic has also greatly enhanced my knowledge of other Iranian languages.

In this preface I would like to commemorate the following persons: the eminent Ossetian scholar V.I. Abaev (†18.3.2001), whose works are the basis of this *Studies*, the great Iranist and renowned expert of Khotanese, R.E. Emmerick (†31.8.2001), with whom I maintained contact by e-mail, and, finally, Germanist and former colleague Dirk Boutkan (†6.1.2002). The sudden and totally unexpected demise of Dirk came as a great shock to me and colleagues of our Department. His cheerfulness and warm character used to brighten up the whole Department, which we sorely missed after his departure. And I deeply regret that it is only now, *post mortem*, that I am able to comprehend the pain he suffered, and the demons he fought against during his lifetime.

J. C.

Leiden, January 2002

Acknowledgements

The person to whom I could always address my problems can be easily singled out: Alexander ("Sasja") Lubotsky. It is with great pleasure and affection that I can thank him for the support and friendship, and generosity unsparing of time and effort. Many of his suggestions have been adopted here, only some of them have been explicitly indicated by the initials A.L.

The second person I would like to express my gratitude is Robert Beekes. Although he was more on the background while I was working on my PhD thesis, he was an important figure during my formative years. Not only am I indebted to him for his scholarly lessons, but also for his lessons in life.

The first true Iranist I had the honour to meet was Prof. N. Sims-Williams when he delivered a series of lectures on Sogdian at Leiden University. The meeting resulted in a three months visit to London, where I attended his Sogdian and Bactrian classes. Naturally, I also seized the opportunity to tap on his vast knowledge of Iranian matters. I am not only grateful for his suggestions sprinkled in this volume, which have been indicated by the initials S-W, but also for arranging the meeting with the eminent Iranist Dr. I. Gershevitch.

For my short stay in Vladikavkaz, North Ossetia, I am much obliged to Dr. T. Salbiev, whom I got acquainted with by e-mail. It is only with his kind help that I was able to undertake the journey: *styr buzyng!* I am indebted to the North Ossetian State University which provided the lodging. Last but not certainly not least, I am extremely grateful for the help and hospitality which I experienced from many Ossetians, among whom I particularly recall Prof. X.A. Tokazov, Èl'za Digoeva, Dr. G. Čočiev and Dr. È. Satcaev.

Regarding the institutions which have made the research possible, I would like to name, in the first place, the Centre of Non-Western Studies (CNWS) whose financial benefits and logistical support were gratefully accepted. I am also much indebted to the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), which provided the grants enabling me to study in London for one term and, subsequently, to publish the present work.

Naturally, my thanks also extend to the (former) colleagues of the Department of Comparative Linguistics (VTW), especially to Helma van den Berg and Uwe Bläsing for their helpful ideas and suggestions concerning academic and more mundane matters.

Abbreviations

A. Bibliographical references

The abbreviations of the publications generally follow either the practice of Abaev's *Historical-Etymological Dictionary of the Ossetic Language* or the *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum*.

Ab. = Abaev, *Slovar'* I-IV.

Abaev 1924 = V.I. Abaev, "Ob udarenii v osetinskom jazyke [= Sur l'accentuation en ossète]", *Doklady Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk / Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie*. Moskva 1924.

Abaev 1985 = id., "Avestica", *Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungen, Festschrift für Johann Knobloch*. Innsbruck 1985.

Abaev, OJaF = id., *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor* [= Ossetic language and Ossetian folklore]. Moskva 1949.

Abaev, OĖp. = id., *Iz osetinskogo ėposa* [= From the Ossetic epic]. Moskva-Leningrad 1939.

Abaev, SEI = id., *Skifo-evropejskie izoglosy* [= Scytho-European isoglosses]. Moskva 1965.

Abaev, *Slovar'* I-IV = id., *Istoriko-ĕtimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka. Tom I-IV* [= Historical-etymological dictionary of the Ossetic language. Vol. I-IV]. Moskva-Leningrad 1958-1989, repr. Moskva 1996.

Abaev V = id., *Istoriko-ĕtimologičeskij etc. Ukazatel'* [= Index]. Moskva 1995.

Adr. = *Acta Iranica. Encyclopédie permanente des études iraniennes*, Teheran-Liège-Leiden.

ArOr = *Acta Orientalia*, Copenhagen.

Adams 1999 = D.Q. Adams, *A Dictionary of Tocharian B*. Amsterdam-Atlanta 1999.

ArGr. II/2 = J. Wackernagel & A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik, Bd. II/2: Die Nominalsuffixe*. Göttingen 1954.

ArW = Bartholomae, *ArW*.

AION = *Annali. Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, Napoli.

AOH = *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, Budapest.

Asica = Bailey, *Asica*.

Aufsätze I-II = Hoffman, *Aufsätze*.

Axvlediani 1963 = G.S. Axvlediani (red.), *Grammatika osetinskogo jazyka / Iron ævzadžy grammatika* [= Grammar of the Ossetic language]. Tom 1: *fonetika i morfologija / fonetika æma morfologi* [= Vol 1: Phonetics and morphology]. Ordžonikidze 1963.

Bagaev 1965 = N.K. Bagaev, *Sovremennij osetinskij jazyk, čast' I* [= The contemporary Ossetic language, vol. I]. Ordžonikidze 1965.

Bailey 1930 = H.W. Bailey, "To the Zāmasp-nāmak", *BSOS* 1930 (6): 55-85.

Bailey 1936 = id., "Indo-Iranica", *TPS* 1936: 95-101.

Bailey 1936 = id., "Yazdi", *BSOS* 1936 (82-3): 335-361.

Bailey 1948 = id., "Irano-Indica, 1]", *BSOAS* 1948 (12): 319-332.

Bailey 1950 = W.B. Bailey, "L'accento in osseto digoron", *Recherche Linguistique* 1 1950 (1): 58-66.

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B. Linguistic Abbreviations

I. LANGUAGES

Abkh.	Abkhaz	D(ig).	Digoron dialect
Agul.	Ag(h)ulian	EHB	Eastern Hills Baluchi
Al.	Alanic	EIr.	East Iranian
Arab.	Arabic	El.	Elamite
Arab.-Pers.	Arabo-Persian	El-OP	Old Persian in Elamite transcription
Arm.	Armenian	Fin(n).	Finnish
Ašk.	Ashkun	Fr.	French
Av.	Avestan	GAv.	Gatha Avestan
B.	Bartangi	Georg.	Georgian
Bact.	Bactrian	Germ.	Germanic
Bal.	Baluchi	Goth.	Gothic
Balk.	Balkar	Gr.	Greek
Bašk.	Bashkardi	Hebr.	Hebrew
Brah.	Brahui	Hitt.	Hittite
Bud. Skt.	Buddhist Skt.	Hung.	Hungarian
Chech.	Chechen	I.	Iron dialect
Cherem.	Cheremis (= Mari)	Ing.	Ingush
Circ.	Circassian	Išk.	Ishkashmi
Chin.	Chinese	Kab.	Kabardian (= East Circ.)
Chuv.	Chuvash	Karač.	Karachay
Darg.	Dargwa		

Kirg.	Kirgыз	(P)Ir.	(Proto-)Indo-Iranian
Khot.	Khotanese	(P)Ir.	(Proto-)Iranian
Khz.	Khwarezmian	Pam.	Pamir (languages)
Kum.	Kumyk	Par.	Parachi
Kurd.	Kurdish	Pers.	Persian
Kurm.	Kurmanji Kurdish	P(ar)th.	Parthian
Lapp.	Lappish	Pš.	Pashto
Lat.	Latin	Pši.	Pashai
Latv.	Latvian	R.	Roshani
LAv.	Late Avestan	RV	Rigveda
Lex.	Skt. of lexicographic sources	Sang.	Sangesari
Lezg.	Lezgian	Sangl.	Sanglechi
Lit(h).	Lithuanian	Sc.	Scythian
LKhot.	Late Khotanese	S-I.	South Iron dialect
M.	Munji	Skt.	Sanskrit
Med.	Median	Sl.	Slav(on)ic
Mingr.	Mingrelian	Sm.	Sarmatian
MHG	Middle High German	Sogd.	Sogdian
MLG	Middle Low German	Anc.Lett.	Sogd. of Ancient Letters
Mord.	Mordvinian	Bud.	Sogd. of Buddhist text
MP	Middle Persian	Chr.	Sogd. of Christian texts
MS	Maitrāyaṇīya-saṃhita	Man.	Sogd. of Manichean texts
NHG	New High German	Sor.	Sorani Kurdish
Norw.	Norwegian	Sq.	Sariqoli
NP	New Persian	Sul.	Sulaymaniyya Kurdish
NWIr.	North-West Iranian	Swed.	Swedish
NWIr.	North-West Iranian	Š.	Shughni
O.	Old	Tadj.	Tadjiki Persian
OCS	Old Church Slavonic	Darg.	Dargwa
OE	Old English	DNa	Naqsh-i-Rustam inscriptions on Darius' grave
OFr.	Old French	Tal.	Taleshi
OHG	Old High German	Thrac.	Thracian
OIc.	Old Icelandic (= ON)	Tk.	(a) Turkic (language)
OKhot.	Old Khotanese	Toch.	Tocharian
ON	Old Norse (= OIc.)	TTk.	Turkish (of Turkey)
OP	Old Persian	Tumš.	Tumshuqese
Orm.	Ormuri	Turf.	Pth., MP of Turfan texts
ORuss.	Old Russian	Turkm.	Turkmen
OSl.	Old Slav(on)ic	Tz.	Alanic cited by Tzetzēs
Oss.	Ossetic	Udm.	Udmurt (= Voty.)
Osty.	Ostyak (= Khanty)	Ukr.	Ukrainian
PIA	Proto-Indo-Aryan	Uzb.	Uzbek
(P)IE	(Proto-)Indo-European	Vd	Videvdat

Vog.	Vogul (= Mansi)	Yağn.	Yaghnobi
Voty.	Voťyak (= Udm.)	Yass.	Yassic Ossetic
W.	Wakhi	Yt	Av. of the Yasht
Wan.	Wanetsi Pashto	Yz.	Yazghulami
Waz.	Waziri Pashto	Zāz.	Zazaki
WIr.	West Iranian	Zor.	Zoroastrian Persian
Y	Yasna	Zyry.	Zyryan (= Komi)
Y.	Yidgha		

II. GRAMMATICAL TERMS

abl.	ablative	pres.	present (tense)
Absg.	ablative singular	pron.	pronoun, pronominal
abs.	absolute	ptc.	participle
acc.	accusative	sg.	singular
act.	active (voice)	subj.	subjunctive
adess.	adessive	subst.	substantive
Adsg.	adessive singular	suff.	suffix
art.	article	tr.	transitive
adv.	adverb	voc.	vocative
all.	allative	ind.	indicative
aor.	aorist	indef.	indefinite
Apl.	accusative plural	inf.	infinitive
art.	article	inj.	injunctive
Asg.	accusative singular	instr.	instrumental
caus.	causative	intr.	intransitive
comp.	comparative	lsg.	instrumental singular
conj.	conjunction	iter.	iterative
dat.	dative	loc.	locative
def.	definite	Lpl.	locative plural
dem.	demonstrative	Lsg.	locative singular
Dpl.	dative plural	mid.	middle (voice)
Dsg.	dative singular	n.	neuter
du.	dual	NAVdu.	nominative-accusative-
du. tant.	dual only		vocative dual
encl.	enclitic	NAsg.	nominative
fut.	future (tense)	Npl.	nominative plural
gen.	genitive	Nsg.	nominative singular
Gdu.	genitive dual	obl.	oblique
GLsg.	genitive-locative sg.	opt.	optative
Gsg.	genitive singular	pass.	passive (voice)
Gpl.	genitive plural	pcl.	particle
impf.	imperfect tense	pl.	plural
impv.	imperative	pl. tant.	plural only
inch(oat.).	inchoative	postp.	postposition

ppp.	passive past participle	prev.	preverb
pref.	prefix	prep.	preposition

C. Other abbreviations and symbols

I. ABBREVIATIONS

A.L.	A. Lubotsky	obs.	obsolete
deriv.	derivative, derivation	PN	proper name
dial.	dialectal	Ptol.	Ptolemy
Hdt.	Herodotus	S-W	N. Sims-Williams
LW	loanword		

II. SYMBOLS

C	consonant	<<	analogically replacing
T	stop	>>	replaced analogically by
H	laryngeal	†	expected reflex
R	resonant (esp. l, r)	*	reconstructed form
N	nasal	**	hypothetical form
U	*u, *u	/	divides (part of) Iron form
V	vowel		left and (part of) Digoron
<	developed from		form right (in Ossetic
>	developed into		forms)
:	divides infinitive left and	#	word-boundary
	past ptc. right (in verbs)	ø	zero (ending)
[]	1. phonetic transcription	=>	whence, in other words
	2. graphic representation	+	to which (more) recently
	(in MP forms)		added
//	phonological transcription	±	to which possibly (more)
< >	indicates deleted vowel		recently added
'	indicates elided vowel	x	contaminated with (in
°	part of (pre)form		preforms)

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1. OSSETIC AND ITS SPEAKERS

0.1.1. Overview

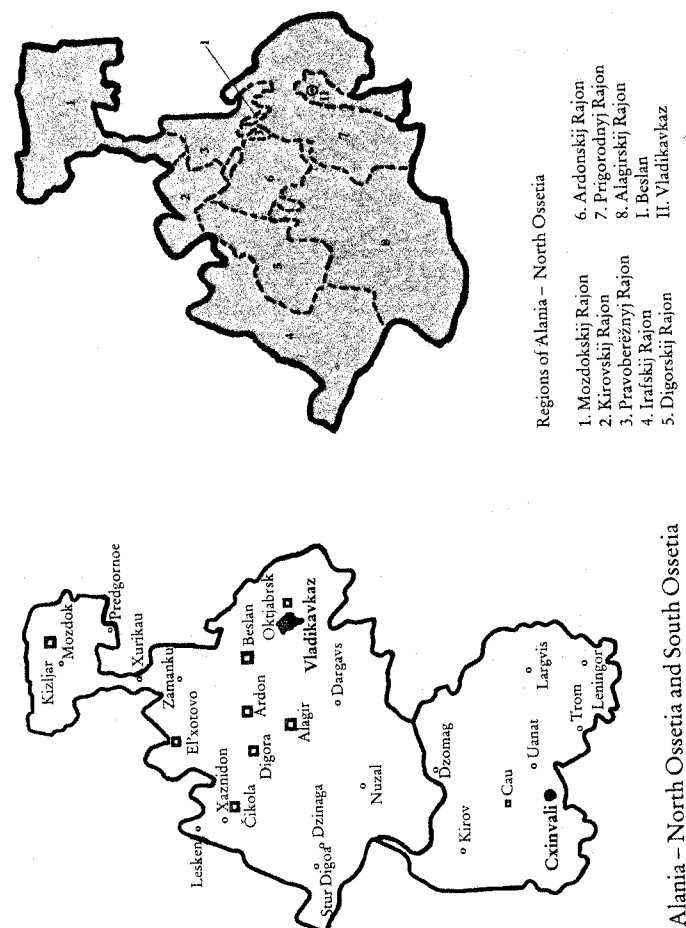
Surrounded by non-Indo-European languages, the Ossetic language is an archaic and peripheral East Iranian language. Ossetic is the last remnant of the closely knit group of languages spoken by the once so powerful Scythian and Sarmatian nomadic tribes, who used to roam the vast plains of the Ponto-Caspian region. Nowadays, Ossetic is chiefly spoken in two regions of the Caucasus, viz. the Autonomous Republic Alania – North Ossetia (approx. 8000 sq. km. = 3100 sq. mi.) and the (former) Autonomous Region of South Ossetia (approx. 3900 sq. km. = 1500 sq. mi.). With its capital Vladikavkaz (formerly Ordzhonikidze), Alania – North Ossetia is part of the Russian Federation, while South Ossetia, with Tskhinvali as local capital, is controlled by the Republic of Georgia. Due to historical circumstances, the language is spoken in Turkey as well. The number of speakers is difficult to assess, being impeded by all sorts of sociological and political factors. For instance, only in Alania North Ossetia, Ossetic has official status (jointly with Russian). Another obstacle is that in census of the former Soviet Union, nationality, rather than language, was considered. Hence, according to the census of 1979, there were approximately 542,000 Ossetians in the Soviet Union, 90 % of them indicating Ossetic as native language. The census of 1989 showed approx. 598,000 persons of Ossetian origin.¹

Ossetians belong in majority (nominally) to Eastern Orthodoxy, which was introduced by Georgian and Abkhaz missionaries in the Middle Ages. A small minority belongs to Sunni Islam. In the 18th century the neighbouring Muslim Kabardians imposed their rule over the Ossetian lands, which, subsequently, resulted in the introduction and spread of Islam. Most Muslim Ossetians, together with over one million fellow-Caucasians, were either deported or fled to the Ottoman Empire, which ceded the Caucasian region to Tsarist Russia in the nineteenth century. However, religious practices and customs of Ossetian Christians and Muslims alike show strong influences from earlier native ("pagan") beliefs.

Standard Ossetic is based on Iron, the dialect used by the overwhelming majority of Ossetians. Iron spoken in North Ossetia used to be called Tagaurian, while the local Georgian-influenced variety of Iron in South Ossetia is known as Tualian. Beside Iron, a small minority, about 80,000 persons speak Digoron, which is the more archaic dialect. Digoron is chiefly spoken in the eastern provinces of North Ossetia, viz. the *Irafskij* and *Digorskij Rajon*. A transitional dialect, Digoron with Iron features, is spoken in the district *Wallagkom*, near the Alagirian Gorge.

0.1.2. Name and origin

The European designation *Ossetians* (French *Ossètes*, German *Oseten*, etc.) derives from Georgian (*Oseti*), through the mediation of Russian (*Osetiny*). The name is usually connected



¹ For more exact figures see Čelxasaty (p. 14-16).

with the mediaeval *As*, *Jas* (in Old Russian chronicles and Hungarian *Jász*), by which the Ossetians themselves now call the adjacent Turkic speaking Balkars. The *As* were apparently part of the ancient Alans (cf. § 0.4.6). The *As* are mentioned in many and sometimes unexpected sources. According to the Catholic missionary John de Marignolli, a group of *Asu* was stationed at the court of the Great-Khan in China during the Yuan dynasty. In addition, Brother Pellegrini mentioned in 1318 that a group of 30,000 Orthodox Christian *Asu* was living on the Chinese mainland coast opposite Formosa (Sulimirski 1970: 197). In the Western parts of the Eurasian continent, the *As*, together with the Turkic Comans, even reached Hungary. A written witness of their presence there was discovered by J. Németh in 1958. The document, the so-called "Yassic Wordlist", which can be dated to 1422, contained an interesting list of Ossetic words. Apparently, this document served as a kind of phrase list. The *Jász* themselves were first mentioned in a document (found in the national Hungarian archives), dating to 1318: "ancille sue emptice nacione Jazonice Elysabeth nominate".

The Caucasian *As* or Alans settled in the northern Caucasus plains, occupying the hills near the tributaries of the Kuban river, its main branch the Zelenchuk to the west, up to the Daryal pass to the east. Political and cultural ties were established with Byzantium, Georgia, Abkhazia, the Khazar Empire and Russia. In the tenth century the *As* were converted to Eastern Christianity. A few glimpses of the language spoken at that time can be gleaned from some Byzantine sources² and a grave inscription³. Eventually, this Alanic state collapsed under the onslaughts of the Mongolian hordes in the 13th centuries and, subsequently, under the campaigns of Tamerlan in the 14th century. The remaining *As* either retreated to the central part of the Caucasus, thus becoming the ancestors of the Ossetians, or fled, reaching Hungary and China.

0.2. THE GENETIC AFFILIATION OF OSSETIC

0.2.1. *Iranian*

Iranian, to which Ossetic belongs, is conventionally divided in two main subgroups: West Iranian and East Iranian. However, this does not necessarily imply the existence of a Proto-West Iranian or Proto-East Iranian stage. It merely signals some phonological, morphological and even syntactical developments shared by these subgroups. It is often difficult to discern whether these developments are merely parallel or rather point to a common origin, cf. Edel'man (1986), Oranskij (1977: 192-212), Sims-Williams (*CLI*: 165-172), Skjærvø (*CLI*: 370-383). Iranian itself forms together with Indo-Aryan (the most

² In the epilogue of his *Theogony* the writer Ioannes Tzetzes (1110-1180) added three "Alanic" sentences, which are apparently greeting formulae. For the interpretation see Abaev (*OJaF*: 254 ff.) and Bielmeier (1993: 1 ff.). In another Byzantine manuscript, which was recently discovered in St.-Petersburg, several more Alanic forms came to light as well. Full publication of the content and interpretation is forthcoming (Engberg-Lubotsky).

³ The stela with the inscription concerned was discovered near the river Zelenchuk in 1888. For the most recent treatment of the inscription (and the discovery of the grave) see Zgusta (1987).

important member of which is Sanskrit) and the little-known Nuristani languages, spoken in North-East Afghanistan, the Indo-Iranian language group.

0.2.2. *West Iranian*

The most important West Iranian representative is of course Persian, which has the longest, almost uninterrupted written records of all Iranian languages, being attested in three main stages (Old, Middle and New Persian), and which is also, culturally and politically, the most influential Iranian language. Other notable West Iranian languages are Parthian, Kurdish, Baluchi, Zazaki, Tati and Taleshi. Also, we have to mention the postulated language of ancient Media, "Median", from which Old Persian presumably borrowed a number of forms.

0.2.3. *East Iranian*

The East Iranian group is at least as diverse as the West Iranian group, if not more. Several archaic members are encountered, such as the mediaeval languages Sogdian, Khotanese and Khwarezmian, which, together with Ossetic and Yaghnobi, may be grouped as North(-East) Iranian. Some innovations shared by Sogdian and Khotanese are listed by Sims-Williams (1990: 275 f.). To the North(-East) Iranian group we also reckon the languages spoken by the Scythian, Sarmatian and (?) other Iranian tribes of the Ponto-Caspian region. For some developments in these languages see § 0.7.6. Other languages are mostly of recent date, spoken chiefly in Southern Tadjikistan, Afghanistan or Pakistan, such as the Pamir languages (Shughni, Roshani, Bartangi, Sariqoli, Ishkashmi, Yazghulami), Wakhi, Munji-Yidgha, Pashto and the hitherto little-known extinct language of the Kushan Empire, viz. Bactrian⁴.

0.2.4. *Unclassified: Avestan and Parachi-Ormuri*

Three languages are somewhat exceptional. In the first place, we have to mention Avestan, the archaic and liturgical language of the Zoroastrians, which is attested in two dialects, viz. the extremely conservative Gatha Avestan and the more recent Young or Late Avestan. The dialects are embodied in a considerable corpus of texts. The Gathas incorporate a number of holy hymns said to be composed by Zarathushtra himself, while the majority of the Avestan texts is evidently younger. Its remarkably archaic character precludes a reasonable classification. At the opposite of the spectrum are the recent languages Ormuri and Parachi, spoken in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Their lack of distinctive, archaic traits makes classification difficult.

0.3. THE LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT OF OSSETIC

As indicated above, Ossetic has a rather isolated position, being almost fully enclosed by genetically unrelated languages, which can be divided in four linguistic groups. Several of

⁴ Most recently, a collection of Bactrian documents came to light in Afghanistan. For the translation and interpretation of these texts see Sims-Williams 2000.

these languages have influenced the Ossetic lexicon and, to a lesser extent, phonology and grammar.

0.3.1. *South Caucasian or Kartvelian*

Georgian is the most prominent representative of this family. Georgian has the largest number of speakers of any Caucasian language (approx. 3.5 million) and has a long written history, dating back to the fourth century CE. Other languages belonging to this group are Svan, Mingrelian (spoken in the northwestern parts of Georgia) and Laz (primarily in the Turkish-Georgian border districts).

0.3.2. *West Caucasian or Abkhaz-Adyghe*

This group comprises a relatively small number of languages, which are often spoken in scattered pockets outside the Caucasus, notably in Turkey, Jordan, Syria and Israel. The languages are Abkhaz-Abaza, Circassian (= Adyghe-Kabardian), and Ubykh (extinct).

0.3.3. *East Caucasian*

East Caucasian can be divided into two distinctive branches, Nakh and North-Eastern Caucasian. To the Nakh group belong Chechen, Ingush (spoken in their respective republics, also in Turkey) and Batsbi (spoken in Georgia). North-Eastern Caucasian languages are primarily spoken in Daghestan. They can be subdivided into three subgroups, which are named after their main constituent languages: Avar-Andi-Dido, Lak-Darginian and Lezgian(-Tabassaran).

The East Caucasian and West Caucasian languages are believed to be genetically related by authorities like V. Illič-Svitič, S. Starostin, et al. These languages would constitute a larger language family, viz. *North Caucasian*.

0.3.4. *Turkic*

Oguz (e.g. Turkish, Azeri and Turkmenian) represents by far the most prominent branch, ever since its political ascendancy in history. Also for Ossetic it was the most important source of (Turkic) borrowings, since Azeri was used as a lingua franca in the Caucasus for centuries. Next to Oguz, we need to mention some languages of the Kipchak branch as well. Nogay, Kumyk and Karachay-Balkar are relevant to Ossetic, considering not only their geographical proximity, but also the (former) cultural and political contacts. Further, we have to consider the possible influence of the Khazars, whose precise affiliation within the Turkic language family remains a mystery.

0.3.5. *Other languages*

Through the mediation of Azeri, many Persian and Arabic loanwords have entered the Ossetic language, chiefly terms in the realm of culture, politics and religion: e.g. *lamar* 'Islamic prayer' (< NP *namāz*), *bazar* 'bazaar' (< NP *bāzār*), *zindon* 'prison' (< NP *zindān*), *mollo* 'mullah, Islamic clergyman' (< Arab.-Pers. *mullā*), *adam* 'people' (Arab.-Pers. *ādām*). From Indo-European languages, notably Russian, Ossetic has borrowed too, e.g. *kommunist*, *pev* 'oven' (< Russ. *peč*), *skola* 'school' (Russ. *škola*), etc. For early borrowings from Germanic, Slavic, et al. see § 0.4.7.

0.4. THE PRE-OSSETIC STAGE

0.4.1. *North-East Iranian prehistory*

Numerous Iranian tribes are known to have inhabited the plains and steppes that stretch from the Aral Lake region to the Northern Caucasian lowlands. Thus, we come across the Cimmerians, Scythians, Saka, Sauromatians-Sarmatians and the Aorsi-Alans, which were mentioned by Greek and Roman sources. Most of what we know about these tribes mainly stems from Herodotus (*Histories*, d.d. 440 BCE), Strabo (*Geography*, early 1st century CE) and Ptolemy (*Geography*, late 2nd century CE). The languages or dialects spoken by these tribes constitute a closely related group, from which Ossetic has ultimately emerged. Still, we may discern some distinctive phonological developments, see § 0.7.6. The Ossetians are considered to be the direct descendants of the Alans.

0.4.2. *Cimmerians*

The Cimmerians were the earliest known Iranians to roam the Ponto-Caspian steppes. Already Homer mentioned the people of (Gpl.) Κιμμερίων (Od. XI : 13-15), who lived "at the end of the Ocean, being covered in fog and cloud": "ἦ δ' ἐς πείραθ' ἵκανε βαθυρὸν Ὀκεανοῖο ἐνθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμος τε πόλις τε, ἥρῃ καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι". Several Greek authors, e.g. Callinus (*apud* Callimachus, 4th century BCE), Herodotus (I 6) and Strabo reported on the recurring Cimmerian raids and invasions in Asia Minor. Especially Arrian discussed, in his history of Bithynia, the Cimmerians in detail, although only fragments of this work are known to us.

The Cimmerians are mentioned not only in Greek sources. Already in Assyrian intelligence reports to Sargon II, dated between 721-715 BCE, we come across *Gāmir(a)*, *Gāmirra*, which defeated Urartu. The names *Gāmir(a)*, *Gāmirra* apparently referred to the name of a country, which bordered on a region called *Qurania* (somewhere near the river Kur in Georgia). In a later period, the name was still remembered: in the Behistun inscriptions, *Gimirri* features as the Babylonian translation of Old Persian *Sakā* (§ 0.4.4). A land *Gāmir* situated in Asia Minor is mentioned in the Old Testament (Ezekiel, 597-571 BCE). For more details see Diakonoff (1981: 104 ff.).

0.4.3. *Scythians*

The rather elusive name *Scythians* (οἱ Σκύθαι) usually refers to another group of nomadic tribes, who appeared in the Pontic region in the eighth century BCE. According to the report of Herodotus (IV 11 f.), the Greeks of Pontus relate how "the nomadic tribes of Scythians, who lived in Asia, were hard pressed by the Massagetae and were forced across the river Araxes into Cimmeria – the same land which the Scythians now inhabit is said to have belonged to the Cimmerians long ago"⁵. A group of the Cimmerians fled to Asia

⁵ "... Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας οἰκόντας ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, πολέμῳ πιεσθέντας ὑπὸ Μασσαγετῶν, οἴχεσθαι διαβάντας ποταμὸν Ἀράξην ἐπὶ γῆν Κιμμερίην – τὴν γάρ νῦν νέμονται Σκύθαι, αὕτη λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι Κιμμερίων".

Minor, while yet another group decided to commit suicide by fighting each other to death, rather than to surrender to the Scythian hordes, thus Herodotus. The Scythians appear in Assyrian chronicles as well, being referred to as the *Aškuza(i)*, *Iškuza(i)*. Thus, we learn that around 675-645 BCE a certain king in the land *Iškuza*, viz. *Partatua* (= Herodotus' Πρωτοθύης, father of the Scythian king Μαδύης) sued for the hand of a Ninivite princess.

The Scythians were infamous for pillaging the Middle East: Syria, Cyprus, Palestine and Northern Egypt. The Scythians also invaded Media: some of the Median kings were of Scythian descent. The strong Scythian influence on the Medes is not only noticeable in the reliefs of Persepolis, in which the garments of the Median courtiers were depicted, but also the "typical" Median term *farnah*- 'royal glory', cf. Lubotsky (1998: 479ff.), is an example of Scythian culture. Eventually, the Scythians were expelled: according to Herodotus (I 106), they were slaughtered by Cyaxares and his fellow-Medes during a banquet.

0.4.4. *Saka*

Whether the Scythians can be equated with the *Sakā*, whom the Achaemenian king Darius claimed to have subjugated, is somewhat uncertain, although Herodotus (VII 64) flatly stated that "the Persians call all Scythians Saka" (οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλοῦσι Σάκας). The Saka mentioned by Darius were divided in three groups: the *Sakā paradravā* ('the Saka across the sea'), who dwelled west of the Empire, the *Sakā haumavargā* ('Hauma-revering (?) Saka') and the *Sakā tigraxaudā* ('the Saka with Pointed Hats'), who both were located east. Especially the *Sakā tigraxaudā* are remarkable, since we have tangible proof for a link between these Saka and Ossetians: the name of their captured leader *Skunxa*, depicted on the relief of Behistun, can be connected with the Ossetic verb *skəɣɣɨn* / *askə'wənxun* 'to be distinguished, commit a heroic deed', *skəɣɣɨt* 'hero', cf. Abaev III: 119 f.

Traces of Saka presence are also found in the Iranian province *Seistān*, from older *Sakestān*. In Northern India and especially in the mediaeval Buddhist kingdom of Khotan (East Turkestan or Xinjiang), the Saka were particularly prominent. According to Bailey (1977: 39 ff.), their language, Khotanese, shares a "remarkably similar" vocabulary with Ossetic.

0.4.5. *Sauromatians-Sarmatians*

In the last centuries BCE, a new Iranian tribe emerged from the horizon, viz. the Sarmatians. The history of the Sarmatians can be traced back to the fifth century, when Herodotus (IV 21) reported that east of the Scythians, across the Tanais river (= the Don), a people named Σαυρομάται were living. The Sauromatians are generally equated with the more recent Sarmatians, who challenged the Scythian supremacy in the Pontic region. Like the Scythians, the Sarmatians were apparently pressured by the Massagetai to migrate to the west. The Sarmatian presence in the Scythian territory west of the Don was noticed by Pseudo-Scylax (338 BCE), who commented on the Σαυρομάται. The contacts between these two groups apparently resulted in assimilation of the Scythians and, subsequently, "Sarmatization" of the whole region, which is reflected in the material culture, cf. Sulimirski (1970: 99 ff.). Inscriptions of names found in the region around the Sea of Azov (Olbia, Panticapaeum et al.) indicate the (Scytho-)Sarmatian presence.

The influence of Sarmatians was also felt outside the Pontic region. Traces of Sarmatians have been discovered in Asia Minor, the Balkan and Eastern Europe and even as far as Britain, where they were recruited as Roman soldiers. Finally, the downfall of the Sarmatians was brought about by the East Gothic invasion of the Pontic region from the West and the savage onslaughts of the Huns from the East.

0.4.6. *Aorsi-Alans*

The Alans made their appearance in the Pontic region in the last century BCE. Originally, they were situated near the Aral Lake, where they lived in symbiosis with the *Aorsi* (cf. Ossetic *urs* / *ors* 'white' < **aruša*-, LAv. *auruša*- 'id.', Skt. *aruṣa*- 'reddish, shining'), who dominated the lower Volga and southern Ural area. They were also close to the dwellings of the Sogdians, who wielded considerable power in Central Asia for centuries. According to Sulimirski (l.c.: 116), the name *Aorsi* (Ἀορσοί, Ptolemy) 'the Whites' refers to their western habitat, although we may wonder whether the colour *white* might also refer to their clothing⁶. The intimate contacts between the Aorsi and Alans are reflected by the later attested amalgamated name Ἀλανορσοί, mentioned by Strabo. The Aorsi were either a Sarmatian or a "Sarmatized" tribe, who were reportedly known in the Chinese *Annals of the Former Han* (138-126 BCE) as *Yents'ai* or *Ants'ai*. At a certain stage, the Alans gained the upper hand, being reflected in the record of the *Annals of the Later Han* (26-211 CE), which mentioned that the *Antsai* were renamed *Allanai*. In due course, the Alans largely assimilated the Aorsi and other Iranian tribes as well, extending their control over huge territories. In the 3rd-4th century CE the influence of the Alans stretched from the Aral Lake to the steppes of the Don and from the foothills of the Ural to the Caucasus. Strong ties were established with the East Goths, who earlier invaded the Ukraine around 200 CE. Not until the invasion of the Huns in the 4th century CE did this nomadic empire collapse. The result of the Hunnic invasion was the dispersion of the Alans, being now split up in a European and a Caucasian branch. The modern Ossetians are presumably the descendants of these Caucasian Alans.

0.4.7. *Ancient borrowings*

It does not surprise us that the former contacts with numerous peoples and ethnic groups are reflected by mutual borrowings, involving Finno-Ugric, Slavic, Germanic, Greek, Turkic, Mongolic, and other (Middle) Iranian languages, next to (of course) Caucasian languages. The Ossetic borrowings from European languages are labelled "Scytho-European isoglosses" by Abaev. Also the well-known Narts epic, which has its own version in the different Caucasian languages, is thought to contain traces of old Scythian and Sarmatian lore, cf. Sikojev (321, 329) Abaev (1958: 56-71; also preface *Narty* I: 56 ff.).

⁶ There is reportedly a Turkmenian tribe named *Alan* in southeastern Turkmenistan, who distinguishes itself from others by endogamy and dressing in *white*, cf. Tolstov (cited by Harmatta 1970: 65).

0.5. PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THIS WORK

0.5.1. *Objective*

The present study treats some aspects of the historical phonology of Ossetic. Ever since this language came to the attention of Indo-Europeanists, thanks to the ground breaking research of A. Sjøgren and V. Miller, study of this language became a significant part of Iranian philology. Ossetic has also gained relevancy in other disciplines as well, especially in Finno-Ugric and Caucasian linguistics. The distinguished role Ossetic plays in Indo-European and Indo-Iranian research is mainly based on etymological considerations. Numerous archaisms and significant borrowings were retrieved from the Ossetic lexicon by eminent iranologists like V.I. Abaev, E. Benveniste, H.W. Bailey, H. Hübschmann and V. Miller, until this finally culminated in the publication of the monumental work *Historical-etymological Dictionary of the Ossetic Language*⁷, compiled by the great Ossetian scholar V.I. Abaev within three decades. This work is to be even more appreciated, if we consider the fact that there is no elaborate etymological dictionary currently available for any Iranian language, except for Khotanese.

0.5.2. *Scope and methodology*

The emphasis of the present study lies on five related topics, viz. *Apocope*, *Syncope*, *Aphaeresis*, *i-Epenthesis* (in conjunction with *palatalization*) and *Accent*, which are discussed per chapter. The first four developments had a great impact on the vocalism, while the *Accent* has been an important catalyst in the rise of (most of) these developments. None of these developments had been subjected to a systematic treatment before, being referred to on a rather ad hoc basis. Two additional chapters, viz. *On *u, *y* and *Appendix*, are dedicated to the treatment of **ū, *y* and morphemes with final *-a*, respectively.

The material for my research was largely gleaned from the *Dictionary* of Abaev. Forms were selected and critically examined for this purpose. The result of the assessment can be found in the *Etymological Index*, at the end of this book. Whether a particular form can be used for the investigation depends on reconstruction and accompanying etymology. For this reason I primarily relied on inherited forms with a sound (Indo-)Iranian etymology. It goes without saying that the reconstruction of preforms must be rooted in well-established sound laws and developments, cf. § 0.7. In many instances I was compelled to revise the reconstruction and also etymology given by Abaev, who was not always consistent in the application of these sound laws. In some cases I had to discard the whole etymology.

0.5.3. *Some remarks on citation and transcription*

For the citation of Ossetic forms I have adopted the Latin transcription devised by Abaev, except for some minor details. Iron *u* and Digoron *o* are given without macron (̄), whereas *i* and *ī* are transcribed as *i* and *ij* respectively. In addition, I do not follow the habit of Abaev to represent initial *a-* in superscript which he considers etymologically irrelevant, i.e. being prothetic, for instance in **fjad* 'army, host' (< **spāda-*) vs. *aecæg* 'true, truth' (< **habja-*

ka-). In the present study, Iron and Digoron forms are cited, being separated by a slash mark (/). If only one form is mentioned, this means that the Iron and Digoron forms are identical. If a form is marked by "I." or "D.", it is generally meant that only the Iron or Digoron form is attested. As for the transcription of the other (Indo-)Iranian forms, I have followed the usual orthographic convention. A fully consistent transcription of especially the modern Iranian forms cannot be warranted, however.

0.6. OSSETIC WRITING SYSTEMS AND PHONOLOGY

0.6.1. *Alphabets*

Different alphabets and transliterations have been employed to write down Ossetic. A modified Cyrillic alphabet has been mostly used, ever since the first Ossetic book, a catechism, appeared in 1798.⁸ In 1844, A. Sjøgren, the first scholar to give a scientific description of Ossetic, devised an alphabet on the basis of the Russian-Cyrillic alphabet, which was used until 1923. In that year a Latin-based alphabet was introduced, which was again replaced by a new Cyrillic-based alphabet in 1938. In South Ossetia, on the other hand, a slightly modified Georgian alphabet was used at first, the Georgian *xucuri* script with additional letters and later, in 1939, the Georgian *msedruli* script, until the South Ossetians adopted the Cyrillic alphabet used by their northern brethren.

The current official (Cyrillic-based) Ossetic alphabet is as follows:

Ossetic alphabet	transcription	Ossetic alphabet	transcription
А а	a	П п	p
Æ æ	æ	ПЪ пъ	p'
Б б	b	Р р	r
В в	v	С с	s
Г г	g	Т т	t
ГЪ гъ	ġ	ТЪ тъ	t'
Д д	d	У у	u, w, o
ДЖ дж	ġ	Ф ф	f
ДЗ дз	z	Х х	x
Е е	e	Ц ц	c
Ё ё	(ë)	ЦЪ цъ	c'
Ж ж	(ž)	Ч ч	k
З з	z	ЧЪ чъ	k'
И и	i	(Ш ш)	(š)
Й й	j	(ШЪ шъ)	(šč)
К к	k	(Ъ ъ)	(')
КЪ къ	k'	Ы ы	y

⁸ There were older attempts to write down Ossetic words and phrases, notably by Peter Simon Pallas, who compiled the *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa* published between 1786 and 1789.

⁷ In Russian: *Istoriko-etimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka*.

Л л	l	б б	(ʔ)
М м	m	(Ә ә)	(ə)
Н н	n	(Ю ю)	(ju)
О о	o	(Я я)	(ja)

Letters in parentheses are only found in recent borrowings from Russian.

0.6.2. Phonology

According to Thordarson (*CLL*: 459 ff.), the Iron dialect has the following phonemes, which are presented here in IPA (in broad transcription). If the transcription differs from IPA, the transcription as adopted in the present study is also given in brackets. A description of the phonetic realisations of the Iron phonemes is given by Axvlediani (1963: 42 ff.).

- vowels

high	i	i {y}	u
mid	e	e {æ}	o
low		a/a {a}	

- semivowels

y {j}	w
-------	---

- consonants

labials	p	b	f	v	p'	m
dentals	t	d			t'	n
affricates	ts {c}	dz {z}			ts' {c'}	
palatal affricates	tʃ {k}	dʒ {g}			tʃ' {k'}	
simple velars	k	g			k'	
labial. velars	k _o {k _o }	g _o {g _o }			k' _o {k' _o }	
simple uvulars	q	χ {x}			q' {g}	
labial. uvulars	q _o {q _o }	χ _o {x _o }			q' _o {g _o }	
"liquids"						r l
sibilants	s	z				
laryngeals						h {g}

The high central vowel /i/ is realized lower than front /i/ and is liable to influence of surrounding velars, which practically results in the realization [u]. Concerning the mid vowels, front /e/ and back /o/ are relatively close in pronunciation. Mid central /e/ is generally more like an open "shwa", although it must be said that /e/ is very susceptible to the influence of adjacent consonants. There is one low vowel, which is either central /a/ or back /ɑ/ (depending on (sub)dialect). The vowels *i*, *e*, *a*, *o* and *u* are generally pronounced long.

The ejective consonants *p'*, *t'*, etc. are of non-Indo-Iranian origin and must be ascribed to Caucasian substrate or adstrate influence. The ejective consonants are

⁹ Cf. Henderson (1949: 37 ff.): Oss. D. *æ* is transcribed as /ɔ/.

frequently found not only in Caucasian loanwords, but also in borrowings from Russian, where they represent voiceless stops and affricates, e.g. *p'alet* 'epaulette' (cf. Russ. *épolet*), *parti* [p'artil] 'party' (cf. Russ. *partija*). Even some inherited forms contain an ejective consonant, see § 0.7.5.11.

The labialized velar / uvular series has arisen from the respective simple consonants in the position before **u*, while the palatal affricate series has arisen from the velars before a front vowel.

The pronunciation of *s* and *z* shows a great dialectal variety, ranging from apico-alveolar [s], [z] to lamino-(post)alveolar [s ~ ʃ], [z ~ ʒ], which are found, for instance, in Vladikavkaz and surrounding districts. In conjunction with the lamino-(post)alveolar pronunciation, the affricates *c* and *g* are realized as simple sibilants [s] and [z]. Sometimes, *z* and *z* are confused in writing as well, e.g. *arææ* next to *arææ* (obs.) 'thousand'.

The phonemic status of *b* is marginal. It is sporadically found in a few expressive forms: e.g. *gæj-gæj*, pronounced as [hey-hey].

The phoneme inventory of the Digoron dialect is different in some respects. A description is given by Henderson (1949), Isaev (*Dig. dial.*: 5 ff.) and Thordarson (l.c.).

- vowels

high	i:/iʔ {ij}	u
	i {i}	
mid	e	e {æ} o
low		a/a {a}

- semivowels

y {j}	w
-------	---

- consonants

labials	p	b	f	v	p'	m
dentals	t	d			t'	n
affricates	ts {c}	dz {z}			ts' {c'}	
simple velars	k	g			k'	
labial. velars	k _o {k _o }	g _o {g _o }			k' _o {k' _o }	
simple uvulars	q	χ {x}	ʁ {g}			
"liquids"						r l
sibilants	s	z				
laryngeals						h {g}

As to the vowels, {ij} is pronounced either long [i:] or as diphthong [iʔ]. Digoron *i* is more open than Iron *i*. As in Iron, vowel *æ* is very susceptible to the influence of adjacent consonants, for instance, it becomes front [e] before *j*. The vowels *ij*, *a*, *e*, *u*, *o* are pronounced long.

Before front vowel, the velars have not yet become affricates (tʃ, dʒ, etc.), being merely pronounced palatalized, which also apply to the other stops. Palatalized dental *d* is often pronounced like an affricate, e.g. *uzesna* 'span' (cf. I. *wydisny*). The labialized velar and

uvular stops are marginal in Digoron, for their phonemic status see Sokolova (II: 48 ff.); Job (1977: 76 ff.).

0.7. HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY

0.7.1. The Proto-Iranian phonemic system

The preforms given in this study have been reconstructed according to the principles of comparative (Indo-)Iranian and Indo-European philology. The most recent innovations in Indo-European historical linguistics, like laryngeals and glottalic consonants, are generally of little impact on the reconstruction of Iranian preforms. The laryngeal **H* (< PIE **H*₁, **H*₂, **H*₃) has been occasionally reconstructed.

The conventionally reconstructed Proto-Iranian phoneme inventory can be summarized as follows:

- vowels	<i>a ā</i>	<i>i ī</i>	<i>u ū</i>	<i>ai āi</i>	<i>au āu</i>
- semivowels		<i>j</i>	<i>ɰ</i>		
- consonants					
labials	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>f</i>		<i>m</i>
dentals	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>θ</i>		<i>n</i>
velars	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ɣ</i>		
affricates	<i>č</i>	<i>ǰ</i>			
dental sibilants	<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>			
palatal sibilants	<i>š</i>	<i>ž</i>			
liquids				<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>
laryngeals			<i>h</i>	<i>H</i>	

There is little evidence for phonemic **ç*, which is an allophone of **š* after and before voiced stops.

The phonemic status of **l* is doubtful, Iranian reflexes of **l* being limited to two well-known instances, in the verb for 'to lick', cf. NP *lištan*, Kurd. *alistin*, W. *liṣt*: *liṣt*, and the word for 'lip', MP, NP *lab*, Š. *lāfč*. A diminutive suffix **-la* appears in a few Iranian languages as well: Khot. *-ka-la-* (e.g. *braukala-* 'brow'), NP *-al* (e.g. *čangāl* 'finger, claw' < *čang* 'claw, expanded hand'), Kurd. *-al* (e.g. *sēwal* 'puppy' < *sa* 'dog'). A satisfactory explanation for the rise of *l* in these Iranian forms has not yet been given.

The vocalic allophone of **r* is *ɻ*, which is regularly vocalized to Oss. *ar*, *ar*, on which see § 0.7.3.20b. The usual practice to write vocalic *ɻ* in Iranian reconstructions is generally followed here.

0.7.2. Vowels

0.7.2.1. **a*

0.7.2.1.i. **a* > Oss. *a*: e.g.

- *ander* 'other' < **antara-*, Skt. *ántara-*;
- *danday* 'tooth' < **dantāka-*, Khot. *dandaa-*, Av. *dant-*;

- *naw* / *nawā* 'young grass' < **nayā*, LAv. *nauua-*, Skt. *nāva-* 'new';
- *qad* / *gāda* 'wood, log' < **gadā-*, LAv. *gādā-* 'club, stick'.

0.7.2.1.ii. **a* > Oss. *a*, before -CC#: e.g.

- *ast* 'eight' < **astā*, LAv. *ašta*, Skt. *aṣṭā*;
- *avd* 'seven' < **hafta*, Av. *hapta*, Khz. *aṣṭ*, Sogd. *ʃst*, Khot. *boda*;
- *casm* / *cans* 'loop' < **čašma*, **čašman-*, Av. *cašman-* (n.) 'eye';
- *tağd* 'quick' < **taxta-*, Skt. *taktā-*.

0.7.2.1.iii. **a* > Oss. *o*, before -NC#: e.g.

- *fonz* 'five' < **panča*, LAv. *pañca*, Skt. *pāñca*;
- *nyvond* / *nivond* 'sacrifice' < **nibanda-*, Skt. *nibandha-* 'chain, fetter';
- *zæronđ* 'old (man)' < (thematicized) **zāranta-*, Skt. *jārant-* 'old'.

0.7.2.1.iv. **a* > Oss. *i*, *y* / *i*, when adjacent to *n* (complete collection):

- *fynddas* / *finddas* 'fifteen' < **pančadasa*, LAv. *pañca.dasa*;
 - *ingen* 'grave' < **ham-kana-*, LAv. *hankana-* (n.) 'cellar, catacomb';
 - *kynz* / *keinzə* 'bride' < **kan(i)-č-*, cf. Sogd. *knc*, Av. *kaini-* 'girl';
 - *nymat* / *nimat* 'felt' < **namata-*, LAv. *namata-*, Khot. *namta-*, MP *namad*;
 - *nymd* / *ninda* 'customary female modesty' < **namatā(d)*, Khot. *nauda* 'homage', Av. *namah-*, Skt. *nāmas-* 'respect';
 - ¹*nyx* / *nix* 'nail' < **naxa-*, Skt. *nakhā-*;
 - ²*nyx* / *nix* 'forehead' < **nahuāh*, **nahuant-*, Skt. *nasvānt-* 'nosed';
 - *ruzyng* / *rozyngə* 1. [L] 'window', 2. [D.] 'sacrificial bread' < **raučanakā-*, cf. LAv. *raocana-* '(the) light, shining; window', Skt. *rocana-* 'shining';
 - *tyngyn* / *itynzun* 'to spread out' < **uī-θanǰa-*, Av. *θanj-* 'to pull';
 - *ysyn* / *insun* 'to sharpen' < **ham-saj-*, Sogd. *ʎsy-* 'to rub';
 - *zynyn* / *zinnun* 'to appear' < **zan(i)a-*, cf. Khot. *ysān-* 'to appear'.
- The conditions of this sound change are unclear.

0.7.2.1.v. **a* > Oss. *ə* in final position (apocope): e.g.

- *avd* 'seven' < **hafta*, Av. *hapta*, Khz. *aṣṭ*, Sogd. *ʃst*, Khot. *boda*;
- *ander* 'other' < **antara-*, Skt. *ántara-*;
- *ingen* 'grave' < **ham-kana-*, LAv. *hankana-* (n.) 'underground place';
- ¹*nyx* / *nix* 'nail' < **naxa-*, Skt. *nakhā-*.

Loss of **a* in these instances is treated in the chapter *Apocope*, § 1.2. ff.

0.7.2.1.vi. **a* > Oss. *ə* in inlaut (syncope): e.g.

- *arɣə* / *arɣə* 'infinite number' < **hazābra-*, Av. *hazābra-* 'thousand';
- *fynddas* / *finddas* 'fifteen' < **pančadasa*, LAv. *pañca.dasa*;
- *karna* (D.) 'task, assignment' < **karanā*, Skt. *kāraṇa-* (n.) 'deed';
- *nymd* / *ninda* 'traditional female modesty' < **namatā(d)*, Khot. *nauda* 'homage', Av. *namah-*, Skt. *nāmas-* 'respect'.

Loss of **a* in these instances is extensively treated in the chapter *Syncope*.

0.7.2.1.vii. *a > Oss. *ə* in initial position (occasionally): e.g.

- *dæl-*, (adv.) *dæle* ‘below, under’ < **adari*, LAv. *adairi*;
- *max* ‘we, us’ < **ahmāxam*, Av. *ahmākam*, OP *amāxam*;
- *wəd* ‘then’ < **ayada*, **ayadā*, Av. *auuāda* ‘there’, OP *avada* ‘there, then’.

The loss of **a* in these instances is treated in the chapter *Aphaeresis*.

0.7.2.1.viii. *a > Oss. *i* / *e*, *ij* (*i*-epenthesis): e.g.

- *i(i)* / *es* pres. 3sg. ‘is’ < **asti*, Av. *asti*, OP *astīy*;
- *mid-* / *med-* ‘in, internal’ < **maḍia-*, LAv. *maḍiia-*, Skt. *mādhya-* ‘middle’;
- *zarin* / *zarijnə* ‘gold(en)’ < **zaranīa-*, LAv. *zaranīia-*, OP *daraniya-* ‘gold’.

See also the chapter *i-Epenthesis*.

0.7.2.1.ix. *a > Oss. *y* / *u* (*u*-umlaut):

- *fyr* / *fur* ‘much, many’ < **paru-*, Av. *pauru-*, *pouru-*, OP *paru-*;
 - *myd* / *mud* ‘honey’ < **madu-*, LAv. *maḍu-* (n.) ‘an alcoholic drink’, Skt. *mādhū-* (n.) ‘honey’;
 - *fjx* / *funx* ‘ripe’ < **paxua-*, Skt. *pakvā-* ‘boiled, ripe’.
- On the conditions of *u*-umlaut see On **u*, **y*, § 6.2.

0.7.2.1.x. *a > Oss. *u* / *o* (two instances):

- *urs* / *ors* ‘white’ < **uruša-*, LAv. *auruša-*;
- *furd* / *ford* ‘great river, lake’ < **paruta-*, Av. *pauruta-* name of a certain country, “Scythian” name of a river Πόρτα (Hdt.), Khz. *puṛd* (m.) ‘sea’.

On the conditions of this development see On **u*, **y*, § 6.3.

0.7.2.2. *ā

0.7.2.2.i. *ā > Oss. *a*: e.g.

- *gyppar* / *cuppar* ‘four’ < (<) **catvārah*, Av. pl. *catvārō*, Skt. *catvārah* (m.);
- *mad* / *made* ‘mother’ < **mātā*, **mātar*, Av. *mātar*, Skt. *mātār* (f.);
- *ærvad* / *ærvade* ‘brother’ < **brātā*, **brātar*, Av. *brātar* (m.), OP *brātar*;
- *saw* ‘black’ < **siāna*, LAv. *siānua* ‘dark’, Skt. *śyāvā-* ‘dark (brown)’.

0.7.2.2.ii. *ā > Oss. *o* before N: e.g.

- *bon* ‘day’ < **bānu-*, LAv. *bānu-* (m.), Skt. *bhānū-* (m.) ‘light, beam’;
- *don* ‘river; water’ < **dānu-*, LAv. *dānu-* (f.) ‘stream’, Skt. *dānu-* (n., f.) ‘dripping liquid’;
- *nom* / *non* ‘name’ < **nāma*, **nāman*, Av. *nāman*, OP *nāma*;
- *arjom* / *arjon* ‘load, burden’ < **grāma-*, Skt. *grāma-* ‘heap, multitude, host (of warriors)’.

The development is recent, since we still find *a* in Yassic and borrowings into Caucasian languages.

0.7.2.2.iii. *ā > Oss. *ə* / *ɛ* in final position: e.g.

- *axsæw* / *axsæwə* ‘night’ < (thematiz.) **xšap-ā*, cf. *Apocope*, § 1.3.1b;.
- *mad* / *made* ‘mother’ < **mātā*, **mātar*, Av. *mātar*, Skt. *mātār* (f.);

- *fjd* / *fide* ‘father’ < **pitā*, **pitar*, Av. *pitar*, Skt. *pitar* (m.);
- *qad* / *qada* ‘wood, log’ < **gadā*, LAv. *gaḍā-* (f.) ‘club, stick’.

For more details on loss of final *-a* in Iron see *Apocope*, § 1.3.

0.7.2.2.iv. *ā > Oss. *æ* before *j*:

- *ſajjaw* ‘shepherd’ < **pājāuāh*, **pājāuant*, cf. Av. *pāiu-* ‘protector’;
- *maj* / *maje* ‘moon; month’ < Lsg. **māhīā*, OP (Lsg.) *māhīā*;
- *qajyn* / *qajun* ‘future’ < **gāja-*, Khz. *yy*, NP *gāyidan*, Kurd. *gayin*;

The examples for this kind of shortening are limited. In many instances the regular reflex *a* is seen. Similar shortenings are found in other East Iranian languages

0.7.2.3. *ī

PIr. **i* and **i* merged at an early stage.

0.7.2.3.i. *ī > Oss. *y* / *i*: e.g.

- *gyrg* / *arg* ‘sharp’ < **tigra-*, LAv. *tiyra-*, OP *tigra-* ‘pointed’;
- *fjd* / *fide* ‘father’ < **pitā*, **pitar*, Av. *pitar*, Skt. *pitar*;
- *myzd* / *mizd* ‘wages’ < **mižda-*, GAv. *mižda-* (n.);
- *yssæz* / *insæj* ‘twenty’ < **visati-*, Av. *visaiti*, Skt. *vimśati-*.

0.7.2.3.ii. *ī > Oss. *ə* in final position:

- *kəʒ* / *kej* ‘dog’ < (f.) **kuti-*, Sogd. *kwt-*, Š., R, B. *kud* (m.), *kid* (f.);
- *yssæz* / *insæj* ‘twenty’ < **visati-*, Av. *visaiti*, Skt. *vimśati-*.

Loss of **i* in these instances is extensively treated in the chapter *Apocope*, § 1.2.2.

0.7.2.3.iii. *ī > Oss. *i* / *e*, before *-w#*:

- *fiw* / *few* ‘fat’ < **piuāh*, LAv. *piuuah* (n.), Skt. *pīvas-* ‘fat’, etc.

To account for the vocalism, Bieltmeier (1979: 241) derives *fiw* / *few* from **paiua-*, with full grade **ai*, for which there is no evidence in (Indo-)Iranian, however. In fact, *fiw* / *few* may well be the regular reflex of the zero grade form as attested in Avestan and Sanskrit: **i* may have undergone a special development before **y*, thus yielding *i* / *e* in Ossetic. Note that Ossetic forms ending in **yw* / **iw* are not attested. We only come across forms¹⁰ with **iw* / **ew*.

0.7.2.3.iv. *ī > Oss. *i*, *ə* / *i* after loss of initial **y*: e.g.

- *inajyn*: *ivad* / *inajun*: *ivad* ‘to pale, wither; to dawn’ < **vi-bāja-*, Skt. *vi-bhā-* ‘to radiate’;
- *ivar* ‘prohibition, punishment’ < **vi-bāra-*, Av. *vi-bar-* ‘to carry away’;
- *gal* / *igal* ‘awaking’ < **vi-gārah*, Sogd. *wyr’t* ‘awaking’.

See § 0.7.5.15. and also *Aphaeresis*, § 3.3.1. ff.

¹⁰ Examples are *iw* / *ew* ‘one’, *qiw* / *gew* ‘sacrum; [pl.] veins’, *arjūw* / *arjēw* ‘cartilage, gristle’, *xīw* / *xew* ‘spread apart, with straddled legs’ and, without good etymology, *galūw* / *galēw* ‘left’, *k’alūw* / *k’alēw* ‘twig’, *riw* / *rew* ‘chest’.

0.7.2.4. **ũ*

PIr. **u* and **ũ* merged at an early stage.

0.7.2.4.i. **ũ* > Oss. (w)y / u: e.g.

- *byn* / *bun* 'ground' < **buna-*, GAv. *būna-* (m.), Skt. *budhnā-* (m.);
- *wyrd* / *urda* 'otter' < **udrā-*, LAv. *udra-*, Skt. *udrā-*;
- *xoy* / *xu* 'pig, boar' < **bū-*, LAv. *bū-*.

In Iron, **ũ* has lost the labial feature in most cases, but in initial position and after velar the labial feature has been retained (and incorporated in the velar).

0.7.2.4.ii. **ũ* > Oss. *ø*, in final position: e.g.

- *bon* 'day' < **bānu-*, LAv. *bānu-* (m.), Skt. *bhānū-* (m.) 'light, beam';
- *don* 'river; water' < **dānu-*, LAv. *dānu-* (f.) 'stream', Skt. *dānu-* (n, f.) 'dripping liquid';
- *fyr* / *fir* 'much, many' < **paru-*, Av. *pauru-*, *pouru-*, OP *paru-*;
- *myd* / *mud* 'honey' < **madu-*, LAv. *maðu-* (n.) 'an alcoholic drink', Skt. *mādhu-* (n.) 'honey'.

Loss of **ũ* in these instances is extensively treated in the chapter *Apocope*, § 1.2.4. ff.

0.7.2.4.iii. **ũ* > Oss. *ø*, in inlaut (occasionally):

- *mix* / *mex* 'stake' < **maiūxa-*, OP *mayūxa-* (m.), Skt. *mayūkha-*;
- *sizer* / *sezar* 'orphan' < **saiu-čara-*, cf. Skt. *śayī-*.

For more details on the loss of medial **ũ* see *Syncope*, § 2.2.3.

0.7.2.4.iv. **u* > Oss. *ø* in initial position (before **p*): e.g.

- *bela* (D.) '(up)on' < (<) **upari-*, **upara-*; Av. *upairi*, OP *upariy* 'up, over';
- *basta* 'land, world, place' < Lsg. **upastai*, cf. Skt. *upāstha-* (m.) 'lap';
- *bwar* / *bawar* 'body' < **upāwara-*, Khz. ppp. *b'wdek* 'hidden'.

0.7.2.4.v. **u* > Oss. *i* / *uj*, (*i*-epenthesis): e.g.

- *bin* / *bujnag* 'low' < **buna-* + suff. *inag*, Av. *būna-* (m.), Skt. *budhnā-* (m.) 'floor';
- *nywazynag* / *niwazynag* 'drunk' < *nywazyn* / *niwazyn* 'to drink' + *inag*;
- *xarinag* / *xwarynag* 'food' < *xaryn* / *xwaryn* 'to eat' + suff. *inag*.

See also *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.7. ff.

0.7.2.4.vi. **ũ* > Oss. D. *i*, in limited instances: e.g.

- *myst* / *mista* 'mouse' < **mūs* + (?) **-čā-*, Av. *mūs* a daēvic animal, Skt. *mūs-*;
- *iy* / *siwa* 'horn' < **srūyā-*, LAv. *sruuā-*.

For more details see On **u*, **y*, § 6.3.

0.7.2.5. **ai*0.7.2.5.i. **ai* > Oss. *i* / *e*: e.g.

- *avdisyn* / *avdesun* 'to show' < **apa-daisa-*, cf. Av. *daēs-*, Skt. *deś-*;
- *iw* / (*ŋ*)ew 'one' < **aīua-*, Av. *aēnuu-*, OP *aīua-*;
- *mīg* / *meğæ* '[black] cloud' < **maiga-*, LAv. *maēpa-* (m.), Skt. *meghā-* (m.);

- *niz* / *nez* 'disease' < **naiz-a-*, LAv. *naēza-* (m.) name of a certain illness.

0.7.2.5.ii. **ai* > Oss. *y* / *i* before *n*:

- material suff. *-yn* / *-in* < **-aina-*, Av. *-aēna-*, OP *-aina-*;
- *axsin* (D.) 'dark blue' < **axsaina-*, Av. *axsāena-*, OP *axsaina-*;
- *fynek* / *fynkæ* 'foam' < **fain(a)kæ-*, cf. NP *finak*, Skt. *phēna-*.

0.7.2.5.iii. **ai* > Oss. *i* / *ij*, before *n*, due to *i*-epenthesis of following **i*, **ī*: e.g.

- *afsin* / *afsjina* 'mistress of the house' < (f.) **abi-šaitni-*, LAv. *aifši-šaitan-* (Dsg. *aibi-šaitne*) 'inhabitant of the house';
- *axsin* / *axsjina* 'lady, mistress' < **xšaitni-*, LAv. *xšaitni-* f. 'shining'.

For more details on these forms see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.5, and *Apocope*, § 1.2.2b.i.

0.7.2.5.iv. **ai* > Oss. *æ* in final position: e.g.

- *bæsta* 'land', 'world', 'place' < Lsg. **upastai* (*Apocope*, § 1.4.1b), cf. Skt. *upāstha-* (m.) 'lap';
 - *dywæ*, *duwæ* / *duw(w)æ* 'two' < **duwai*, Av. *duuāē(-ca)*, Skt. *dvē* (f. n.);
 - gerund suffix *-ga* < **-kai*, see *Appendix*, A § 9.
- On *-æ* in both dialects see also *Apocope*, § 1.4. ff.

0.7.2.5.v. **ai* > Oss. *a*, in one certain case,

- *sasm* / *sans* 'glue' < **sraisma-*, **sraismān-*, Skt. *ślēsman-*.

For an explanation of the vocalism see the entry in the *Etymological Index*.

0.7.2.6. **āi*

There are no certain Ossetic examples.

0.7.2.7. **au*0.7.2.6.i. **au* > Oss. *u* / *o*: e.g.

- *anus* / *anos* 'eternity' < **anausa-*, LAv. *anaoša-* (adj.) 'immortal';
- *bud* / *boda* 'fragrance; incense' < (f.) **baudā-*, LAv. *baoda-* (m.), Khz. *βωδ* (f.);
- *ruvas*, *rubas* / *robas* 'fox' < **raupāsa-*, Skt. *lopāśā-* (m.) 'jackal, fox';
- *xud* / *xoda* 'hat' < **xaudā-*, LAv. *xaoda-* 'cap', OP *xaudā-* (f.) 'cap, helmet'.

0.7.2.6.ii. **au* > Oss. (o)y / *u* before *n* (complete collection):

- *dyzğyn* / *duzğyn* 'deformed' < **duz-ğauna-*, cf. Av. *gaona-* 'hair (colour)';
- *qoyn* / *ğun* 'hair, wool' < **gauna-*, LAv. *gaona-* (n.).

0.7.2.6.iii. **au* > Oss. *i* / *uj* before *n* (*i*-epenthesis):

- *sin* / *sujna* 'hip' < **srauni-* + **-ā*, LAv. *sraoni-* (f.), Khot. *srūñi* (pl.) 'loins'.

0.7.2.8. **āu*

There are no certain Ossetic examples.

0.7.3. Consonants

0.7.3.1. *j

0.7.3.1.i. *j > Oss. j: e.g.

- *maj* / *maja* 'moon; month' < Lsg. **māhja*, OP (Lsg.) *māhya*;
- *nymajyn* / *nimajyn* 'to count' < **ni-māja*, Sogd. *nm'y* 'to judge';
- *ʒajyn* / *izajyn* 'to remain' < **ʒāja*, Sogd. (Chr.) *wʒ'y* (in *pyš wʒ'y* 'heirloom').

0.7.3.1.ii. *j > Oss. ø before *au.

- *us* / *wosæ* 'woman after marriage, wife' < **iausā*, Skt. *yōsā* 'young woman';
- *udyn* / *odun* 'to exert, put effort' < **iauda*, LAv. *yaod-* 'to fight';
- *uʒyn* / *ozun* 'to swing, rock' < **iaurza*, LAv. *yaor-* 'to set into motion'.

0.7.3.1.iii. *j > Oss. i before *a:

- *igar* 'liver' < **ikar*, LAv. *yākarā* (n.), Skt. *yākert*, etc.

On the development see *Alphaeresis*, § 3.3.1c.

0.7.3.1.iv. *j > Oss. *ji before *ū (ʔ):

- *mix* / *mex* 'stake, pole' < **maixxa*, OP *mayuxa-* (m.) 'a peg-like object', Skt. *mayūkha-* 'pole'.

On the development see *Syncope*, § 2.2.3.

0.7.3.2. *u

0.7.3.2.i. *u > Oss. u: e.g.

- *cawyn* / *cawun* 'to go' < **čāua*, Av. *šāuua*, OP *šiyav*, Skt. *cyu*;
- *dywæ*, *duwæ* / *duw(u)æ* 'two' < **duuāi*, Av. *duuāē(-ca)*, Skt. *dvē* (f. n.);
- *saw* 'black' < **šāua*, LAv. *šāuua* 'dark', Skt. *śyāvā-* 'dark(-brown)';

0.7.3.2.ii. *u > Oss. ø in initial position, before *ř

- *idæʒ* 'widow(ed)' < **uidāua-ř*, cf. Av. *vidānuā-*, Skt. *vidhāvā-* (f.) 'widow';
- *yssæʒ* / *insæʒ* 'twenty' < **uinsati*, cf. Sm. *Ἰνσαζακος* PN lit. 'Vicentius'.

0.7.3.3. *p

0.7.3.3.i. *p > Oss. initial f: e.g.

- *fæten* 'wide' < **paθana*, LAv. *paθana*;
- *fong* 'five' < **panča*, LAv. *panca*, Skt. *pāñca*;
- *fjd* / *fida* 'father' < **pitā*, *pitar*, Av. *pitar*, Skt. *pitar*.

0.7.3.3.ii. *p > Oss. postvocalic v: e.g.

- *avg* / *avga* 'glass', 'bottle' < **āp(a)kā*, cf. MP *ābhēnag* 'crystal, glass';
- *avdisyn* / *avdesun* 'to show' < **apa-daisa*, Skt. *apa-dīs-* 'to assign';
- *æxsæv* / *æxsavæ* 'night' < **xšap-a*.

0.7.3.3.iii. *p > Oss. postvocalic -f in final position (occasionally):

- *keaf* 'fish' < **kapa*, Khot. *kava-* (Nsg. **ā*), Khz. *kyb*, *kb* (f.), Pš. *kab* (m.);

- *karaf* (I.) 'greedy, gluttony' < LW (?), cf. Av. *karapan* 'false prophete', NP (Tadj.) *karapuk* 'dief', Išk. *kerpuk* 'to gnaw'.

See also below, § 0.7.5.

0.7.3.3.iv. *p > Oss. b after *u: e.g.

- *bala* (D.) '(up)on' < (<) **upari*, **upara*, Av. *upairi*, OP *upariy* 'up, over';
- *bæstæ* 'land, world, place' < Lsg. **upastai*, cf. Skt. *upāstha-* (m.) 'lap';
- *bwar* / *bawær* 'body' < **upāwara*, Khz. ppp. *b'wde* 'hidden' (**upāwra*);
- *rubas* / *robās* 'fox' < **raupāsa*, Skt. *lopāśā-* (m.) 'jackal, fox'.

0.7.3.4. *b

0.7.3.4.i. *b > Oss. b in initial position: e.g.

- *bændæn* 'rope' < **bandana*, Skt. *bāndhana-* 'binding';
- *bon* 'day' < **bānu*, LAv. *bānu-* (m.), Skt. *bhānū-* (m.) 'light, beam';
- *bud* / *boda* 'fragrance; incense' < (f.) **baudā*, LAv. *baoda-* (m.), Khz. *βwð* (f.);
- *byn* / *bun* 'ground' < **buna*, Av. *būna-* (m.), Skt. *budhnā-* (m.).

Contrary to other East Iranian languages, the reflex of *b is b in Ossetic, which is surprising. We rather expect fricative v, which is indeed found in *postvocalic* position (see below). I suppose that fricative *β was indeed present in initial position, too. This is supported by Oss. *byjyn* / *bijun* 'to wind, braid', which is mostly likely a borrowing from Slavic, cf. OCS *vitī*, Russ. *vit* 'to wind, braid', with initial fricative v = [β], see also *Etym. Index*, q.v. Contemporary Oss. b would then be the result of "Verschärfung", possibly reflecting Caucasian substrate influence.

0.7.3.4.ii. *b > Oss. v in postvocalic position: e.g.

- *arǰævnæ* (D.) 'pincers' < **agrabanā*, Sogd. (Chr.) *grbn* f. 'pincers', Skt. *a-grabhaṇā-* 'having no grip';
- *ivar* 'prohibition, punishment' < **ui-bāra*, Av. *vī-bar-* 'to carry away';
- *lavar* 'gift, present' < **fra-bāra*, Av. *frabar*, OP *frābara-* 'to bestow';

0.7.3.5. *f

> Oss. f:

- *afæʒ* / *afaj* 'year' < **afati*, cf. LAv. *āfenta-* 'time';
- *afon* / *afonæ* 'time', period < **āfānah* (**āfānā*), cf. LAv. *āfenta*, Khz. *ʷfny* 'then, at that time';
- *fynk* / *finkæ* 'foam' < **fain(a)kā*, cf. NP *finak*, Skt. *phēna*;
- *xæf* / *xæfæ* 'pus' < **kafā*, **xafā*, LAv. *kafa-* (m.), Khot. *khanā* 'foam'.

The forms with postvocalic *f offer an important clue for the development of intervocalic *p- in Ossetic, since intervocalic *f- has not been affected by sonorisation, similar to the other intervocalic fricatives *θ- and *x- (> Oss. t and x), see below. Intervocalic *p- must have been first sonorized to *b-, and finally spirantized to -v- in Ossetic. In case of the reverse chronology, both old and new *f- would have merged and yielded -v- in Ossetic.

0.7.3.6. *m

0.7.3.6.i. *m > Oss. m: e.g.

- *maj* / *maja* 'moon; month' < Lsg. **māhja*, OP (Lsg.) *māhyā*;
- *myd* / *mud* 'honey' < **madu*, LAv. *maðu-* (n.) 'an alcoholic drink', Skt. *mādhu-* (n.) 'honey';
- *nymajyn* / *nimajyn* 'to count' < **ni-māja*, Sogd. *nm'y* 'to judge'.

0.7.3.6.ii. *m > Oss. D. n, in postvocalic final position (often restored to m): e.g.

- *fysym* / *fusun* 'host' < (<) **ṣumāh*, **ṣumant*, LAv. *ṣūmant-* 'keeping cattle', Skt. *ṣumānt-* 'possessing cattle';
- *nom* / *non* 'name' < **nāma*, **nāman*, Av. *nāman-*, OP *nāma*;
- *aṛjom* / *aṛjon* 'load, burden' < **grāma*, Skt. *grāma-* 'heap, multitude'.

0.7.3.7. *t

0.7.3.7.i. *t > Oss. t in initial position: e.g.

- *tarsag* / *tarsagæ* 'fearful' < **tṛsāka*, cf. LAv. *tṛsa-*, OP *t(a)rsa-* 'to fear';
- *tayd* / *tavda* 'hot, heat' < **taṣṭā*, LAv. ppp. *ḥam.taṣṭa-*, Khot. *ttanda-*;
- *tīg* / *teḡæ* 'mountain-range; sharp edge' < **taigā*, LAv. *taēya-* 'sharp'.

0.7.3.7.ii. *t > Oss. d in postvocalic position: e.g.

- *fyd* / *fidæ* 'father' < **pītā*, **pītar*, Av. *pītar*, Skt. *pītār*;
- *mad* / *mada* 'mother' < **mātā*, **mātar*, Av. *mātar*, Skt. *mātār* (f.);
- *wad* / *wad(æ)* 'wind' < **vāta*, Av. *vāta-* (m.), Skt. *vāta-* (m.) 'wind'.

0.7.3.7.iii. *t > Oss. t in postvocalic final position (occasionally):

- *aṛzat* 'ore' < **(a)ṛzata*, Av. *arəzata-* (n.), OP *(a)rdata*, Khot. *āḥyata-* 'silver';
- *kæt* (D.) 'stable' < **kata*, LAv. *kata-* (m.) 'room';
- *nymat* / *nimat* 'felt' < **namata*, LAv. *namata-*, Khot. *namta-*, MP *namad*.

See also § 0.7.5.

0.7.3.7.iv. *t > Oss. c in initial position before *i:

- *cyrḡ* / *cirḡ* 'sharp' < **tigra*, LAv. *tiyra-*, OP *tigra-* 'pointed'.

For more details on the palatalization of dentals see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.1. ff.

0.7.3.7.v. *t > Oss. ʒ / j in postvocalic final position before *i: e.g.

- *kəʒ* / *kuj* 'dog' < (f.) **kutī*, Sogd. *'kwt*, Š, R, B. *kud* (m.), *kid* (f.);
- *yssæʒ* / *insaj* 'twenty' < **uinsati*; Skt. *vimśati*.

For more details on the palatalization of dentals see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.1. ff.

0.7.3.8. *d

> Oss. d: e.g.

- *bud* / *boda* 'fragrance; incense' < (f.) **baudā*, LAv. *baoda-* (m.), Khz. *βwō* (f.);
- *dywnwæ*, *duwæ* / *duw(w)æ* 'two' < **duuā*, Av. *duuā(-ca)*, Skt. *dvē* (f. n.);
- *fæd* 'footprint' < **pada*, LAv. *paða-* (n.), Skt. *padā-* (n.) 'footstep';

– *myd* / *mud* 'honey' < **madu*, LAv. *maðu-* (n.) 'an alcoholic drink', Skt. *mādhu-* (n.) 'honey'.

Since Ossetic belongs to the East Iranian group, we expect that also Ossetic *d* went through the stage **ḍ*, found in Sogdian, Khwarezmian, etc. There are some indications which indeed presuppose fricative realization at an earlier stage, since we find:

- epenthesis in the position in front of *d*, which regularly took place before fricatives (*i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.11);
- **y* apparently becoming fricative after **d* (cf. § 0.7.4.2).

0.7.3.9. *θ

> Oss. t: e.g.

- *fætæn* 'wide' < **paθana*, LAv. *paθana-*;
- *cæwat* 'offspring' < **ṣāpa-θa-* (θa-abstract noun of pres. **ṣāpa-*), cf. Oss. *cæwyn* / *cæwun* 'to go';
- *mælet* 'death' < **mṛtaθa-* (θa-abstract noun of pres. **mṛta-*), Oss. *mælyn* / *mælyn*, Av. *miria-*, Skt. (pres.) *mṛyāte*.

0.7.3.10. *n

> Oss. n: e.g.

- *byn* / *bun* 'ground' < **buna*, GAv. *būna-* (m.), Skt. *budhnā-* (m.);
- *fætæn* 'wide' < **paθana*, LAv. *paθana-*, MP, NP *pahn*;
- *nom* / *non* 'name' < **nāma*, **nāman*, Av. *nāman*, OP *nāma*;
- *nymet* / *nimat* 'felt' < **namata*, LAv. *namata-*, Khot. *namta-*, MP *namad*.

0.7.3.11. *k

0.7.3.11.i. *k > Oss. k in initial position: e.g.

- *kaef* 'fish' < **kapa*, Khot. *kava-* (Nsg. **ā*), Khz. *kyb*, *kb* (f.), Pš. *kab* (m.);
- *kina*, *kena* (D.) 'revenge, vengeance' < **kainā*, GAv. *kaēnā-* (f.);
- *kəʒ* / *kuj* 'dog' < (f.) **kutī*, Sogd. *'kwt*, Š, R, B. *kud* (m.), *kid* (f.).

0.7.3.11.ii. *k > Oss. g in postvocalic position: e.g.

- *astag* 'bone' < **astaka*, Khot. *āstaa-* (**astaka-*), Khz. *'stke*, *'styk*, Sogd. *'stke*;
- *igar* 'liver' < **jakar*, LAv. *yākara*, Skt. *yákṛt* (n.);
- *qug* / *gog* 'cow' < **gauka*, Khz. (f.) *ywk* 'cow', NP *gög* 'calf';
- *sug* / *sog* 'firewood; log' < **sauka*, LAv. *saoka-* (in *ātra.saoka-* (m.) = Sogd. (Chr.) *'tr-swg* 'fuel'), MP *sōg* 'burning, combustion', Skt. *śōka-* (m.) 'light'.

0.7.3.11.iii. *k > Oss. x (occasionally): e.g.

- *xæf* / *xæfa* 'pus' < **kafā*, **xafā*, LAv. *kafa-* (m.), Khot. *khavā* 'foam';
- *xæfs* / *xæfse* 'frog' < **kasiapa-*, cf. Av. *kasiapa-* (m.), Khz. *ksb*, Sogd. *kyšp* (f.) 'tortoise', (?) Khot. *khysaa* 'frog, tortoise', Skt. *kaiyāpa-* (m.) 'tortoise';
- *xæwyn* / *xærsun*, *xæssun* 'to carry' < **karša*, **xarša-* (Etyim. Index, q.v.), Av. *karš*, Sogd. *x(r)š*, Skt. *kars-* 'to draw'.

According to Gershevitch (1971: 287), x is the result of fricative assimilation.

0.7.3.11.iv. *k > Oss. I. k before (POss.) front vowel: e.g.

- *kī* / *ka* 'who' < **ka* (Nsg. **kab*, Gsg. **kabja*, etc.), Av., Skt. *ka*;
- *kynz* / *kingz* 'bride (to be)' < **kani-ā*, cf. Sogd. *ken*, Av. *kaini* 'girl';
- *kjyrsti* / *kiriste* 'Christ' < Georg. *kriste* < Gr. Χριστός;
- *kjyrg* / *kirga* 'girl, daughter' < Tk. *qir*.

0.7.3.11.v. *k > Oss. I. g in postvocalic position before front vowel: e.g.

- *avgid* / *evged* 'bail; guarantor' < **abi-kaita*, Av. *afī-kait* 'to consider';
- *sygit* / *sigit* 'earth' < Wanderwort? **sikita*, cf. Sogd. *šyket*, Kurd. *sigit*.

0.7.3.11.vi. *k > Oss. k' (occasionally): e.g.

- *ask'arnag* (D.) 'sparkle' < **skaran(a)-ka*;
- *hysk'* / *lisk'a* 'nits' < **riškā*;
- *nik'ad* (D.) 'carve, cut' < **ni-kata*, cf. LAv. *nī-kan* 'to dig in', Š. *nikin* 'carve, incision'.

See also § 0.7.5.11.

0.7.3.12. *g

0.7.3.12.i. *g > Oss. q / ġ in initial position: e.g.

- *qarm* / *gar(m)* 'warm' < **garma*, Av. *garama* 'heat, glow', Skt. *gharmā* (m.) 'glow, heat, warmth';
- *qad* / *ğadā* 'wood; log' < **gadā*, LAv. *gaḍā*, Skt. *gadā* (f.) 'club, stick';
- *qug* / *ğog* 'cow' < **gauka* (cf. Syncope, § 2.2.3. ff.), Khz. f. *ywk* 'cow', NP *gōg* 'calf';
- *q(a)wux* / *ğarwanz* 'doe' < **gaṇasna*, LAv. *gaunasna* (m.) 'deer'.

0.7.3.12.ii. *g > Oss. ġ in postvocalic position: e.g.

- *ağud* / *ağoda* 'cover' < **ā-gaudā*, Sogd. (Bud.) 'y'wō;
- *avğad* 'childbirth and postnatal period' < **apa-gata*, Av. *apa-gam* 'to go away (from)', Skt. *apa-gam* 'to go out, leave';
- *miğ* / *meğā* [black] cloud' < **maiga*, LAv. *maēya* (m.), Skt. *meghā* (m.);
- *tiğ* / *teğā* 'mountain range; sharp edge' < **taigā*, LAv. *taēya* 'sharp'.

0.7.3.13. *x

> Oss. x: e.g.

- *mix* / *mex* 'stake' < **maiñxa*, OP *mayñxa*, Skt. *mayñkha*;
- *nyx* / *nix* 'nail, claw' < **naxa*, Skt. *nakhā* (m.n.) 'nail, fingernail';
- *xud* / *xoda* 'hat' < **xaudā*, LAv. *xaodā* 'cap', OP *xaudā* (f.) 'cap, helmet'.

0.7.3.14. *č

0.7.3.14.i. *č > Oss. c in initial position: e.g.

- *cad* / *cada* 'lake' < **čātā*, Khot. *wāta* (f.);
- *calx* 'wheel' < **čaxrah*, **čaxra*, LAv. *caxra* (m.), Skt. *cakrā*;
- *casm* / *cans* 'loop' < **čašma*, **čašman*, Av. *cašman* (n.) 'eye';
- *cyppar* / *cuppar* 'four' < (*c*) **caṭṭarāh*, Av. *caṭṭārā*, Skt. *catvārāh* (pl. m.)

0.7.3.14.ii. *č > Oss. ʒ in postvocalic position: e.g.

- *ruzyng* / *rozinge* 1. [I.] 'window', 2. [D.] 'sacrificial bread' < **raučanakā*, cf. LAv. *raocana* 1. '(the) light, shining; window', Skt. *rocana* 'shining';
- *sizər* / *sezər* 'orphan' < **saiu-čara*, cf. Skt. *śayū*;
- *suzin* / *sozinja* 'needle' < **saučaṇja*, Khot. *saujsaṇa*, MP *sōzan*.

0.7.3.15. *j

> Oss. ʒ:

- *intynzyn* / *evtynzun* 'to yoke a horse', 'to load (a gun)' < **abi-θanjā*, cf. Av. *θanjasa* (inchoat.) 'to pull, draw', Khot. *thanj-* 'to pull';
- *yz* / *sizə* 'backside, rear' < **spj-ā* (**spj-ā*), Skt. *spij-* f. (du. tant.) 'hip; backside';
- *tynzyn* / *itinzun* 'to spread out' < **yi-θanjā*, see above.

0.7.3.16. *s

> Oss. s: e.g.

- *rubas* / *robās* 'fox' < **raupāsa*, Skt. *lopāśā* (m.) 'jackal, fox';
- *sizər* / *sezər* 'orphan' < **saiu-čara*, cf. Skt. *śayū* 'orphan';
- *suzin* / *sozinja* 'needle' < **saučaṇja*, Khot. *saujsaṇa*, MP *sōzan* 'needle'.

0.7.3.17. *z

> Oss. ʒ: e.g.

- *az* 'I' < **azam*, Av. *azam*, OP *adam*, Skt. *abām*;
- *niz* / *nez* 'disease' < **naizā*, LAv. *naēza* (m.) name of a certain illness;
- *zajyn* / *izajun* 'to remain' < **zi-čāja*, Sogd. (Chr.) *wz'y* (in *pyš wz'y* 'heirloom');;
- *zaidā* (D.) 'young grass' < (f.) **zaritā*, Av. *zairita*, Skt. *hārita* 'yellowish'.

0.7.3.18. *š

> Oss. s: e.g.

- *casm* / *cans* 'loop' < **čašma*, **čašman*, Av. *cašman* (n.) 'eye';
- *qus* / *gos* 'ear' < **gauša*, GAv. *gūša* (m.), OP *gauša*;
- *urs* / *ors* 'white' < **aruša*, LAv. *auruša*.

0.7.3.19. *ž

> Oss. ʒ:

- *dyzğyn* / *duzğun* 'deformed' < **duž-gauna*, cf. Av. *gaona* 'hair (colour)';
- *myzd* / *mižd* 'wages' < **mižda*, GAv. *mižda* (n.).

0.7.3.20a. *r

0.7.3.20a.i. *r > Oss. r: e.g.

- *igar* 'liver' < **īakar*, LAv. *yākarā*, Skt. *yákṛt* (n.);
- *ivar* 'prohibition, punishment' < **yi-bāra*, Av. *vi-bar* 'to carry away';
- *ruzyng* / *rozinge* 1. [I.] 'window', 2. [D.] 'sacrificial bread' < **raučanakā*, LAv. *raocana* 1. '(the) light, shining; window', Skt. *rocana* 'shining';
- *sizər* / *sezər* 'orphan' < **saiu-čara*, cf. Skt. *śayū*.

0.7.3.20a.ii. *r > Oss. / before *i: e.g.

- *lyske* / *lyskə* 'nits' < **riškā*, Skt. *likṣā* (f);
 - *xoly* / *xwaly* 'corps, cadaver, carrion' < **hyār-īā*, cf. Khz. *xw'r* (m.) 'meat';
 - *zalda* (D.) 'young grass' < (f.) **zaritā*, Av. *zairita*, Skt. *hārīta* 'yellowish'.
- For more details on the palatalization of *r > l see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.2. ff.

0.7.3.20b. *r

0.7.3.20b.i. *r > Oss. *ar*: e.g.

- *barzond* 'high; height' < (them.) **brzanta*, LAv. *barzant-* 'high', Skt. *brhāt-*;
- *zarda* 'hart' < **zdaia*, LAv. *zradaiia*, Skt. *brdaya*- (n.) 'hart', etc.

0.7.3.20b.ii. *r > Oss. *ar* (before (C)C#):

- *arc* / *aræ* 'spear' < **rsti*, Khot. *hālśā* (pl.), Skt. *ṛstī* (f.) [for D. -*a* see *Apocope*, § 1.2.2b.i];
- *ard* / *ard*, *art* 'oath' < **rta*, Av. *aša-*, OP *rta*, Skt. *ṛtā*- (n.) 'truth';
- *dard* / *idard* 'far' < **ṛi-ṛta*, cf. LAv. *u-torsta*- 'brought away, isolated';
- *marǵ* 'bird' < **mrga*, LAv. *mārya*- (m.n.) 'bird', Skt. *mṛgā*- (m.) 'wild animal'.

0.7.3.20b.iii. *r > Oss. *al* (due to *i): e.g.

- *avdalyn* / *evdalun* 'to be indolent, idle, unemployed' < **apa-dṛja*, Skt. (pres.) *dhriyate* 'holds (still)';
- *malyn* / *malun* 'to die' < **mṛ-ja*, Av. *miria-*, Skt. (pres.) *mriyāte* 'dies';
- *st'alyn*: *st'alēd* (I.) 'to die, starve' < **stṛ-ja*, LAv. (pres.) *striiete*, Khz. *stry-* 'to lie down'.

0.7.3.20b.iv. *r > Oss. *al* before C# (due to *i):

- *kalm* 'snake; worm' < **kṛmi*-, Sogd. (Man.) *kyrm*- 'snake', MP, NP *kyrm* 'worm, serpent', Skt. *kṛmi*- 'worm, maggot'.

0.7.3.20b.v. *r > Oss. (w)yr / u (due to *i, *u):

- *ambyrd* / *amburd* 'gathering' < NAsg. n. **hambṛtam*, Skt. *sambhṛta*- 'brought together, assembled';
- *wyrdyg* / *urdug* 'standing up' < **rduā-ka*, Av. *arδša*- 'erected, high';
- *wyrmyn* (I.) 'to believe' < **urna*-, Av. (pres.) *varantē*, OP (thematicized) pres. 3sg. *v(a)rnavatay*;
- *wyrz* / *urz* 'fingertip' < **rzu*-, LAv. *arzu*- 'finger'.

For more details see *On *u, *y*, § 6.2.3.

0.7.3.21. *h

0.7.3.21.i. *h > Oss. *o*: e.g.

- *aǵd* 'thigh, hip' < **haxti*-, Av. *haxti*-, Skt. *sákthi*- (n.);
- *avd* 'seven' < **hafta*, Av. *hapta*, Sogd. *ʾft*, Khot. *boda*, Khz. *ašd*;
- *rawagæ* (D.) 'pretext, reason' < **fra-nabā-ka*, cf. NP *bahānab* 'pretext';
- *wat* 'room' < **uhabā*-, Skt. *vasathā*- 'place'.

0.7.3.21.ii. *h > Oss. *x* before *i, *y:

- *xor* / *xwar* 'grain' < **hyāra*-, Khot. *hvāra*- 'food';
- *xoy* / *xu* 'pig, boar' < **hū*-, LAv. *hū*-;
- *xoysk* / *xusk* (σ) 'dry, dried up' < **huška*-, Av. *huška*- 'dry, dried up', OP *uška*- (n.) 'the mainland'.

0.7.3.21. iii. *h > Oss. *x* before *ai (one certain instance):

- *ʾxid* / *xed* 'bridge' < **haitu*-, Av. *haētu*- (m.) 'dam', Skt. *sétu*- (m.) 'bridge'.

0.7.4. Consonant groups

A. DOUBLE CONSONANTS

0.7.4.1. *Cj

> Oss. *C(C)*: e.g.

- *allon* a mythical people < Gpl. **ariānām*, LAv. *airia*-, *airiiana*-, OP *ariya*- 'Aryan', MP, NP *ērān*;
 - *cawyn* / *cawun* 'to go' < **iāya*-, Av. *šiauu*-, OP *šiyav*-, Skt. *gyu*-;
 - *saw* 'black' < **šāya*-, LAv. *šāuua*- 'dark', Skt. *śyāvā*- 'dark (brown)';
 - *wæz* / *wæze* 'load' < **uazja*-, Av. *varzja*-, Skt. *vahyā*-.
- On the development of postconsonantal *j see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.4. ff.

0.7.4.2. *Cū

0.7.4.2.i. *Cū > Oss. *f* / *ʃ*: e.g.

- *aḥsan* / *aḥsæn* 'ploughshare' < **suana*-, Sogd. *ʾspn*-, Khot. *hiśsana*-, Khz. *ʾspny* 'iron';
- *jaḥs* / *aḥsæ* 'mare' < **asūā*-, Av. *aspā*- (f.), Skt. *āśvā*- (f.) 'mare';
- *avzaryn* / *avzarun* 'to choose; to understand' < **uḥ-ūāra*-, MP *uzwārdan* 'to know, understand', Pth. *ʾw'r* 'id.' (< **uḥ-ūāra*);
- *avzidyŋ* / *avzedun* 'to threaten' < **uḥ-uaēdaia*-, Av. *uḥ-uaēdaia*- 'to threaten', Khz. *ʾwz-ʾwz* 'to threaten with, to fill with fear';
- *qavdyn* (I.) 'puppy' < **gadua*-, Av. *gaḥša*- 'dog', Sogd. (Man.) *ʾdḥsk* 'bitch', Y. *yalb*, *yalv*, M. *yalv* 'dog'.

Metathesis has taken place in the cluster *Cū, with *u becoming fricative. The fricativization of *u perhaps reflects assimilation to the preceding fricative (sibilant) *s, *ʃ as it is the case in many Iranian languages. In the case of *qavdyn*, this would suggest that Oss. *d* was *δ at a previous stage, cf. § 0.7.3.7.

The form *dwar* 'door' (< **duār*-, Av. *duwar*-, OP *duvar*-, Skt. *dvār*-) is at variance with the forms above: *dū is treated differently in *initial* position.

0.7.4.2.ii. *rdu > Oss. *rd* (one instance):

- *wyrdyg* / *urdug* 'standing up; perpendicular' < **rduā-ka*-, LAv. *arδša*-, Skt. *ūrdhvā*- 'erected, high'.

For more details on the vocalism see *On *u, *y*, § 6.2.3.

0.7.4.2.iii. *θy > Oss. geminate pp (one instance):

– *cyp̄par* / *cupp̄ar* ‘four’ <(<*) **ēθyārāb*, Av. *cat̄sārō*, Skt. *catvārāb* (pl. m.).

The same outcome -pp- can be found in *fippaj̄yn* / *jeppaj̄yn* ‘to remark; to guess’ (< **pati-pāia*): medial *i was syncopated, giving rise to secondary cluster *-žβ-, cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.6.3. It is difficult to deduce the intermediary stages, except that we expect *y to be fricativized, see § 0.7.4.2.

0.7.4.2.iv. *xy > Oss. x (one instance):

– *fyx* / *funx* ‘boiled’, ‘ripe’ < **pax̄ya*- + (?) **-na*, Khot. *paha*-, Pš. *pōx*, Skt. *pakvā*-.

0.7.4.2.v. *ry > Oss. r / r(w):

– *xur* / *xor* ‘sun(ny)’ < **hyar̄yāb*, **hyar̄yant*- (see On *u, *y, § 6.4), Skt. *svār̄vant*- ‘provided with glow, glory, luck’;

– *z̄er* / *z̄er(w)* ‘old age’ < **z̄aryā*, **z̄aryan*-, Av. *zaur̄nuan*- (m.), Sogd. (Bud.) *zrw̄b*, MP *zarwān* ‘old age’.

0.7.4.2.vi. *hy > Oss. x: e.g.

– *w̄ar̄ex* / *urux* ‘wide, spacious’ < **war̄ah-yāb*, **war̄ah-yant*- (On *u, *y, § 6.2.1.), cf. Skt. *vāras*-n. ‘width, breadth, space’;

– *2xid* / *xed* ‘sweat’ < **hyāida*-, LAv. *x̄as̄da*-, Khot. *hvi*-, Skt. *svāda*- (m.);

– *xonyn* / *xonun* ‘to call’ < **hyāna*-, Khot. *hvañ*- ‘to be called’, Skt. *svan*- ‘to sound’.

*hy > Oss. x / xw: e.g.

– *xo* / *xw̄ar̄e* ‘sister’ < (I.) **hyuhā*, (D.) **hyabrā*-, Av. *x̄aṇhā*, *x̄aṇhar*-, Skt. *svāsā*, obl. *svāsar*-;

– *xor* / *xwar* ‘grain’ < **hyāra*-, Khot. *hvāra*- ‘food; eating’ (Av. *x̄ar*- ‘to eat’, etc.);

– *af̄x̄aryn* / *af̄x̄war̄yn* ‘to offend, insult; to speak out; to punish’ < **apa-hyāra*-, cf. Skt. *svar*- ‘to sound, sing, praise’, Skt. *apa-svara*- ‘unmusical sound’.

*hy > Oss. xw:

– *xw̄ynyn*: *xw̄ynd* / *xw̄nnun*: *xund* ‘to be called’, Khot. *hvañ*-, Sogd. (Bud.) *ywn*- ‘id.’;

– *xw̄yz̄dar* / *xw̄az̄dar* ‘better’, comparative of *xor̄x* / *xwar̄x* ‘good’, see *Etymological Index*, s.v.

0.7.4.3. *Cp

0.7.4.3.i. *mp > Oss. mb:

– *ambis* (I.) ‘half, halve’ < **ham-paisa*-, Khot. *hambīsa* ‘preparation, collection, heap’, Skt. *sampis*- ‘to rub, grind together’;

– *ambyd* / *ambud* ‘rotten’ < **ham-pūta*-, Khot. *hambūta*- ‘festering’, cf. Av. (pres.) *pūia*- ‘to rot’.

0.7.4.3.ii. *sp > Oss. fs (two certain instances):

– *af̄sad* / *af̄sad* ‘army’ < **spāda*-, GAv. *spāda*- (m.), OP *spāda*-;

– *af̄sadȳn* / *af̄sadȳn* ‘to saturate’ < **spā*-, Av. *spā(ii)*- ‘to swell’.

*sp > Oss. s before *i:

– *syst* / *sista* ‘louse’ < **spiš*-, cf. LAv. *spiš*-.

0.7.4.3.iii. *rp > Oss. rr:

– *carv* ‘clarified butter’ < **čarpa*-, Khot. *tcārba*-, Sogd. *crp* ‘fat’, MP *čarb* ‘mild’.

0.7.4.4. *Cb

*mb > Oss. mb (found only in *am*-formations): e.g.

– *ambond* ‘wall; fence’ < **hambanda*-, Skt. *sam-bandha*- ‘binding together’;

– *ambyrd* / *amburd* ‘meeting’ < **hambryta*-, Skt. *sam-bhryta*- ‘brought together, gathered’.

0.7.4.5. *Cf (or *Cp ?)

*sf (or *sp ?) > Oss. s, before *i (one certain instance):

– *syž* / *siž̄e* ‘backside, rear’ < **sfij-ā* (or **spij-ā* ?), Skt. *sphij*- (f.) ‘hip; backside’.

0.7.4.6. *Cm

0.7.4.6.i. *dm > Oss. m (one instance):

– *moj* / *mojna* ‘husband’ < **dmānīa*-, LAv. *nmānīa*- ‘belonging, pertaining to the house’ (n. from d-), MP *mānig* ‘household member’, cf. *Etymological Index* (s.v.).

0.7.4.6.ii. *zm > Oss. zm (one instance ?):

– *yz̄mantyn* / (*a*)*zmantyn* ‘to mix’ < **uz-manba*-, cf. Oss. *amantyn*, § 0.7.4.8.

0.7.4.6.iii. *šm > Oss. sm / ns (three certain instances):

– *f̄asm* / *f̄ans* ‘wool shaved in the autumn’ < **pašma*-, **pašman*-, Khot. *pe’ma*-, MP, NP *pašm* ‘wool’;

– *casm* / *cans* ‘loop’ < **čašma*-, **čašman*-, Av. *cašman*- (n.) ‘eye’;

– *sasm* / *sans* ‘glue’ < **srašma*-, **srašman*-, Skt. *ślēšman*-.

*šm > Oss. s(y)m / sum in initial position (one instance):

– *s(y)max* / *sumax* ‘you, your [pl.]’ < **(iū)šmāxa(m)*, GAv. *xšmāka*-, LAv. *yūšmāka*- ‘your(s)’, Sogd. (Bud.) *šm’w* ‘you’, Skt. *yusmāka*- ‘your(s)’.

0.7.4.6.iv. *rm > Oss. rm / r(m) (four certain instances):

– *carm* / *car* ‘skin’, ‘leather’ < **čarma*-, **čarman*-, LAv. *car̄man*-, OP *čarman*-;

– *af̄s̄arm*, *af̄s̄arm* / *af̄sar(m)* ‘shame’ < **šarma*-, LAv. *šar̄ama*- (m.);

– *qarm* / *gar(m)* ‘warm’ < **garma*-, Av. *gar̄ama*-, Skt. *gharmā*- (m.) ‘heat’;

– *warm* / *werm̄a* ‘hole-pit; cellar’ < **uarmā(-)*, Khot. *bārmana*- ‘reservoir’, MP *warm* ‘pool, reservoir’.

*rm > Oss. lm, before *i (one certain instance):

– *kalm* ‘snake; worm’ < **k̄rmi*-, Skt. *k̄rmi*- ‘worm, maggot’.

0.7.4.6.v. *hm > Oss. m (two instances):

- max 'we, us, our' < *ahmāxa(m), OP amācam, Av. ahmāka- 'our', Sogd. m'x 'we', Skt. (Gpl.) asmākam 'our';
- mart (l.) 'measure of dry substances' < *hmar-θrā(-), cf. LAv. marθra- (n.) 'mark, remembrance', NP na-hmār 'countless'.

0.7.4.7. *Cr

0.7.4.7.i. *jt > Oss. vd: e.g.

- and 'seven' < *hafta, Av. hapta, Sogd. 'βt, MP, NP haft, Skt. sapta;
- ilind (D.) 'pitiful, wretched' < *ni-rifta-, Skt. vi-lipta- 'smeared over';
- stand / (a)stand 'thick; large' < *stafta-, MP staft 'hard, firm; harsh, tyrannous; very', Skt. stabdha- 'firm, stiff, rigid'.

The voicing of the consonant clusters *jt and *xt (on which see below) is a characteristic, common East Iranian development, cf. Oranskij (1977: 197-202); Sims-Williams (CLI: 167 f.).

0.7.4.7.ii. *nt > Oss. nd: e.g.

- ander 'other' < *antara-, Av. antara-, Skt. antara-;
- bærzand 'high; height' < (them.) *br̥zanta-, LAv. bærzant- 'high', Skt. bṛhant- 'large, elevated, high, wide';
- dandag 'tooth' < *dantāka-, Sogd. dnt'k, Khot. dandaa-, dandāka-, Yağn. dindāk, cf. Av. dant-;
- fænd / fændar 'intention, plan; wish' < *pantā-, LAv. pantā- (m.) 'path'.

0.7.4.7.iii. *xt > Oss. ḡd: e.g.

- aḡdaw 'custom, adat, pattern of conduct' < *haxtāwāh, *haxtāwānt-, Sogd. 'yt'w, (Man.) xtw 'judge', cf. LAv. haxta- 'qualified, authorized';
- syḡd / syḡd 'burnt (over, in)' < *suxta-, Av. *suxta-, Skt. śuktā-;
- taḡd 'quick, fast' < *taxta-, Skt. taktā-.

Voicing of *xt > *yd is a typical East Iranian development, v. § 0.7.4.7.i.

0.7.4.7.iv. *st > Oss. st: e.g.

- astag 'bone' < *astaka-, Khot. āstaa- (*astaka-), Sogd. 'stk, Khz. 'stk, 'styk, MP astag;
- bast 'constrained; bundle' < *basta-, Av. basta-, OP basta- 'bound';
- bāsta 'land, world, place' < *upastai, Skt. upāstha- (m.) 'lap';
- styr / (a)stur 'big, great' < *stūra-, Av. stūra-, Khot. stura- 'thick, large'.

*st > Oss. st' (occasionally):

- st'alyn: st'ald (l.) 'to die, starve' < *st̥r-ja-, Av. (pres.) *striia- 'to lie down'.

0.7.4.7.v. *št > Oss. st:

- ast 'eight' < *āštā, LAv. āšta, Skt. aṣṭā;
- astaj (shepherd dialect) 'eighty' < *āštāti-, LAv. (f.) āštāti-;
- nystwan / nistawan 'last will' < *ništāyan, OP ništā- 'to command'.

0.7.4.7.vi. *ršt > Oss. rv (two instances):

- arc / arca 'spear' < *ršti-, Av. aršti-, Skt. ṛṣṭi- 'spear';
- bare / baria 'manes' < *br̥šti-, cf. Av. barāša- 'neck (of horse)', Khz. βr, MP, NP bar 'manes'.

For more details of Oss. rv see Apocope, § 1.2.2b.i.

0.7.4.7.vii. *rt > Oss. rd:

- kard 'knife' < *karta-, Av. karata-, Sogd. krt;
- kardyn / kardun 'to cut' < *karta-, Av. kart-, Skt. kart-.

0.7.4.8. *Cd

0.7.4.8.i. *gd > Oss. ḡd (one instance):

- xodyḡd (l.) 'sister of the husband' < xo 'sister' + *dugdā, *dugdar-, GAv. dugadar-, Sogd. dūyt-, Skt. duhitār- 'daughter'.

0.7.4.8.ii. *nd > Oss. nd:

- ambond 'fence, wall' < *ham-banda-, Sogd. (Bud.) 'nβ'nt 'joined, attachment', Skt. sambandha- (m.) 'connection, union';
- bændan 'rope' < PIr. *bandana-, Skt. bāndhana- 'binding', (n.) 'bond, tie';
- felyndyn / felyndun 'to dress (up); to adorn' < *pari-gunda- (cf. Etym. Index, s.v.), Khz. (inch.) prxyj- 'to obscure' (inch. of *prywnd, Samadi: 158), Orm. paryünd 'to dress';
- nyvond / nivond 'sacrifice' < *nibanda-, Sogd. nβ'nt 'promise', Skt. ni-bandha- (m.) 'chain, fetter'.

0.7.4.8.iii. *zd > Oss. zd (one certain instance):

- fæzdag 'smoke', Sogd. pzt- 'id.', MP pazd- 'to blow, play flute'.

0.7.4.8.iv. *zd > Oss. zd (one certain instance):

- myzd / mizd 'wages' < *mižda-, GAv. mižda- (n.).

0.7.4.8.v. *rd > Oss. rd: e.g.

- cyppardas / cuppardas 'fourteen' < *čaturdasa, LAv. caθrudasa, Skt. caturdaśa;
- sard / sardā 'summer, in summer' < *sardā-, LAv. sarad-, OP θard- (f.), Sogd. srδδ, Khot. sala, salā, Khz. srδ (m.) 'year';
- zærdæ 'heart' < *zrdaija-, LAv. zərδaiia- (n.).

0.7.4.9. *Cθ

*nθ > Oss. nt (two certain instances):

- amantyn / amantun 'to knead the dough' < *āmanθa-, cf. Khot. manth- 'to butter', Skt. manth- 'to rub, stir';
- yzmantyn / (a)zmantun 'to mix' < *uz-manθa-, cf. Oss. amantyn.

0.7.4.10. *Cn

0.7.4.10.i. *bn > Oss. n (one instance):

- *kəɲnag* / *kunag* 'small, little' < **kabna-ka-*, Av. *kamna-*, OP *kamna-*, Sogd. *kəɲny*, (Chr.) *qbnq*.

0.7.4.10.ii. *fn > Oss. n:

- *fyn* / *fun* 'sleep, dream' < **ɸuafna-*, Av. *xʷafna-*, Skt. *svāpna-* (m.), see also *Etymological Index* (s.v.).

0.7.4.10.iii. *θn > Oss. n (three certain instances):

- **arin* / **arinja* 'ell' < **arəθni-*, Av. *arəθnā*, OP *arəθni-*, Skt. *aratnī-* (m.);
- *afsin* / *afsinə* 'mistress of the house' < (f.) **abi-šaitni-*, LAv. *aiši-šaitan-* (Dsg. *aibi-šaitne*) 'inhabitant of the house';
- *axsin* / *axsinə* 'lady, mistress' < **xšaitni-*, LAv. *xšaitni-* f. 'shining'.

0.7.4.10.iv. *gn > Oss. ġn (one certain instance):

- *baġnag* 'naked' < **bagna-ka-* (*Etym. Index*, s.v. *baġnag*), Khot. *būnaa-*, Sogd. (Chr.) *byny*, Khz. *βynn* 'k', MP *brahnag* (with secondary -r), cf. LAv. *mayna-* (with secondary m).

0.7.4.10.v. *sn > Oss. n:

- *fənyk* / *funuk* 'ashes' < **pa(n)snu-ka-*, LAv. *pasnu-* (m.) 'dust', Skt. *pāmsū-*;
- *najyn* / *najun* 'to bathe' < **snāja-*, LAv. *snā-* 'to wash', Skt. *snā-* 'to bathe, wash';
- *nosta* (D.) 'daughter-in-law' < (sec. ablaut) **snaus-*, Sogd. *šwnšb*, Bact. *ασνωσο*, Skt. *snūsā-*;
- *nwar* / *nawer* 'sinew, tendon' < **snāwar-*, LAv. *snāuwar-*, Sogd. *sn'w*.

0.7.4.10.vi. *zn > Oss. zn (one certain instance):

- *aɣnag* 'enemy, foe' < **a-ɣnā-ka-*, cf. Skt. *a-jñā-* 'not knowing, ignorant'.

*zn > Oss. z / nɣ in final position (two instances):

- *az* / *anz* 'year' < **aɣn*, Av. *aɣan-*, *aɣn-*, Gpl. *asnam*, Skt. *āhan-*, Gpl. *ābnām* 'day';
- *q(ə)waz* / *ġəwanz* 'doe' < **gauazna-*, LAv. *gauuasna-* (m.) 'deer'.

0.7.4.10.vii. *rn > Oss. rn (two instances):

- *fərnɣ* / *fərnug* 'possessing farn' < **parnab*, see next word;
- *farn* / *farna* 'blessing; prosperity; luck; rich; generous' < **parnab-*, Av. *parnəbuuant-* 'copiousus', see also *Etym. Index*.

0.7.4.11. *Ck

0.7.4.11.i. *rk > Oss. rg (one instance):

- *uryg* / *urg* 'kidney' < **urθka-*, LAv. *urəðka-*, Skt. *urkēkā-* (< PIIr. **urθka-*).

For more details on the vocalism see On *u, *y, § 6.2.3. (fn.).

0.7.4.11.ii. *Né > Oss. ng (three instances):

- *angas* / *angas(t)* 'look, appearance' < **ham-kāsa-*, Sogd. (Man.) 'ngs' 'face', Skt. *saṃ-kāś-* 'to appear in sight, become visible';
- *angas* 'resembling; [D] look-out' < **ham-kasa-*, see above;
- *ingen* 'grave' < **ham-kana-*, LAv. *hankana-* (n.) 'cellar, catacomb'.

0.7.4.11.iii. *šk > Oss. sk' (two certain instances):

- *lysk* / *lisk* 'nits' < **riškā-*, Sogd. *rišk-*, NP *rišk*, Skt. *likṣā-* (f.);
- *xoysk* / *xusk* '(a)' 'dry, dried up' < **huška-*, Av. *huška-* 'dry, dried up', OP *uška-* (n.) 'the mainland'.

0.7.4.11.iv. *rk > Oss. rg (one instance):

- *marg* 'poison' < **marka-*, GAv. *maraka-*, LAv. *mahrka-* (m.) 'destruction, death'.

0.7.4.12. *Cg

0.7.4.12.i. *ng > Oss. ng: e.g.

- *angulɣ* / *angulɣa* 'finger' < **anguri-* + *-č, Skt. *angūri-*, *angulī-* (f.);
- *intong* / *evtong* 'equipped, ready for action' < **abi-θanga-*, cf. Oss. *intynɣyn* (§ 0.7.4.13);
- *zang* / *zanga* 'shin; stalk' < **zangā-*, LAv. *zanga-* (m.) 'ankle', Skt. *jāṅghā-* (f.) 'lower part of the leg, shin'.

0.7.4.12.ii. *zg > Oss. ġz, zġ (two instances):

- *maġz* 'brain, marrow' < **marza-*, Av. *marza-* (m.), Sogd. *mɣz-*;
- *dyzġyn* / *duzġyn* 'deformed' < **duz-ġauna-*, cf. Av. *gaona-* 'hair (colour)'.

0.7.4.12.iii. *rg > Oss. rġ (two instances):

- *darġ* 'long' < **darga-*, GAv. *daraga-*, LAv. *daraya-*, OP *darga-*;
- *marġ* 'bird' < **mrga-*, LAv. *maraya-* (m.n.) 'bird', Skt. *mrgā-* (m.) 'wild animal' (cf. § 0.7.3.19.ii).

0.7.4.13. *Cč

0.7.4.13.i. *nč > Oss. nɣ (one certain instance):

- *aɣzaryn* / *aɣzuryn* 'to kindle, ignite' < (caus.) **ham-čaraia-*, cf. Skt. *saṃcālayati* 'agitates'.

0.7.4.13.ii. *sč > Oss. s in initial position (one certain instance):

- *səndag* 'crumbled bread in milk' < **sčanda-ka-*, cf. LAv. (caus.) *sčandāia-*, *sčandāia-* 'to break'.

*sč > Oss. st in inlaut (one certain instance):

- *fəstə* 'after, behind' < **pasčā-*, LAv. *pasca-*, OP *pasā-*, Skt. *pasčā-* 'after'.

0.7.4.14. *Cj

*nj > Oss. nɣ (two certain instances):

- *intynzyn* / *evtingun* 'to yoke a horse', 'to load (a gun)' < **abi-θanjā*, cf. Av. *θanjasa-* (inchoat.) 'to pull, draw', Khot. *θamj-* 'to pull';
- *lynzyn* / *itinzun* 'to spread out' < **yi-θanjā*, see previous word.

0.7.4.15. *Cs

0.7.4.15.i. *rθs > Oss. rs (one instance):

- *ars* 'bear' < *(H) *rθsa-*, Av. *arša-*, Sogd. *ʾrṣh*, Khot. *arrā*, Skt. *ṛkṣa-*, see *Etym. Index* (s.v.).

0.7.4.15.ii. *ns > Oss. ss / ns e.g.

- *assyr* / *aensur(a)* 'incisor; tusk' < **ansūra-*, Sogd. (Bud.) *'ns'wr*, (Chr.) *'swr*, LAv. *'asūra-* 'tusk' (see *Etym. Index*);
- *yssyn* / *insun* 'to whet' < **ham-sa(i)-*, Oss. *ysson* / *insojnæ* 'whetstone', Skt. *saṃ-ṣi-* 'to sharpen, whet thoroughly';
- *(y)ssar* / *aensaræ* 'heap, mass, dump, rubbish' < **ham-sārā-*, cf. Av. *sairi-* (m.) 'fragment', Av. *a-sarata-* 'unbroken', Skt. *samsarā-* 'breaking'.

0.7.4.15.iii. *xs > Oss. xs (one certain instance):

- *ǰæzæxsyn* / *ǰæzæxsun* 'to order; to admonish' < **pati-čaxsa-*, Khot. *pacas-* (mid.) 'to confess' (SGJ: 63), LAv. (pf. mid.) *caxse* (ELO: 32-33).

0.7.4.16. *Cz

0.7.4.16.i. *gz > Oss. gž, žg (three instances):

- *ağžalyn*, *yğžalyn* / *ağžalun* (intr.) 'to pour down, drip' < **gzar-ja-*, Av. *γžar*, Skt. *kaṣar-* 'to flow';
- *ağžalyn*, *yğžalyn* / *ağžalun* (trans.) 'to pour down, drop' < **gzāra(ja)-*, see previous;
- *lağžar*, *lažžar* 'scree' < **fragžara-*, see previous.

0.7.4.16.ii. *rz > Oss. rz e.g.

- *aržat* 'ore' < *(a) *rzata-*, Av. *aržata-*, OP *(a)rdata-*, Khot. *ālsata-* 'silver';
- *barž* 'heap; multitude' < **baržab*, LAv. (n.) *baržab-* 'hill';
- *nyvæžan* / *nivæžan* 'head of the bed' < **nibaržana-*, cf. Y. *viržanē*, Skt. *upa-bārhaṇa-* 'pillow'.

*rz > Oss. ž in final position (one instance):

- *baž* 'cushion' < **baržif-*, LAv. *baržif-* (n.) 'cushion', Skt. *barhiṣ-* (n.) 'sacrificial straw'.

0.7.4.17. *Cš

0.7.4.17.i. *xs > Oss. xs e.g.

- *axsin* (D.) 'dark blue' < **axšaina-*, Av. *axšaina-*, OP *axšaina-*;
- *axsav* / *axsavæ* 'night' < **šapā-*, Skt. *kaṣapā-* (f.);
- *axsin* / *axsijnæ* 'lady, mistress' < **šaitiṇi-*, LAv. *šaitiṇi-* (f.) 'shining'.

0.7.4.17.ii. *rs > Oss. rs, ss (two instances):

- *inccarsyn* / *evccarsun*, *evccassun* 'to put across' < **abi-xarša-*, see below;

- *xæssyn* / *xærsun* 'to carry; to breed; to last' < **xarša-*, Av. *karš-*, Skt. *kaṣ-* 'to pull, draw, plough'.

0.7.4.18. *Cr

For examples with vocalic *r see § 0.7.3.20b.

0.7.4.18.i. *br > Oss. rv

- *arv* 'sky' < *(ha) *abra-*, Av. *aβra-* (n.) 'cloud; rain', Skt. (n.) 'cloud', Skt. *sa-abhrā-* 'cloudy';
- *arvad* / *arvade* 'brother' < **brātā*, **brātar-*, Av. *brātar-* (m.), OP *brātar-*.

*br > Oss. rf before *š (one instance):

- *arfyg* / *arfug* 'eyebrow' < **brūka-*, Sogd. *βr'wk*, Skt. *'bhrūka-* 'eyebrow', see *Etymological Index* (s.v.).

0.7.4.18.ii. *fr > Oss. rf (one certain case):

- *arfa* 'blessing; congratulation; greeting' < **afraiah* < **āfriaḥ*, Skt. *āpri-* (f.) 'invocation, introducing a sacrifice' (in compounds), see *Apocope*, § 1.4.2b.

*fr > Oss. r in initial position: e.g.

- *radaw* 'generous' < **fra-dā-yāh*, **fra-dā-uant-*, cf. Skt. *pra-dā-* 'to give away, bestow';
- *ræged* 'ripe, mature' < **fragata-*, cf. Av. *fra-gam-*, Skt. *pra-gam-* 'to go forward, reach, attain', (ppp.) *pra-gatā-* 'gone forward, started'.

*fr > Oss. / in initial position (due to following *i or dissimilation of r... r):

- *laavar* 'gift, present' < **fra-bāra-*, Av. *frabar-*, OP *frābara-* 'to bestow';
- *lyman* / *liman* 'friend, lover' < ptc. mid. **friaṃna-*, cf. Av. *fri-* 'to love', Av. *fria-* 'friend(ly)', Khot. *briya-* 'beloved, dear', see *Etym. Index* (s.v.).

0.7.4.18.iii. *dr > Oss. rd e.g.

- *ird* 'bright, clear' < *(yi-) *idra-*, Skt. *vidbrā-* 'clear, clean';
- *ardyn* / *arduna*, *andura* 'bow [weapon]' < **dr(a)una-*, Khot. *durna-*, Sogd. (Bud.) *dr'wn*, MP *drōn*, NP *darūnah*, Skt. *drūna-* 'bow';
- *wyrd* / *urda* 'otter' < (f.?) **udrā-*, LAv. *udra-*, Skt. *udrā-*.

0.7.4.18.iv. *θr > Oss. rt e.g.

- *art* 'fire' < (them.) **āθra-*, Av. *ātar-*, *āθr*, Sogd. *'tr*, *'rδ*;
- *arte* 'three' < **θrajaḥ*, **θraja-*, LAv. (pl.) *θraiiō*, Khot. *drai*, Sogd. (Bud.) *ōry*, Skt. *trāyab*;
- *firt* / *firt* 'son' < **puθra-*, GAv. *puθra-*, OP *puça-*, Skt. *putrā-* (m.);
- *wædært(t)* / *wædærtæ* 'spindle whorl' < **uartaθrā(-)*, cf. Yağn. *watra* 'hand-spindle'.

0.7.4.18.v. *gr > Oss. rg e.g.

- *arǰævnæ* (D.) 'pincers' < **āgrabana-*, Sogd. (Chr.) *grbn* f. 'pincers', Skt. *a-grabhaṇā-* 'having no grip';

- *cyrġ* / *cirġ* 'sharp' < **tigra*-, I.Av. *tiyra*-, OP *tigra*- 'pointed';
- *arġom* / *arġon*, *arġom* 'bundle of wood, load' < **grāma*-, Skt. *grāma*- (m.) 'heap, multitude, host (of warriors)';

**gr* > Oss. *ġ* (one instance, see § 0.7.5.15):

- *alġ* 'extremity, tip' < **agra*-, Nsg. **agrah*, I.Av. *ayra*- 'first, upper'.

0.7.4.18.vi. **xr* > Oss. *lx* (one instance, see § 0.7.5):

- *calx* 'wheel' < **ġaxra*-, Nsg. **ġaxrah*, I.Av. *caxra*- (m.), Sogd. *cyr*, Skt. *cakrā*- 'wheel', etc.

0.7.4.18.vii. **sr* > Oss. *s* (three certain instances):

- (*w*)*asin* / *asjina* 'ladder' < **ā-sraini*- + **ā*, cf. Skt. *śrēni*- (f.) 'row, multitude';
- *sasm* / *sans* 'glue' < **sraisma*-, **sraisman*-, Skt. *ślēsman*-;
- *ʿsyg* / *sug* 'tear; stream' < **asruka*-, I.Av. *asru*-, Skt. *āśru*- (n.) 'tear'.

B. TRIPLE CONSONANTS

0.7.4.19. **CCi*

0.7.4.19.i. (?) **fθi* > Oss. *fi* (one instance):

- *syfc* / *syfca*, *sifca* (~ *lasyn* / *lasun* 'to take in tow') < Isg. **suftiā* (?), I.Av. *supti*- (f.), Khot. *suti*-, MP, NP *sufi*, Ś. *śiṇḍ*, Skt. *śūpti*- (f.) 'shoulder'.

0.7.4.19.ii. **nci* > Oss. *nc* (two instances):

- *ancujyn*: *ancad* / *ancajun*: *ancad* 'to stop; to rest, calm down' < **ham-ġiā*-, Sogd. 'ne'y 'to stay, remain', Khz. *hncy*- 'to rest, repose';
- *ancoj* / *ancojna* 'rest, repose; prop, support' < **ham-ġāna-ġiā*-, Sogd. 'ne'n 'pause, rest', Khz. *hncy*- 'to rest, relax'.

0.7.4.19.iii. **ssi* > Oss. *ss* (one instance):

- *tysæg* (I.) 'meagre, without fatness' < **tusšaka*- (Nyberg 1931: 214 ff.), Khot. *tuššaa*-, Pth. *tusyk*, MP *tuhig*, NP *tih*, Skt. *tucchyā*- 'empty'.

0.7.4.20. **CCn*

**xśn* > Oss. *xsn* (one instance):

- *roxsnæg* (D.) 'soft pink, with a blush' < **rauxśna-ka*-, see below.

**xśn* > Oss. *xś* in final position (one instance):

- *roxś* / *roxś* 'light, bright' < **rauxśna*-, I.Av. *raoxśna*- 'shining, light'.

0.7.4.21. **CCs*

**Css* > Oss. *Cs* (in inchoative verbs): e.g.

- *arġafsyn* / *arġafsun* 'to freeze, become numb with cold' < **grafssa*-, Išk. *yrāfs*-, Yz. *yrāfs*- 'to stick to';
- *tafsyn* / *tafsun* 'to get warm' < **tafssa*-, Av. *tafs*-, NP *tafsidan*.

For more details on the development of the IE *sk*-suffix in Iranian see Nyberg (1931: 214 ff.).

0.7.4.22. **CCr*

0.7.4.22.i. **str* > Oss. *s*:

- *ʿsyl* / *sik* 'female (animal), woman' < **stri-(iā)*-, Av. *stri*-, Khot. *striyā*-, cf. *Etymological Index* (s.v.);
- *xos* / *xwasæ* 'hay; medicine' < **huuāstrā*-, Av. *xāstra*- adj. 'having good pastures, grasslands', Khot. *hwa(s)sa*- (Nsg. *ʾā*) 'grass'.

Apparently, medial **-t*- disappeared first, thus becoming **sr*. Secondary **sr* then merged with old **sr*, cf. § 0.7.4.18.vii.

0.7.4.22.ii. **rθr* > Oss. *rt*:

- *mært* (I.) 'measure of dry substances, chiefly grain' < **hmar-θrā(-)*-, I.Av. *marθra*- (n.) 'mark, the keeping in mind', see *Etym. Index*, s.v.;
- *wart* 'shield' < **u(a)rθra*-, I.Av. *varθra*- (in *aiiō.varθra*- 'iron-shielded'), Khot. *baṭha*- 'cuirass', Hung. *vért* 'mail' (< Alanic).

0.7.5. *Special developments*

Certain developments have had a profound impact on the Ossetic vocalism. In the first place, the radical changes in the historical prosody triggered the loss of vowels in different positions, viz. apocope, syncope and aphaeresis. The loss of vowels gave rise to new consonant groups, which were adapted to the phonological system in various ways, being simplified or metathesized. In addition, **i*, **j* and **ū*, **u* have affected the adjacent consonants or vowels, leading to umlaut, epenthesis or palatalization. Initial consonant groups may be simplified by adding a prothetic or (occasionally) anaptyctic vowel.

0.7.5.1. ACCENT

Little can be said about accent in Proto-Iranian. Indications for free accent, similar to the Vedic or Indo-European accent, are mainly based on certain developments in Avestan and, to a lesser extent, in some modern Iranian languages (Pashto, Wakhi and Yidgha-Munji), cf. Mayrhofer (*CLI*: 12 ff.). For Avestan, it is generally assumed that the special treatment of the consonant group **rC* can be attributed to accent: liquid **r* (and its vocalic allophone **r̥*) under the accent becomes devoiced *rh* (*arh*) before a voiceless stop. Certain instances of vowel shortening are also thought to be connected with accent. For more details on the effects of the Avestan accent see Beekes (1988: 55 ff.), Hoffmann-Forssman (1996: 122 f.). Concerning the modern Iranian languages, forms like Pš. *āpa* 'mare' (Skt. *āśvā*-) ~ Pš. *špa* 'night' (Skt. *ksapā*-) or W. *šurs* 'father-in-law' (Skt. *śvāśura*-) ~ W. *šas* 'mother-in-law', Y. *za*, M. *za* 'I' (Skt. *ahām*) show agreement in accent with the Skt. correspondences, but there are numerous exceptions, see Morgenstierne (1973: 61 ff.; 1983: 167 ff.).

The Ossetic material does not provide us with any clues about accent in the Proto-Iranian period. However, it is possible to deduce some details of pre-Ossetic / Alanic prosody. The matter is extensively treated in chapter 5.

0.7.5.2. APOCOPE

No doubt, due to certain changes in accentuation, vowels in final position of a word were deleted: **a*, **i* and **u* disappeared, whereas **ā* has been preserved in Digoron as *-a*, but deleted in Iron, too. In some cases, final *-a* has secondarily arisen in Digoron or even in both dialects. This development is dealt with in the next chapter.

0.7.5.3. SYNCOPE

At a later stage, short vowels in a middle syllable were often dropped as well, e.g. *afsin* / *afsinæ* 'lady of the house' (**abišaiθni*), *æræ* / *æræ* 'infinite number; thousand' (**hazabra*-), *fidis* / *fedes* 'rebuke' (**pati-daisa*-). The disappearance of the vowel has not seldom dramatically altered the appearance of a form, giving rise to previously unknown consonant groups, see chapter 2.

0.7.5.4. APHAERESIS

An initial vowel is sometimes deleted, e.g. *dæl*, (adv.) *dala* 'below, under' (< **adari*, **adar(i)a*-), *max* 'we, us, our' (< **abmāxa*-). In Iron, the deletion of initial *i* is regularly found as well: I. *dard* 'far' (D. *idard*), *waryn*: *turst* 'to divide, distribute' (D. *iwarun*). This is dealt with in chapter 3.

0.7.5.5. I-EPENTHESIS & PALATALIZATION

The elements **i*, **j* often affected the preceding vowel or adjacent consonant(s), e.g. *mid* / *med* 'in, inside, internal' (**maḍā*-), *zerin* / *zerinjæ* 'gold(en)' (**zaranja*-) and *allon* (Gpl. **ariānām*), *cyrġ* / *cirġ* 'sharp' (**tiġra*-). For an extensive treatment of this subject see chapter 4.

0.7.5.6. U-UMLAUT AND U-METATHESIS

In some instances, vowel **a* was liable to influence from following **u* or **y*. This *u*-umlaut can be seen in, for instance, *fyr* / *fur* 'much, many' (**paru*-), *myd* / *mud* 'honey' (< **maḍu*-), *fjxt* / *funx* 'ripe, cooked' (**paḥua*-, with. sec. -*n*-). In a few instances, **u* has given rise to *u* / *o*, rather than *y* / *u*, e.g. *furd* / *ford* 'great river, lake' (**paruta*-), *urs* / *ors* 'white' (**aruša*-), which is in effect a kind of metathesis. For more details see chapter 6.

0.7.5.7. PROTHESIS

Similar to contemporary Persian or Turkish, Ossetic does not tolerate forms beginning with a consonant group: a prothetic vowel, which is most often *a*¹¹, arose to avoid initial consonant groups, e.g. *afsad* / *afsad* 'army' (**spāda*-), *æxsav* / *æxsavæ* 'night' (**šāpā*-), *æxsin* / *æxsinjæ* 'lady, mistress' (**šaiθni*-). Prothesis apparently took place only after Tzetzes (1110-1180), who cited χαῖνὰ ἄρχόντισσα = Oss. *æxsin* / *æxsinjæ*. In contemporary Ossetic (Iron), initial *a*- and *y*- are often weakly pronounced, which can ultimately lead to the complete disappearance of the vowel: *æznag* > *yznag* > *znag* 'enemy', *æstyr* > *ystyr* > *styr* 'big', *æstag* > *stag* 'bone', *ysæz* > *sæz* 'twenty', etc. Furthermore, elision also causes disappearance of the initial vowel, e.g. *ne'mbahyn* 'I don't meet' (< *næ ambahyn*), *qady'mæ myst* 'cat and mouse' (< *qady amæ myst*).

¹¹ This vowel is usually represented as superscript *a* in Abaev's transcription of Iron forms.

In two cases, *anaptyxis*, rather than prothesis, may have taken place: *s(y)max* / *sumax* 'you, your [pl.]' (**(i)šmāxa*-) and *fysym* / *fusun* 'host, hospes' (**šumant*-, **šumāb*-).

0.7.5.8. VOWEL ASSIMILATION

In Digoron, regressive assimilation has taken place in several instances:

- D. *evged* 'bail' (I. *evġid*, **abi-kaita*-),
- D. *funuk* 'ashes' (I. *fænyk*, **pa(n)snu-ka*-),
- D. *mulzug* 'ant' (I. *mætzg*, **maru-iu-ka*-),
- D. *urux* 'wide, spacious' (I. *wærex*, POss. **wærexw*, v. On **u*, **u*, § 6.2.1),

0.7.5.9. VOWEL CONTRACTION

In Iron, the sequences *-awæ-*, *-awo-* > *-wa-* and *-æwæ-* > *-(w)o-* have undergone contraction:

- I. *cwan* 'hunting' (D. *cawæn*, **čāwāna*-),
- I. *nwar* 'sinew, tendon' (D. *nawær*, **snāwar*-),
- I. *swadon* 'spring, well, creek' (D. *sawædon(a)*),
- I. *swar* 'mineral well, water' (D. *sawær*-),
- I. *bægdwan* 'bail' (D. *bæġdaond*-),
- I. *æxon* 'agreeable, welcome' (D. *æxcawæn*-),
- I. *n(w)og* 'new' (D. *næwæg*, **naŋa-ka*-), sim.

0.7.5.10. DISSIMILATION

Dissimilation has taken place in the following cases:

- **n* ... *n* > *l* ... *n*, in *lamar* 'Islamic prayer' (< Pers. *namāz*), *læggyn* / *lægun* 'bold, naked' (< Germ. **nak* "na"),
- **r* ... *r* > *l* ... *r*, in (e.g.) *fjldær* / *fuldær* comp. 'more' (*fjr* / *fur* 'much, many'), *lævar* '(free) gift, present; for free' (**fra-bāra*-).

0.7.5.11. EJECTIVES

The rise of ejective (or glottalic) consonants can be attributed to Caucasian influence. The ejective realization of the velar and (rarely) dental is also found in inherited forms, too, notably in the following consonant groups:

- *æsk'æræg* (D.) 'sparkle' (**skaran(a)-ka*-),
- *dark'* / *dark'æ* '[I.] calf, [D.] one-year old kid' (**dar(a)-kā*-),
- *færsk'*, *færsk'æ* / *færsk'æ* 'rib' (**pars(u)-kā*-),
- *læsk'()* / *læskæ*, *læsgæ* 'paid pasturage' ("Germ." **las(a)-ka*-),
- *hysk'* / *hysk'æ* 'nits' (**riškā*-),
- *st'ælyn*: *st'æld* (I.) 'to die, starve' (**str-ia*-),
- *synk'* / *synk'æ* 'pimple, carbuncle' (**sün(a)-kā*-),
- *xysk'* / *xusk'æ* 'dry, dried up' (**huška*-).

The ejective pronunciation is possibly connected with the accent: it can hardly be accidental that the ejective is mostly found in the second syllable, to which the accent shifts, if the vowel in the first syllable is "weak" (*æ*, [I.] *y*, [D.] *i* and *u*).

0.7.5.12. DEVOICING OF FINAL CONSONANTS

Normally, the Old Iranian postvocalic voiceless stops have become voiced in Ossetic, cf. § 0.7.3.ii, § 0.7.3.7.ii, § 0.7.3.11.ii. In some instances, voiced consonants in final position are voiceless:

- *ard* / *ard*, *art* ‘oath’ (**(a)rtā*),
- *arzat* ‘ore’ (**(a)rzata*),
- *kark* ‘hen’ < **karka*-, LAv. *kahrka*°, MP, NP *kark* ‘chicken, hen’;
- *kaf* ‘fish’ (**kapa*),
- *kæt* (D.) ‘stable’ (**kata*),
- *karaf* (I.) ‘greedy, gluttony’ (? LW **karapa*),
- *nymat* / *nimat* ‘felt’ (**namata*).

The voiceless pronunciation remains unexplained.

0.7.5.13. CONSONANT ASSIMILATION

Consonant assimilation has often resulted in gemination, e.g. *cyppar* / *cuppar* ‘four’ (< **čabūnāra*), *fippajyn* / *feppajyn* ‘to remark’ (**patipāia*-). For an extensive treatment of consonant groups with **j* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4. ff.

In addition, in Iron we also encounter more recent instances of consonant assimilation, e.g.

- I. *addag* ‘external’ (D. *andag*),
- I. *appat* ‘each, every(one)’ (D. *an(k)et* < *am*- ‘with, cum-’ + *kæt* ‘stable’),
- I. *yssyn* ‘to whet’ (D. *insyn*),
- I. *avvaxs* ‘near’ (D. *avvaxs*),
- I. *zaxx* ‘earth-surface’ (D. *zaxxæ*).

0.7.5.14. CONSONANT METATHESIS

The following consonant groups show metathesis:

- **sy* > Oss. *fs*, in *afsan* / *afsan* ‘ploughshare’ (**syana*-), *jafs* / *afsa* ‘mare’ (**asūā*-);
- **zy* > *vz*, in *avzaryn* / *avzarun* ‘to choose; to understand’ (**uz-yāra*-), *avzidyn* / *avzedun* ‘to threaten’ (**uz-yaidaja*-);
- **dy* > *vd*, in *qavdyn* (I.) ‘puppy’ (**gadūa*-);
- **br* > Oss. *rv* (*rf*-), e.g. *arv* ‘heaven’ (**(ha)abra*-), *arfyg* / *arfug* ‘eyebrow’ (**brūka*-), *arvad* / *arvadæ* ‘brother’ (**brātā*, **brātar*-);
- **θr* > *rt*, e.g. *art* ‘fire’ (**aθr*-), *firt* / *firt* ‘son’ (**puθra*-);
- **dr* > *rd*, e.g. *ardu* / *ardo* ‘hair’ (**drau*-), *ardyn* / *arduna* ‘bow’ (**dr(a)umā*-);
- **xr* > *rx* (*lx*), e.g. *valx* ‘wheel’ (Nsg. m. **čaxrah*, **čaxra*-), *synx* / *surx* ‘red’ (**suxra*-);
- **gr* > *rġ* (*lġ*), e.g. *alg* ‘extremity; tip’ (Nsg. m. **agrab*, **agra*-), *arġevyn* / *arġuvun* ‘to load, lift, settle’ (**graba*-), *arġom* / *arġom*, *arġon* ‘faggot; burden; load’ (**grāma*-);
- *zr* (sec.) > *rz*, in *arzæ*, *arzæ* ‘[obs.] thousand, infinite number’ (pl. **hazāhrā*, **hazābra*-);
- **sp* (also sec.) > Oss. *fs*, in *afsad* / *afsad* ‘army’ (**spāda*-), *afsadyyn* / *afsadun* ‘to saturate’ (**spā*-), *xafs* / *xafsæ* ‘frog’ (**kasiapā*-).

0.7.5.15. FINAL *-ab, *-am

As in Sogdian and Khotanese, final *-ab and *-am yielded *-i and *-u respectively at an earlier stage of Ossetic. Evidence is provided by some forms which feature certain characteristic developments.

In the forms *alg* ‘tip [of finger]’ (**agra*-), *bal* ‘group’ (**bāra*-), *valx* ‘wheel’ (**čaxra*-) and *-al-* (in pl. *fjd-æl-tæ* ‘fathers’, et al.), the appearance of *-l-* normally presupposes the (former) presence of **i* or **i*. Since these forms can scarcely be derived from *i*-stems or from thematic stems in *-ia, the best explanation to account for the *-l-* is assuming the rise of secondary **i* from PIr. (Nsg.) *-ab, cf. Bielsemer (1982: 58 ff.).

For the treatment of *-am > pre-Oss. **u* see On **u*, **u*, § 6.2.3.

0.7.6. Developments in the pre-Ossetic and proto-Ossetic period

Although we cannot recover all older Ossetic stages, certain Ossetic developments can be traced back to the “Scytho-Sarmatian” period. The numerous personal names in the inscriptions found in Panticapaeum, Olbia and other settlements near the Black Sea provide some valuable clues, although we have to bear in mind that interpretation of these personal names, especially those without any Old Iranian correspondences, is often based on speculation. It is further possible that certain developments as reflected by these forms are not directly linked to developments found in modern Ossetic, e.g. syncope. What is considered genuinely *Alanic*, are three sentences quoted by Ioannes Tzetzes (1110-1180) and the grave inscription near the river Zelenchuk (10th-12th cent. CE). The “Yassic Wordlist” (1422) is even more similar to contemporary Ossetic, bearing the closest resemblances to Digoron. According to Bielsemer (CLL: 240 f.), the following developments exclusively shared (to some degree) by Sarmatian, Alanic and Ossetic can be mentioned (with additional information on the dating from Latyshev):

- i. **p*-
> Sm. π- (Olbia, 1st-3rd cent. CE), in Πουρθαίος (**puθra*-), Πιδεύς (**pīdā*-);
> Sm. φ- (East Pontic, 2nd-3rd cent. CE), Φουρτας, Φιδας (Tanaïs, 228 CE);
> Al. φ-, in φουρτ ‘son’ (Zelenchuk);
[> Oss. *f*-, in *firt* / *firt* ‘son’ and *fjd* / *fide* ‘father’].
- ii. **fri*-
> Sm. φλι- (Olbia, 2nd-3rd cent. CE), in Gsg. Φλιανου (= Av. *friāna*- PN), Φλειμναγος, Φλιμνακος (**friāmma*- + **ka*);
> Sm. λι-, in Gsg. Λειμνανο[v] (Tanaïs, 225 CE);
[> Oss. *ly*- / *li*-, in *lyman* / *liman* ‘friend’].
- iii. **θr*-
> Sm. ρθ, ρτ, see i.;
> Al. ρθ, ρτ, in τζηρθ-ε ‘grave’ (**čīθra*-) and φουρτ (Zelenchuk);
[> Oss. *rt*-, in *cirt* / *cirt* ‘grave’ and *firt* / *firt*].

- iv. *gr
> Sm. gy, in Ασπουργου (*asya-ugra-, Gorgippia, date uncertain);
[> Oss. rg, in *afsurǵ* / *afsorǵ* PN lit. 'with strong horses'].
- v. *sĭ-
> Sm. σ-, in Σαυ-δαγα-ται ethnonym (*sĭāya-dāra- lit. 'having black clothes, dressed in black'?, Olbia, 2nd-3rd cent. BCE), Asg. Σουγαγ (*sĭāya-ka-, Kerch 491 CE);
> Sm. σ-, (East Pontic?), in Gsg. Σιανκου (*sĭāya-ka-, Tanais, 225 CE)
[> Oss. s-, in *saw* 'black'].
- vi. *fra-
> Sm. ρα-, in Ραδαμασις (*fratama- 'first, foremost'?), Asg. ραδαμα-φουρτον (*fratama- + *puθra-, Tanais, 220 CE);
[> Oss. rr-, la-].
- vii. *xĭ-
> Sm. ξ-, in Ξαραταμος (*xĭaθra-, Olbia, date uncertain), Ξαρθανος (*xĭaθra-, Tanais, 3rd cent. CE);
> Al. χσ-, in χσινὰ 'άρχόντισσα' (Tzetzes);
[> Oss. xs-, in *axsar* / *axsare* PN and *axsin* / *axsijnæ* 'mistress'].
- viii. *ft
> (?) Al. βδ, in Αρδ-αβδα 'ἐπτάθεος' [Place with the seven righteous divinities] (*rta-hafta?, Periplus Ponti Euxini, 5th cent. CE);
[> Oss. vd, in *avd* 'seven'].
- ix. *rt-
> Al. αρδ-, in Αρδ-αβδα, see above;
[> Oss. ard 'oath'].
- x. *ha-
> (indirectly) Al. α-, in Hung. LW ezer 'thousand' (*hazabra-);
[> Oss. arxæ [obs.] thousand'].
- xi. *rĭ
> Al. λ, in 'Αλλανοί ethnonym (Gpl. *arĭānām);
[> Oss. allon].
- xii. *aiθni
> Al. ιν, in χσινὰ, see above;
[> Oss. in / *ijnæ*, in *axsin* / *axsijnæ*].

Some Ossetic developments are probably of relatively recent date, having not yet taken place in the Sarmatian-Alanic period.

- xiii. *p
> Sm. σπ, in Αμωσπαδος (*spāda-, Olbia, Roman period), Gsg. Σπαδακου (Olbia, same period?);
[> Oss. afsad 'army'].
- ix. *br-
> Sm. βρ-, in Βροδακος (*brātā + *-ka-, Panticapaeum, Roman period)
[> Oss. rv-, in *arvad* / *arvada* 'brother'].
- x. *fr
> ? Sm., Al. πρ or pr in Δαναιρις 'Dniepr river' (*dānu- + Oss. arf 'deep', Periplus Pontus Euxini, 5th cent. CE), Old Russ. LW *dnepr̥s*.
- xi. *ā before N(C)
> Sm. α, in Ζαρανδος (*zaranta-, Tanais, 228 CE);
> Al. α, a, in τα-παγ-χᾶς (= Oss. *dæ bon xorǵ* 'your day be good', Tzetzes), *daban borǵ* (= *dæ bon xorǵ*, Yassic), *dan* 'aqua' (Yassic);
[> Oss. o, in *zerond* 'old', *bon* 'day', *don* 'water; river'].
- One may also add:
- xii. *yĭ-
[> Sc. οτ-, in οἶδρ 'ἄνδρα' (Herodotus, IV 110) < *yĭra-];
> Sm. ι-, in Ινσαζαγου (*yĭnsati-, Olbia, d.d. ?);
[> Oss. y-, e-, i- / i-, ir / *iræ* 'Ossetian people' (*yĭrā(h), *Etym. Index*, s.v.), (y)ssæz / *insæj* 'twenty'].
- xiii. *aru
> Sm. αρο, in 'Αροοί tribal name (*aruša-, Strabo, Ptolemy);
[> Oss. ur / or, in *urs* / *ors* 'white'].
See also On *u, *μ, § 6.4.

0.7.7. Survey

Here follows a summary of the historical development of the Ossetic vowels and consonants, treated in this section (0.7). The survey has been somewhat simplified. The outcome of secondary consonant clusters, which emerged after syncope, and the "special developments" are excluded from the survey.

The most frequent developments are mentioned. The numbers between brackets refer to the respective paragraphs of the section.

0.7.7.1. VOWELS

I. From Proto-Iranian to Ossetic

Proto-Iranian	Ossetic	Proto-Iranian	Ossetic
– *a (2.1)	> a	– *ai (2.5)	> i / e
– *ā (2.2)	> a		> y / i
– *i, *ī (2.3)	> y / i	– *au (2.7)	> u / o
– *u, *ū (2.4)	> y / u		> y / u

II. From Ossetic to Proto-Iranian

Ossetic	Proto-Iranian	Ossetic	Proto-Iranian
– a	< *a (2.1.i)	– i / e	< *ai (2.5.i)
			< *a (2.1.viii)
– θ / -æ	< *ā (2.2.iii)	– i / ij	< *ī (2.3.iii)
– a	< *ā (2.2.i)		< *ai (2.5.iii)
			< *a (2.1.viii)
– o	< *ā (2.2.ii)	– i / u	< *ū (2.4.v)
	< *a (2.1.iii)		< *au (2.7.iii)
– (w)y, (o)ʔ / u	< *ū (2.4.i)	– i-, θ- / i-	< *ī (2.3.iv)
	< *au (2.7.ii)	– y / i	< *ī (2.3.i)
– u / o	< *au (2.7.i)		< *a (2.1.iv)
			< *ai (2.5.ii)
			< *ū (2.4.vi)

0.7.7.2. SINGLE CONSONANTS

I. From Proto-Iranian to Ossetic

Proto-Iranian	Ossetic	Proto-Iranian	Ossetic
– *i (3.1)	> j	– *g (3.12)	> q- / ġ-
– *u (3.2)	> w		> ġ
– *p (3.3)	> f	– *x (3.13)	> x
	> v	– *i (3.14)	> c-
– *b (3.4)	> b-		> ʒ
	> v	– *f (3.15)	> ʒ
– *f (3.5)	> f	– *s (3.16)	> s
– *m (3.6)	> m	– *z (3.17)	> ʒ
– *t (3.7)	> t	– *ʃ (3.18)	> s
	> -d	– *ʒ (3.19)	> ʒ
– *d (3.8)	> d	– *r (3.20)	> r
– *θ (3.9)	> t		> l
– *n (3.10)	> n	– *h (3.21)	> -
– *k (3.11)	> k		> x
	< -g		

II. From Ossetic to Proto-Iranian

Ossetic	Proto-Iranian	Ossetic	Proto-Iranian
– j	< *i (3.1.i)	– k (I.)	< *k (3.11.iv)
– w	< *u (3.2.i)	– k'	< *k (3.11.vi)
– b	< *b (3.4.i)	– k	< *k (3.11.i)
	< *up (3.3.iv.)	– ġ (I.)	< *k (3.11.v)
– f	< *p (3.3.i, 3.3.iii)	– g	< *k (3.11.ii)
	< *f (3.5)	– q / ġ	< *g (3.12.i)
– v	< *b (3.4.ii)	– x	< *x (3.13)
	< *p (3.3.ii)		< *h (3.21.ii-iii)
– m	< *m (3.6.i)		< *k (3.11.iii)
	< *hm (4.6.v)		< *xu (4.2.iv.vi)
	< *dm (4.6.i)	– ġ	< *g (3.12.ii)
– m / -n	< *m (3.6.ii)	– s	< *s (3.16)
– t	< *t (3.7.i, 3.7.iii)		< *ʃ (3.18.i)
	< *θ (3.9)		< *ʒ (4.1)
– d	< *d (3.8)		< *ʃr (4.18.vii)
– n	< *n (3.10)		< *str (4.22.i)
	< *bn (4.9.i)		< *ʃp (4.3.ii)
	< *fn (4.9.ii)		< *ʃf (4.5)
	< *θn (4.9.iii)		< *ʃr (4.13.ii)
	< *sn (4.9.v)	– ʒ	< *ʒ (3.17)
– c	< *i (3.14.i)		< *ʒ (3.19)
	< *t (3.7.iv)		< *ʒi (4.1)
– ʒ	< *i (3.14.i)		< *ʒr (4.16.iii)
– ʒ / j	< *f (3.15)	– r	< *r (3.20a.i)
	< *ti (3.7.v)	– l	< *r (3.20a.ii)

0.7.7.3. DOUBLE CONSONANTS

I. From Proto-Iranian to Ossetic

Proto-Iranian	Ossetic	Proto-Iranian	Ossetic
– *Cī (4.1)	> C(C)	– *Cθ (4.9)	
– *Cū (4.2)	> f / vC	*nθ	> nt
*hū (4.2.vi)	> x(w)	– *Cn (4.10)	
– *Cp (4.3)		*θn (4.10.iii)	> n
*mp (4.3.i)	> mb	*sn (4.10.iv)	> n
*sp (4.3.ii)	> fs	*ʒn (4.10.iv)	> ʒn, -ʒ / ʒn, -nʒ
– *Cb (4.4)		– *Ck (4.11)	
*mb	> mb	*Nk (4.11.ii)	> ng
– Cf (Cp) (4.5)		– *Cg (4.12)	
*ʃf (or *ʃp ?)	> s	*ng (4.12.i)	> ng
– *Cm (4.6)		– *Cʒ (4.13)	
*rm (4.6.iv)	> rm / r(m)	*nʒ (4.13.i)	> nʒ
*hm (4.6.v)	> m	*ʒʒ (4.13.ii)	> s, st

– *Ct (4.7)		– *Cj (4.14)	
*ft (4.7.i)	> vd	*nj	> nʒ
*nt (4.7.ii)	> nd	– *Cs (4.15)	
*xt (4.7.iii)	> ʒd	*ns (4.15.ii)	> ss / ns
*st (4.7.iv)	> st	– *Cz (4.16)	
*ʃt (4.7.v)	> st	*rʒ (4.16.ii)	> rʒ
– *Cd (4.8)		– *Cf (4.17)	
*nd (4.8.ii)	> nd	*xʃ (4.17.i)	> xs
*rd (4.8.v)	> rd	– *Cr (4.18)	> rC

II. From Ossetic to Proto-Iranian

Ossetic	Proto-Iranian	Ossetic	Proto-Iranian
– pp	< *θp (4.2.iii)	– ʒ / -nʒ	< *ʒn (4.10.vi)
– fc	< *fθj (4.19.i)	– ʒm	< *ʒm (4.6.ii)
– fs	< *sy (4.2.i)	– ʒd	< *ʒd (4.8.iii)
	< *sp (4.3.ii)		< *ʒd (4.8.iv)
	< *fss (4.21.ii)	– ʒn	< *ʒn (4.10.vi)
– vʒ	< *ʒy (4.2.i)	– ʒʒ	< *gʒ (4.16.i)
– vd	< *ʃt (4.7.i)	– r / r(w)	< *ry (4.2.v)
	< *dy (4.2.i)	– rf	< *fr (4.18.ii)
– mb	< *mb (4.4)		< *br (4.18.i)
	< *mp (4.3.i)	– rv	< *br (4.18.i)
– nt	< *nθ (4.9)		< *rp (4.3.iii)
– nd	< *nt (4.7.ii)	– rm / r(m)	< *rm (4.6.iv)
	< *nd (4.8.ii)	– rt	< *θr (4.18.iv)
– nc	< *ncj (4.19.ii)		< *rθr (4.22.iii)
– nʒ	< *nj (4.14)	– rd	< *dr (4.18.iii)
– nʒ	< *nʃ (4.13.i)		< *rd (4.8.v)
– ng	< *ng (4.12.i)		< *rt (4.7.vii)
	< *nk (4.11.ii)		< *ʃt (3.20b.ii.v)
– x / xw	< *hy (4.2.vi)		< *ʃd (3.20b.i)
– xs	< *xʃ (4.17)	– rn	< *rn (4.9.vii)
	< *xs (4.15.iii)	– rv	< *ʃst (4.7.vi)
	< *xsn (4.20)	– rg	< *rk (4.11.iv)
– ʒd	< *xt (4.7.iii)		< *ʃθk (4.11.i)
	< *gd (4.8.i)	– rʒ	< *gr (4.18.v)
– ʒn	< *gn (4.10.iv)		< *rg (4.12.iii)
– ʒʒ	< *zg (4.12.ii)		< *ʃg (3.20b.ii)
	< *gʒ (4.16.i)	– rs	< *ʃθs (4.15.i)

– sm / ns	< *sm (4.6.iii)	– ss / rs, ss	< *rʃ (4.17.ii)
– st	< *st (4.7.iv)	– rʒ	< *rʒ (4.14.iii)
	< *ʃt (4.7.v)		< *ʃʒ (3.20b.i)
	< *ʃʒ (4.13.ii)	– lm	< *rm (4.6.iv)
– st'	< *st (4.7.iv)		< *rm (3.20b.iv)
– sk(ʔ)	< *ʃk (4.11.iii)	– lx	< *xr (4.18.vi)
– ss	< *ʃʒ (4.19.iii)	– ʒg	< *gr (4.18.v)
– ss / ns	< *ns (4.15.ii)		

1. APOCOPE AND FINAL -Æ

1.1. INTRODUCTION

In numerous Ossetic forms, the old final vowel has been lost, e.g. *fonz* 'five' (cf. LAv. *pañca*, Skt. *pāñca*), *kalm* 'snake; worm' (cf. Skt. *kṛmī*), *myd* / *mud* 'honey' (cf. LAv. *madu*, Skt. *mādhu*), *æxsyr* / *æxsir* 'milk' (cf. Skt. *kṣīrā*). In most instances, the vowel apocopated goes back to **a*, **i* or **ū*. Long **ā*, on the other hand, has been regularly preserved as -*æ* in Digoron, but it has disappeared in Iron, cf. Thordarson (1989: 459; 1990: 258 ff.). Examples are *cyt* / *ciṭæ* 'honour' (Av. *ciθā*-f. 'revenge'), *fænd* / *fandæ* 'plan; wish' (LAv. *pantā*, Skt. *pānthā*-m. 'way, path') and *jæfs* / *afjæ* 'mare' (Av. *aspā*, Skt. *āsnā*-f.). We have a considerable number of instances which do not appear to conform to these rules, however. Especially in Digoron there are forms which have an unexpected final -*æ*, e.g. *arc* / *arcæ* 'spear' (cf. Av. *aršti*-, Skt. *ṛṣṭī*-f.), *ærin* / *ærijnæ* 'ell' (cf. Skt. *aratnī*-m.), *wæz* / *wæzæ* 'weight, load' (cf. LAv. *važiia*-, Skt. *vahyā*-n.), *zælda* (D.) 'young grass' (cf. Av. *zairita*-, Skt. *hārīta*- 'yellowish'). Iron, too, has forms with an unexpected final -*æ*, although to a lesser extent, e.g. *basæ* 'land', 'world', 'place' (cf. Skt. *upāstha*-m. 'lap'), *sædæ* 'hundred' (cf. Av. *sata*-, Skt. *satā*-).

Miller (Gr.: 15-16) explained final -*æ* in several Digoron forms as a kind of "neuangetretenes Suffix", particularly in those forms where -*æ* disappears before the plural suffix. No possible source or motivation was given for the rise of a "suffix" -*æ*. He acknowledged though that in some instances -*æ* is genuine:

- i. when -*æ* goes back to Ir. **ā*, as in D. *madæ* 'mother' from Nsg. **mātā*;
- ii. when -*æ* is derived from accented **ā* after a single consonant, e.g. *sædæ* 'hundred', cf. Skt. *śatām*;
- iii. when -*æ* is related to *i*-epenthesis, i.e. *æncojnæ* 'rest' (I. *æncoj*), *suŋzærijnæ* 'gold' (I. *suŋzærin*), cf. Appendix, nr. 10, 13;
- iv. when -*æ* is paragogic in forms with a difficult final consonant-cluster, for instance *darŋæ* 'length' (~*darŋ* 'long', for -*c* / -*æ*, see Appendix, nr. 6).

The assumption that -*æ* is a sort of recent suffix must be rejected: explaining final -*æ* as suffix which appears in all sorts of words (nouns, pronouns, verbal endings, etc.) is hardly plausible. Deriving -*æ* from accentuated **ā* after single consonant is not very likely either, as there are too many counterexamples: *jad* 'foot-print' (cf. Skt. *padā*-), *nyx* / *nix* 'nail' (cf. Skt. *nakhā*-), *ruvas* / *robæ* 'fox' (cf. Skt. *lopāśā*-), *wæraz*, *woræz* PN lit. 'boar' (cf. Skt. *varāhā*-), *wæz* (D.) 'calf' (cf. Skt. *vatsā*-), *æxsyr* / *æxsir* 'milk' (cf. Skt. *kṣīrā*-).

More recently, Thordarson (1989: 459; 1990: 258 ff.) proposed the following scenario for the (secondary) rise of -*æ*. After the loss of Ir. **a*, **i*, **ū* and the development of final **ā* to -*æ*, the outcome would be that all nouns have been allocated to either the *æ*- or *a*-class. While Digoron has preserved the distinction, these classes have merged to one (*æ*-class) in Iron. Several categories have escaped this morphological merger though, i.e. the plural suffix -*læ* (**-lā*), allative ending -*mæ* (< **hamā*) and monosyllabic forms. Iron nouns with -*æ* were then explained as borrowings or reflecting **-ajā*-. In a few cases, final -*æ* has been preserved for either morphological or analogical reasons. I cannot agree with

Thordarson's view that the disappearance of -*æ* in Iron is purely morphological. A large-scale merger would lack any motivation: -*æ* used as a characteristic Ossetic feminine marker, suggested by Thordarson, is rather ad hoc: there is no evidence that at the common Ossetic stage -*æ* was a kind of feminine marker or suffix. Why would forms like *ærin* / *ærijnæ* 'ell' (Skt. *aratnī*-m.) or *wæz* / *wæzæ* 'weight, load' (LAv. *važiia*-, Skt. *vahyā*-n.) be considered feminine, if they originally belong to different genders? Although accidental change in gender cannot be ruled out in a few instances, there are too many "exceptional" cases in Ossetic. Besides, in contemporary Ossetic there is not a shred of evidence that gender was distinguished at an earlier, Proto-Ossetic stage. Already Miller explicitly stated that not only in the nominal classes do we find this kind of "alternation" (-*æ* in D. and -*æ* in Iron), but also in the verbal endings as well. The morphological explanation is therefore to be discarded. Rather, it is more probable that the loss of -*æ* in Iron is phonologically motivated, see *Accent*, § 5.4. f.

Generally, we can state that the common Ossetic apocope resulted in loss of certain final vowels, but not all. Subsequently, at a later stage, Iron underwent apocope of final -*æ*. Those instances where both Iron and Digoron have -*æ* are to be explained differently.

1.1.2. Presentation of the material

The forms are discussed in the following order:

- 1.2. absence of final -*æ* in both Iron and Digoron,
- 1.3. presence of -*æ* in Digoron only,
- 1.4. presence of -*æ* in both Iron and Digoron.

Every section is further subdivided in accordance with the original (PIr.) morphological classes. For the convenience of the reader, each word is supplied with the following information: translation, a reconstruction based on (Indo-)Iranian correspondences, other Iranian cognate forms (if relevant), and some further information, if necessary. For more details the respective entries in the *Etymological Index* can be consulted.

Citation of forms which are only attested in one dialect is mostly avoided, but they are quoted, if the unattested dialect correspondence can be inferred, e.g. I. *kant* implies D. **kante*, D. *æssin* implies I. **æssyn*.

1.2. IRON -Ø / DIGORON -Ø

The majority of forms falls into this section. The main categories feature forms with:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| - 1.2.1. final * <i>-a</i> , | - 1.2.4. final * <i>-ū</i> , |
| - 1.2.2. final * <i>-i</i> , | - 1.2.5. final * <i>-am</i> . |
| - 1.2.3. final * <i>-ab</i> , | |

1.2.1. Final **-a*

PIr. **-a* in absolute auslaut is found in some numerals, prepositions and the NAsg. of the neuter *n*-stems. The other instances with final **-a*, in non-absolute position, concern thematic masculine-neuter *a*-stems.

1.2.1a. NUMERALS (indeclinable)

- *and* ‘seven’ < PIr. **hafta*; Av. *hapta*, Skt. *saptá*, etc.
- *dæs* ‘ten’ < PIr. **dasa*; GAv. *dasā*, LAv. *dasa*, Skt. *dāśa*, etc.
- *fonz* ‘five’ < PIr. **pañca*; LAv. *pañca*, Skt. *pāñca*, etc.

The numerals *ast* ‘eight’, *ærxæ* ‘thousand’, *cyppar* ‘four’, *biræ* ‘much, many’, *iw* ‘one’, *sædæ* ‘hundred’ are treated elsewhere (v. § 1.4.1a. ff.).

1.2.1b. PREPOSITIONS

- *æd* ‘with’ < PIr. **hada*; GAv. *hadā*, LAv. *baða*, OP *hadā*, Skt. *sabā*, *sadba*, etc.

1.2.1c. NEUTER *n*-STEMS

- *carm* / *car* ‘skin, leather’ < PIr. **čarman-*, NAsg. **čarma*; LAv. *carəman-* ‘skin, leather’, OP *čarman-* (n.) ‘id.’, Skt. *čārman-* (n.) ‘(stripped) skin’, etc.
- *casm* / *cans* ‘loop [of a snare, *bašblyk*, or in weaving], noose, snare’ < PIr. **čašman-*, NAsg. **čašma*; Av. *cašman-* (n.), OP (Asg.) *cašma* ‘eye’, etc.
- *fasm* / *fans* ‘wool shaved in the autumn’ < PIr. **pašman-*, **pašma*, Skt. *pāksman-* (n.) ‘eye-lash’.
- *nom* / *non*, *nom* ‘name; fame’ < PIr. **nāman-*, NAsg. **nāma*; Av. *nāman-* ‘name’, OP (NAsg.) *nāmā*, Lsg. *nāma*, Skt. *nāman-* (n.) ‘name’, etc.
- *sasm* / *sans* ‘glue’ < PIr. **sraišman-*, NAsg. **sraišma*; Skt. *śléśman-*, NP *sirišm* ‘glue’. On the peculiar vocalism see *Et. Index* (s.v.).

1.2.1d. PRONOUNS

- *mæn* Gsg. ‘(of) me’ < PIr. Gsg. **mana*; LAv. Gsg. *mana*, GDsg. OP *manā*, Skt. *māma* (with sec. -*m*-) ‘of me’, etc.
- *dæw* Gsg. ‘(of) you’ < PIr. **taua*; LAv. *tauna*, Skt. *tāva* ‘id.’, etc.

The unexpected voicing of initial *d-* is due to enclitic usage (Abaev, s.v.).

1.2.1e. *a*-STEMS

The following forms reflect old *a*-stems, of which the Nsg. m. ended in *-*ab* and the Asg. m., NAsg. n. in *-*am*. They are divided in substantives and adjectives. This distinction should be made, since PIr. adjectives also had a feminine variant in *-*ā* (or *-*ī*).

1.2.1e.i. masculine nouns

- *arg* ‘price; ransom’ < PIr. **arga*; Sogd. *ʾr* ‘price’, Skt. *arghá-* (m.) ‘price, value’.
- *ars* ‘bear’ < PIr. *(H)*r̥tsa-*; Av. *arša*, Skt. *f̥k̥sa-* (m.), Sogd. *ʾr̥š*, MP *xirs* ‘bear’, etc.
- *art* ‘fire’ < **ātra-*; Av. *atar-*, MP *ādur* ‘fire’, Sogd. *ʾr̥* name of the 9th day (< **āθr-*), etc. The Ossetic form is apparently derived from thematicized **āθra-*.
- *argom* / *argon*, *argom* ‘bundle of wood, faggot, burden; package; load’ < PIr. **grāma-*; Khz. *yr̥m* ‘weight’, Skt. *grāma-* (m.) ‘heap, multitude, host (of warriors)’.
- *afsad* / *afsad* ‘army’ < PIr. **spāda-*; GAv. *spāda-*, LAv. *spāda-* (m.) ‘army, host’, OP **spāda-* (in *Taxmaspāda* PN, lit. ‘having a brave army’).
- *afsarm*, *afsarm* / *afsarm*, *afsar* ‘shame; diffidence; observance of decency’ < PIr. **šarma-*,

LAv. *šarma-* (m.) ‘(feeling of) shame’, etc.

- *ærwæz* (D.) ‘herd of deer’ < PIr. **uraz-*; Skt. *urājā-* (m.) ‘enclosure, fold, stall’ (ELO: 35).
- *byn* / *bun* 1. ‘bottom, foundation, ground’, 2. ‘legacy’ < PIr. **buna-*; GAv. *būna-* (m.) ‘floor, depth’, Skt. *budhnā-* (m.) ‘floor, ground, depth’, MP *bun* ‘base, bottom’, etc.
- *fud* ‘foot’ < PIr. **pāda-*; OP *pāda-* (m.), Skt. *pāda-* (m.) ‘foot’, etc.
- *fyn* / *fun* ‘sleep, dream’ < PIr. **hujna-*; Av. **ʰujna-* (m.), Skt. *svāpna-* (m.) ‘sleep’, etc.
- *firt* / *furt* ‘son’ < PIr. **puθra-*; GAv. *puθra-* (m.), OP *puça-* (m.), ‘son, child’, etc.
- *jæw* ‘millet’ < PIr. **iaua-*; LAv. *iauna-* (m.) ‘grain’, Skt. *yāva-* (m.) ‘grain, corn, barley’, etc.
- *kard* ‘knife’, ‘sabre; [epic] sword’ < PIr. **karta-*; LAv. *karata-* (m.) ‘knife’ (< **kartā-*), etc.
- *kæt* (D.) ‘stable’ < PIr. **kata-*; LAv. *kata-* (m.) ‘(store-)room, cellar’.
- *kom* ‘desire’ (+ *dæddyn* / *dæddun* ‘to agree’) < PIr. **kāma-*; Av. *kāma-* (m.), OP *kāma-* (m.) ‘id.’, Skt. *kāma-* (m.) ‘wish, desire’. Final -*m* in the D. form has been preserved due to the composition with *dæddun* (final -*m* becomes regularly -*n*, cf. *Introduction*, § 0.7.3.6.ii).
- *mağz* ‘brain, marrow’ < PIr. **mazga-*; Av. *mazga-* (m.), Sogd. *myz-*, Khot. *mājsā* (Lsg.), MP *mazg* ‘marrow, brain’, etc.
- *marg* ‘poison’ < PIr. **marka-*; LAv. *mabrka-* (m.) ‘destruction, death’ (< **mārka-*), GAv. *maraka-* ‘id.’, Skt. *markā-* (m.) ‘destruction, death’, *mārka-* (m.) name of a demon.
- *marğ* ‘bird’ < PIr. **mrga-*; LAv. *mərəya-* (m.n.) ‘id.’, Skt. *mrgā-* (m.) ‘wild animal, game’, etc.
- *niz* / *nez* ‘disease’ < PIr. **naiža-*; LAv. *naēza-* (m.) name of a certain illness.
- *nyx* / *nix* ‘nail, claw’ < PIr. **naxca-*; Skt. *nakhā-* (m.n.) ‘nail, fingernail’.
- *qus* / *ğos* ‘ear; silence’ < PIr. **gauša-*; GAv. *gəuša-*, LAv. *gaōša-* (m.), OP *gauša-* ‘ear’, Skt. *ghōśa-* (m.) ‘noise’.
- *quwaz*, *qawaz* / *ğawanz* ‘doe’ < PIr. **gawazna-*; LAv. *gawuasna-* (m.) ‘deer’, Khot. *gg̃ỹsna-* ‘stag, deer’.
- *ruwas* / *robas* ‘fox’ < PIr. **raupāsa-*; MP, NP *ribāh* ‘fox’, Skt. *lopāśā-* (m.) ‘jackal, fox’, etc.
- *son* ‘enemy, misery’ < **sāna-*; LAv. Asg. *sānom* ‘enemy (?)’, Khot. *sāna-* (m.), Sogd. *s̄n* ‘enemy’.
- *stur* / (*æ*)*stor* [as generic term] ‘cow, bull, bovine’ < PIr. **staura-*; LAv. *staora-* (m.) ‘large cattle [i.e. camel, horse, cow, ass]’, Khot. *stūra-* ‘large cattle, horse’, etc.
- *waraz*, *woraz* PN < PIr. **urāza-*; LAv. *varāza-* ‘boar’ (also as PN), OP *Varāza-* PN (‘Median’), Skt. *varāhā-* (m.) ‘boar, pig’, etc.
- *wes* (D.) ‘calf’ < PIr. **uasa-*; Skt. *vatsā-* (m.) ‘calf, young of an animal’, child’.
- *wyrg* / *urg* ‘kidney’ < PIr. **ur̥θka-*; LAv. *uradka-* (m.), Khot. *biłga*, Sogd. *yurdiq-*, Skt. *ur̥kē-* (m.), etc. On initial *ur̥* / *u̥* see On **u̥*, § 6.2.3.
- *xid* / *xed* ‘sweat’ < PIr. **huidā-*; LAv. **ʰuidā-* (m.), Skt. *svēda-* (m.) ‘id.’, etc.
- *zæd* / *izæd* ‘divinity; angel’ < PIr. **jazata-*; GAv. *yazata-* (m.) ‘venerable being’, LAv. *yazata-* (m.) ‘god, divine being’, Khot. *gyasta-* ‘worshipful being; royal person’, MP *yazd* ‘god, divinity’, Skt. *yajātā-* ‘honourable, venerable’. The possibility of borrowing (from NP) cannot be discarded entirely, on which see the *Etymological Index* and *Aphaeresis*, § 3.3.1c.

1.2.1e.ii. neuter nouns

- *ard* / *ard*, *art* ‘oath’ < PIr. **r̥ta-*; Av. *aša-* (n.), OP (*a*)*r̥ta-*, Skt. *rtā-* (n.) ‘truth’, etc.
- *ærzæt* ‘ore’ < PIr. *(*a*)*rzata-*; Av. *ærzata-* (n.), OP *ardata-* (n.), Khot. *ālysata-* ‘silver’.
- *bandæn* ‘rope’ < PIr. **bandana-*; Skt. *bāndhana-* ‘binding’, (n.) ‘bond, tie’, also ‘cord, rope’.

- *fars* ‘side’ < Plr. **pārsua*–; Skt. *pārsva*- (n.) ‘side’.
- *fæd* ‘foot-print’ < Plr. **pada*–; LAv. *paða*- (n.) ‘(foot) step’ (in compounds), Skt. *padā*- (n.) ‘(foot)step’, etc.
- *ižær* ‘evening’ < Plr. **už-ažara*–; LAv. *užaiara*- (n.) ‘afternoon’, etc.
- *ix* / *ex* ‘ice, hail’ < Plr. **aixa*–; LAv. *aixa*- (n.) ‘ice’.
- *myzd* / *mižd* ‘wages, wages for a hired worker, recompensation for labour; favour’ < Plr. **mižda*–; GAv. *mižda*- (n.) ‘wages, reward’, Skt. *miḥā*- (n.) ‘loot, spoils’.
- *qoyn* / *ḡun* ‘hair, wool, wool of a single sheep’ < Plr. **gauna*–; LAv. *gaona*- (n.) 1. ‘hair’, 2. ‘colour of the hair’, 3. ‘manner’.
- *wart* ‘shield’ < Plr. **u(a)rθra*–; LAv. *varθra*- (in *aiio.varθra*- ‘iron-shielded’), Khot. *baṭha*- ‘cuirass’, Skt. *vārtra*- n. ‘dike, dam’.
- *æxsyr* / *æxsir* ‘milk’ < Plr. **xsira*–; MP, NP *šir*, Skt. *ksirā*- (n.) ‘milk’, etc.

1.2.1e.iii. exceptions

Several *a*-stems apparently do not show apocope in Digoron.

- *arm* / *arm*, *ar*, *aræ* ‘1. arm; 2. [D.] shaft’ < Plr. **arma*–; Av. **arma*- (m.), Skt. *irmā*- (m.) ‘arm’. D. *arm* is found in compounds only.
- *barz* / *barzæ* ‘birch’ < Plr. **barza*–; Yz. *vawz* ‘birch’, Skt. (m.) *bhūrjā*- (m.) ‘*Betula utilis*’.
- *miḡ* / *meḡæ* ‘[black] cloud; fog’ < Plr. **maiga*–; LAv. *maēya*- (m.) ‘cloud’, Skt. *meghā*- (m.) ‘cloud; misty weather’, etc.
- *moj* / *mojnæ* ‘husband’ < **dmānja*- (Et. Index, s.v.); LAv. *nmāniia*–, MP *māniḡ* ‘household member’.
- *qis* / *ḡesæ* ‘coarse wool; bristle, horse-hair; string’ < **gaisa*–; LAv. *gaēsa* (pl.) ‘hair’, MP, NP *ḡes* ‘curls, locks’, (+ *-æd*) Khot. *ḡaisaa*- ‘grass’.
- *suzin* / *sozjina*, *suzjina* ‘needle’ < **saulanja*–; Khot. *saṡsaṡa*–, MP *sōzan*.
- *wad* / *wad(æ)* ‘wind; storm’ < Plr. **uata*–; Av. *vāta*- (m.) ‘wind’, Skt. *vāta*- (m.) ‘wind(-god)’, etc.
- *wæz* / *wæzæ* ‘weight, load’ < Plr. **uazja*–; LAv. *važja*- (n.) ‘load’, Khot. *vaša*- ‘burden’, Skt. *vahyā*- (n.) ‘litter, palanquin’.
- *wyrd* / *urde* ‘otter’ < Plr. **udra*–; LAv. *udra*- (m.) ‘otter’, Skt. *udrā*- (m.) ‘a kind of water-animal’.
- *xæfs* / *xæfsæ* ‘frog’ < Plr. **kasiapa*–; Av. *kasiapa*–, Khot. *khysaa*- ‘frog, tortoise’, Skt. *kaśyapa*- ‘tortoise’.
- *žærin* / *žærijna* ‘gold; of gold, golden’ < Plr. **žarānja*–; Av. *žarāniia*- (n.), OP *darāniya*- (n.), Skt. *hīraṇya*- (n.) ‘gold, precious metal’.

These exceptional instances only in Digoron may be divided in three categories. The final vowel *-æ* found in the Digoron forms is either secondary (i.e. late), paragogic or analogical.

Clearly secondary / late is final *-æ* in *aræ* and *wad(æ)*. The final *-æ* of D. *aræ* must have appeared after the D. loss of *-m* after *r*. The linguistic reality of *aræ* is doubtful. The form is a *bapax legomenon*, found in *sæ kinz-ŋon wærdun ævžestæ aræ* ‘their chariot had a pole with silver shafts’. We are either dealing with a case of perseveration, i.e. the *-æ* of *aræ* is from *ævžestæ* (OĖp: 62), or, it is simply a scribal error. Final *-æ* of D. *wad(æ)* is optional,

which again suggests that it is of recent date. D. *wad(æ)* has most likely been influenced by the synonym *dunḡæ* (l. *dymḡæ*), a lexicalized *gæ*-derivation from the verb *dymyn* / *dumun* ‘to blow; to smoke’ (for the *gæ*-suffix, v. Appendix, A § 9). *Dymḡæ* / *dunḡæ* is in fact more frequently used than *wad* / *wad(æ)*, probably for euphemistic reasons (Abaev).

A phonological cause most likely explains final *-æ* in *wæzæ*. The form *wæz* / *wæzæ* and also *moj* / *mojna*, *suzin* / *sozjina*, *žærin* / *žærijna* have an old Ir. cluster **-Cj-* in common, which became assimilated, cf. deriv. *wæzḡaw* ‘heavy’. The assimilated cluster **-CC*, which stood in final position after apocope, gave rise to a paragogic vowel **-æ*, see also § 1.2.2b.i.

The instances *barzæ*, *meḡæ* and *ḡesæ* have probably acquired final *-æ* by analogy (or attraction). Final *-æ* in *barzæ* is old. Since Plr. **-a* normally becomes *-æ* before a final consonant-cluster in Oss. (v. Introduction, § 7.2.1.ii), this implies that final *-æ* is already of POss. date. When we consider other tree names, we notice that they have practically always final *-æ* in Digoron: *belas* / *balasæ* ‘tree’, *færv* / *færvæ* ‘alder’, *kærz* / *kærzæ* ‘ash’, *næzy* / *næzi* ‘pine’, *tærs* / *tærsæ* ‘beech’, *tolz* / *tolzæ* ‘oak’, *xæris* / *xær(w)es* ‘willow’. *Barzæ* was apparently attracted to the category of tree names in *-æ*. In this case, the explanation of Thordarson, viz. morphological analogy (see § 1.1), can be invoked. This procedure became unproductive by the time that *næzy* / *næzi* (< Georg.) and *xæris* / *xær(w)es* (< *xæræ* ‘grey’ + *wis* / *(w)es* ‘branch’) entered the Ossetic language. As for D. *meḡæ*, the final *-æ* can hardly be ascribed to influence from semantically related forms, cf. *ævræḡ* ‘cloud’. In Digoron, *meḡæ* is frequently used in a compound with *xæræ* ‘grey’, viz. *xæræ-meḡæ* ‘dense cloud’ (= I. *c’æx-miḡ*), from where *-æ* has been presumably taken.¹² Final *-æ* of *ḡesæ* may be considered analogical, cf. (synonymous) *qil* / *ḡela* ‘hair’ (unclear etymology) and, semantically related, *keiz* / *kesæ* ‘coarse [of wool]’. Alternatively, the origin of the final vowel is perhaps to be sought in the plural in **-ā(h)*, cf. LAv. *gaēsa*.

The remaining two exceptional forms are difficult to explain. Final *-æ* of D. *urde* can hardly be paragogic, cf. *ird* ‘bright’. Are we dealing with the feminine form **udrā*, which is otherwise not attested in Indo-Iranian (?), but cf. Slav. *vydra* (f. !). The inclusion of *urde* in Abaev is to my knowledge based on one citation (OĖ III: 144). Final *-æ* of *xæfsæ* is equally obscure, although it appears to be relatively old, cf. *Syncope*, § 2.2.3. ff.

1.2.1f. *a*-STEM ADJECTIVES

In Ossetic it is impossible to distinguish adjectives from nouns, cf. Thordarson (CLJ: 467). They can be used in both modifying and modified sense. *Tavd*, for instance, can thus mean ‘hot’ or ‘heat’, in accordance with its syntactical function. *Bæx* is substantival in *styr bæx* ‘a big horse’, but adjectival in *bæx wærdon* ‘a horse-cart’. The loss of distinction is an Ossetic innovation, but since the Old Iranian adjectives have feminine variants in **-ā*, **-ī*, the adjectives are treated separately here.

1.2.1f.i. participles, verbal adjectives

– *bast* ‘constrained’, ‘bundle’ < Plr. ppp. **basta*–; Av. *basta*–, OP *basta*–, etc.

¹² Also D. *meḡ*, without final *-æ*, is cited by Andronikašvili: 62 (apud Abaev V: 19). It is therefore not excluded that *meḡæ* is of recent date (cf. above).

- *fyc* / *funx* ‘boiled’, ‘backed’ < PIr. **paxya-* + **-na*; Khot. *paba-* ‘ripe’, ‘rotted’, Skt. *pakvā-* ‘boiled, backed’, ‘ripe’, etc. For the nasal in the D. form see *Appendix, A* § 4.
- *lyman* / *liman*, *nimal* ‘friend, lover’ < ptc. mid. **frijamma-* (cf. *Etymological Index, s.v.*).
- *mard* ‘killed, died; dead, deceased, corpse’ < PIr. ppp. **mṛta-*; Av. *marata-*, Skt. *mṛtā-* ‘dead’, etc.
- *rust* ‘right, true, honest; straightly’ < PIr. **rāšta-*; LAv. *rāšta-*, OP *rāsta-* ‘right’, Khot. (ppp.) *rrassta-* ‘directed, right, straight’, etc.
- *stavd* / (*α*)*stavd* ‘thick; large’ < PIr. **stafta-*; Skt. *stabdhā-* ‘firm, stiff, rigid’.
- *sygd* / *suḡd* ‘burnt’ < PIr. ppp. **suxta-*; Av. **suxta-*, Skt. *śuklā-* ‘id.’, etc.
- *zad* ‘born’ < PIr. ppp. **zāta-*; LAv. *zāta-*, Skt. *jātā-* ‘born’, etc.

1.2.1f.ii. pronominal adjectives

- *ander* ‘[some, unspecified] other’ < PIr. **antara-*; Av. *antara-*, Skt. *ántara-* ‘other’.

1.2.1f.iii. nominal adjectives

- *arv* ‘sky’ < PIr. **ha-abra-*; Skt. *sābhra-* ‘cloudy’, cf. Av. *ašra-* (n.) ‘cloud; rain’, Khot. *ora-* ‘sky’, Skt. *abhrā-* (n.) ‘cloud’, etc. See *Etym. Index (s.v.)*.
- *aenus* / *aenos* ‘eternity’ < PIr. **anaušā-*; LAv. *anaoša-* (adj.) ‘not decaying, immortal’, MP *anōš* ‘immortal; elixer, antidote’, Sogd. *nwš’k* ‘eternal’.
- *axsin* (D.) ‘dark-grey’ < PIr. **axšaina-*; Av. *axšaēna-*, OP *axšaina-*, etc.
- *cyrḡ* / *cirḡ* ‘sharp’ < PIr. **tigra-*; LAv. *tiyra-*, OP *tigra-* ‘pointed’.
- *darḡ* ‘long [spatially and temporally]’ < PIr. **darga-*; GAv. *darega-*, LAv. *daraya-*, OP *darga-*, Skt. *dīrghā-* ‘long’, etc.
- *fatæn* ‘wide’ < PIr. **paθana-*; LAv. *paθana-* ‘broad, wide’, MP, NP *pahn* ‘wide, broad’, etc.
- *ird* ‘bright, clear’ < PIr. **(ui-)idra-*; Y. *lōrōyo* ‘clear sky’, Skt. *vidhrā-* ‘clean, clear’.
- *qarm* / *gar(m)* ‘warm’ < PIr. **garma-*; Av. *garama-* ‘heat, glow’, OP *garma-* (in name of month), Skt. *gharmā-* (m.) ‘glow, heat, warmth’, etc.
- *ruxs* / *roxs* ‘light (subst); light, bright’ < PIr. **rauxšna-*; LAv. *raoxšna-* ‘light, glowing’, Sogd. *rywšn*, *rwčšn* ‘luminous’, etc.
- *saw* ‘black, dark-skinned’ < PIr. **šāwa-*; LAv. *šīāwua-* ‘black’, Skt. *śyāvā-* (m.) ‘brown, dark-brown’, etc.
- *styr* / (*α*)*stur*, (*i*)*stur*, (*u*)*stur* ‘big, great’ < PIr. **stūra-*; Av. *stūra-* (in PN), Skt. *sthūrā-* ‘big, strong, thick’, etc.
- *syrc* / *surc* ‘red, bay’ < PIr. **suxra-*; Av. *suxra-* ‘red [of fire]’, OP *θuxra-* (m.) PN, Skt. *śukrā-* ‘bright, pure, whitish, white’, etc.
- *axsəd* / *axsəd* ‘dawn’, ‘glow’ < PIr. **xšaita-*; LAv. *xšaēta-* ‘glowing’, MP *šed* ‘bright; sorrel [horse]’.

1.2.1f.iv. thematized ant-stems

Most *ant*-stems have generalized full-grade **ant-* (from the Asg.). This process seems to have occurred at a relatively early stage, in view of the Sarmatian name Ζαγοῦδος. For the treatment of the possessive *mant-* and *uant*-formations see § 1.3.2.

- *barzond* ‘high; height’ < **brzanta-*; LAv. *barzant-* ‘high’, Skt. *bṛhánt-* ‘large, elevated, high, wide’, etc.
- *zaron* ‘old, old man’ < **zāranta-*; Sm. Ζαγοῦδος PN (lit. ‘the Old One’), Skt. *jārant-* ‘old’.

To these forms we can add two obsolete active participles:

- *ambison* / *ambeson* ‘proverb; fable, parable; striking, surprising’ (e.g. *ambisondy ræstæg* ‘surprising weather’) < **ham-paisanta-*; cf. Av. *paēs-*, OP *paith-* ‘to adorn, paint’, Oss. *fysyn* / *finsun* ‘to write’. For the etymology and meaning see *Et. Index (s.v.)*.
- *fældeson* (D.) ‘creation’ < **pari-daisanta-*; cf. Oss. *fældisyn* / *fældesun* ‘to create’, Sogd. *prōʾys* ‘to build’.

1.2.1f.v. numerals

- *gyppar* / *cuppar* ‘four’ < (<) PIr. **catθuārah*; Av. *catθārō* (m. pl.), Skt. *catvārah* (pl. m.), etc. The Ossetic form goes clearly back to the masculine (pl.) form; the old feminine is rather **catābrah* (LAv. *catābrō*, Skt. *cātābrah*). For final -r see § 1.2.3b, fn.

1.2.1f.vi. exceptions in Dig.

- *iw* / (*j*)*ew(α)* ‘one’ < PIr. **aīwa-*; Av. *aīwua-*, OP *aīwa-* ‘one, only, alone’, etc.
- *kælm* / *kælmæ* ‘worm-eaten, wormy’ < **kṛmīa-*; cf. Oss. *kælm* ‘worm’ (§ 1.2.2b). *Kælm* is found in the expressions *kælm kænyn* ‘to become worm-eaten’ and *kælm wyn* ‘to rot, decompose’.
- *næl* / (*obs*) *næle* ‘male, man-’ < **narija-*; LAv. *nairiia-* (adj.) ‘male, virile’, Skt. *nārya-* ‘id.’, etc. *Næl* is almost exclusively used in adjectival sense, e.g. *næl kəyʒ* ‘male dog’, *næl bæx* ‘gelding’, *nælgojmag* ‘male person’.
- *naw* / *næwa* ‘young grass, grass’, ‘turf’, ‘virgin soil’ < PIr. **naṇa-*; LAv. *naūua-* ‘new, fresh’, Skt. *nāva-* ‘new, fresh, young’, etc.
- *tavd* / *tavda* ‘hot, (intense) heat’ < PIr. **tafta-*; LAv. *tafta-* ‘feverish’, Khot. *ttanda-* ‘heated, hot’, (abstr.) *ttandā* ‘heat’, Skt. *taptā-* ‘heated, hot, glowing’.
- *tiḡ* / *teḡa* ‘mountain range, sharp protrusion, corner; sharp edge; hillock, border’ < PIr. **taiga-*; LAv. *taēya-* ‘sharp’, (m.) ‘sharpness’, MP *tēx*, NP *tēḡ* ‘sharp edge, ridge, ray, sword’, (Tadj.) *tēḡa* ‘(mountain-)range’, Yaḡn. *tiy*, *tey* ‘sharpness’.
- *xos* / *xwaxæ* ‘hay; medicine; a means, esp. to resolve a difficult situation; possibility’ < PIr. **huwāstra-*; Av. *xwāstra-* adj. ‘having good pastures’, *xwāstrā-* f. name of a river, Khot. *hwā(s)sa* (Nsg. *ʾā*) ‘grass’.
- *xəysk* / *xuske(α)* ‘dry, dried up’ < PIr. **buška-*; Av. *buška-* ‘dry, dried up’, OP *uška-* (n.) ‘the mainland’, Skt. *śūska-* ‘dry, arid, dried up’ (assim. from **śūska-*), etc.
- *zælda* (D.) ‘young grass, grass; turf’ < PIr. **zariita-*; Av. *zairiita-*, Skt. *hārīta-* ‘yellowish’.

Final -æ in Digoron has apparently different origins.

The rise of optional -æ in (*j*)*ew(α)* in Digoron is no doubt to be attributed to attraction from the following numerals *duw(u)æ* ‘two’ and *ærtæ* ‘three’.

The majority of the remaining instances is most likely derived from fem. sg. or n. pl. **-ā(-)*: *naw* / *næwa*, *tavd* / *tavda*, *tiḡ* / *teḡa* and *xos* / *xwaxæ*. For *næwa* and *zælda* it is more natural to derive final -æ from the (neuter) plural, which often conveys a collective

meaning. Obviously, we need a noun which *nawæ* and *zælda*, being old adjectives, used to modify. The most likely candidate is Iranian **yāstra*-, Av. *vāstra*- (n.) 'pasture', pl. 'Gräser'.¹³ The form is amply attested in Iranian¹⁴, also in Ossetic: *xos* / *xwasæ*. The plural use of **yāstra*- for 'grass' is probably already of Proto-Iranian date, in view of Avestan, Pashto and Roshani (et al.). Oss. *xos* / *xwasæ* reflects (early) substantivization, while the Avestan correspondence *xāstra*- still functions as adjective and substantive alike. Like *nawæ* and *zælda*, final -*æ* in D. *xwasæ* most likely goes back to NApl. *-*ā*. For *tævd* / *tævdæ* there is a close Khotanese correspondence, the feminine abstract noun *tāudā*-. The Ossetic form may also be derived from feminine **taftā*-. In the case of *tīg* / *teǰæ* we encounter a wide range of meanings. Especially the meaning of 'mountain-range' is noteworthy. The meaning suggests that Oss. *tīg* / *teǰæ* was originally collectively used¹⁵, hence -*æ* < n. pl. *-*ā*.

The other instances of final -*æ* are rather phonologically motivated. The forms *kælm* / *kælmæ* and *næl* / *næle* are most likely old relational-possessive *ia*-formations, on account of their meaning and usage. Final -*æ* of *kælmæ* and *næle* has probably arisen by paragoge, the cluster *-*Ci*- > *-*CC*- being in final position after apocope of short *-*a*, cf. *wæz* / *wæzæ*. This development is apparently old (at least Proto-Ossetic), in view of the stem vowel: -*æ*- indicates that -*lm*- could not have been in final position in Proto-Ossetic (Introduction, § 0.7.2.1.ii). Final -*æ* of D. *xusk'æ* may be considered another case of paragoge. There are to my knowledge¹⁶ no D. forms ending in -*sk'* (or -*sk*) without a following vowel. This kind of paragoge is of recent (Digoron) date, however, cf. the recent borrowing *k'usk'* / *k'osk'æ* < Tk. *kūsk*, NP *kūšk* 'pavilion, kiosk'.

1.2.2. Final *-i

Already at an early stage short *-i and long *-i merged. A single instance has *-i in absolute final position, viz. the Ossetic adessive ending -*yl* / -*bæl* which used to be a postposition. All the other instances show final *-i followed by a consonant.

1.2.2a. POSTPOSITIONS

- *yl* / -*bæl* 'on(to), upon, by for' < Plr. (prep., postp., adv.) **upari*; Av. *upairi*, OP *upariy* 'up, over', Skt. *upāri* 'id.', etc.

Iron -*yl* appears to be shortened.

¹³ The general Ossetic term for 'grass', viz. *kardæg* can be discarded, as it is evidently a recent derivation, viz. the present participle of *kardyn* 'to mow, cut'.

¹⁴ Cf. Khz. *wi*- (in *wi-xw'rk* 'grass-eating'), Pth. *wi* 'grass', Pš. *wāš* pl. m. 'grass, fodder, hay', Š., R. *wōš* ('R. *ō* points to *-*ā*, or rather to m. pl. *-*āb*'), EVS: 94), Y. *wu*, Sq. *wuc*, Yz. *wex*, W. *wi* 'id.', etc.

¹⁵ This may also be the case with the Tadjik and Yaghnobi forms.

¹⁶ The forms I have collected from the Dictionary all show a following final vowel, mostly -*æ*: *k'usk'* / *kosk'æ* 'pavilion', *læsk*, *læsk'* / *læsk'æ*, *læsgæ* 'tending someone's flock on payment', *læsk'* / *læsk'æ* 'large wattle-fence of twigs', *æbçysk'* / *æksilk'æ* 'pinch', *lysk'* / *lysk'æ* 'nit', *mæsk'* / *mæsk'æ* 'ravine', *pæsk'u* (D.) 'rag', *sask* / *saskæ*, *sask'æ* 'midge', *tusk'æ* (D.) 'boar'.

1.2.2b. i-STEMS

As the old *i*-stems were more numerous, both *i*- and *i*-stems most likely followed the *i*-declension, just like in Khotanese (SGS: 288). Practically all *i*-stems which are found in Ossetic were originally nouns.

- *afæz* / *afæj* 'year' < **afati*- (Gershevitch 1959: 172-173); cf. Av. NAsg. n. *afantam*, Oss. *afon* / *afonæ* 'time, term'.

- *aǰd* 'thigh' < Plr. **haxti*-; Av. *haxti*- (n.), Skt. *sákthi*- (n.) 'thigh'.

- *kælm* 'snake; worm' < Plr. **kirmi*-; Sogd. (Man.) *kyrm*- 'snake', MP, NP *kirm* 'worm, serpent', Skt. *kīrmi*- (m.) 'worm, maggot', etc.

- *kəyʒ* / *kuj* 'dog' < (f.) **kuti*- (Sims-Williams 1979: 344); Sogd. (Man., Bud.) *'kwt*-, (Man.) *kwt*-, Š., R, B. *kud* (m.), *kid* (f.) 'dog', etc.

1.2.2b.i. exceptions

Several forms have final -*æ* in D.

- *arc* / *aræ* 'spear' < Plr. **ršti*-; Av. *aršti*- 'spear', adj. *ārštūa*- (in *ārštūō*, *barəzan*- 'von Klattehöhe'), Skt. *rṣṣi*- (f.) 'id.'.

- *æfsin* / *æfsijnæ* 'mistress of the house', 'mother-in-law' < Plr. **abi-šaiθni*- (ELO: 19); LAv. *aibi-šaiθni*, (var.) *aibi-šaiθna* f. (*aīṣṣi-šaiṣṣan*-) 'inhabitant of the house'.

- *'arin* / *'arijnæ* 'ell' < Plr. **araθni*-; Av. *araθni*- (in *frāraθni*, *drājah*- n. 'length of an ell'), OP *araθni*-, Skt. *aratni*- (m.) 'ell, elbow', etc.

- *Nuʒal* / *noʒalæ* [I.] 'name of a place', 2. [D.] 'green, fresh' < **naʒa-ʒari*-; Av. *ʒairi*- 'yellow'.

- *sin* / *sijnæ* 'hip' < Plr. **srauni*-; LAv. *srauni*- (f.), Skt. (m., f.) *śrāni*- 'hip', Khot. *ssūni* (pl.) 'loins', Sogd. *šm* 'hips', Khz. *šumc* 'hip', etc.

- *æwsin* / *æwsijnæ* 'lady, mistress' < Plr. **xšaiθni*-; LAv. *xšaiθni*- (f. of *xšaiṣṣa*-), Al. (Tz.) *χσινά*.

For final -*æ* cf. § 1.2.2b.i.

Most instances can be explained by paragoge. In the case of *arc* / *aræ*, paragoge arose after final -*rc*: all forms ending in this particular consonant group¹⁷ have a final vowel in D. Since *arc* / *aræ* has *a* (for old *-*a* > Oss. *a* before -*CC*# see Introduction, § 0.7.2.1.ii), the accretion of -*æ* is of recent (Digoron) date. The outcome is comparable to *barc* / *baræ* 'manes' (cf. LAv. *baraša*- 'neck, back (of a horse)', Sogd. *βaš*, Khz. *βš*, MP, NP *buš* 'mane', etc.), for which Abaev reconstructs **b(a)ršti*-. The forms *æfsin* / *æfsijnæ*, *'arin* / *'arijnæ* and *æwsin* / *æwsijnæ* are very similar in structure, which suggests that final -*æ* in these forms is of common origin. They can be compared with *suzin* / *sozijnæ* 'needle' (< **saucānija*-) and *ʒarin* / *ʒarijnæ* 'gold(en)' (**ʒarānija*-), § 1.2.1e.iii. In the latter forms, the old consonant group *-*ni*- appears to be assimilated to a geminated nasal. Also for *æfsin* / *æfsijnæ*, *'arin* / *'arijnæ* and

¹⁷ These are *barc* / *baræ* 'mane', *barc* / *baræ* 'measure', *byrc* / *buræ* 'black pepper', 'precipice', *færç* / *færçæ* 'thanks to, by means of', *gongerc* / *igonigercæ* 'half-naked', *gor'æ* (D.) 'mat', *kærc* / *kærcæ* 'fur-coat', *starc* / *(æ)starcæ* 'a kind of weapon', *warcc* / *warccæ* 'quail', etc. In the case of *barc* / *baræ* and *starc* / *(æ)starcæ*, final -*æ* is paragogic, like *arc* / *aræ*. The final -*æ* in some instances has arisen regularly, but, apparently, in D. this -*æ* has also spread to other forms ending in -*rc*.

æxsin / *æxsijnæ* the consonant group **-θn-* may yield the same result. The geminate, being in final position after apocope, would easily give rise to a paragogic vowel, especially, when it was palatalized as well: **-nǰ-* > **-ññ-* and **-θni-* > **-ññ-*. Paragoge of this kind could be old, being of Proto-Ossetic date, § 1.2.1e.iii.

Final *-æ* of the remaining instances is a morphological matter, reflecting Nsg. f. or n. pl. **-ā(-)*. D. *nozale* is an old (adjectival) possessive compound. The appearance of final *-æ* in this form is most likely of the same origin as in *zælda* (D.) and *nawæ* (§ 1.2.1f.vi): n. pl. **-ā*. Finally, *-æ* in the originally feminine noun *sin* / *sujnæ* probably reflects thematization¹⁸: f. **-ā*, § 1.3.1b.

1.2.2c. NUMERALS

– *æstaj* [in shepherd's dialect] 'eighty' < PIr. **aštati-*; LAv. (f.) *aštati-*, Khot. *baštātā* (with *b-* from *bandātā* '70'), Sogd. *št*, etc
– *ævdaj* 'seventy' < PIr. **haftāti-*; Av. *haptāiti-*, Khot. *haudātā*, *hodātā*, Sogd. *ʃt*, MP *haftād* 'seventy', etc.
– *yssæz* / *insaj* 'twenty' < PIr. **hinsati-*; LAv. *visaiti*, Skt. *vimśati-* (f.), etc.

1.2.2c.i. exceptions

– *nawæz* / *nawæzæ* 'ninety' < PIr. **naṇati-*; Av. *nanuaiti-*, Skt. *navati-* 'id.', etc.

Final *-æ* in D. *nawæzæ* stems from *sæda* 'hundred' (cf. *Syncope*, § 2.2.3). The *æ*-accretion must be (at least) posterior to syncope. Otherwise we expect syncopated *†nuz* / *†nozæ*.

1.2.2d. *iš*-STEMS

A single *iš*-stem is attested in Ossetic. It remains unclear, whether **-š* was still present anterior to apocope. As the Nsg. of the *iš*-stems is identical to the Nsg. of the *i*-stems, we can only expect the disappearance of the *iš*-inflection in favour of the *i*-inflection.

– *baš* 'cushion' < PIr. **barziš-*; LAv. *barziš-* (n.) 'cushion, pillow', Skt. *barhiṣ-* (n.) 'sacrificial straw'.

1.2.3. Final **-ah*

Although final **-ah* is found in the Nsg. of masculine thematic stems (§ 1.2.1e.i), too, only in the following forms we can be sure that the apocopated final syllable must have ended in **-ah*. PIr. **-ah* became **-i* in some Middle Eastern Iranian languages, cf. them. Nsg. m. Sogd. (light) *-y*, Khot. *-i*, *-ā*. Also Ossetic may have had this development, which can be deduced most clearly from *-al-*, found in pl. *fydal-tæ* 'fathers', *madæl-tæ* 'mothers' (for other examples, see below). The following stages for this development are assumed: *-al-* < **ari* < **-arah* (v. Bielmeier 1982: 58 ff.).

Final **-ah* is not only the Nsg. ending of the masculine thematic stems, but also the Npl. of the masculine-feminine consonant stems.

¹⁸ Final *-æ* cannot be explained by paragoge, cf. fut. 1sg. *-on* < **-āni* (Appendix, B § 2.3).

Of course, it can only be expected that the rise of *-l-* in many instances has been eliminated by paradigmatic levelling, which appears to be the case in *barz*, *cyppar*¹⁹, *sær* and *farn*.

1.2.3a. *ab*-STEMS

– *barz* 'heap; tumulus; multitude' < PIr. **barzab-*; LAv. (n.) *barzab-* 'hill', MP *borz* 'high', Khz. *βz* (in compounds) 'long'.
– *fæx* 'side' < PIr. **paxšab-*; Skt. *pākṣas-* (n.) 'side, party'.
– *fiw* / *few* 'fat' < PIr. **piuab-*; LAv. *piuab-* (n.), Skt. *pīvas-* 'fat', etc. The vocalism of this form is secondary, see *Etym. Index* (s.v.).
– *Naf* 'divine protector of the inhabitants of a settlement' < PIr. **nāfab-*; LAv. *nāfab-* (n.) 'kinship, family', Sogd. *nʃ* 'people, nation', MP, NP *nāf* 'family', etc.
– *sær* 'head, top' < PIr. **sarab-*; LAv. *sarab-* (n.), Skt. *śiras-* (n.) 'id.'.

Similar to Khotanese and Sogdian, the *ab*-stems have probably been thematized in Ossetic at an early stage.

1.2.3a.i. exceptions

Two forms have final *-æ* in Digoron:

– *farn* / *farnæ* 'blessing; prosperity; luck; rich; generous' < PIr. **parnah-*; LAv. *parnah-* (in *parnahunant-* 'abundant, bountiful', Lubotsky 1998: 479).
– *faž* / *fažæ* 'half; side', also [not mentioned by Abaev] 'podex' < PIr. **pāzab-*; LAv. *pāzab-* (in *pāzabunant-* '(broad-)breasted'), Khot. *pāysa-* 'surface', Skt. *pājas-* (n.) 'zugewandte Seite, Fläche (?)', etc.

Final *-æ* in Digoron *farnæ* has clearly risen only recently, in view of vowel *-a* (< **a* / *-CC#*, *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.ii). Since there are no Digoron forms²⁰ ending in final *-m*, this suggests that final *-æ* has arisen due to (late) paragoge.

For the other exception, *fažæ*, a convincing explanation is still wanting: influence from *faž* / *fažæ* 'field, plain; pasture' or *fæstæ* 'after; behind'?

1.2.3b. NSG. M. **-ah*

The development of **-ah* > **-i* can be inferred from the palatalizing effect on preceding **-r* > *-l-*, which is found in a limited number of thematic *a*-stems.

– *aļš* 'extremity; tip [of fingers, teeth, tongue]' < PIr. **agra-*, Nsg. **agrab-*; LAv. *ayra-* 'first, upper', Skt. *āgra-* (n.) 'beginning, top'. On the reconstruction see *Etym. Index* (s.v.).
– *bal* 'group, party, detachment, gang' < PIr. **bāra-*, Nsg. **bārab-*; Skt. *bhāra-* (m.) 'burden, load; a large quantity, mass, bulk', NP *bār* 'burden, load; assembly, audience'.

¹⁹ The expected outcome is *†cyppal* / *†cuppal*, whose *-l-* has been eliminated probably due to ordinal *cypparam* / *cypparəzmag*.

²⁰ Cf. *karnæ* (D.) 'task', *pernæ* (D.) 'mill-wheel', *ternæ* 'young man'.

1.3.1b. FEMININE *ā*-STEMS

- *bud* / *bodæ* ‘incense’ < **bandā*; Sogd. *βwð* (f.) ‘scent’, Khz. *βwð* (f.), etc., cf. LAv. *baodī*- (f.) ‘good smell, fragrance’, (?) *baoda*- m. ‘smell, air’.
 – *cyt* / *citæ* ‘honour’ < PIr. **ciθā*; Av. *ciθā*- (f.) ‘punishment, revenge’.
 – *jæfs* / *afjæ* ‘mare’ < PIr. **asūā*; Av. *aspa*- (f.), Skt. *āsvā*- (f.) ‘mare’. Initial *j*- of the Iron form has not been satisfactorily explained.
 – *kant* (l.) ‘building’ < **kanthā*; Khot. *kanthā*-, Sogd. *knðb* ‘city’. The vocalism *æ* points to the former presence of final *-æ*: old **a* has regularly become Oss. *a* before a final consonant cluster, cf. *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.ii. The expected Digoron correspondence should therefore be **kaenta*.
 – *kina*, *kēna* (D.) ‘revenge, vengeance’ < PIr. **kainā*; GAv. *kaēnā*- (f.) ‘punishment, revenge’, MP, NP *kēn* ‘hate, malice, revenge’.
 – *lykē* / *liskē* ‘nit(s)’ < PIr. **riškā*; Sogd. *rīkē*-, MP *riškē*-, Skt. *likṣā*- (f.) ‘nit’, etc.
 – *qad* / *gādæ* 1. ‘wood (as material); trunk, stem; staff; shaft’, 2. ‘log’, 3. ‘forest, woods’ < PIr. **gadā*; LAv. *gadā*- (f.) ‘club, mace’, Skt. *gadā*- (f.) ‘club, stick’.
 – *γy* / *siwæ* ‘horn’ < PIr. **srūyā*; LAv. *srūyā*- (f.) ‘(finger-, toe-)nail’, MP *srū* ‘horn, nail’, Khot. *ṣ(s)u*- ‘horn’, etc. For D. *i* < **ū* see On **u*, **y*, § 6.3.
 – *xud* / *xodæ* ‘cap’ < **xandā*; LAv. *xandā*- ‘cap’, OP *xandā*- (f.) ‘cap, helmet’.
 – *zang* / *zænge* ‘shin; stalk’ < PIr. **zangā*; LAv. *zangā*- (m.) ‘ankle’, MP *zang* ‘ankle, shank’ (LW, probably Pth.), Skt. *jāṅghā*- (f.) ‘lower part of the leg, shin’.

We may also include here:

- *rafs* / *raftæ* ‘noon’ < PIr. **rapithūā*; LAv. *rapithūā*- (f.), MP *rabih* ‘id.’.

The simplex form is not found in Iron.

All old Iranian feminine *ā*-stems have retained final **ā* as *-æ* in Digoron: there are no clear counter-examples. As old **ā* serves as a distinct gender marker in Iranian, this may account for the secondary “thematicization” of the following feminine nouns, which apparently took place at an early, pre-Ossetic stage.

In Ossetic the former feminine stems have been thematicized:

- *æxsæw* / *æxsæwæ* ‘night’ < **xšap-ā* << PIr. **xšap*-, Av. *xšap*- (f.), Skt. *ksāp*- (f.), etc.
 – *cad* / *cader* ‘lake’ < **čāt-ā* << PIr. **čāt*-, LAv. *čāt*- (f.), Sogd. *c’l*, Khz. *c’l* ‘well’, etc.
 – *naiffæ* (D.) ‘navel’ < **nāf-ā* << (PIr. ?) **nāfi*- or **nāfā*; LAv. *nabā*- (f.) (in *nabānazdišta* ‘closely related’), Khot. Gsg. *nebhā*, Skt. *nābhi*- (f.), *nābhā*- (*nābhānediṣṭha* ‘closely related’), etc.
 – *naw* / *nawæ* ‘ship’ < **nāw-ā* << PIr. **nāw*-, OP *nāw*-, Khot. *no*, Sogd. *n’w*, Skt. *nāw*- (f.), etc.
 – *sard* / *sardæ* ‘summer’ < **sard-ā* << PIr. **sard*-, LAv. *sard*- (f.), OP *ṣard*-, Skt. *śarad*- (f.) ‘autumn’, MP, NP *sāl*, Sogd. *srð*, Khz. *srð* ‘year’, etc.
 – *sin* / *sujnæ* ‘hip’ < **srauni-ā* << PIr. **srauni*-, LAv. *srauni*- (f.), etc. This thematicization is also found in Pashto *ṣna* ‘hipbone’ (< **srauni*- + *-a*, CLI: 405).
 – *syz* / *sižæ* ‘backside, rear’ < **spij-ā* (**spij-ā*) << PIr. **spij*- (**spij*-); Skt. *spij*- (f.) ‘id; hip’.

1.3.1c. exceptions

One exceptional form needs to be mentioned.

- *ast* ‘eight’ < PIr. **astā*; LAv. *asta*, Skt. *astā* ‘id.’, etc.

The unexpected absence of final *-æ* in the D. form receives a natural explanation, if we consider the successive numbers before and after *ast*: *æxsæw*, *awd*, ..., **naw*, *dæs* ‘6, 7, ..., 9, 10’. Final *-æ* in *ast* has been removed by analogy. The regularization must be dated to POss., as *ast* shows the common Ossetic development of old Ir. **a* > Oss. *a* before CC#, *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.ii.

1.3.2. Final **-āh*

Final **-āh* is found in the nominative ending of several stems. Contrary to our expectations, most forms which end in final **-āh* appear to have lost the final vowel.

1.3.2a. MASCULINE *ā*-STEMS

One certain instance is attested in Ossetic.

- *fænd* / *fændæ* ‘intention, plan; wish’ < PIr. **pantā*-, Nsg. **pantāb*; LAv. *pantā*- (m.), Skt. *pānthā*- (m.), Khot. *panda*- (m.) ‘way, path’, etc. Evidence for **-ā* is further supported by the formation *fændag* ‘road’, which has the suffix **-ka* added to a stem **pantā*.

1.3.2b. *mant*-, *uant*-FORMATIONS

The fate of the old *ant*-stems in Ossetic is not uniform. The possessive *mant*- and *uant*-formations are treated differently from the other *ant*-stems. This distinction is undoubtedly related to the different inflexion of the possessive formations. As was pointed out by Hoffmann (*Aufsätze* II: 555 f.), the masculine *mant*- / *uant*-stems had already in the Proto-Indo-Iranian period a suppletive paradigm in the singular:

- Nsg. **mās* / **-mās*, cf. Skt. *mān* / *-vān*, (before vowel) RV *-mān* / *-vān*²², Av. *-mā* / *-uua*, (?) OP (hapax) *-vā* (*tanuvā* ‘strong’), Khot. *-e*;
 – Gsg. **matas* / **-uatas*, cf. Skt. *-matas* / *-vatas*, Av. *-matō* / *-uuatō*, *-uuatat*(ca)
 – accusative **-mantam* / **-uantam*, cf. Skt. *-mantam* / *-vantam*, Av. *-mantam* / *-uuantam*.

The singular endings of the other *ant*-stems are:

- nominative **-ants*, (athem. ptc.) **-ats*, cf. Skt. *-an*, (before consonant) *-ams*, GAv. *-q*, LAv. *-q*²³, *-q*, *-ō*, Sogd. *-ws*.
 – accusative **-antam*, cf. Skt. *-antam*, Av. *-antam*;
 – genitive **-untas*, (athem. ptc.) **-atas*, cf. Skt. *-atas*, Av. *-antō*, *-atō*.

The following *mant*-, *uant*-formations are attested in Ossetic:

- *fysym* / *fusun* ‘host, person who shows hospitality or takes care of the guests’ < PIr. **ṣūmant*-, Nsg. **ṣūmāb*; LAv. *ṣūmant*- ‘cattle-keeper’, Skt. *ṣumānt*- ‘possessing cattle’, *paśumānt*- ‘provided with cattle, rich in cattle’, Abkh. *ā-ṣṣṣma*, *ā-ṣṣṣma* ‘lord of the house, [spec.] host’ (< Oss.).

²² It is thought that the Sanskrit ending has an intrusive nasal, which has been introduced from the accusative.

²³ According to Schindler (1982: 187 ff.), nominative *-q* represents the regular LAv. continuation of Ir. **-ants*, while **-ats* > **-as* is continued by LAv. **-ō*. LAv. *-q* is considered a borrowing from Gathic.

- *ægdaw* ‘custom, code of conduct’ < **haxtāyant*-, **haxtaŋāb*; Sogd. *‘yt’w* ‘judge’, cf. Av. *haxta*- ‘authorized’.
- *fajjāw* ‘shepherd’ < **paīāyant*-, **paīāyāb*; cf. Av. *pāiu*-, Skt. *pāyū*-, Mitanni *payawa* ‘protector’.
- *nyx* / *nix* ‘forehead, part of the face’ < **nahyant* (cf. Bailey, DKS: 126a); Skt. *nasvant*- ‘nosed’.
- *redaw* ‘generous’ < **fra-dāyant*-, **fra-dāyāb*; cf. Skt. *pra-dā*- ‘to give away, bestow’.
- *wæzzaw* ‘heavy’ < **hazīāyant*-, **hazīāyāb*; cf. Oss. *wæz* ‘load, burden’ (q.v.).
- *wæræx* / *urux* ‘wide, spacious’ < **harahyant*-, **harahyāb*; cf. Skt. *vāras*- ‘width, space’. For the vocalism see also On **u*, **y*, § 6.2.1.
- *xur* / *xor* ‘sun, sunny; luck’ < **huaryant*-, **huaryāb*; Skt. *svārvant*- ‘provided with radiance, splendour, luck, splendid goods’. For the vocalism see On **u*, **y*, § 6.4.

The Ossetic results are *‘ond* and *‘m*, *‘w*. While *‘ond* evidently reflects the old accusative sg. ending, Oss. *‘m* and *‘w* deriving from old *mant*- and *yant*-stems can only have originated in the nominative ending, which raises phonological problems though: the loss of long final *-ā* in this case would be rather exceptional²⁴, if not inexplicable, in view of other cases with final **-ā*. In (D.) *fānda*, final *-æ* cannot be but the regular continuation of **-āb*, which is supported by *ir* / *iræ* ‘Ossetic people’ (< pl. **irāb*, v. *Etymological Index*, s.v.). Hence, we have to conclude that the prehistorical nominative of the Ossetic *yant*- and *mant*-stems does not regularly reflect **-āb*, **-māb*. The pre-Ossetic nominative of the *yant*- and *mant*-stems has possibly succumbed to the workings of analogy. Since the ending **-āb* showed so little resemblance to the other principal singular endings, it is not surprising therefore that the ending was liable to levelling or remodelling, cf. Skt. *-mām*, *-vām*. In the case of Ossetic, the ending **-āb* of the *yant*- and *mant*-stems could be re-interpreted as the nominative plural ending, which consequently resulted in the merger with the (masculine) thematic stems.²⁵

The forms *ægdaw*, *fajjāw* and *wæzzaw* are formed with a possessive suffix **-ā-yant*-, which has parallels in other Iranian languages: Sogd. *xyθ’wnt* ‘owner, master’, Pth. *‘sprhm’wnd* ‘flowery’. On the origin of the suffix see Sims-Williams (1997: 323). Ossetic also possesses a productive “language”-suffix (‘in the ... language’²⁶) and an equative ending (‘like, similar to ...’²⁷) in *-aw*, which seem to be unrelated, in view of the differences in meaning and use. See also Szemerényi 1980: 28, fn. 67.

²⁴ Postulating a development similar to Khot. *-e* < **-āb* does not solve the difficulty, since the length of Khot. *e* cannot be ascertained. Khot. *e* is also the result of palatalisation of long **ā*, probably via epenthesis: **ā*.

²⁵ There is also another *yant*-stem, viz. *byrdwan* / *byrdaond*, which is probably derived from the NApL neuter: apparently, it has escaped the remodelling, no doubt, due to its isolated position.

²⁶ For instance, *avestagaw* ‘in the Avestan language’, *ironaw* ‘in the Ossetic language’. Also in Pth. *-w*, Khot. *-au*, Sogd. *-w*, Khw. *-wyk*.

²⁷ For instance, *kalmaw* ‘as, like a worm’ (< *kalm* ‘worm’), *mægyraw* ‘of poor quality’ (*mæggyr* ‘poor’), *qgyraw* ‘a certain carafe with a special shape’ (I. *qgyr* ‘throat’).

Abkhaz *ā-psōma*, *ā-psma* is a borrowing from Ossetic, which must be of an early date. The Abkhaz preform is apparently **apšōma*, cf. Chirikba (1996: 103). The final **-a* of **apšōma* is striking and cannot be explained internally. Normally, a genuine PAbkh. word with final *V**C* would have acquired a final paragogic vowel **-ə*, not **-a*. The appearance of *-a* suggests that Abkhaz borrowed **apšōma* from Ossetic at least before the general apocope: **f(u)sumæ*. This gives us an indication of the date of Common-Ossetic apocope, which should have taken place not earlier than the first encounters between Abkhaz and Alans, i.e. the seventh century. Intensive Abkhaz-Alanic contacts are generally dated between the 7th-13th century CE, cf. OJaF: 309 ff.

1.3.3. Preliminary conclusions

The forms in this section confirm that final PIr. **-ā* has been retained in Digoron as *-æ*, but lost in Iron. The D. retention of *-æ* must reflect the POss. situation, as can be seen from the stem vowel *-æ* in forms like *særd*, *zærr*, *æfs* and *zæng*. On Ir. **a* > Oss. *a* before *-CC#* see Introduction, § 0.7.2.1.iii.

Also final **-āb* should have been preserved in Digoron as *-æ*, but due to certain analogical developments (paradigmatic levelling/remodelling), it has disappeared in many instances.

1.4. IRON -Æ / DIGORON -Æ

We shall now look at the forms having final *-æ* in both Iron and Digoron. Secondary apocope has not taken place in Iron forms, which points to special developments in connection with final *-æ*. For this reason, the forms are somewhat differently arranged, thus including two synchronic categories.

- 1.4.1. forms with final **-ai*,
- 1.4.2. forms with old final **-aiā*,
- 1.4.3. Ossetic adverbs,
- 1.4.4. Ossetic higher numerals.

1.4.1. Final **-ai*

1.4.1a. NUMERALS

– *dywnæ*, *duwæ* / *duw(w)æ* ‘two’ < PIr. **duya*-, Av. *duua*-, Skt. *d(u)uā*- ‘id.’, etc.

Dywnæ / *duw(w)æ* can be explained from the inflexion of the dual: NAd. n. f. **duyai* (Skt. *duē*). The correctness of this reconstruction follows from the D. oblique cases (gen. *duwej*, dat. *duweman*, etc.), which show *-e* < **ai*.

1.4.1b. NOUNS

– *ba:stæ* ‘land’, ‘world’, ‘place’ < PIr. **upasta*-, Skt. *upāstha*- (m.) ‘lap [said of the mother, waters, earth, etc.]’, LAv. *upas*- (only in *upas.puθriia*- (n.) ‘pregnancy’, lit. ‘carrying a son in the womb’).

The appearance of *-æ* in both Oss. dialect forms of former thematic *a*-stems is surprising. In clear cases like *dywnæ* (above) and *zærdæ* (§ 1.4.2b), common Oss. *-æ* reflects **-ai* or **-aiā*.

We may therefore derive final *-æ* of *bæstæ* and *fæjnæ* from **-ai*²⁸, cf. D. pl. *fæjnetæ*, with *-e*. Since *bæstæ* primarily denotes a place, it is conceivable that final *-æ* here points to a petrified locative, cf. Lat. *domi* 'home' (with the obsolete loc. *-i*), hence *-æ* < PIr. **-ai*, Av. *-ē*, *-æē* (before enclitic *-iā*), Skt. *-e*. This probably also applies to *fæjnæ*, which then reflects Lsg. **patinai*.

1.4.1c. PRONOUNS

– *innæ* / *ijnnæ* 'the other [of two]' < PIr. **anīa*; Av. *a(i)nīia*, OP *aniya*, Skt. *anyā* 'id.'

The final *-æ* in *aḥsin* / *aḥsijnæ*, **arin* / **arijnæ*, etc. (cf. § 1.2.2b.i), is likely to have arisen due to paragoge. The case of *innæ* is different, however. In the first place, also Iron *innæ* has final *-æ* in contradistinction to I. *aḥsin*, **arin*. Secondly, the archaic Digoron plural *innetæ* points to derivation from **ai*. This **ai* most likely reflects the pronominal Npl. m. ending (cf. Skt. *anyē*), to which the common plural marker **tā* has been added: > **anīai-tā*. This led to the re-interpretation of **anīai* > (**iññai* >) *innæ* as singular. Further evidence is provided by the preservation of geminate *-nn-*, on which see *Accent*, 5.5.

1.4.2. Final *-aiā(h)*

1.4.2a. NUMERALS

– *artæ* 'three' < PIr. Npl. m. **θraijah*; LAv. m., f., n. pl. *θraīō*, *θraīas(ca)*, Skt. *trāyah* (pl. m.) 'three', etc. See *Etym. Index* (s.v.).

The final *-æ* of *artæ* is to be derived from the Npl. m. **-aijah*, which became **-ai* after apocope. The new diphthong **-ai* then merged with the reflex of older PIr. **-ai*, whence I. and D. *-æ*.

1.4.2b. NOUNS

– *arfa* 'blessing; congratulation; greeting' < **āfraja-* (Thordarson 1990: 258), Npl. **āfrajah* < **āfrijah*; LAv. *āfri-* (f.) 'well-wishing' (attested only in compounds), Skt. *āpri-* (f.) 'invocation, introducing a sacrifice' (in compounds).
– *zardæ* 'heart' < PIr. **zrdaia-*; LAv. *zrədaīia-* (n.), Skt. *hṛdaya-* (n.) 'id.', etc.

Zardæ unambiguously shows that final **-aiā-* has yielded *-æ* in both I. and D. Final **-a* was lost by apocope, becoming POss. **-ai*. It is therefore probable that *arfa* also goes back to **āfraja-* as assumed by Thordarson (1990: 258). The question remains how to explain the origin of the sequence **-aiā-*. Before we can answer this, we have to consider the Indo-Iranian correspondences, LAv. *āfri-* (f.), Skt. *āpri-* (f.), which belong to the *vr̥kī*-inflection. Since old Ir. short **i* and long **ī* merged at an early stage of Ossetic, it is to be expected that original *i*-stems adopted the more common *i*-declension, as in Khotanese (JGS: 288 f.). I therefore assume that Oss. *arfa* is derived from the Npl. **-aijah*, used in a collective sense.

²⁸ Final *-æ* in *bæstæ* cannot reflect **-aiā*, as suggested by Thordarson (ibid.), as this preform cannot be supported by other (I)Ir. languages.

1.4.3. Ossetic adverbs

– *aḥtæ* (?) / *ota* (*wota*) 'so' < PIr. **ayathā*; OP *avathā* 'so', LAv. *anuathā* 'so, thus'. Abaev deduces the corresponding Iron form **utæ* from earlier *autæ* (*a-* demonstr.), see *Et. Index* (s.v.).
– *æddæ* / *andæ* 'outside' < PIr. **anta*; Skt. *ānta* 'end, limit'. According to Abaev, I. *-dd-* is the result of a sporadic assimilation of *-nd-*, cf. *Introduction*, § 0.7.5.13.
– *dælə* 'below, under' < PIr. **adara-*; LAv. *adara-* 'lower, situated below', Isg. (as adv.) *adara* '(down) below', Skt. *ādharā* 'lower', etc. The *-l-* in *dælə* is analogical, cf. pref. *dæl-* 'under-' < PIr. **adari*, LAv. (prep.) *adairi* 'under, below', etc.
– *falæ* 'on the other side' < PIr. **pāra-*; Skt. *pārā* 'bringing across', Oss. *far-* (in *farast* 'nine'). The *-l-* in *falæ* has been introduced from derivatives like *fal-dær* 'further' < **far-dær* (Ab.).
– *fastæ* 'after, behind' < PIr. **pastā*; LAv. *pasca*, Skt. *pasā* 'after, behind', etc.
– *mana* 'over here, voic' < Isg. **imanā*; Av. *ima-*, OP *ima-* 'this (here)', etc.
– *walæ* 'above' < **ayara-*; cf. LAv. *auuara*, OP *aurā* 'herab'. *Walæ*, which functions as postposition in Ossetic, is a derivative of *wal-* 'upper' (**ayuri*, ELO: 32).
– *warta* 'over there, wild' < PIr. **ayathra*; LAv. *anuathra*, Khot. *vara*, Sogd. *ʾwrō* [ōrθ], Pš. *war*, ora (< **ayathra*), Y. (h)uro 'there'.

Except for **utæ* / *ota*, these adverbs are directional. Final *-æ* in these forms has no doubt spread from one adverb to another. Being present in both Iron and Digoron, final *-æ* goes back to **-ai*. Indications for **-ai* are found in some archaic derivatives. The following instances can be mentioned:

1. compounds: (+ *wat* 'place') *fæstijat* / *fæstewat* 'delay, postponement', D. *wælewat* 'loft, upstairs room', (+ *hix* 'cooked') I. *wæliwix* 'cheese pastry';
2. adverbial formations with *-aw*²⁹, i.e. *dælijaw* 'low', *fælijaw* 'far', *fæstijaw* I. 'far behind', *wælijaw* 'high'.

The origin of **-ai* is no doubt to be sought in the old Lsg. of nominal forms like *æddæ* (**antai*), *dælə* (**adarai*) and *falæ* (**pārai*, cf. Skt. *pāre* in compounds).

1.4.4. Ossetic higher numerals

– *arxæ*, *arxæ* 'countless number', [obs., epic] 'thousand' < PIr. **haxahra-*; LAv. *haxahra-* (n.), Skt. *sahasra-* (n.) 'thousand', etc.
– *biræ* / *be(w)ra* 'many, much; very' < PIr. **baiyar*, LAv. *baēnuara*, (obl.) *baēnuan-*, Sogd. (Man.) *βrywr* (for irregular *-r-* see GMS: § 362), Khot. *byūrru*, MP, NP *bēwar* 'myriad, ten thousand'.
– *saræ* '(a) hundred' < PIr. **sata-*; Av. *sata-*, OP *θata-* (in *θata-gu-* m. 'Sattagydia'), Skt. *śatā-* (n.) 'id.', etc.

The former numeral *biræ* / *be(w)ra* goes back to an old neuter *r*-stem. There is no indication that at an earlier Ossetic stage this form was thematicized, cf. the "Sarmatian" personal name Βαιουρατος (Olbia), lit. 'having ten thousands of joys (?)'. In Digoron, *be(w)ra* has an

²⁹ The D. forms apparently show raising of *e* > *i*, before (the glide) *j*.

irregular plural formation *beretæ*, whose medial *-e-* can only be derived from **-ai*, the old pronominal³⁰ ending of Npl. m. (A.L.).

As for the other numerals, Thordarson (1990: 258) considered Iron *sædæ* as a loanword from Digoron, cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.1, fn. But it can hardly be coincidence that *-æ* is also present in *ærzæ*, which he left unmentioned. Like in Avestan, the higher numerals are frequently placed together in Ossetic, e.g. *sædæ sædæ amæ ærzæ sædæ* 'hundred hundreds and thousand hundreds' (said of a countless number). A common origin of final *-æ* in *sædæ* and *ærzæ* can therefore be assumed. Since in both Iron and Digoron, final *-æ* is present, it is tempting to derive *-æ* of these numerals from **-ai*, which is not supported by further evidence, however. There is not a single trace of **-ai* in the (D.) plural or derivative formations of *sædæ* and *ærzæ* respectively: we are compelled to derive the final vowel from pl. **-ā*. The exceptional preservation of *-æ* in Iron is perhaps due to composition, since *sædæ* and *ærzæ* are rarely independently employed, being usually part of a larger phrase of the types *sædæ kærjy* 'hundred chickens', *ærzæ amæ sædæ* 'thousand and hundred', cf. *Accent*, § 5.4.

1.4.5. Preliminary conclusions

In most forms with final *-æ* in both Iron and Digoron, *-æ* reflects POss. **-ai*, which goes back to either PIr. **-āja(h)* or **-ai*. Due to special (compositional) circumstances final *-æ* can also reflect **-ā*, which is rare. In some adverbs I. and D. *-æ* is rather analogically explained.

1.5. UNCERTAIN APOCOPE

1.5.1. Neuter *r*-stems

The following forms are to be derived from the NAsg. ending **-ar*, which was apparently not apocopated.

– *iger* 'liver' < PIr. **iakar*, (obl.) **iaxna*; LAv. NAsg. n. *yākaro* (with paragogic *-ə*), Skt. *yákṛt*, Gsg. *yaknāḥ* (n.) 'id.', etc.

– *nwar* / *nawar* 'sinew, tendon' < PIr. **snāuar*, LAv. *snānuar* 'tendon', Sogd. *sn'w* 'sinew', Skt. *snāvan-*, etc.

The outcome of **-ar* in final position is difficult to interpret. In Sogdian or Lithuanian for instance, the sequence *Vr* between consonants is treated like a diphthong. Also in the Pre-Ossetic period the sequence **ar* of the forms above might behave like a diphthong. As final diphthongal **ai* was not apocopated, this might be the case with final **ar*, too. On the other hand, the final sequence **-Vr* was apocopated in Northern Germanic, e.g. (IE Nsg. m. **gʰostis* >) PGerm. **gastiŋ* > Northern Germ. **gastiR* > Oic. *gestr* 'guest'. If this were the case in pre-Ossetic, too, apocope might result in the rise of vocalic **-ɪ*, which would develop to **-ar* again.

³⁰ Pronominal influence in numerals is especially discernible in Digoron, where the noun qualified by a numeral higher than 1 is declined pronominally.

1.6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1.6.1. Apocope

Common apocope affected final syllables containing the vowel **-a*, **-ī* or **-u*. Only final syllables with **-ā*, **-āb* or **-ai* were not apocopated (but shortened instead). While final **-ai* has yielded *-æ* in both Iron and Digoron, **-ā* has become *-æ* in Digoron, but disappeared in Iron, through secondary apocope. Final **-ai(a)(h)* has resulted in I. and D. *-æ*. However, paragoge and analogy or remodelling have interfered in many instances.

In the case of a final syllable ending in **-ar*, the occurrence of apocope cannot be proven.

1.6.2. The results

The Ossetic outcome of apocope can be summarized as follows.

1.6.2.i. I. D. *-ə*

- < **-a#*, some numerals (§ 1.2.1a), preposition *ad* (§ 1.2.1b), NAsg. n. *n*-stems (§ 1.2.1c), pronoun *man*, *daw* (§ 1.2.1d).
- < **-a*: *a*-stems (§ 1.2.2e-f, passim).
- < **-āb*: *āb*-stems (1.2.3a), some m. *a*-stems (§ 1.2.3b).
- < **-am*: noun *aŋ* / *anŋ* (§ 1.2.5a), adjective *ambyrd* / *amburd* (§ 1.2.5b), pronoun *aŋ* (§ 1.2.5c), adverb *nyr* / *nur* (§ 1.2.5d).
- < **-i#*, Adsg. *yl* / *-bal* (§ 1.2.2a).
- < **-ī*: *ī*-stems (§ 1.2.2b), some numerals (§ 1.2.2b).
- < **-is*: *is*-stem *baŋ* (§ 1.2.2d).
- < **-u*: *u*-stems (§ 1.2.4).

Final **-āb* and **-am* merged with **-ī* and **-ū* respectively at an early, Pre-Ossetic stage.

1.6.2.ii. I. *-ə*, D. *-æ*

- < **-ā#*: Nsg. m.f. *r*-, *n*-stems (§ 1.3.1a), NApl. n. *a*-stems *naw* / *nawæ*, *tiŋ* / *teŋæ*, *xos* / *xwasæ*, (D.) *zælda* (§ 1.2.1f.vi), *Nuŋal* / *noŋalæ* (§ 1.2.2b.i).
- < **-ā*: f. thematic *ā*-stems (§ 1.3.1b, passim).
- < **-āb*: Nsg. m. *ā*-stem *fænd* / *fændæ* (§ 1.3.2a).

1.6.2.iii. I. D. *-æ*

- < **-ā*: higher numerals *ærzæ*, *sædæ* (§ 1.4.4).
- < **-ai*: num. *dywæ* / *duw(w)æ* (§ 1.4.1a), Lsg. *a*-stems (§ 1.4.1b), Npl. m. pronominal *innæ* / *ijnna* (§ 1.4.1c).
- < **-ai(a)*: numeral *arta* (§ 1.4.2a), nouns *arŋæ*, *zærdæ* (§ 1.4.2b).

1.6.3. Paragoge, analogy or remodelling

In the following instances some special developments have interfered with apocope.

1.6.3.i. *paragoge*

Paragoge of *-a* arose to alleviate an awkward consonant cluster in final position. During the Pre-*Ossetic* period, a series of geminated consonants came into existence, which stood in final position after apocope. The paragogic vowel has been preserved in Digoron only.

– I. *-ə*, D. *-a*

- **ll*: *nal* / (obs.) *nalə* (§ 1.2.1f.vi);
- **mm*: *kalm* / *kalmə* (§ 1.2.1f.vi);
- **ññ*: *moj* / *mojna*, *suzin* / *sozjina*, *zærin* / *zærijna* (§ 1.2.1e.iii), *afsin* / *afsjina*,
**arin* / *arijna*, *æxsin* / *æxsijna* (§ 1.2.2b.i);
- **zz*: *wæz* / *wæza* (§ 1.2.1e.iii).

At a much later stage, Digoron developed a paragogic vowel after certain consonant clusters in final position:

– I. *-ə*, D. *-a*:

- *sk*: *xəysk* / *xəysk(a)* (§ 1.2.1f.vi);
- *rc*: *arc* / *arə* (§ 1.2.2b.i).
- (**rm*, *rn*: (?) *arm* / *arə* (§ 1.2.1e.iii), *farn* / *farnə* (§ 1.2.3a.i).

1.6.3.ii. *analogy / remodelling*

Due to analogy / remodelling, some forms have escaped apocope. These belong to the following categories:

– **-a*, **-i*, **-u*:

- specific instances *barz* / *barza*, *wad* / *wad(a)*, *miğ* / *meğə* (§ 1.2.1e.iii),
nawəz / *nawəza* (§ 1.2.2c.i), *iw* / (j)*ew(a)* (§ 1.2.1f.vi), analogy => I. *-ə*, D. *-a*;
- f. athem. stems (§ 1.3.1b), remodelling, addition of **-a* => I. *-ə*, D. *-a*
- pronominal *inna* / *ijna* (§ 1.4.1c), *Ossetic* adverbs, remodelling or analogy,
addition of **-ai* => I. D. *-a*.

– **-ä(b)*:

- *mant*-, *uant*-formations (§ 1.3.2b), due to remodelling => I. D. *-ə*;
- numeral *ast* (§ 1.3.4), due to analogy => I. D. *-ə*.

– **-ar*:

- higher numeral *bira* / *be(w)ra*, remodelling, addition **-ai* => I. D. *-a* (§ 1.4.4)

1.6.4. *Date of apocope*

The date of common apocope can be set at least after the seventh century, when Alanic or *Ossetic* borrowings started to enter *Abkhaz*, e.g. *äpsəma*, *äpsəma* < *PAbkh.* **äpsəma*, with final **-a* (§ 1.2.3a). Secondary *Iron* apocope is a relatively late development, which took place only after 1110-1180, cf. (Tzetzēs) *χουνὰ* (= *Oss.* *æxsin* / *æxsijna*), *Introduction*, § 0.7.6.

2. SYNCOPE

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Syncope is the deletion of a vowel in inlaut. In *Ossetic*, this development has taken place in forms like *afsin* / *afsjina* 'lady of the house' (**abišaiβni*), *ærza* / *ærza* 'infinite number; thousand' (**hazabra*), *fids* / *fedes* 'rebuke' (**pati-daisa*).

In this chapter the conditions of syncope are investigated. The plural formations are not considered here, since they are liable to paradigmatic levelling. For the present study both the syncopated and non-syncopated *Ossetic* forms which reflect preforms of more than two syllables have been selected. The majority of these forms consists of affixed formations or compounds, which are also liable to analogy or levelling. These influences might interfere with syncope by restoring the lost vowel. For this reason I restrict the number of forms for further investigation. Forms which most strongly resist these influences are considered first: simplex forms and unanalysable formations.

Evidence for syncope obviously depends on the reconstruction of the preforms, as elucidated in *Introduction*, § 0.5.2. For our purpose the reconstruction of the middle vowel(s) must be reasonably sure. Recent loanwords, mainly of *Caucasian*, *Turkic*, *Persian* or *Russian* provenance are not included, as the *Ossetic* syncope clearly predates this layer of borrowing. In respect to the older stratum of loans, viz. from *Germanic* or *Slavic* (the so-called "Scytho-European isoglosses"), which had entered the language during the pre-*Ossetic* period, no clear indication can be found. For the sake of completeness, they are cited, including the forms with unclear etymology or morphology. These forms are treated cursorily in this chapter: for more details and alternative reconstructions I refer the reader to the *Etymological Index*.

2.2. TRISYLLABIC PREFORMS

2.2.1. *Syncopated CVC*

2.2.1a. RELIABLE

In the category of former trisyllables we encounter several syncopated forms.

– *ærza* / *ærza* 'infinite number; [epic] thousand' < (pl.) **hazabra* (cf. *Apocope*, § 1.4.4); *Av.* *hazayra* 'thousand', *Skt.* *sahasra*-, etc. For the metathesis of **zr* > *rz* see *Introduction*, § 0.7.5.14.

– *bira* / *bera*, *bewra* 'much, many; very (long)' < (NApl.) **baiyrai* (v. *Apocope*, § 1.4.4); *Av.* *baēnuarə*, *Khot.* *byurru*, *MP, NP* *bēnar* 'myriad'.

– *fajna* (distr.) 'on, from (etc.) each' < (Lsg.) **patinai*; *Av.* *paitina* 'different, separate; single', *OKhot.* *pana* 'each, every', *Sogd.* *pt'yn*³¹ 'separate'. For *-j-* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.6.3. ff.

³¹ As *pt'yn* is a heavy stem, the vowel *y* reflects long **i*, which may be ascribed to the influence of *pt'ye* < **patiā* (S-W).

- *karna* (D.) ‘task, assignment’ < PIr. **karana*; Skt. *kāraṇa* (n.) ‘id.’
- *mix* / *mex* ‘stake, pole’ < **maiŋxa*; OP *mayŋxa* (m.) ‘a peg-like object’, Skt. *mayūkha*, Sogd. *myyk*, MP *mēx* ‘peg, nail’ [MacKenzie 1971: 56]; pole [Nyberg II: 132a], NP *mēx* ‘peg, nail’, Tadj. (+*ōbin* ‘wooden’) ‘pole, stake’, Kurd. *mēx*, Pš. *mēx*, Š. *māx* ‘peg, nail’, Y. *max*, M. *mōx* ‘peg’ (**maxa*, IIFL II: 229a), etc.
- *nynd* / *ninda* ‘bashfulness, shyness’ < **namatā(-)*; Khot. *nanda*, *nonda* ‘homage’ (**nam(f)itā(d)*, DKS: s.v. *namā*), Av. *nəmah*, Skt. *nāmas* ‘respect’, etc.
- (*u*)*ota* (D.) ‘so’ < (<) PIr. **auaθā*; LAv. *auuaθa* ‘there’, OP *auaθā* ‘so’, cf. LAv. *yaθa*, Skt. *yāthā* ‘as, like’.
- *raŋt* / *raŋta* ‘afternoon’ < PIr. **rapitθā*; Av. *rapitθā* (f), MP *rabih*, Sogd. *rpōšb* ‘id.’
- *uj* / *oj* (Nsg., Gsg. [D. only Gsg.]) pers. and dem. pron. ‘he, she, it; this’ < PIr. **auahja* (Gsg.); LAv. *auahjhe*, OP *auahyā* ‘id.’, etc.
- *urs* / *ors* ‘white’ < PIr. **aruša*; Av. *auruša* ‘wit’, Skt. *aruṣā* ‘reddish’, Sm. ‘Αορσοί, Ἀλανορσοί (Ptolemy, Strabo) name of a Sarmatian tribe (lit. ‘the White Alans’), MP *arus* ‘white’.
- *xafs* / *xafsa* ‘frog’ < (f) **kaŋpā*; Sogd. *kyšp* (f), Av. *kaŋiapa*, Khz. *ksb* ‘tortoise’, MP *kašavag*, Khot. *khysaa* ‘id.; frog’, Skt. *kaśyāpa* (m.).
- *zalda* (D.) ‘young grass, turf’ < **zaritā* (v. *Apocope*, § 1.2.1f.vi); Av. *zairita*, Skt. *hārīta* ‘yellowish’, etc.

2.2.1b. AMBIGUOUS I: *kā*-FORMATIONS

There are several feminine *kā*-formations, of which the suffix could have been added either to the (bare) consonantal stem or to the thematicized stem. The date of suffixation cannot be ascertained, however, although Iranian correspondences of these *kā*-formations are frequently found.

Next to the expected Ossetic reflex *-g* / *-ga*, the suffix has also yielded the realisations *-k(a)*, *-k'(a)*, which are somewhat surprising, since we expect the phonetic development of the (secondary) consonant clusters with **k* to be similar to that of older consonant groups *Ck* (cf. *Introduction*, § 0.7.4.10): **nk* > Oss. *ng* and **rk* > Oss. *rg*. Syncope must be later than the voicing of postvocalic **k*, since this would be at variance with the voicing of old post-vocalic stops like **t*, which we encounter in the Sarmatian personal names, e.g. Πιδεις (= Oss. *fid* / *fidā* ‘father’ < **pitā*), ραδαμα-φουρτον (< **fratama* ‘foremost’ + **puθra* ‘son’), v. *Introduction*, § 0.7.6. ff. The realisations *-k(a)*, *-k'(a)* may be explained in terms of fortis /lenis pronunciation: after certain consonants and in gemination voiced and voiceless stops merged to become “neutral”, lenis stops.³²

- *ajk* / *ajka* ‘egg’, cf. Khot. *āhaa*, MP *xāyag* ‘egg’, Khz. *y'k*, Kurd. *bēk*, Bal. *baik*.
- *avg* / *avga* ‘glass; bottle’, cf. M. *yōwga*, W. *yupk*, *yapak*, Zāz. *auk* ‘water’, Hung. *üveg*, *éveg* ‘glass’ (< Al.).
- *dark* / *dark'a* ‘[I.] calf, [D.] one-year old kid’, cf. Skt. *daraka* ‘young animal’.

³² An extensive treatment of the phonetic restrictions of consonant clusters in Ossetic is not a primary objective of the present study. This must be reserved for future research.

- *jadg*, *jadk* / *jedga* 1. ‘custom’, 2. ‘offspring’, 3. D. ‘taxation, tax’, cf. Sogd. *pōg*, *pō'*, *pōkb* ³³ (f) ‘law, dharma’.
- *šarsk*, *šarsk'a* / *šarsk'a* ‘rib’, cf. Sogd. *prs'(k)* ‘rib’, Khot. *pālsuā* (DKS: 234, s.v. *pālsuē* ‘ribs, sides; spoke of wheel’), Yz. *parák* ‘rib’.
- *furd* / *ford* ‘great river, lake’ < **paruta*; Av. *pauruta* ‘name of a certain country or water’, “Scythian” Πόρτα (Hdt.) name of a river, Khz. *puṛd* (m.) ‘sea’, Russ. *Prut* ‘the river Prut’ (< “Scythian”).
- *fynek* / *finka* ‘foam’, cf. Sogd. *pym'kh*, NP *finak* ‘foam’.
- *mizg* / *mezga* ‘urethra’, cf. W. *mizg(a)* ‘urine’, Y. *mizyō* ‘urine’, M. *mizya* ‘id.’ (< **maizakā*, IIFL II: 230a), NP *mizak* ‘small quantity of urine’.
- *synk* / *sunk'a* ‘pimple, carbuncle’, cf. Pš. *šinai* (< **aka*) ‘id.’.

Although not as prolific as the masculine/neuter **ka*-suffix, the feminine **kā*-suffix may have enjoyed a certain degree of productivity. This can be illustrated by the following instances, some of which are evidently based on a borrowing.

- *kýrg* / *kirga* ‘daughter; girl’ < **kiz-akā* (Thordarson 1986: 278; 1990: 26); < Tk. *qiz* ‘girl’.
- *laske*(?) / *laskeā*, *lasga* ‘pasturage against payment of a fixed percentage of newly-born lambs’ < pre-Oss. **las-akā*; < Germ. **las(-)*, OE *las* ‘pasture’.
- *nuk* / *noka* ‘gutter’, Wanderwort?
- *waxsk* / *usqa*, *wasqa* ‘shoulder’ < **uaxšab-kā*?, cf. Skt. *vākṣas* ‘chest, breast’.
- *rang* / *raŋga* ‘agreeable event; possibility’ <?

Three formations with the suffix *-x* / *-xa* are difficult to interpret. The suffix is probably an assimilated variant of the *kā*-suffix (cf. Gershevitch 1971: 287).

- *xotxa* (D.) ‘peel, fleece, chaff’ (*Et. Index*).
- *xōyrc* / *xurxa* ‘sour whey’ <? **bur(a)kā*; cf. Av. *hurā* ‘koumiss’, MP *bur* ‘alcoholic drink, (?) koumiss’ (< Avestan, v. Nyberg II: 103)
- *zaxx* / *zaxxa* ‘earth’ < **zama-xā*?, cf. Y. *zaxmō*, M. *zaxmo* ‘field’ (IIFL II: 276).

2.2.1c. UNRELIABLE

Two forms might have undergone syncope, too, but the etymology is unclear.

- *fuga* / *foga* ‘Rhododendron caucasicum’ < Caucasian?
- *rong* certain beverage (*Et. Index*).

2.2.2. Non-syncopeated CVC

Much more amply attested are trisyllabic forms that do not show syncope, but many of them are unreliable (without clear etymology) or ambiguous (with productive affix). The number of reliable forms is relatively small.

³³ The Sogdian form with preserved *-k-* is also rather exceptional. Normally intervocalic *-k-* has been lost in unaccented position. Apparently, Sogd. *pōk*, which is a feminine light stem, points to earlier **padakā* (S-W).

2.2.2a. RELIABLE

- *ander* ‘(an)other’ < PIr. **antara*; Av. *antara*, Skt. *ántara* ‘the other’.
- *arxat* ‘ore’ < PIr. *(a)*rxata*; Av. *arxata*, OP (a)*rdata* ‘silver’, Khot. *āḥsata* ‘id.’.
- *bazyr* / *bazur* ‘wing’ < PIr. **bāzura*; LAv. *bāzura* (in *snāunara.bāzura* ‘having sinews as arms’), Pth. *b’zwr* ‘wing’, etc. *Bazyr* is an old formation formed with the unproductive suffix **-ra*, derived from **bāzu* ‘arm’ (LAv. *bāzu*). Oss. *bazyg* / *bazug* ‘upperarm’ is also derived from **bāzu*.
- *bəsta* ‘land, region, world, place’ < Lsg. **upastai*; Skt. *upāsṭha* ‘inner part, shelter’. On **-ai* see *Apocope*, § 1.4.1 ff.
- *dala* ‘below, under’ <(<) Lsg. **adarai*; LAv. *adairi* ‘under, below’, *adara* ‘lower, being under’.
- *felan* ‘wide’ < PIr. **paṭana*; LAv. *paṭana* ‘broad, wide’, MP, NP *pahn* ‘wide, broad’.
- *nawəz* / *nawəza* ‘ninety’ < PIr. **naṇati*; Av. *naṇaiti*, Skt. *navatī* ‘id.’, etc.
- *qawəz*, *qawəz* / *ḡawəz* ‘female deer, doe’ < PIr. **gauwazna*; Av. *gauwasna*, Sogd. *γ’wzn* ‘id.’, etc.
- *suzin* / *sozjina*, *suzjina* ‘needle’ < **saucānia*; Khot. *sumjsaṇu*, *sanjsaṇa*, MP *sōzan*, Kurd. *sūjin* ‘id.’.
- *sywar* / *suwar* ‘motherlap, uterus’ < **sū-bara*; cf. Skt. *jūnā* ‘swollen’. Although compounds in **bara* ‘carrying’ are well attested in (Indo-)Iranian, only one example of such a compound can be mentioned in Ossetic.
- *wat* 1. ‘room, chamber’, 2. ‘bed’, 3. ‘[in compounds] place, capacity, extent’ < PIr. **uabātha*; Skt. *vasathā* ‘house, residence’.
- *wəd* ‘then’, *wədə* ‘then, in that case’, 2. ‘but’ < PIr. **awada*; LAv. *anuada*, OP *avadā* ‘there’, etc.
- *wədart(i)* / *wədarṭa* ‘spindle whorl’ < **uartaθrā(-)*; cf. Yağn. *watra* ‘hand-spindle’ (< **uarta-ka*).
- *wəla* ‘on, over, upper, super(-)’ <(<) Lsg. **awarai*; Av. *auwar* ‘downward’, *aora*, *aorā* ‘down under’, Skt. *avār* ‘downwards’, *āvara* ‘inferior’, etc. On the (shift of) meaning in Ossetic see *Etymological Index* (s.v.).
- *werta* ‘over there’ < PIr. **awadra*; LAv. *anuadra* ‘illū, there’, Khot. *vara*, Sogd. *wrō* ‘id.’.
- (y)*ssəz* / *insaj* ‘twenty’ < **uinsati*; Av. *visaiti*, Skt. *vimśatī*, etc.
- *zəd* / *izəd* (pre-Chr.) ‘deity’, (Chr.) ‘angel’ < PIr. **iazata*; Av. *yazata* ‘deity’, Skt. *yajatā* ‘venerable (being)’.
- *zərda* ‘heart’ < PIr. **zrdaija*; LAv. *zrədaīia*, Skt. *hṛdaya* ‘heart’, etc.
- *zərin* / *zərijna* ‘gold, golden’ < PIr. **zaranja*; LAv. *zaranīia* (n.), Skt. *hīranya* (n.), etc.

In addition, there are two formations with the unproductive deverbal suffix *-at*.

- *-at* < **atba*, *carwet* ‘offspring’ (**āuabā*, deriv. from *cəwun* / *cəwun* ‘to go (in), to be received; to want’), *məlat* ‘death’ (**māiāba* < **māiāba*, deriv. from *məlyn* / *məlyn* ‘to die’).

2.2.2b. AMBIGUOUS II: AFFIXED FORMATIONS

A considerable number of old trisyllabic forms consists of formations with (relatively) productive affixes. Evidently, this means that analogy or levelling may here influence the outcome. For instance, the trisyllabic *ui*-formation *qəstə* / *iḡəstə* ‘desacration’ is a

substantivized past participle of the verb (D.) *iḡəstun*: *iḡəst* ‘to pollute, desecrate’. Clearly late formations are *antəf* ‘hot, heat’ (voiceless *-t*³⁴), *əwaxs* / *əwaxs* ‘close, near’ (with fricative *-v*³⁵) and *rəbyn* / *rəbun* ‘foothill; foundation’ (intervoc. *-b*³⁶). As for formations in *-yg* / *-ug* (cat. iv, below) the suffix may theoretically stem from various sources, for instance from **-ya* + **-ka*, cf. *On* **u*, **u*, § 6.2.4. Nevertheless, final *-yg* / *-ug* in the etymologically impeccable forms *bazyg* / *bazug* ‘upperarm’ is most likely derived from **-u-ka*, in view of the Iranian correspondences Khot. *bāysua*, NP *bāzu* and Sogd. *w’wjk*, Parth., MP *w’wng* ‘hunter’ respectively.

The following formations with a productive suffix³⁷ are attested in Ossetic:

- i. *-ag*, (assim. var.) *-ax* < **-aka*, e.g. *ææg* ‘true, truth’ (**baḥiaka*), *astæg* ‘bone’, *baræg* ‘horse-rider’, *bəḡnæg* ‘naked’, *fistæg* / *fəst(æg)* ‘pedestrian’ (sec. *-æg* ?), *wərdæx* ‘twisted twig, used as a rope’ (**uarta-ka*);
- ii. *-am* < **-ama*, e.g. *astam* ‘eighth’ (< **aštama*), *avdam* ‘seventh’ (**haftama*), *fənzəm* ‘fifth’ (**panīuma*);
- iii. *-ən* < **-ana*, e.g. *bəndən* ‘cord, rope’ (**bandana*), (D.) *bodən* ‘garlic’ (**bandana*), *dərən* ‘encampment for cattle and shepherds’ (**dārana*), *səmən* ‘axis’ (**samīana*), *ulən* / *olən* ‘wave’ (< Slavic);
- iv. *-yg* / *-ug* (of various origin), e.g. *bazyg* / *bazug* ‘upperarm’ (**bāzuka*), *dyk’æyg* ‘two-legged’ (< Caucasian), *fərnæg* / *fərnæg* ‘having farn’ (cf. *farn* / *farna* ‘blessing; prosperity’);
- v. *-yn* / *-in* < material suffix **-aina*, e.g. *avḡyn* / *avḡyn* ‘glass’ (*avḡ* / *avḡa* ‘glass’), *duryn* / *dorin* ‘of stone, stone-’ (*dur* / *dor* ‘stone’), *qədyn* / *ḡədin* ‘wooden’ (*qəd* / *ḡəda* ‘log, wood’).

Formations with productive prefixes are:

- vi. *əm-* < **ham-*, e.g. *əmbond* ‘wall, fence’ (**hambanda*), *əmburd* / *əmburd* ‘meeting’ (**hambūtam*), *antəf* ‘hot, heat’ (**ham-* + **tapa*), *əwaxs* / *əwaxs* ‘close, near’ (*əm-* + **faxša*), *ingən*³⁸ ‘grave’ (**ham-kana*);
- vii. *ə-* / *i-* < **ui-*, e.g. *dard* / *idard* ‘far’ (**ui-trta*), *ryḡd* / *iruḡd* ‘confused; gauche’ (**ui-ruxta*),
- viii. *ny-* / *ni-* < **ni-*, e.g. *nymar* / *nimar* ‘for himself’ (**ni-šmara*), *nik’əd* (D.) ‘wedge, slab’ (**ni-keata*);
- ix. *rə-*, *lə-* (with dissimilation) < **fra-*, e.g. *læḡzər* ‘rolling scree in the mountains’ (**fra-gzara*), *læk’ərdə* (D.) ‘dampness, mud(dy)’ (? **fra-kardā*), *rəbyn* / *rəbun* ‘foothill; foundation’ (*rə-* + *byn* / *bun*), *rədaḡ* ‘redfaced, plump’ (? **fra-tanga*), *rəsug* / *rəsog* ‘clear, transparent’ (**fra-sauka*).

Of all affixes, the suffix *-ag* is by far the most productive, often at the expense of other suffixes, for instance D. *iwonæg* ‘calf’ < *iwonug* (I. *wənyg*).

³⁴ Original Ir. **-nt* yields *-nd* in Ossetic, e.g. *ənder* ‘other’ (**antara*, Av. *antara*).

³⁵ The Oss. consonant group *-w-* / *-w-* cannot possibly be traced back to Proto-Iranian. This cluster could only have arisen after the recent affixation of *əm-* to simplex *fəxs* ‘wing’.

³⁶ We would expect the development **-b* > Oss. *-v*.

³⁷ Not included are suffixes with a long vowel, which could not be syncopated, cf. § 2.2.2d.

³⁸ For the rare development of **a* > POss. **i*, v. *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.iv.

2.2.2c. AMBIGUOUS III: OTHER FORMS

– *qug* / *gog* ‘cow’ < **gauaka-* or **gauka-*, cf. Av. *gauua-*, *gao-*, Skt. *gava-*, *go-* ‘cow’ in compounds and suffixed formations. Suffix **-ka* can be attached to either the stem **gaua-* or **gau-*.

2.2.2d. CV̇C

Many forms contain (originally) long vowel in inlaut, which evidently resisted syncope.

Examples are:

- *aʃsurg* / *aʃsorg* ‘a miraculous breed of horses’ < **asua-ugra-*;
- *ænus* / *ænos* ‘eternity’ < **anauša-*;
- *aḡud* / *aḡoda* ‘covering, case’ < **ā-gaudā-*;
- *allon* ‘the Alans’ < **āriānām*;
- *ruwas*, *rubas* / *robās* ‘fox’ < **raupāsa-*.

2.2.2e. UNRELIABLE

Several forms appear to be borrowings or cannot go back to a clear Iranian proto-form, on which see the *Etymological Index* (s.vv.) for more details.

- *æxsamar(aḡ)* / *æxsamara* ‘a kind of fir, Carpinus Osirys’, *Wanderwort*.
- *cargas* ‘eagle’ < (?) **čarkasa-*, *Wanderwort*
- *dajys* / *dalis* ‘one year old lamb’ < (?) Svan.
- *farret* ‘axe’ < ? **paraθu-*, **tapara-* (*Wanderwort* ?).
- *karaf* (I.) ‘greedy, gluttony’, ? LW.
- *keḡrat* / *kurat* ‘beshmet [a kind of garment]’, LW.
- *læḡyn* / *lægun* ‘hairless, bold, naked’ < Germ. **nakʷna-*.
- *matyx* (I.) ‘locust’ < LW.
- *nymat* / *nimat* ‘felt, burka’, LW ?
- *sanyke* (I.) ‘kid’ < ? **sānika-* (Ab.). The corresponding D. form is not attested.
- *sarnat* ‘communal pasture’ < ?
- *sigæc* / *segæc* ‘whetstone’ < ?
- *tymyḡ* / *tumyḡ* 1. (I.) ‘snowstorm’, 2. (D.) ‘mass, crowd’ < ?
- *wyngæg* / *ungæg* ‘narrow, suppressed’ < ? Germanic

2.2.3. Evaluation

The certain examples of syncopated and non-syncopated forms can be presented in the following way.

syncopated forms (§ 2.2.1a)

<i>arxæ</i> / <i>arxæ</i> < * <i>haxabrā</i>	D. <i>(w)otæ</i> < * <i>ayabā</i>
<i>biræ</i> / <i>be(w)iræ</i> < NApl. * <i>baiwarai</i>	<i>raʃtʰ</i> / <i>raʃtæ</i> < * <i>rapitθā-</i>
<i>ʃæjnæ</i> < Lsg. * <i>patinai</i>	<i>uj</i> / <i>oj</i> < Gsg. * <i>ayabā</i>
D. <i>kærnæ</i> < * <i>karanā</i>	<i>urs</i> / <i>ors</i> < * <i>aruša-</i>
<i>furd</i> / <i>ford</i> < * <i>paruta-</i>	<i>xæʃs</i> / <i>xæʃtæ</i> < * <i>kasiapā-</i>
<i>mix</i> / <i>mex</i> < * <i>maiuxa-</i>	D. <i>zældæ</i> < * <i>zaritā-</i>
<i>nynd</i> / <i>nindæ</i> < * <i>namatā</i>	

non-syncopated forms (§ 2.2.2a)

<i>ænder</i> < * <i>antara-</i>	<i>wæd</i> < * <i>ayada</i>
<i>arxæt</i> < *(a)rʒata-	<i>wædært</i> / <i>wædærtæ</i> < * <i>uartaθrā-</i>
<i>bazyr</i> / <i>bazur</i> < * <i>bāzura-</i>	<i>welæ</i> < (<) Lsg. * <i>aparai</i>
<i>bæste</i> < Lsg. * <i>upastai</i>	<i>wertæ</i> < * <i>ayabā</i>
<i>dæle</i> < (<) Lsg. * <i>adarai</i>	(y)ssæz / <i>insæj</i> < * <i>uinsati-</i>
<i>ʃætan</i> < * <i>pabāna-</i>	<i>zæd</i> / <i>izæd</i> < * <i>izata-</i>
<i>næwæz</i> / <i>næwæzæ</i> < * <i>nauiati-</i>	<i>zærdæ</i> < * <i>zrdajā-</i>
<i>qawæz</i> , <i>qawæz</i> / <i>ḡawanz</i> < * <i>ḡawazna-</i>	<i>zærin</i> / <i>zærijnæ</i> < * <i>zaranjā-</i>
<i>sozjin</i> / <i>sozjinæ</i> < * <i>saučania-</i>	<i>æwæt</i> < * <i>čayabā-</i>
<i>synær</i> / <i>suær</i> < * <i>sūbara-</i>	<i>mælet</i> < * <i>mriabā-</i>
<i>wat</i> < * <i>uabāθa-</i>	

It is clear from the material that syncope is of later date than apocope, since trisyllabic forms with preserved final vowel *-æ* show syncope³⁹, while trisyllabic forms which became disyllabic through apocope were not syncopated. The exceptions are due to special developments.

In the first place, the two exceptional instances of § 2.2.1, viz. *furd* and *urs*, are similar in structure, having the tautosyllabic sequence **ru* in common. Actually, *furd* and *urs* cannot be counted as examples of syncope *stricto sensu*. Rather, we are possibly dealing with an early kind of metathesis: **paruta-* > **faurda-* > Oss. *furd*, and **aruša-* > *aurša-* > Oss. *urs*, see On **u*, **ʷ*, § 6.4.

Another special case is *mix*. Although Pers. *mēx* is widely borrowed, the semantic difference between Oss. *mix* and the Persian form suggests that the Ossetic form is rather inherited, especially since the Ossetic meaning is preserved in the Permian borrowings (via Alanic). Some kind of early vowel contraction might account for the outcome (A.L.): **aiju-* > **aij-* > **ai-* > Oss. *-i-* / *-e-*, cf. Av. *vaēm* ‘we’ (< **uājam* < Plr. **uājam*), *saiē* ‘orphan’ (< **saju-*). This kind of contraction may also apply to Oss. *wænyg* / *iwonug* ‘bull calf’ < **iuyān*^o, *Aphaeresis*, § 3.3.1a.

The demonstrative pronoun *uj* / *oj* does not necessarily represent the regular development of Gsg. **ayabā*. Final *j* may have been added recently, viz. from the nominal genitive *-y* / *-i*.

³⁹ Final *-æ* of the D. form *kærnæ* must be old: it most likely reflects Npl. n. **-ā*. The plural is used in collective sense.

The category of exceptions, in § 2.2.2a, contains the forms *nawæg* / *nawæzæ*, *wædert(t)* / *wædærtæ*, *suzin* / *sozjinæ* and *zærin* / *zærijinæ*, all of which are trisyllabic in appearance, in so far as the Digoron forms are concerned.

In the case of *wædert(t)*, syncope probably did apply⁴⁰: loss of the medial vowel gave rise to secondary vocalic *-r-, which was vocalized afterwards: > Oss. -æ-.

Regarding the other forms, at the time of syncope these forms were still disyllabic: final-æ arose at a later stage. See *Apocope*, § 1.2.1e.iii. and § 1.2.2c.i. respectively.

The forms *bæstæ*, *dæstæ*, *wæd*, *wæzæ* and *wærtæ* indicate that aphaeresis was anterior to syncope, so that these forms were no longer trisyllabic at the time of syncope. For more details see *Aphaeresis*, § 3.2.1.

Finally, the monosyllabic form *wat* is the result of early loss of intervocalic *-b-, which predated apocope.

We can thus endorse the rule that in forms which were trisyllabic after apocope short medial vowel was syncopated. Let us now turn our attention to the ambiguous forms.

affixed formations (§ 2.2.2b)

i. -æg, -æx < *a-ka, e.g. <i>æcæg</i> , <i>æstæg</i> , <i>baræg</i> , <i>bægnaæg</i> , <i>fiistæg</i> / <i>fiest(æg)</i> , <i>wardæx</i> .	<i>gin</i> , <i>duryn</i> / <i>dorin</i> , <i>qædyn</i> / <i>gædin</i>
ii. -æm < *ama, e.g. <i>æstam</i> , <i>ævdam</i> , <i>fænzæm</i> .	vi. æm- < *ham-, e.g. <i>æmbond</i> , <i>æmbyrd</i> / <i>æmburd</i> , <i>æntæf</i> , <i>ænvæxs</i> / <i>ænvæxs</i> .
iii. -æn < *ana, e.g. <i>bandæn</i> , <i>bodæn</i> (D.), <i>daræn</i> , <i>saman</i> , <i>ulan</i> / <i>olan</i> .	vii. ø- / i- < *ui-, e.g. <i>dard</i> / <i>idard</i> , <i>rygd</i> / <i>irugd</i> , <i>qæstæ</i> / <i>iğæstæ</i> .
iv. -yg / -ug, e.g. <i>bæzyg</i> / <i>bæzug</i> , <i>dyk'æzyg</i> (I.), <i>færnæg</i> / <i>færnug</i> .	viii. ny- / ni- < *ni-, e.g. <i>nymær</i> / <i>nimær</i> , <i>nik'æd</i> (D.).
v. -yn / -in < *aina, e.g. <i>avgyn</i> / <i>av-</i>	ix. ræ-, læ- < *fra-, e.g. <i>lægzær</i> , <i>ræbyn</i> / <i>ræbun</i> , <i>rædæng</i> , <i>ræzug</i> / <i>ræzog</i> .

other ambiguous forms (§ 2.2.1b, § 2.2.2c)

<i>ajk</i> / <i>ajkæ</i>	<i>nuk</i> / <i>nokæ</i>
<i>av</i> / <i>avga</i>	<i>qug</i> / <i>gog</i> < *gayaka- or *gauka- synk(?) / <i>sunk'æ</i>
<i>dærk'</i> / <i>dærk'æ</i>	<i>rav</i> / <i>ravga</i>
<i>fædg</i> , <i>fædk</i> / <i>fædgæ</i>	<i>wæxsk</i> / <i>usqæ</i> , <i>wæsqæ</i>
<i>færsk'</i> / <i>færsk'æ</i>	<i>xotxæ</i> (D.)
<i>fynk</i> / <i>finkæ</i>	<i>xoγrx</i> / <i>xurxæ</i>
<i>kæz</i> / <i>kizgæ</i>	<i>zæxx</i> / <i>zænxxæ</i>
<i>lærsk'</i> / <i>lærskæ</i> , <i>lærsgæ</i>	
<i>mizg</i> / <i>merzæ</i>	

⁴⁰ Prof. Sims-Williams has pointed out to me that *-ar- (before a consonant) could have behaved like a quasi-diphthong, recalling the Sogdian situation. This "diphthong" would therefore not be subjected to syncope.

forms with long vowels (§ 2.2.2d)

<i>æfsurg</i> / <i>æfsorq</i>	<i>allon</i>
<i>ænus</i> / <i>ænos</i>	<i>rubas</i> / <i>robas</i>
<i>agud</i> / <i>agoda</i>	<i>sim</i> .

Most instances follow the established rules. Naturally, we have to make some reservations: many affixed formations *can* be of recent date or analogically restored. The forms of § 2.2.2d. were not subjected to syncope, largely due to the long vowel.

The rules of syncope now enable us to clarify the previously ambiguous form *qug* / *gog* 'cow' (of § 2.2.2c), which must be derived from disyllabic **gan-ka*-, rather than from trisyllabic **gayaka*-.

2.3. TETRASYLLABIC PREFORMS

We have to distinguish between syncope in the antepenultimate syllable and syncope in the penultimate.

2.3.1. Syncopated antepenultimate CVC

Like in the previous discussion, we encounter many ambiguous forms in regard to occurrence of syncope, being mainly affixed formations and compounds. The reliable forms which we have at our disposal are either old formations formed with an unproductive affix or unanalysable compounds.

2.3.1a. RELIABLE

- *æfsin* / *æfsijnæ* 'lady of the house; husband's mother' < **abišaiŋni*- (ELO: 19); Al. *afsin* PN, LAv. *aifsi-šaetan* - 'inhabitant'.
- *ævgid* / *evged* 'bail; guarantor' < **abi-kaita*-; LAv. *auui-kaēta*- (ELO: 48) 'to contemplate, consider'.
- *ævgæd* 'childbirth and the period of recovery after labour' < PIr. (ppp.) **apa-gata*- (Ab.); Av. *apa-gam*- 'to go out, leave', Skt. *apa-gam*-, ppp. **gata*-. The formation *ævgæd* is not analysable, in view of its specialized meaning. Further, the verb **gam*- is unattested in Ossetic, except for the (petrified) participle **gata*-, in *qæd* 'quality', *æggæd* / *ængæd* 'sufficient, enough' lit. 'with quality', *ræggæd* 'ripe' (+ **fra*-).
- *dæсны* / *dæsnæ* 'skilful, clever; expert' < **dašiniŋa*-, cf. Skt. *dakṣiṇiŋa*- 'worthy of the sacrifice'.
- *fidar* / *fedar* 1. 'strong', 2. 'stronghold', 3. 'guarantor' < PIr. **patidāra*-; Av. *paiti-dar*- 'to bring back', Khot. *padar*-, *pader*- 'to maintain', Sogd. *pōr* 'to support', Sq. *paðor* 'device for churning butter' (EVS: 55a), etc.
- *fidis* / *fedes*, *fedis* 'rebuke' < **pati-daisa*-; MP (Turf.) *pyys* 'instruction', MPth. *pdys* 'id.' < **pati-daisa*-, Khot. *pis*-, *pes*- 'to teach', cf. Av. *daēs*- 'to show', etc.
- *fynddæ* / *finddæ* 'fifteen' < **panča-dasa*-; Av. *pañcadasa*, Skt. *pāñcadaśa*, etc. Influence from *fonz* 'five' and *dæ* 'ten' is improbable, considering the appearance.

– *idæz* ‘widow’ < **vidaya-č* (ELO: 32; Morgenstierne 1962: 164); Hung. *özvegy* ‘widow(ed)’ (< Al), cf. Av. *vidānuā*, Skt. *vidhāvā* (f.) ‘widow’, etc. The Hungarian borrowing has still preserved the (second) labial, which has disappeared in Ossetic.

– *intong* / *evtong* ‘equipped; prepared for action’ < **abi-θanga*; Oss. *intynzyn* / *evtynzyn* ‘to draw’, cf. Av. *θang* ‘to draw’, etc.

– *izær* ‘evening’ < PIr. **uz-ajara*; Av. *uzajara* (n.) ‘afternoon’, etc.

– *lyman* / *liman*, *nimal* ‘friend, lover’ < **frijamna* (cf. *Etym. Index*, q.v.).

– *nudæz*, *ænudæz* / *næwudæz* ‘nineteen’ < PIr. **naya-dasa*; Av. *naunadasa*, etc. Iron -u- in (*æ*)*nudæz* points to syncope in **ayā* > **au*, which merged with old **au*. The Digoron form has apparently restored **naw* ‘nine’ (< PIr. **naya*). Oss. **naw* has been replaced by the recent formation *farast* (on the basis of *ast* ‘eight’). Initial *æ*- of the I. form is secondary, v. *Etym. Index* (s.v.).

– *Nuzal* / *nozala* [I.] name of a hamlet in the Alagir mountains; [D.] ‘green, fresh’ < **naya-zari-ā*; cf. **naya*, Oss. *nawæg*, Av. *nanua*, ‘id.’, etc. and **zari*-, Av. *zari*-, *zairi*- ‘golden, yellow’, Oss. (D.) *zælda* ‘young grass, turf’, etc.

– (*w*)*ogan* D. ‘secret hiding-place, stock’ < PIr. **aya-kanā*; OP *avākanam* (impf.) ‘I placed’.

– *sizær* / *sezær* ‘orphan’ < **saju-čara* (lit. ‘living as orphan’); cf. LAv. *sae* (< **saju*) ‘being an orphan, orphan’, Skt. *śayū*, etc., and Av. *car* ‘to go’, Oss. *caryn* / *carun* ‘to live’. The formation is evidently old and completely unanalysable.

2.3.1b. AMBIGUOUS I: AFFIXED FORMATIONS

The numerous formations with a productive suffix are ambiguous.

i. -*æg* < **ajāka*, e.g. *xojrag* (I.) ‘food’ < **huārajāka*?, cf. *xor* ‘grain’ (D. *xwar*);

ii. -*æg* *arnæg* ‘wild’ (< **arana-ka*), *iwnæg* / *ewnæg* ‘one, single’ (< **aijana-ka*), *næxsnæg* ‘well-formed, straight’ (< ? **raxšanaka*), *ask’arnæg* (D.) ‘sparkle’ (< **skarana-ka*), *fæzzæg* ‘autumn’ (< **pai-ziā-ka*?),

iii. locational -*don* / -*donæ* < **dānā*; e.g. *ligdon* / *legdonæ* ‘place of refuge, shelter, safe haven’ (**raika-dānā*, with secondary *l*, *Etym. Index*, s.v.), cf. *Appendix*, A § 7;

iv. instrumental, locational -*ston* / -*stonæ* < **stānā*, e.g. *fiston* / *festonæ* ‘handle, grip’ (**pai-štānā*), *ærdyston* (I.) ‘bowsheath’ (**drunastānā*, Oss. *ærdyn* ‘bow’);

v. -*yg* / -*ug* (of multiple origin), e.g. *malzyg* / *mulzyg* ‘ant’ (**maruīāka*).

vi. -*gyn* / -*gin* < **akaina*, e.g. *durgyn* / *dorgin* ‘stony’ (*dur* / *dor* ‘stone’), *usgyn* / *wosgyn* ‘married (man)’ (*us* / *wosa* ‘wife’), *wærtgyn* / *wærtgin* ‘shielded’ (*wart* ‘shield’).

Prefixed formations are:

vii. *av-* < **apa-*, e.g. *æfjajyn* ‘to remove, clean up’, *æftawyn* ‘to throw on’, *æftæryn* ‘to gorge, fressen’, *æfçalyn* ‘to injure, damage’, etc.

viii. *fæl-* < **pari-*, e.g. *fældemæn* (D.) ‘lying, deceiving’ < **pari-daiman*, *fælxor* / *fælxware* ‘leftovers (vegetables); garbage’ (**para-huārā*, *fæl* + -*xor* / -*xwar* ‘feeding’, *fældisyn* / *fældesun* ‘to create; to dedicate to the deceased’ (**pari-daisa*), *fælgasyn* / *fælgæsun* ‘to look for, observe, survey’ (**pari-kaša*).

2.3.1c. AMBIGUOUS II: COMPOUNDS

Several compounds are ambiguous, since they are of relatively recent date, but no longer fully transparent in contemporary Ossetic.

– *appat* / *ænkæt*, *ænkæst* ‘everything, everyone, all’ < *am-* ‘with, together’ + *kæt* (D.) ‘stable’.

– *artyskan*, *aryyskan* / *artskinæ* ‘coal-pincers’ < Oss. *art* ‘fire’ + **(u)skæn*.

– *ærcud* / *ærcodæ*, *ærmxodæ* ‘handglove’ < Oss. *arm* ‘arm’ + *xud* / *xodæ* ‘hat’.

– *bağamsar* / *bağensar* ‘bareheaded’ < Oss. *bağn* (cf. *bağnæg* ‘naked’) + *sar*, ‘sar’ ‘head’.

– *bağamzang* / *bağenzanga* ‘with bare knees, feet’ < Oss. *bağn* (cf. *bağnæg*) + *zang* / *zænge* ‘shin’.

– *bağæmvad* / *bağænvad*, *bağænbad* ‘with bare feet’ < Oss. *bağn* (cf. *bağnæg*) + *fad* ‘foot’.

– *fajnost* / *fajnostæ* ‘wife of the husband’s brother’ < **pāti-snausa* (+ suff. **-ā*?) (cf. Av. *paiti* ‘lord, husband’, Skt. *pāti*, *pāti*, ‘id.’, etc. and **snausa*, Oss. (D.) *nostæ* ‘daughter-in-law’, Sogd. *šwnš*, Bact. *ασνωσο* ‘id.’, etc.

– *Migdaw* (I.) name of a deity < Oss. *miğ* ‘cloud’ + *daw* (cf. *dawæg* ‘deity’).

2.3.1d. UNRELIABLE

Some forms are etymologically and /or morphologically unclear, while others are transparent compounds.

Etymologically and /or morphologically unclear are:

– *ajdan* / *ajdenæ* ‘mirror’ < ? **ā-d(i)jana*; cf. Khot. *āyāna*, etc.

– *avdiw* / *avdew* ‘demon; wizard (?)’ < **apa-daiya*?

– *fajnæg* ‘board’ < (?) **fanajaka*.

– *swar* / *sawær* ‘mineral water, spring’, ‘pickled’ < ? **siāya-uara*.

– *wygard*, *ugard* (I.) ‘carve’ < ? **aya-karta*.

The remaining forms are transparent:

– *æstdas* / *æstdæz* ‘eighteen’ < **ašta-dasa*, Oss. *ast* ‘eight’ + *dæz* ‘ten’.

– *cyppardæz* / *cuppardæz* ‘fourteen’, Oss. *cyppar* / *cuppar* ‘four’ + *dæz* ‘ten’.

2.3.2. Syncopated penultimate CVC

Tetrasyllabic forms which show syncope in the penultimate syllable are all suffixed formations. In the first place, there are formations which are formed with the old unproductive deverbal suffix **-anā*. The Ossetic outcome -*n* / -*na* tends to be replaced by the more productive Oss. -*æn* (< **-anā*), e.g. *arazna* >> *arazæn* ‘steering wheel’. The other formations are formed with **-kā* and **-čā*, which we have already come across in the previous section.

2.3.2a. RELIABLE: *anā*-FORMATIONS

The formations in **-anā* are relatively rare.

- *arazna*, *aræzna* (D.) 'steering wheel' < **arāzanā*–; Oss. *arazyn*: *aræzt* / *arazun*: *aræzt* 'to direct, do, build', (intr., pass.) *aræzyn* / *aræzun* 'to be done, build, to go well', MP, NP *ārāstan* 'to prepare, arrange, adorn'.
- *arǧavna* (D.) 'pincers' < **āgrabanā*–; OP *pati-grabanā*– (f.) name of a Parthian town (lit. 'receptaculum'), Sogd. *ʾrbrn* f. 'pincers'.
- *izazna* (D.) 'lever, crow-bar' < **ui-zāzanā*–; Oss. *izazun*: *izat* (D.) 'to lift up', Khot. *bi-ysamj*– 'to seize, take hold of'.

2.3.2b. AMBIGUOUS: *kā*-, *ā*-FORMATIONS

The suffixes **-kā* and **-ā* yielded Oss. *-g* / *-ga*, *-x* / *-xa* (assimilated variant) and *-z* / *-za* respectively.

- *fydax* / *fudænxa* 'misfortune', cf. Oss. *fyd* / *fud* 'bad, evil'.
- *ruzyng* / *rozinga* 1. [I.] 'window', 2. [D.] 'sacrificial bread; a kind of pastry' < **raučan(a)±kā*–; cf. LAv. *raocana*– 'shining, light; window', MP *rozan* 'window', Sogd. *ruvyn* 'light'.
- *usong* / *osonge* 'hut, tent, shack' < **aušan(a)±kā*–; Arm. *atroušan* 'fire-temple' (< Wlr.), cf. Skt. *aṣ-* 'to burn'.
- *xorǧax* / *xwarǧanxa* 'favour, benevolence', cf. Oss. *xorǧ* / *xwarǧ* 'good'.
- *angǧylz* / *angulza* 'finger' < **anguri-* + *ā*–, cf. Skt. *angūri*– (f.) 'finger, toe'.

2.3.3. Non-syncope CVC

A relatively small number of forms does not show syncope. The forms are either affixed formations or compounds.

2.3.3a. RELIABLE

Only two unproductive forms are found.

- *bwar* / *bawar* 'body' < **upāwara*–; Khz. ppp. *b'wde* 'to hide' (**upa-ā-wta-ka*–, Samadi: 12), cf. Av. *var-* 'to cover', etc.
- *minavar* 'herald, messenger' < **manja-bāra*–; El-OP *man-ya-bar-ra* PN, Sogd. *myn'jst* 'authorized', 'to think'.

2.3.3b. AMBIGUOUS: AFFIXED FORMATIONS

- *andaren* 'pasture for the sheep in autumn'; cf. Oss. *daran* 'encampment for cattle and shepherds'.
- *dawag* / *idawag* 'deity' < **ui-dāwa-ka*– (ELO: 132-133).
- *dallag* 'lower' < **adariāka*–; cf. Oss. *dæle* 'below'.
- *lavaræn* (D.) 'armful of hay' < **fra-barana*–; cf. Oss. *lavar* 'gift, present', *læverd-* / *lævard*– suppl. pret. stem of *dæddyn* / *dæddun* 'to give'.
- *nywarǧæn* / *nivarǧæn* 'head of the bed' < **nibarǧana*–.
- *reǧǧæn* (D.) [+*kænun*] 'to tear, hurt; to provoke (quarrel)' < **fra-kǧa-na*–; see *Etym. Index* (s.v.).
- *wazǧg* / *iwazǧg* 'guest' < **(ui)wǧzaka*–; cf. *wazǧgdon* / *(i)wazǧgdonæ* 'guest-room', *wazǧgda* (D.) 'state of guest, guestship'.
- *wǧllag* 'upper' < **awariāka*–; cf. Oss. *wæle* 'up'.
- *waryg* / *iwonyg*, *iwonæg* 'bull-calf, *iuvencus*' < **iujānam ±ka*–, see *Etym. Index* (s.v.).

- *uxam* / *wæxan* 'so, such' < ? **aya-ka-ma*– (Ab.).

2.3.3c. UNRELIABLE

Several forms are clearly transparent compounds, which appear to be of (relatively) recent date.

- *izænæssid* / *izænæssed* 'the onset of the evening', cf. *izær* 'evening' + *æssid* / *æssed* 'morning-glow'.
- (W)*uayruks* / *Waciroks* name of a maiden in the Nart epic, cf. GLsg. *wacy* / *waci* 'divine, deity' + *ruks* / *rox* 'light'.
- *onæxsar(x)* (D.) 'brave, strong, a hercules', cf. D. *(i)onæ* 'shoulder-blade' + *æxsaræ* 'might, power, military prowess'.

2.3.4. Evaluation

syncope in the ante-penultimate syllable (§ 2.3.1a)

<i>afsin</i> / <i>afsinæ</i> < * <i>abišaiθni</i>	<i>ivtong</i> / <i>evtong</i> < * <i>abi-θanga</i>
<i>avǧid</i> / <i>evǧed</i> < * <i>abi-kaita</i>	<i>izær</i> < * <i>uz-ajara</i>
<i>avǧed</i> < * <i>apa-gata</i>	<i>lyman</i> / <i>liman</i> < * <i>frijamanab-</i>
<i>dæsyn</i> / <i>dæsnī</i> < * <i>dašiniša</i>	(<i>α</i>) <i>nudes</i> / <i>næwdes</i> < * <i>nawa-dasa</i>
<i>fidar</i> / <i>fedar</i> < * <i>patidāra</i>	<i>Nuzal</i> / <i>nozale</i> < * <i>nawa-zāriā</i>
<i>fidis</i> / <i>fedes</i> , <i>fedis</i> < * <i>pati-daisa</i>	D. (<i>w</i>) <i>jogæn</i> < * <i>aya-kana</i>
<i>idæz</i> < * <i>uidaua-ā</i>	<i>sizær</i> / <i>sezær</i> < * <i>saiučara</i>

syncope in the penultimate syllable (§ 2.3.2a)

D. <i>arazna</i> < * <i>arāzanā</i>	D. <i>arǧavna</i> < * <i>āgrabanā</i>
D. <i>aræzna</i> < * <i>arāzanā</i>	D. <i>izazna</i> < * <i>ui-zāzanā</i>

non-syncope forms (§ 2.3.3a)

<i>bwar</i> / <i>bawar</i> < * <i>upāwara</i>	<i>minavar</i> < * <i>manja-bāra</i>
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We only find two cases to which syncope has not applied. The form *bwar* / *bawar* was probably already disyllabic anterior to syncope, cf. *bæstæ*, *Aphaeresis*, § 3.2.2. The other form, viz. *minavar*, may have undergone syncope. Medial *-æ* needs not be old and may have arisen secondarily. In *Apocope*, § 1.2.6a.ii, it was suggested that paragogic *-æ* arose after a palatalized, geminated final cluster. I assume that a secondary (anaptyctic) *-æ* would also arise when this specific cluster was in inlaut position.

Generally, old tetrasyllabic forms have undergone syncope. In forms which became trisyllabic after apocope, the middle vowel was syncope. The development runs parallel to that in the originally trisyllabic forms which have not been apocopated, cf. § 2.2.1.

In the few tetrasyllabic forms which were unaffected by apocope, syncope applied in the penultimate syllable, if the syllable contained a short vowel, cf. § 2.3.2a. If the penultimate contained a long vowel, the antepenultimate syllable was syncope.

Now, let us return to the remaining, more ambiguous forms.

affixed formations (§ 2.3.1b, § 2.3.3b)

i. -lag < * <i>a-lā-ka</i> , e.g. <i>xojrag</i> (I.)	vi. -gyn / -gin < * <i>-akaina-</i> , e.g. <i>durgyn</i> / <i>dorgin</i> , <i>usgyn</i> / <i>wosgin</i> , <i>wærgyn</i> / <i>wærgin</i>
ii. -æg < * <i>-a-ka</i> , e.g. <i>æræg</i> , <i>iwæg</i> / <i>ewæg</i> , <i>ræxsæg</i> , <i>æsk'æræg</i> (D.), <i>fæzzæg</i>	vii. -æv < * <i>-apa-</i> , e.g. <i>æfsnægyn</i> , <i>æftawyn</i> , <i>æft'æryn</i> , <i>æfxcalyn</i>
iii. -don / -donæ < * <i>-dānā</i> , e.g. <i>ligdon</i> / <i>legdonæ</i>	viii. -fæl < * <i>-pari-</i> , e.g. <i>fældemæn</i> (D.), <i>fælxor</i> / <i>fælcwara</i> , <i>fældisyn</i> / <i>fældesun</i> , <i>fælgæsyn</i> / <i>fælgæsun</i>
v. -ston / -stonæ < * <i>-stānā</i> , e.g. <i>fiston</i> / <i>festonæ</i> , <i>ærdyston</i> (I.)	
<i>andaræn</i>	<i>uxam</i> / <i>wæxæn</i>
<i>dawæg</i> / <i>idawæg</i>	<i>wazæg</i> / <i>iwazæg</i>
<i>dællæg</i>	<i>wællæg</i>
<i>lawæræn</i>	<i>wænyg</i> / <i>iwonug</i> , <i>iwonæg</i>
<i>nywæræn</i> / <i>niværæn</i>	

compounds

<i>æppæt</i> / <i>ænkæt</i> , <i>ænkæt</i> < <i>æm-</i> + <i>kæt</i>	<i>bægæmvad</i> / <i>bægænvad</i> < <i>bægñ*</i> + <i>fad</i>
<i>ærtyskæn</i> , <i>ærtyskæn</i> / <i>artsikina</i> < <i>art</i> + *(u)skæn	<i>bægæmzæng</i> / <i>bægænzængæ</i> < <i>bægñ*</i> + <i>zæng</i> / <i>zængæ</i>
<i>ærxcud</i> / <i>ærxcoda</i> , <i>ærxcoda</i> < <i>arm</i> + <i>xcud</i> / <i>xoda</i>	<i>fæjnust</i> / <i>fæjnosta</i> < * <i>pāti-</i> + * <i>nust</i> / <i>nosta</i>
<i>bægæmsar</i> / <i>bægænsar</i> < <i>bægñ*</i> + <i>sær</i> , * <i>sar</i>	<i>Migdaw</i> (I.) < <i>miğ</i> + <i>dawæg</i>

Most ambiguous instances agree with the established rules of syncope. Some forms need further elucidation. The seemingly “displaced” nasal in the compounds with **bagna-* ‘bare, naked’ (Oss. *bægñæg*) can be best explained if at least one of the *bagna*-compounds was coined in the period anterior to syncope. After syncope in the second syllable of **bagna-*, the secondarily arisen vocalic **-ŋ-* has yielded Oss. *-æn-*. The compound *bægæmvad* ‘with bare feet’ was probably the original model, in view of its exact Khwarezmian correspondence *βyn-p’δ*. This is supported by the spread of I. *-m-*, which is explicable in *bægæmvad*, to *bægæmsar* ‘with uncovered head’ and *bægæmzæng* ‘with bare knees, feet’.

For the syncope in composite verbs in *av-* see § 2.4.1a.

2.4. PENTASYLLABIC PREFORMS

Hardly any genuine pentasyllabic form can be traced back to the Proto-Iranian period with some degree of probability. The pentasyllabic forms are either affixed formations or compounds, which may have been recently formed or restored. Some affixed formations are formed with an unproductive affix though.

2.4.1. Syncopated ante-antepenultimate CVC ?

A special group of pentasyllabic forms consists of infinitives which have an unproductive preverb (i.e. in Ossetic). They clearly show loss of the short vowel in the second syllable, counting from the left, cf. also *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.6.2.

- *inxærsyn*: *inxærst* / *ewxærsun*: *ewxærst* (*ewxæst*) ‘to put someone across; to guide someone (from one place to another)’ < **abi-xarsūna-*.
- *ælvysyn*: *ælvæst* / *ælvæsun*: *ælvæst* ‘to spin’ < **abi-uraisuna-*.
- *ævgæsyn*: *ævgæd* / *ævgænun*: *ævgæd* ‘to pour, fill in; to draw’ < **abi-kanuna-*.
- *fæzæxsyn*: *fæzæxst* / *fæzæxsun*: *fæzæxst* ‘to charge with; to order; to admonish’ < **pāti-šaxsuna-*.
- *fæsmærsyn*: *fæsmard* D. ‘to know; to be known; to find out; to recall’ < **pāti-šmaruna-*.
- *fippæsyn*: *fippæjd* / *fippæjun*: *fippæjd* ‘to remark; to guess’ < **pāti-pājuna-*.
- *iwgæwysyn*: *iwgæwd* / *ewgæjun*: *ewgæd* ‘to pass, go by’ < **abi-guūna-*.
- *iwtyngsyn*: *iwtygd* / *ewtyngsyn*: *ewtygd* ‘to put a horse’, ‘to load (a gun)’ < **abi-θanjūna-*.
- *fidawyn*: *fidid* / *jedawun*: *jedud* ‘to be reconciled with’, 2. ‘to fit, suit’ < **pāti-dāūna-*.

2.4.2. Syncopated antepenultimate CVC

2.4.2a. AMBIGUOUS I: *imag*-FORMATIONS

Syncope has occurred in the ordinals with *imag*, which goes back to **amaiāka-*. These formations are relatively unproductive: *-æm* as ordinal suffix is much more common. In some Iron forms, *imag* is absent.

- D. *æstæjmag* (I. *æstem*) ‘eighth’ < **asta-maiāka-*; Sogd. (Bud.) *’šmyk*;
- *ævdæjmag* (also I. *ævdæm*) ‘seventh’ < **hafta-maiāka-*; Sogd. (Man.) *’štmyk*, (Bud.) *’štmyk*, (Chr.) *’btmyq*;
- D. *cuppærejmag* (I. *cypparam*) ‘fourth’ < **čathara-maiāka-*; Sogd. (Bud.) *čfš’myk*, (Man.) *čfš’myk*;
- D. *dæsejmag* (I. *dæxæm*) ‘tenth’ < **dasa-maiāka-*; Sogd. (Bud.) *δsm’yk*, (Man.) *δsm’yk*;
- D. *fanæjmag* (I. *fænzæm*) ‘fifth’ < **panča-maiāka-*; Sogd. (Bud.) *pncmyk*, (Man.) *pnjmyk*.

2.4.2b. AMBIGUOUS II: *wæl*-FORMATIONS

There are several analysable formations prefixed with the productive *wæl-* ‘upon, over, above’, which can be derived from **ayari*, **ayara-*. In some cases, the second element is not found elsewhere in Ossetic.

- *wælbæden* ‘groin’ < *wæl-* + (?) Arab.-Pers. *badan* ‘body’;
- *wældæj* ‘excellent; abundance; special’ < *wæl-* + **dāja-*; cf. Skt. *dāyá-* m. ‘share, portion’.
- *wældon* (I.) ‘abundance’ < *wæl-* + **dāna-*; cf. Skt. *dāna-* n. ‘cutting off; part, share’.
- *wælgæd* / *wælgæde*, *wælgædej* ‘staying’ < *wæl-* + ²*qæd* / *ğæd* ‘*qualitas*’;
- *wælvæd* ‘after, soon’ < *wæl-* + *fæd* ‘footstep’.

2.4.3. Syncopated penultimate CVC

No ambiguous / reliable cases can be mentioned.

2.4.4. Non-syncopated CVC

No ambiguous / reliable cases can be mentioned.

2.4.5. *Evaluation*

Most pentasyllabic forms are either recently formed compounds or formations with a productive affix, showing loss of a middle vowel.

imag-ordinals (§ 2.4.2a)

D. <i>æstajmag</i> < * <i>asta-majāka-</i> <i>ævdajmag</i> < * <i>ħafta-majāka-</i> D. <i>cupparæjmag</i> < * <i>čaθuara-majāka-</i>	<i>dæstajmag</i> < * <i>dasa-majāka-</i> D. <i>fæŋæjmag</i> < * <i>panča-majāka-</i>
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wæl-formations (§ 2.4.2b)

<i>wælbædan</i> < <i>wæl-</i> + (?) Arab.-Pers. <i>badan</i> 'body' <i>wældaj</i> < <i>wæl-</i> + * <i>dāja-</i> <i>wældon</i> (I.) < <i>wæl-</i> + * <i>dāna-</i>	<i>wælgæd</i> / <i>wælgædæ</i> , <i>wælgædæj</i> < <i>wæl-</i> + ² <i>qæd</i> / <i>gæd</i> <i>wælvæd</i> < <i>wæl-</i> + <i>jæd</i>
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The formations formed with ordinal suffix *-imag* have undergone syncope in accordance with the established rules, showing syncope in the penultimate syllable. Some formations with *wæl-* agree with the rules. The forms which do not agree, are then of recent, post-syncope date.

infinitives (§ 2.4.1)

<i>ivæærsyn</i> : <i>ivæærst</i> < * <i>abi-xarṣ-una-</i> <i>æhvīsyn</i> : <i>æhvæst</i> < * <i>abi-kan-una-</i> <i>ævgæsyn</i> : <i>ævgæd</i> < * <i>abi-kan-una-</i> <i>fæzæxsyn</i> : <i>fæzæxst</i> < * <i>pati-ṣaxs-una-</i> D. <i>fæsmærun</i> : * <i>smard</i> < * <i>pati-šmar-una-</i>	<i>fippajyn</i> : <i>fippajd</i> < * <i>pati-pāi-una-</i> <i>ivgūjyn</i> / <i>evgūjun</i> : <i>evgūd</i> < * <i>abi-gūi-una-</i> <i>ivtyŋsyn</i> : <i>ivtygd</i> < * <i>abi-θanj-una-</i> <i>fidawyn</i> : <i>fidid</i> < * <i>pati-dāu-una-</i>
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The infinitives in *-yn* / *-un* show syncope in the ante-antepenultimate syllable, which is rather unexpected: the antepenultimate syllable should have been syncopated. The loss of the vowel in the corresponding past participles, which go back to tetrasyllabic preforms, however, are in line with the rules of syncope. No doubt, the infinitives have been influenced by the participles.

2.5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Ossetic syncope was posterior to POss. apocope and aphaeresis. The forms which became disyllabic after apocope or aphaeresis remained unchanged. In all other cases, short medial vowel was syncopated.

Tetrasyllabic forms which became trisyllabic after apocope show the expected loss of the medial short vowel. In tetrasyllabic forms to which apocope did not apply, the penultimate vowel was syncopated, but, if it was long, the preceding (short) vowel was syncopated instead.

The section on the pentasyllabic forms did not provide us with new findings, since the pentasyllabic forms are either ambiguous or unreliable. A notable exception concerns the category of syncopated infinitives, which does not follow the rules though: influence from the syncopated past participles explains this. The ordinal formations in *-imag* conform to the established rules of syncope, although analogy cannot be ruled out.

3. APHAERESIS

3.1. INTRODUCTION

In some Ossetic forms we encounter (permanent) initial vowel deletion, which is called aphaeresis here. Examples which show the deletion in both Iron and Digoron are *dælə* 'under' (LAv. *adairi*), *max* 'we, us' (OP *amācam*), *wed* 'there' (LAv. *anuada*). More numerous are the forms with a deletion that is found in Iron only: I. *dard* (D. *idard*) 'far', *qal* (D. *iǧal*) 'awaking', *gærdyn* (D. *iǧardun*) 'to cut up', etc. The development of aphaeresis was mentioned by Miller (Gr.: 17-18, § 3.7, § 4.4, § 4.5), albeit only passingly. The conditions and circumstances which led to the deletion were not given though.

Certain phonological restrictions are imposed on aphaeresis. The common Ossetic aphaeresis only applies if the initial vowel is (1) short (*a, *u) and (2) not followed by a consonant cluster (possible aphaeresis might be concealed by prothesis, cf. *Introduction*, § 0.7.5.7), i.e. the second, consecutive syllable must begin with a *single* consonant. The recent Iron aphaeresis is also constrained by these restrictions, the deleted vowel is most often *i*- as found in Digoron. Only in a few instances, Digoron has initial *æ*- which is absent in Iron, e.g. *dyson* / *ædosæ* 'yesterday night (or evening)', *wazyg* / *awazyg* '(falling) unconscious'.

3.2. COMMON-OSSETIC APHAERESIS

Clear evidence for aphaeresis in both Iron and Digoron is limited to forms with initial *a and *u.

3.2.1. *a

For deletion of *a- we have a limited number of forms at our disposal. Only a single form is nominal.

- *dæl*- (pref., prep.), (adv.) *dælə* 'below, under' <(<) **adari*, Lsg. **adar(i)ai*; LAv. *adairi* (prep.) 'under', Sogd. **δr* (in *c'δr* 'under, below'), etc.
- *max* 'we, us' < **ahmācam*; Av. *ahmākam*, OP *amācam*, Khot. *muhu*, Sogd. *m'x*, (Bud.) *m'xw*, etc.
- *yg* / *yg* 1. 'tear', 2. 'stream' < **asru-ka*; Khot. *āška*, Khz. *ʾšwke* (m.) 'tear', Av. *asru*-, etc.
- *wa* 'so, such; thus' < NAsg. n. **ayāt* (cf. Sims-Williams 1997: 318 f.); LAv. *anunt*- 'so (great, much)', OP (NAsg. n.) *avā* 'so much, as much as' (in *avākaram* 'in such way'), Sogd. *w*- 'so very'.
- *wed* 'then', *wædæ* 'then, in such a case' < **anada*, **anadā*; Av. *anuada* 'there', OP *avada* 'there, then', Sogd. *wōb*, *wōy* 'there', Khz. *wθ* 'in there', etc.
- *wæl*- (pref., prep.), (adv.) *wælə* 'on, up, over' <(<) **ayari*, Lsg. **ayar(i)ai*; LAv. *anuarə* 'down under', Sogd. (Bud.) *wr* 'there', Skt. *avār* 'down below', etc.
- *wertæ* (adv.) 'over there' < **ayabrā*; LAv. *anubrā* 'illic, there', Sogd. (Man.) *wrō* [ōrθ] 'there', Khot. *vara*, etc.

3.2.2. *u

Initial *u- appears to have disappeared before *p and *z, which are part of the prefixes *upa- and *uz- respectively.

– *upa-

- *badyn*: *badt* / *badun*: *badt* 'to sit'; [D.] 'to settle, reside' < **upa-bada* (Miller, Gr.: 60); cf. Av., OP *bad*-, *šad*-, etc.;
- *bas* / *basæ* 'soup' < **upa-āšā*- (cf. *Etym. Index*, s.v.); cf. Skt. *upās*- 'to eat, taste';
- *-yl* / *-bæl* (Adsg.), D. *bælə* (adv.) 'on, upon, by, for' <(<) **upari*, Lsg. **upar(i)ai*; Av. *upari*, OP *upariy* 'up, over', Skt. *upāri* 'id';
- *bæstæ* 'land, place' < **upastai*, cf. *Syncope*, § 2.2.2a, *Apocope*, § 1.4.1b.

– *uz-

- (a)s-, (a)z- (in verbs) < **us*-, **uz*-; Av. *us*-, *uz*-, OP *us*-, Skt. *ud*-, *ut*- 'up, upon', etc. The initial *æ*- might be explained by assuming prothesis after aphaeresis.

3.2.3. Unreliable

Vowel deletion in other instances cannot be ascertained, since the etymology or the reconstruction of the forms is either disputable or different (from the one quoted by Abaev).

- *cafsyn*: *cafst* / *cafsun*: *cafst* 'to warm; [D. also] to burn' < ? **ati-tafsa*- (Bailey 1930: 67); cf. Oss. *tafsyn* / *tafsun* 'id.', Av. (inch.) *tafsa*- 'to become hot'.
- *gy* / *zi* 'from, off this' < ? **hačā* + GLsg. *-y* / *i*, cf. Av. *hačā*, OP *hačā*, Khot. *jsa*, etc.
- *nyx* / *nix* 'forehead, part of the face' < **nabyant*- (not **anika*-, Abaev), see *Etym. Index*, s.v.
- *ta* (esp. I.) 'and, then' < ? **iθā* x **utā*; cf. Av. *iθā* 'so, in this way', Skt. *itthā* 'so' (etc.) and LAv. *uta*, OP *utā*, 'and (also)' (etc.).
- *zyng* / *zing* 'red-hot coal; fire' < NP *zang* 'hot, burning, rust' (not **uz-anga*-, Abaev), see *Etym. Index*, s.v.

3.2.4. Evaluation

The distribution of aphaeresis in nominal and verbal forms is meagre: while initial *u- appears to have been deleted in only two cases, there is even less evidence for the deletion of initial *a-. In fact, the single instance, viz. *yg*, where *a was deleted, might even be the result of a different development, viz. *syncope*, since *yg* in the meaning of 'tear' formed a fixed phrase with *cæst* / *cæstæ* 'eye' in first position. The question is whether aphaeresis did apply to nominal and verbal forms at all. The indications against aphaeresis are stronger than those in favour. Let us look at the instances of "aphaerited" *u- more closely.

There can be little doubt that **up* has regularly yielded *b* in Ossetic.⁴¹ Miller (Gr.: 19, § 6.4) assumed that this sequence underwent aphaeresis, which was accepted by Morgenstierne (ibid.). However, if we admit his assumption, we are confronted with some serious problems. In the first place, we should also expect aphaeresis of (short) vowels other than **u*. Secondly, the relative date of aphaeresis, i.e. being either *before* or *after* syncope, would be difficult to establish. Syncope in the second syllable of **abi* > *iv* (e.g. *ingəjyn* / *engujun* 'to pass, miss' < **abi-gu*) would suggest that the presumed aphaeresis is a later development than syncope, but the *upa*-formations, especially *bastā*, rather point to a reverse chronology. The Ossetic result *b* from the unique sequence **up* is more likely to be explained differently. Assimilation of **u*- to the following labial consonant **p*- may have taken place: **up* > **uβ* (> **ββ* ?) > *b* ("Verschärfung", v. Introduction, § 0.7.3.4). The intermediary stage **uβ* is probably reflected in the Svan borrowing *bvast* 'world' (= Oss. *bastā*): **uβ* > (metathesized) *bw*.⁴²

Regarding the (synchronically) productive prefix *(x)s*, *(x)z*, the deletion of **u*- could have been applied due to the vowel of a preceding preverb: e.g. **ba-u^s/z* > **ba-s/z* > **ra-s/z*. Eventually, the "*u*-less" variants have become the regular form.

If we accept these explanations for the disappearance of initial **u*-, the obvious conclusion is that aphaeresis as an independent development in nominal and verbal forms did not take place.

Indisputable cases of aphaeresis are only found in the category of pronouns, adverbs and prepositions: *max* (**abmāxa*-), *dāl* (**adār*), *ta* (**idā*), *wa* (**ayāt*), *wəd* (**ayadā*), *wədə* (**ayadā*), *wəl* (**ayār*), *wartā* (**ayāthrā*).

The deletion of the initial vowel in the pronoun *max* 'we, us' might reflect a very old, "East Iranian" development, cf. Khot. *muhu*, Sogd. *m'x*, Yağn. *mox*, Pš. *mū* (? Bact. *αμαχο*), etc.

The remaining adverbs and prepositions also show a development of relatively ancient date. Especially aphaeresis in the adverbs *wədə* and *wartā* is telling, pointing to a stage anterior to syncope.

⁴¹ Benveniste (ELO: 97-98), postulated the existence of an Iranian prefix **bā*-, which is not compelling, cf. Morgenstierne (1961: 247).

⁴² Normally, the Svan sequence *Cw*, as found in loanwords, corresponds to *Cw* (also *CV_{lab}*) in Ossetic and other languages, e.g.

- *čwēn* 'cauldron' vs. Oss. *čwān* 'cast-iron', Tk. *čojun*, *čubun* 'cast-iron (vessel)', etc.;
- *gəwān* 'fence' vs. Oss. *gəwān* 'fence (of stone), wall of a fortress', Georg. *galawani* 'great wall', Abkh. *a-gal(a)wan* 'fence';
- *gwem* 'storeroom' vs. Oss. *gon*, *gom* 'corn-bin', Kab. *gwān* 'corn-bin', Georg. *gomi* 'shed', etc.;
- *kəwəč*, *kəwədāl* 'twig' vs. Oss. *kə'wəč* / *kə'wəčəl* 'chip', Kab. *qweč'ij* 'chip', Abkh. *a-kə'wəč* 'large chip', etc.

In other cases Oss. *b* corresponds to *b* in Svan, e.g. Oss. *bik* 'navel' (Svan *bik* 'stump'), byron 'litter' (Svan *buran*), *xarbyz* 'melon' (Svan *xaburzak*).

The fact that the non-nominal and non-verbal forms show aphaeresis probably point to differences in accentuation. Adverbial, prepositional, postpositional and pronominal forms tend to be left unaccented, being mostly in enclitic or proclitic position. Even in contemporary Ossetic dialects, they are usually found as part of an accentual unit with other forms.

3.3. IRON APHAERESIS

Now let us look at the forms which have undergone aphaeresis in Iron only. The Iron aphaeresis is restricted to nominal and verbal forms.

3.3.1. *i*

Most instances of Iron aphaeresis concern loss of initial POss. **i*- < **i-*, which has been preserved in Digoron. Only rarely has POss. **i*- a different origin: **ia*-, **iu*-.

For the prefix **i-* Benveniste (ELO: 13) suggested that the loss of initial **i-* was due to generalisation of the dissimilated variant **i-i* > *i-w*. The fact that we still encounter initial *w*- in nouns like *widon*, *widaz* 'bridle' can then be explained by the unanalysable character of these old formations. However, it is simply inconceivable that the regular (pre-)Ossetic reflex of the old prefix **i-* would have been replaced by variants having arisen from a special development. It is even more unlikely that they have supposedly taken place in a limited number of verbs or nouns which hardly belong to the core vocabulary (like *to be*, *to eat*, *father*, *mother*, etc.): *waryn* / *iwarun* 'to divide', *ong*, *wəng* / *iwong* 'bodyparts; member of an organisation, party or group', (?) *wəzəg* / *iwəzəg* 'guest'. Besides, this kind of dissimilation does not account for the loss of initial labial in the numeral *yssəz* 'twenty' (**iinsati*, cf. D. *insəz*, Skt. *vimśati*, LAv. *visāti*). It is much more probable that initial **i-* before **i* was lost at an early stage. Early loss of **i* seems to be supported by Sarmatian personal names like (Olbia) *Ιβοαζαρος* 'Vicentius' (**iinsati*).⁴³

If the development **i-* > POss. **i*- is regular, we must reject the development **i-* > Oss. *wi*-, for which Abaev cites several forms:

- *widaz*, *idaz* / *jidazə* 'rein', *habend* < **iḍāti* (Ab.), **i-tāzā* (Benveniste, ELO: 13; Sogd. *wyā't*, Š. *widād*, Sq. *waḍod*, Yz. *wuḍād* 'span' (< **iḍāti*, EVS: 88a).
- *widon*, *idon* / *jidona* 'bridle', *frenum* < **iḍāna* (Benveniste, l.c.), **abi-dāna* (Miller Gr.: 17-18, § 3.7); with pref. **i-*, Skt. *vidhāna* 'acting, ruling; act, rule' or with pref. **abi*-, LAv. *aiḥḍāna*.
- *wydar* / *udarnə* 'support, chopping-block' < PIIr. **i-dhārman* (Ab.), **ayā* (Miller); OP *upa-darma*- PN, Skt. *dhārman*-, (NAsg. n.) *dhārma* 'support, hold, order', 'law', *dharmān*-(m.) 'bearing, supporting'.
- *wydisn(y)*, *disny* / *užasna*, *užesta*, *izesta* 'quarter [approx. 22-25 cm]' < PIr. **i-tasti*(?); LAv. *viṭasti*-(f), Skt. *viṭasti*-(f), MP *widest* 'span'.
- *wydyrn(y)* / *udurnə* 'skin-disease, eczema' < ? **i-durna*, Skt. *dhūrti* 'wound, damage'.

⁴³ The initial bilabial **i-* is usually represented by Gr. *ov-* or *β-*.

The initial syllable of these forms is to be explained differently. In Iron *uɔdaz* and *widon*, the initial syllable goes regularly back to **uāi-*, whereas D. *wi-* points to borrowing from Iron. For more details and an alternative etymology see *Etym. Index*, s.v. *widon*.

The initial syllable of the remaining forms, i.e. *wy-* / *u-*, can hardly but reflect older **u-*, cf. *wyrd* / *urda* 'otter' (< **udrā-*). See also *Etym. Index* (svv.). The optional appearance of *wy-* / *u-* in I. *wy-disn(y)*, *u-gezna*, *u-gezta* points to secondary origin. The variants with *wy* / *u* suggest influence from *wylyng* / *uling* 'a certain measure of length, ca. 18 cm', which often occurs in combination with *wy-dis(ny)*. The regular forms were therefore *disny* / *izesta*.

3.3.1a. NOMINAL FORMS

The forms below must derive from Proto-Ossetic forms with initial **i-*, although not all of them have a clear etymology.

- *dard* / *idard* 'far' < **i-tṛta-*; OP *vi-tar-* 'to cross over', etc.
- *dawæg* / *idawæg* 'divinity' < **i-dāya-ka-* (or ? **i-tāya-ka-*); cf. Av. *dauu-* 'to remove, chase'. The early Ossetic / Alanic borrowings in Finno-Ugric (OZyry. *idīg*, *ideg* 'arch-angel', *idōgas* 'apostle') and Caucasian (Lak *idaws*, Darg. *idbag* 'prophete') ensure a preform with initial **i-*.
- *dewccag* / *idawccag* 'questionable' < **i-dāya-* (possibly **i-dāyaθiāka-*); cf. Oss. (D.) *idawun* 'to question', Av. *vi-dauu-* 'to talk to and fro', MP *dawidan*, *dawistan*, *daw-* 'to speak [daēvi]' (< Av. ?). This form is deverbal in origin, derived from (D. only) *idawun*.
- *zag* / *izag* 'full' < ? **i-čāka-*; cf. Khz. *c'k* 'full'.
- *gom* / *igon* 'open, naked' < ? **i-kāma-*; cf. Oss. *kom* 'mouth', NP *kām* 'palate, snout'.
- *naj* / *inajæ* 'threshing' < ? **i-snāiā-*; ? cf. Oss. *afsnajyn* / *afsnajun* 'to clean; to harvest', LAv. *snā-*, 'to wash', etc.
- *ong*, *wəng* / *iwong* 'bodyparts; member of an organisation, party or group' < **i-uānka-*; Sogd. *yw'nk* 'joint'. The D. form may have influenced (i)onæ 'shoulder blade', of which initial *i-* is optional.
- *qal* / *iḡal* 'awaking' < **i-gārab-*; Sogd. *wyr't* 'awaking', *wyrr's-* 'to wake up', Pth. *vi-garās-* 'to sleep through'. The derivative *qalʒæg* / *iḡelʒæg* 'merry, cheerful' is also attested.
- *rox* / *ironx* 'forgotten', [D.] 'forgetting' < ?
- *səvn* / *isəvna* 'width' < ? **i-sāpanā-* (v. *Etym. Index*, q.v.).
- *som* / *ison* 'tomorrow' < **i-səwem* (Ab.); cf. Oss. *səw-* 'morning'. From the prefixed forms *rajsom* '(in) the morning', *somrajsom* 'tomorrow morning' it follows that I. form *som* must have had initial **i-*.
- *wənyg* / *iwonyg*, *iwonyg* 'young bull' < **i-uānam* + **-ka-*; Av. *yanuan-*, *yuan-* 'young man', Khz. *jw'nyk* 'young (man)', Khot. *jwā* 'young', NP *javānak* 'young man'.
- *xæs* / *ixæs* 'debt; obligation' < **i-kaśna-*; cf. Oss. *xæsn* / *xæsnæ* 'id.', *xæsyn* / *xæssun*, *xærsun* 'to carry', Av. *karš-* 'to draw', etc.
- *zæd* / *izæd* (pre-Chr.) 'divinity', (Chr.) 'angel' < **i-azata-*; LAv. *yazata-* (m.) 'god, divine being'.

Initial POss. **i-* in *wənyg* is one of the rare cases which are not derived from **i-*. The sequence **iūu-* has apparently yielded POss. **iw-*, which might reflect a particular treatment

of the vowel **ū-* developed to **i* after **i*, which subsequently became POss. **i*, cf. *mix* / *mex* 'stake' < **maiūxa-* (*Syncope*, § 2.2.3).

In the following forms it cannot be excluded that *i-* is an innovation of Digoron, going back to the definite article:

- *tar* / *itara* 'breast, bosom, flap of fur on breast' < ? **i* + **tāra-*; cf. Khot. *tāra-*, Sogd. *t'r* 'forehead', NP *tār* 'top'.
- *wazæg* / *iwazæg* 'guest' < **i-ūāza-ka-*; cf. Skt. *vivāhā-* 'leading away, taking a wife in marriage', *vi-vah-* 'to carry off, remove'. Initial *i-* in the D. form is possibly secondary, as *i-* in the derivational formations, seems to be optional: (i)*wazæggdonæ* (I. *wazæggdon*) 'guest chamber', *wazæggada* 'guesthood'.
- *zæly* / *izælu* 'silk, of silk; silk scarf' < ?; ? cf. Pš. *sālū* 'silk veil'.

3.3.1a.i. exceptions

Iron aphaeresis did not apply to several forms.

- *idaʒ* 'widow(ed)' < **i-dāya-č-*; LAv. *vidauua-*, Skt. *vidhāva-* 'widow', etc.
- *igær* 'liver' < PIr. **iakar*; LAv. *yākara* (n.), Skt. *yākert* 'liver', etc.
- *ivar* 'prohibition, punishment' < **i-bāra-*; Av. *vi-bar-* 'to carry away, divide'.
- *ivaz(n)* / *ivaz(n)æ* 'fathom' < **i-bāzu-nā-*, **bāzanā-*; cf. Oss. *ivazyn* / *ivazun* 'to stretch, extend', Av. *vi-bāzu-*, 'fathom', etc.
- *izær*, (S-I.) *(a)zær* / *izær* 'evening' < **uzāiara-*; LAv. *uzāiara-* 'afternoon', etc.

We shall return to these forms, below.

3.3.1b. VERBS

The Iron verbs with deleted POss. **i-* were originally prefixed with **i-*, Av. *vi-*, Skt. *vi-*, etc. The former presence of POss. **i-* in the Iron forms can be inferred from the prefixing in Iron.

- *gærdyn* / *igærdun* 'to cut up' < **i-karta-*; LAv. *karat-* 'to cut', etc. The common prefixed derivatives of *gærdyn* are *a-igærdyn* and *ba-igærdyn*, which point to the presence of **i-* in the Iron form.
- *gæryyn*: *gærd* / *igurun*: *igurd* 'to be born, exist' < **i-kur-*; Sogd. *wk'ur* 'family', cf. MP *kurrag* 'foal, colt'. The Oss. verb has no further verbal correspondences in (Indo-)Iranian, but the synchronic prefixation points to **i-* in POss.: *ra-igærdyn* (= D. *ra-igurdun*). Derived from this verb is *gæryz* / *iguryzæ* 'germ, embryo'.
- *mysyn*: *myst* / *imisin*: *imist* 1. 'to consider, bear in mind; to conceive, invent; 2. to recall; 3. to long for' < (inch.) **i-misa-* 'to create a mental picture' (Gershevitch 1952: 486). In Iron, there is also the prefixed form *ar-mysyn* (= D. *ar-imisin*).
- *qusyn*: *qəst* / *iḡosun*: *iḡust* 'to hear, listen' < **i-gauša-*; cf. Av. *gaos-* 'to hear', Sogd. *ny'ws* 'id.', etc. The common prefixed derivative verbs of *qusyn* are *ba-jqusyn* and *fequsyn* (*fe* < **fa-*).
- *rajin*: *rad* / *irajun*: *irad* 1. 'to enjoy, be satisfied'; 2. [D.] 'to boil' < ? **i-rāia-*; cf. Oss. *rajin* / *rajun* 'to bark'. The common prefixed derivative verb of *rajin* / *rajun* is *ba-jrajin* / *ba-jrajun*.

- *račyn*: *račt* / *irəčyn*: *irəčt* ‘to grow, gain in length, increase, develop, to be arranged’ < **mi-rač-a*; Khot. *biray-s* ‘to extend, spread’, Pth. *wyr’z* ‘parfaire, arranger’, etc. The common prefixed derivative of *račyn* is *ba-jračyn*.
- *safyn*: *səft* / *isafun*: *isəft* (1. ‘to loose’, 2. ‘to ruin; to destroy; nullify; to expel’, ‘to spoil, pollute’ < (caus.) **mi-šapa(ia)* lit. ‘not to sustain’ (A.L.); cf. Av. *hap-, haf-* ‘to safeguard’.
- *safyn*: *səft* / *isafun*: *isəft* (1. ‘to be lost, disappear, to perish’ < **mi-šafa*; cf. Oss. *safyn*, q.v. The common prefixed derivatives of *safyn* are *arba-šasyn* and *šasyn*.
- *sardyn*: *sərst* / *isardun*: *isərst* ‘to smear, grease’ < **mi-sarda*; cf. Khot. **ā-sal-*, **pa-sal-* ‘to besmear’ (**sard-*, SGS: 12, 78), *anasalaka-* ‘mark by smearing’ (< **apa-sard*), DKS: 380a).
- *sar(d)yn*: *sərst* / *isar(d)un*: *isərd* (1. ‘to harden; to weld’ < **mi-sar(d)a*; Pth. *wys’r-* (**mi-saraia-*), Sogd. (Man.) **psy-* ‘to cool (off)’. The common prefixed derivative of *sar(d)yn* is *ba-šar(d)yn*. The optional dental *d* possibly points to influence of the past participle.
- *sysyn*: *syst* / *isusun*: *isust* ‘to evaporate, dry, run dry’ < **mi-suš(i)a*; Skt. *vi-śusyati* ‘dries up, withers away’. Common prefixed derivatives of *sysyn* are *ar-yysyn* and *ba-jysyn*.
- *tawyn*: *tyd* / *itawun*: *itud* 1. ‘to sow; to strew, scatter’; 2. ‘to spread’ < *? The common prefixed derivatives of *tawyn* are *ar-ylawyn*, *ba-jlawyn* and *ra-jlawyn*.
- *tyngyn*: *tygd* / *itynzun*: *itigd* ‘to spread out, stretch out; to open widely’ < **mi-θanja-*; cf. Oss. *itynzyn* ‘to put a horse’, Av. *θanj-*, ‘to pull’, etc. The common prefixed derivatives of *tyngyn* are *a-jtyngyn*, *ar-jtyngyn* and *ba-jtyngyn*.
- *waryn*: *wərst* / *ivarun*: *iurst* ‘to divide, distribute’ < **mi-wāra-*; Sogd. *yw’r* ‘separation’. The common prefixed derivative of *waryn* is *ba-jwaryn*.
- *xalyn*: *xəld* / *ixalun*: *ixəld* 1. ‘to spoil, ruin, disarrange, disturb’, 2. ‘to untangle’ < *? **mi-xāraja-*; cf. Sogd. (Bud.) *x’r-* ‘to go, pass’, Khz. *x’r-* ‘to pass by, cross over’. The common prefixed derivatives of *xalyn* are *a-jxalyn*, *šexalyn*, *ra-jxalyn* and *s-jxalyn*.
- *zəqyn* / *izəqun*: *izəq* ‘to remain’ < **mi-zāja-*; Sogd. (Chr.) *wz’y* (in *pyš wz’y* ‘heirloom’), Pth. *wyz’y-* ‘to diminish, harm’. The common prefixed derivatives of *zəqyn* are *ar-zəqyn*, *ar-yzəqyn* and *ba-zəqyn*. Geminated *zž* is assimilated from *jž*: the sequence *Vjž* does not exist in Ossetic.

The presence of **i-* in Iron is uncertain in the verb:

- *zəryčyn* / *izəryčun* (*isəryčun*): *izəryčt* (*isəryčt*) ‘to entertain, to be entertained, to amuse, to be amused’, ‘to caress’ < ? Mong. *ziryā* ‘to be joyful, rejoice, enjoy, be happy’. The use of this verb in Iron is rare, there are no prefixed correspondences.

3.3.1b.i. exceptions

There are only three verbs which apparently do not show aphaeresis in Iron.

- *iwajyn*: *iwad* / *iwajun*: *iwad* ‘to pale, wither; to dawn’ < **mi-bāja-*; LAv. *mi-ā-uuant-* ‘shining’, Skt. *vi-bhā-* ‘to radiate’.
- *iwazyn*: *iwəčt* / *iwazun*: *iwəčt* ‘to stretch, extend’ < denomin. **mi-bāzu-(ia-)*; Av. *vi-bāzu-* (m.) ‘fathom’, Sogd. *wβ’z* ‘id.’.
- *inylyn*: *inyld* / *inulun*: *inuld* ‘to overflow’ < ?

3.3.1c. EVALUATION

The regular Ossetic reflex of old **mi-* is clearly I. *ə-*, D. *i-*, which is supported by numerous forms. Also **iu-* has yielded I. *ə-*, D. *i-*, which is found in only one form though. Ambiguous is **i-* from **ia-*, which shows both deletion and retention in Iron. The exceptional cases therefore need to be explained.

On purely theoretical grounds we might consider the exceptional forms as borrowings from Digoron, but the usual direction of borrowing is from Iron to Digoron, rather than the other way round.

A significant number of forms of 3.3.1a.i. and 3.3.1b.i. share the same initial *iv-*: *iwajyn*, *ivar*, *iwaz(n)*, *iwazyn* and *inylyn*. This can hardly be mere coincidence. We are most likely dealing with a regular (phonological) development. Apparently, in the position before *v* initial Oss. **i* has become I. *i*, which merged with Iron “strong” *i* (from older **ai*, D. *e-*): “strong” *i* tends to attract stress, cf. *Accent*, § 5.2. ff. Initial stress should then have prevented deletion of the initial vowel. It is important to note that in Iron the verbs *iwajyn*, *iwazyn*, *inylyn* (cf. ORNS, svv.) are accented on the first syllable, which was probably also the case with the nominal forms originally.

Initial stressing of *idəz* (3.3.1a.i.) may have prevented the loss of initial **i-*, too. The form *idəz* is used almost exclusively in adjectival sense⁴⁴, qualifying ‘woman’ or ‘man’: *idəz us* ‘widow’, *idəz lag* ‘widower’, *Kəcykək idəz barzad* ‘K. remained widow(ed)’. As a rule, the modifier in a nominal phrase is in definite position, which can be inferred from the place of the accent: e.g. *ləppuy kinyg* ‘children’s book’ (lit. ‘book for the boy(s)’, cf. indef. *ləppu* ‘boy’).⁴⁵ This was probably also the case with *idəz*: **i-idəz(y) us* (*lag*). In such a construction *idəz* has always initial stress in Iron. For more details on Ossetic stressing see *Accent*, § 5.2. ff.

The initial vowel *i-* of *igər* reflects older **ia-*. Other attested cases of **ia-* are the (D.) definite article *i*, *zəd* / *izəd* and *jəw* ‘barley’ (**iaja-*). Evidently, we can conclude from *jəw* that the “contraction” of **ia-* > **i* has not affected POss. monosyllabic forms. The preservation of contracted *i* in I. *igər* can hardly be but regular, whereas the absence of *i-* in *zəd* can be explained. It may reflect influence from *dawəg* (D. *idawəg*) ‘divinity, numen; (Chr.) saint’, which is often mentioned together with *zəd*, cf. Gershevitch (1955: 131-132). Alternatively, it is not impossible that we are dealing with a borrowing from Persian (Hübschmann, *Oss.*: 125), which is rejected by Abaev⁴⁶.

⁴⁴ The adjectival meaning is still discernable in the Hungarian borrowing: the Hungarian expression for ‘widow’ is *özvegy asszony* = Oss. *idəz axsin* ‘widowed lady’. The adjectival use of *idəz* continues the Ilr. situation, cf. Avestan *vidauuā- in vadu vidauua* ‘Witfrau’, Skt. *vidhāvā-*, etc. (Beekes 1992: 77-78). The translation given by Abaev for *idəz* (‘widow’) is therefore somewhat inadequate: it should rather be ‘widow(ed)’.

⁴⁵ This usually presupposes the former presence of the definite article **i*, which is preserved in Digoron (*i*).

⁴⁶ The argument which Abaev puts forward to reject borrowing, viz. that already from the Sarmatian period the personal names *Ιαζαδαρος*, *Ιεζδαρος* have been attested, is not compelling: the interpretation of the Sarmatian personal names is notoriously difficult. Even if we admit the possibility that the names *Ιαζαδαρος*,

Finally, initial *i-* in *izær* is a special case. According to Bailey (1948: 330), the initial vowel of both dialect forms indicates "the result of some umlaut (*izær* < **uzjar*-)". The most probable scenario to arrive at this result is as follows: **uzjara*- > apocope and syncope **uzjar*- > *i*-epenthesis (POss.) **ujzær*. After syncope, **i* came into contact with *z*, which gave rise to epenthetic *j*, cf. archaic D. *ağajzæg* (I. *aqazæg*) 'excellent' (*aqaz* / *ağaz* 'help' + *æg*, *i*-Epenthesis, § 4.7.3). The secondary diphthong **uj* which thus arose regularly yielded Iron *i*, cf. *xudinag* / *xodujnag* 'disgrace' (*xudyn* / *xodun* 'to laugh' + *æg*, *i*-Epenthesis, § 4.7.3). The Digoron result *i-* is surprising, as we rather expect *uj-*: perhaps, the result *i-* is regular in initial position only. Initial *a-* of the South Iron form (*a*)*zær* probably originates from the near-synonym *axsæw* 'night'.

3.3.2. *a-*

There are only four known cases where the Iron forms do not have initial *a-*, which is present in the corresponding D. forms.

3.3.2a. EVIDENCE

– *dojny* / *adonug*, [OJaF: 572; Gershevitch 1955: 488, fn. 1] *donug* 'thirst' < **a-dānu-ka* (Abaev, see below).

– *dyson* / *adosæ* 'yesterday night, yesterday evening' < **danšā*; LAV. *daoša*- (in *daoša(s)tara*- 'occidental'), Skt. *daśā*- (f.) 'darkness, evening'. Vowel *y-* in I. *dyson* is unusual, see *Etyfym. Index* (s.v.).

– *wazyg* / *awazyg* 'falling unconscious; unconscious' < **a-waz-yg* (Abaev, see below); cf. Oss. *wac* 1. 'tidings, news', 2. (myth.) 'divinity, divine'.

– *zynon* (ELO: 109) *zynon* / *axžina* 'yesterday' < **žinā*; NP *dina*, Tal. *žina* 'yesterday', etc.

3.3.2b. EVALUATION

Syllable *aC* does not show aphaeresis in the great majority of Iron forms. Therefore, we do not have compelling reasons to assume aphaeresis for the Iron instances above. On the contrary, the appearance of initial *a-* in the Digoron correspondences may not be old at all.

The D. form *adosæ* clearly contains Plr. **danšā*. According to Benveniste (l.c.: 109), the initial "prefixation" of *a-* in D. *adosæ* reflects an old procedure, similar to LAV. *a-xšafni* (Lsg.) 'vers le soir' (*xšapan*- f. 'night'), *a-sūiri* (Lsg.) 'vers le matin' (*sūiriia*- 'breakfast'). This should also explain the initial *a** of (D.) *axžina*. No traces of the employment of *a** can be found in Iron (or **a-* in other Iranian languages), however. Moreover, the procedure is illusory, since LAV. *a-* is rather the preposition *ā* with vowel shortening, cf. Humbach (1959 I: 18, fn. 9).⁴⁷ The origin of *a-* in the Digoron forms is probably to be sought in the semantically related form (D.) *axsæwæ* 'night'. The spread of prothetic *a-* in *axsæwæ* is not restricted to *adosæ*, but can also be found in the antonymous expression (D.) *adæbonæ* 'by

ἡ ἐξ ὅτι οἱ ὁσσεῖς ἀρκεῖται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Περσικοῦ λέξεως *izæd* / *izæd* ἀπὸ τοῦ Περσικοῦ.

⁴⁷ Similar use of **ā* is apparently also found in Š. *axžib* 'the day before yesterday' (EVS: 17a).

day' (*ad* 'with', *bon* 'day') as in *adæxsæwæ adæbonæ* 'night and day' (= I. *axsæwæj bonæj*). From *adosæ* this *a-* has again spread to the semantically related *axžina*.

The Iron form *dojny* is peculiar and does not formally agree with D. *adonug*. The Digoron form *adonug* does not appear to be very archaic, since D. *adonug* is morphologically comparable to the recent and transparent formation *agomug* 'dumb, mute' (lit. 'without a mouth'). Besides, also *donug* is apparently attested in Digoron (cf. OJaF: 472, nr. 79), which would further support the secondary origin of *a-* (folk etymology?). If *dojny* is indeed connected to *don* 'water', the form possibly reflects an old abstract formation in **-jā*. **dānu-jā*-. The suff. **-jā*- can be added to form denominative verbs, often expressing desire: e.g. LAV. *ajhuitā*- 'to deserve the (other) life for oneself (*ahū*- 'life-force'), Skt. *rayi-yā*- 'to desire wealth' (*rayi*-). The productive formations to this denominative type are an adjective in *-u* and an abstract noun in *-ā*: *ajhuitū*- 'who is deserving the (other) life' (adj.), *ajhuitā*- (f.) 'merit of the (other) life', cf. Kellens (1984: 130). *Dojny* might originally mean *'longing, desire for water'. Final *-y* then reflects a case ending, probably locative.

The supposed deletion of negative *a-* in I. *wazyg*, as opposed to D. *awazyg*, is anomalous, which Benveniste (ELO: 135) has already pointed out. The question naturally arises whether initial *a** of the D. form is indeed genuine. The more usual Digoron rendering of I. *wazyg* is *nal(w)ag*, cf. OJaF: 158, 492. Neither Miller (ORNS: s.v.) nor Abaev cites the context of *awazyg*. It is possible that *awazyg* is a ghostword. Even if *awazyg* does exist in Digoron, the supposedly original meaning 'speechless' would not explain the contemporary meaning, as remarked by Benveniste, l.c. The alternative interpretation given by Gershevitch, viz. 'without spirit', is problematic. None of the derivatives of *wac*, *waz* refers specifically to the *human* (intracorporeal) spirit, not even in metaphorical sense, but always to a "supernatural personality", which Gershevitch (l.c.: 487) himself admitted, e.g. *Wac Nikkola* 'Saint Nicholas'. *Wac*(-) can also indicate a supernatural feature, e.g. *Wacamonga*, which refers to a magical cup of the Narts (lit. 'divine admonisher'). A more logical and easier interpretation of *wazyg* would be *'being under a spell [= divine or magic word]', i.e. *unconsciousness*. Postulating negative *a-* at a previous stage is therefore superfluous. Rather, initial D. *a-* of *awazyg* might be ascribed to re-interpretation (after *agomug*).

3.4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We should distinguish two types of aphaeresis in Ossetic, viz.

- the older, Common-Ossetic aphaeresis, which has affected adverbs and pre-positions and one pronoun.
- the recent Iron aphaeresis of initial *i-*.

3.4.1. Common-Ossetic aphaeresis

On the basis of our findings we can state that Common Ossetic aphaeresis did not apply to nominal and verbal forms, but only to:

- the adverbs *wa*, *wæd* (**ayadā*), *wædæ* (**ayadā*), *wærtæ* (**ayadrā*);
- the prepositions or prefixes *dæl*- (**adari*) and *wæl*- (**ayari*);
- the pronoun *max* (**ahmāxum*) [already East Iranian?].

The development took place anterior to apocope and syncope. Deletion of initial vowel in these words may be explained by their enclitic usage.

3.4.2. Iron aphaeresis

In Iron, only Oss. **i-* from Plr. **yi-* can be shown to be deleted beyond any doubt. The exceptional retention of Oss. **i-* from **yi-* may have the following causes:

- merger with “strong” *i* (< **ai*) in the position before *v*, in *ivar* (**yi-bāra-*), *ivaz(n)* (**yi-bāz-a / uā-*), *ivajyn* (< **yi-bāja-*), *ivazyn* (**yi-bāz-a*) and ? *vylyn* (**yi-?*);
- initial stress, in *idaz* (**yi-daṣā-*).

Oss. **i-* < Plr. **ju-* is also deleted in Iron, which is supported by a single case, viz. *wanyg* / *iwonug*, though. On the other hand, Plr. **ja-* is probably regularly retained in Iron, which is supported by *igər*. The initial vowel *i-* in *izər* reflects **u-* affected by *i*-epenthesis, which has consequently prevented aphaeresis.

There is no evidence for aphaeresis of other vowels. All cases where Digoron has initial *æ-*, absent in Iron, are of secondary origin.

4. I-EPENTHESIS AND PALATALIZATION

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The front vowel **i* (< Plr. **i*, **i*) and its consonantal counterpart **j* could affect the preceding vowel or consonant. An *i* was inserted, which gave rise to secondary diphthongs (*aj*, *oj*, *ij*, etc.), or the consonant became palatalized. The insertion of *i*, known as *i*-epenthesis, is found in, for instance, *mid-* / *med-* ‘in, inside, internal’ (< **madi-*), *zərīn* / *zərīna* ‘gold(en)’ (< **zaranja-*), *gajlag* ‘calf’ (*gal* ‘cow’) and *afsaɣnag* ‘of iron’ (obsolete *afsaen* ‘iron’). Palatalization applies to consonants like **r* (> **r'* > *ʁ*) and **t* (> **t'*, **d'* > *ɕ*, *ʒ*), e.g. *kalm* ‘worm’ (< **kəmt-*), *cyrɕ* / *cirɕ* ‘sharp’ (< **tigra-*), *yssəz* ‘twenty’ (< **yinsati-*). Palatalization in these cases is normally not accompanied by *i*-epenthesis. Evidently, the development of palatalization cannot be separated from *i*-epenthesis, which is the reason why they are treated together here.

Some aspects of epenthesis and palatalization were noted by Miller (OĖ II: 61; *Gr.* § 4, § 9, Anm., § 12.5), Hübschmann (Oss.: 86, 108-109), and, more recently, by Abaev (*Slavar: passim*), Benveniste (ELO: 8 ff.) and Bielmeier (1979: 42, 302, n. 201-202). A comprehensive treatment of epenthesis or palatalization in Ossetic, however, has never been attempted.

4.1.1. Conditions

Theoretically, *i*-epenthesis and palatalization may depend on several factors. We can think of the accent or the nature of the adjacent consonants. *i*-Epenthesis conditioned by the accent is a well-known development in Sogdian, where the *i*-epenthesis (and palatalization) applies to stressed syllables only. *i*-Epenthesis determined by the consonantal environment can be observed in (Late) Avestan, the developments of which are conveniently summarized by Hoffmann-Forssman (1996: 52-54, §20). It is even possible that *i*-epenthesis depends on both factors combined, which Hitch (1992) assumed for Khotanese, although the evidence is rather meagre (p. 191). In Ossetic, it turns out that only the nature of the consonants was of influence on *i*-epenthesis. There are no indications for the possible involvement of the accent. On the contrary, the relatively numerous instances with **ɕ* (from palatalized **tʃ*), *l* (from palatalized **rʃ*) and *n* (followed by **i*, **j*) that are not accompanied by other consonants (which might otherwise distort the outcome) hardly favour involvement of accent: instances with **tʃ* > **ɕ* or **rʃ* > *l* never show *i*-epenthesis, while instances with **n* always show *i*-epenthesis.

For palatalization the situation is less complicated. We have unambiguous evidence that only certain consonants are susceptible to palatalization.

4.1.2. Selection of the material

We have to distinguish two layers of *i*-epenthesis, which can be inferred from the treatment of **a* with epenthetic *i*. At one stage, **a* with epenthetic *i* merged with old **ai*, which was regularly monophthongized to POss. **e* (> I. *i*, D. *e*), while at a more recent stage, **a* with epenthetic *i* remained diphthongal in Ossetic, cf. *ingəjyn* (**abi-gu-*), *midəz* (**madi-ka-*), *zərīn*

(**zarania*-) vs. *afsaġnag* (*afsaġn* + *-iag*), D. *cuppæraġmag* (*cypparæm* / **cuppæraem* + *-iag*). I call the older layer *Early i-Epenthesis* and the more recent one *Late i-Epenthesis*.

For the investigation I primarily rely on etymologically clear forms (cf. *Introduction*, § 0.5.2). With regard to the Late *i-Epenthesis*, I include borrowings as well.

4.1.3. *Presentation of the material*

There are three main points which we have to reckon with. Firstly, *i*-epenthesis and palatalization can be conditioned by a vowel which was deleted through syncope or apocope. Secondly, the effect of the vowel **i* on the preceding consonant(s) or vowel might be different from that of **i*. Thirdly, the outcome can be further complicated by the treatment of the often awkward consonant clusters which arose after syncope. I have decided to arrange the forms according to the *original* consonant cluster and vowel⁴⁸:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 4.2. forms with * <i>V</i> <i>C</i> <i>i</i> | 4.5. forms with * <i>V</i> <i>C</i> <i>C</i> <i>i</i> |
| 4.3. forms with * <i>V</i> <i>C</i> <i>C</i> <i>i</i> | 4.6. forms with syncopated * <i>V</i> (<i>C</i>) <i>C</i> <i>i</i> <i>C</i> (<i>C</i>) |
| 4.4. forms with * <i>V</i> <i>C</i> <i>i</i> | 4.7. forms with syncopated * <i>C</i> (<i>C</i>) <i>C</i> <i>V</i> <i>i</i> |

As the early merger of PIr. short **i* and long **i* has not influenced the outcome in any way, I use plain *i*, without specification of length in this chapter.

4.2. FORMS WITH **V**C**i*

As a rule, **i* in final position was apocopated. In some cases a secondary *-æ* has appeared in Digoron, see *Apocope*, § 1.6.1.

4.2.1. **V**t**i*

- *afæz* / *afæj* 'year' < **afati-* (Gershevitch 1967²: 173).
- *æstaj* 'eighty' < PIr. **aštāti-*; LAv. (f.) *aštāti-*, etc.
- *avdaj* 'seventy' < PIr. **haštāti-*; Av. *haptāti-*, Sogd. *ʾft*, MP *haštād*, etc.
- *kəz* / *kəj* 'dog' < (f.) **kuti-* (Sims-Williams 1979: 344).
- *nawæz* / *nawæzæ* 'ninety' < **naḡati-*; Av. *naḡaiti-*, etc.
- *ysæz* / *insaj* 'twenty' < **ḡinsati-*; Av. *visati-*, Skt. *vimśati-* (f.) 'twenty', etc.

Palatalization of postvocalic **t* gave rise to the new affricate **ʒ*. This took place at an early stage, evidently before the onset of apocope. The affricate has become regularly I. *ʒ*, D. *j* in final position.

The exceptional instances may be explained as follows. The Iron numerals *æstaj* and *avdaj* have an exceptional final *j*, which are probably Digoron loans. Although borrowing from Digoron into Iron rarely takes place, the direction of borrowing being normally the opposite, in this case the direction of borrowing was determined by external influences⁴⁹.

⁴⁸ Evidently, *V* cannot be **i* or **ai*.

⁴⁹ The system of counting used to be predominantly vigesimal in Iron, the decimal system being chiefly used to count sheep in rural areas. In the Iron vigesimal system the decades higher than twenty are: *dæz æmæ* 'ssæz

The numerals *æstaj* and *avdaj* have also influenced the preceding decades *fænzaj* 'fifty' and *æxsaj* 'sixty'. For the numeral *nawæz* / *nawæzæ* 'ninety', the Digoron form has retained affricate *-ʒ* due to the presence of final *-æ* (see *Syncope*, § 2.2.3).

The treatment of the new **ʒ* differs from old **ʒ*, which has yielded *ʒ* in both dialects.⁵⁰

4.2.2. **V**r**i*

Liquid **r* has become *l* in front of **i*, **i*, presumably through palatalized **r*. In final position, **-ah* (notably the Nsg. m. ending) became pre-Oss. **i*, which merged with old PIr. **i*. The development can be inferred from the development of preceding **r* > *l*, cf. *Apocope*, § 1.2.3b.

i. Several certain instances can be mentioned.

- plural formant *-æl-* (in kinship terms: *fjd-æl-tæ*, *mad-æl-tæ*, et al.) < PIr. **arab*.
- *bal* 'group, party, detachment, gang' < PIr. **bārab*; Skt. *bhārā-* (m.) 'burden, load; a large quantity, mass, bulk', NP *bār* 'burden, load; assembly, audience'.
- *-yl* / *-bæl-* (adess.) 'on, upon, through, by, for' < PIr. **upari*; Av. *upairi*, OP *upariy* 'up, over', etc. For final *-æ* of the D. form v. *Apocope*, § 1.4.3.
- *dæl-* 'below, under' < PIr. **adari*; LAv. *adairi* (prep.) 'down below'.
- *qal* / *igal* 'awake' < PIr. **ḡi-gārah*; cf. Khz. *ḡryk* 'awake, awakening' (Benzing: 285), Sogd. (Chr.) *ḡry* 'guardian, watcher' (**ḡāra-ka-*).
- *xoly* / *xwaly* 'corps, cadaver, carrion' < **ḡuār-tā-*; cf. Khz. *xw'r* (m.) 'meat'.

ii. There are two forms with uncertain etymology.

- *dahys* / *dahis* 'one year-old lamb' < ? Svan.
- *xyl* / *xilæ* 'quarrel, discord, strife, fight' < ? Arab-Persian.

4.2.3. **r**m**i*

i. One certain case of this sequence is attested, showing no *i*-epenthesis.

'30' (i.e. 10 + 20), *dywui* 'ssæz' '40' (i.e. 2 x 20), *dæz æmæ dywui* 'ssæz' '50' (i.e. 10 + 2 x 20), *ærti* 'ssæz' '60' (i.e. 3 x 20), etc. In 1925 the decimal system was introduced in education and literature, cf. Axvlediani (1963: 145 f.), Bagaev (1965: 211 f.). The decimal system was already in common practice in the Digoron-speaking districts. Due to the scholarly efforts of Russian researchers, the Digoron decimal system was introduced in Ossetic (standard) grammars and literary writings. The decimal usage among shepherds, on the other hand, rather reflects intensive contacts with the neighbouring Digoron-speakers, who, in general, are less urbanized. The switch to the decimal system has also given rise to the curious neologism *dywui* / *duwin* 'twenty' (after *ærtyn* / *artin* '30'), which is not commented on by Abaev.

⁵⁰ The different treatment of the old and new affricates, which was hinted at by Miller (*Gr.*: 29, § 29.3) long ago, is not acknowledged by Abaev, who most often derives both *-ʒ* / *-ʒ* and *-ʒ* / *j* from **-ti* in his *Dictionary*, e.g. *idæz* 'widow(ed)' (Ab.: < **hidānā-ti-*), *kynz* / *kinzæ* 'bride' (Abaev: < **kanti-*), *tolz* / *tolzæ* 'oak' (Abaev: < **taur(a)ti-*). Affricate *ʒ* in these forms rather reflect older **ʒ* (< PIr. **ʒ*, see *Appendix*, § A § 1).

– *kalm* ‘snake; worm’ < **karmi*- < Plr. **kpmi*-; Sogd. (Man.) *kyrm*- ‘snake’, Skt. *kṛmi*- ‘worm, maggot’.

ii. Etymologically obscure are two forms which might contain a sequence **rmi*.

– *talm* (I.) ‘elm’ < ? OP *ṭarmi*- ‘cypress’ (Ab.).

– *zalm* (in *zalmi syf* / *zalmi sijæ*) ‘burdock, arctium tomentosum/lappa’ < ? **zarmi*- (Ab.).

4.2.4. Summary

SEGMENT BEHAVIOUR **V*C*i*

PIr.		Oss.	PIr.		Oss.
– * <i>Vti</i>			– * <i>ārah</i> > * <i>āri</i>		
* <i>-ati</i>	>	-æʒ / -æj	* <i>-ari</i>	>	-æl
* <i>-āti</i>	>	D. -æj	* <i>-āri</i>	>	-al
* <i>-uti</i>	>	-oʒ / -uj	* <i>-uāri</i>	>	-oly- / -ali-
			– * <i>rmi</i>	>	-alm

The consonants **t* and **r* (including **r*) have been palatalized without giving rise to *i*-epenthesis.

4.3. FORMS WITH **VCCi*

Several consonant combinations are possible, which are found in a very restricted number of instances.

4.3.1. **aθni*

On the assimilation of **θn* > *nn* and subsequent appearance of -æ in D. see *Apocope*, § 1.2.2b.i.

– *arin* / *arijnæ* ‘ell’ < Plr. **arabni*-; Av. *arabni*- (in *frāwābni.drājah*- n. ‘length of an ell’), OP *arašni*-, Skt. *aratni*- (m.) ‘id.’, etc. The outcome *arin* / *arijnæ* is identical to that of *ašsin* / *ašijnæ* (< **abišaiθni*-) and *æssin* / *æssijnæ* (< **æšaiθni*-).

4.3.2. **axti*

Only one certain instance is attested, which does not show *i*-epenthesis nor palatalization.

– *agd* ‘thigh’ < Plr. **baxti*-; Av. *baxti*- ‘thigh, pudenda’, etc.

4.3.3. **asti*

The sequence **sti* is found in three instances, to which Early *i*-Epenthesis applied.

– *fistæg* / *fest(æg)* 1. ‘pedestrian; 2. ‘rolled up [sleeve]’ < Plr. **pasti*- + -æg, OP *pasti*- (m.) ‘foot-soldier’, Skt. *patti*- (m.) ‘pedestrian; foot-soldier’.

– *i(s)* / *es* pres. 3sg. ‘is’ < Plr. **asti*; Av. *asti*, OP *ašij* ‘is’, etc.

– *wydisn(y)*, *disny* / *uzesna*, *uzesta*, *izesta* ‘measure of length, span [c. 22-25 cm]’ < Plr. **uitasti*(-); LAv. *uitasti*- (f.), etc.

4.3.4. **ršti*

i. One certain instance is found.

– *arc* / *aræ* ‘spear’ < **aršti*- < Plr. **ršti*-; Av. *aršti*-, Khot. *hālītā* (pl.), Khz. *ʔr*, Skt. *rṣṭi*- (f.). The preceding vocalic **r* is apparently not affected by **i*.

ii. Another instance is ambiguous.

– *barc* / *baræ* ‘manes’ < **bršti*-; cf. Sogd. *βnš*, Khz. *βš*, MP, NP *buš*, Arm. *barš* (< Ir.) ‘mane’, LAv. *burša*- (m.) ‘mane (?)’, throat, neck (of a horse), etc. The preform has no further Iranian reflexes. The outcome reflected by *barc* is identical to that of *arc*, which would therefore suggest the preform **bršti*- for *barc*.

iii. There is one etymologically uncertain form which might contain the sequence *šti*.

– *færj* / *færri* (postp., Lsg.) ‘thanks to, due to’ < ? **p(a)ršti*-.

4.3.5. **arxi*

– *barx* ‘cushion’ < Plr. **barxiš*-; LAv. *baraxiš*- (n.) ‘cushion’, etc.

4.3.6. **aCri*

Two instances with this sequence are found in Ossetic: final **i* goes back to Plr. (Nsg.m.) **ah*.

– *alg* ‘extremity; tip [of fingers, teeth, tongue]’ < Plr. **agrah*; LAv. *ayra*- ‘first, upper’, Skt. *āgra*- (n.) ‘beginning, top’. For more details of the reconstruction see *Et. Index* (s.v.).

– *calx* ‘wheel’ < Plr. **čaxrah*; LAv. *caxra*- (m.) ‘wheel of carriage’, etc.

Both forms show metathesis of the consonant cluster, cf. *Introduction*, § 0.7.5.14.

4.3.7. Summary and evaluation

The left section of the table below features the epenthetic results. If we take the forms at face value, the consonants before **i* appear to be unaffected. The present-day Ossetic outcome *st* < **sti* is somewhat deceptive, since **t* was fricativized to **ʃ* (cf. *arc* / *aræ*). Evidence for the affricate in older Ossetic is found in the Alanic passage of Tzetzes, who cited -ετζ ‘is’ (= Oss. *i(s)* / *es*). The subsequent simplification of **ʃs* > *st* is similar to *fæsta* ‘after, behind’ (< **pasčā*). In *arc* / *aræ*, in the right section, the affricate has been preserved.

Dental **θ* in *arin* / *arijnæ* was assimilated to following nasal.

The right section of the table features the reflects without *i*-epenthesis. The consonants **ʒ* and *l*, which are the result of palatalization of **t* and **r* respectively, are prominent here. As we have seen in § 4.2, **ʒ* and *l* halted *i*-epenthesis.

SEGMENT BEHAVIOUR *VCCI

PIr.		Oss.	PIr.		Oss.
– *aθni	>	– in / –ijnæ	– *axti	>	– aǵd
– *asti	>	– ist / –est	– *fīti	>	arc / aræ
			– *arzi	>	– aʒ
			– *aCrab (> *aCrn)		
			*agrab	>	alǵ
			*axrab	>	– aʒ

In two instances, the palatalizing effect of the vowel *i is less obvious. The form *baʒ* possibly did contain */ from palatalized *rⁱ, which was lost at a previous stage.⁵¹ The final consonant of the form *aǵd* seems to be unaffected by *i. The most probable pre-Ossetic outcome of PIr. *haxti is *ayd (on voicing of *ft > EIr. *ʃd v. *Introduction*, § 0.7.4.7.iii). Final -d might in fact be the result of simplification of affricate *ʒ, arisen before *i: the simplification may have taken place after *ʒ had halted i-epenthesis.

In *arc*, old *r has evidently not been palatalized: the original *f has blocked the palatal effect of *i, presumably by absorption.

4.4. FORMS WITH *VCi

4.4.1. *aui

i. One clear case can be mentioned, showing i-epenthesis.

– *nūwɪn*: *nūwd* / *nūwun*: *nūwd* ‘to cry’ < **nay-ia*; NP *navidan*⁵² ‘to complain’ (< **nay-ia*), Š. *nāv*: *nūwd* ‘to weep’, etc.

ii. Another form for which Abaev reconstructs a proto-form with the sequence *ui may have a different etymology, on which see the *Etymological Index* (q.v.).

– *ændewun*: *ændiwd* D. ‘to dare, to be bold’ < ? **ham-daŋia* (Abaev: **ham-tay-ia*).

4.4.2. *ami

i. There is one clear case without i-epenthesis.

– *saman* ‘axis’ < **samja-na*; Av. *‘sami* ‘peg, pin’, Skt. *śamyā* ‘id.’.

ii. There is one instance which Abaev considers to have undergone i-epenthesis, but the etymology is doubtful.

– *simyn*: *simd* / *semun*: *sind* ‘to perform an ancient round dance’ < ?, cf *Etym. Index* (s.v.).

⁵¹ Non-palatalized *r is preserved before ʒ cf. *baʒ* / *baʒʒ* ‘birch’ (< **baʒʒa*).

⁵² Other Persian formations with the root **nay* are: *nōyidan* ‘to cry aloud, lament’ (< **naya-ia*), *nāvidan* ‘id., to complain’ (< caus. **nayāia*).

4.4.3. *adi

Evidently, voiced dental (PIr.) *d was not palatalized, but i-epenthesis took place instead. Only one form with sequence *di is found.

– *mid* / *med* [first part of compound] ‘in, inside, internal’ < PIr. **maɖia*; LAv. *maɖiia*, Skt. *mādhya* ‘middle’.

4.4.4. *aθi

i. i-epenthesis did not apply to three forms.

– *ææʒ* ‘truth, true’ < **haθia-ka*; cf. Av. *haiθiia*, OP *haθiya* ‘true’.

– *ʃalmacyn* / *ʃalmacun* ‘to get tired; to feel something as a burden; to pine; to worry’ < **pari-maθia*; cf. Oss. *macyn* (infra).

– *macyn* / *macun* ‘to wallow in a liquid’ < (pass.) **maθia* (Weber 1993: 105–106); Oss. *ʒʒmāntyn* / (*a*)*ʒmāntun* ‘to mix, to stir’, Skt. *math-*, (pass.) *mathyāte* ‘is stirred’.

ii. One form with sequence *θi seems to show i-epenthesis.

– *xi*, obl. *xic-* / *xe*, obl. *xec-* 1. ‘himself, etc.’, 2. ‘own’ < PIr. **hūa*, **hūaθia*; GAv. *x^aa*, *x^aaθiia* ‘own, personal’, *x^aaθ* only in deriv. *‘suus, proprius’*, etc.

Derived from the obl. stem *xic-* / *xec-* are for instance: *xicaw* / *xecaw* ‘owner, lord, chief’, *xican* / *xecan* ‘separate’, etc.

Dental θ has been palatalized to c: the outcome is similar to that of *t. For the sequence *aθi, we find two reflexes. The Ossetic reflex *æc* cannot be explained away, but the vocalism of *xic-* / *xec-* is likely to be taken from NAsg. *xi* / *xe*. It is also conceivable that *xic-* is contaminated with **hūai*, GAv. *x^aaθ* ‘suus, proprius’ (A.L.).

iii. Other forms which might contain the sequence *θi are etymologically or morphologically unclear.

– *ittæʒ* ‘highly, very’, [D.] ‘even’ < ? **iθa* / **id* + **aθiaka*.

– *keʒog* (D.) ‘farmstead’ < ? **kaθia-gau-ka* (cf. Gershevitch 1951: 138).

– *sigæc* / *segæc* ‘whetstone’ < ? (Abaev: **saikati*).

4.4.5. *Vni

i. The sequence *ni is found in numerous forms and then show i-epenthesis. It is usually accompanied by the rise of secondary -æ, cf. *Apocope*, § 1.2.2b.i.

– *inna* ‘the other [of two]’ < PIr. **anja*; Av. *anīia*, *ainīia*, OP *aniya*.

Anna is also attested, which is used as the third element in threefold contrasts, while *inna* is used in the second, e.g. *iw bæx ... inna bæx ... anna bæx* ‘one horse ..., the other horse ..., but the third horse ...’. The *a-* of *anna* is probably the deictic element *a-* ‘this’.

– *minavar* ‘ambassador; messenger; mediator’ < **manja-bāra*; EL-OP *Manyaparra* PN (Benveniste 1966: 87), Sogd. *myn* ‘authorized’.

– *moj* / *mojna* ‘husband’ < **dmānja* (*Etym. Index*, s.v.); LAv. *nmāniia*, MP *mānig* ‘household member’.

- *sin* / *sujna* ‘hip’ < **srauni-ā* (*Apocope*, § 1.3.1b); LAv. *sraoni-* (f.) ‘the posterior, backside’, Sogd. *šwn* ‘hips’, Khz. *šwnc* ‘hip’, etc.
- *suzin* / *sozjina*, *suzjina* ‘needle’ < **saučānia*; Khot. *saufsaña-*, MP *sōzan*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *sūjin* ‘id.’.
- *xwinyŋ* / *xwɪnd* / *xunnun* : *xund* ‘to be called’ < **huan-ia*; Khot. *hvañ-* ‘id.’ (< **huan-ia*, SGS: 156), Sogd. (Man.) *xwɪndy* ‘is called’ = Khot. *hvñde*.
- *zarin* / *zarjina* ‘gold; of gold, golden’ < PIr. **zaranja*; LAv. *zaranīa-* (n.), Skt. *hiraṇya-* (n.) ‘gold, precious metal’.
- *zyŋyn* / *zynd* / *zinnun* : *zind* ‘to be seen, to appear’ < **zan-ia*. The vocalism of the Iron infinitive is taken from the past participle.

ii. Only one single example seems to show absence of *i*-epenthesis.

- *k’annag* I. ‘small, little’ < ? **kanja-ka-* (Ab.); Av. *kainīā-* (f.) ‘girl’, MP *kanig* ‘girl, maid’, MP *kanizag* (dimin.) ‘little girl’ = NP *kanizah*, etc. The comparative form is *k’adder* ‘smaller, less’.

The form *k’annag* is suspect. In the first place, this form has a surprising vocalism, since we would expect either *a* or *o* (< **ā* / -CC#) before a nasal, cf. *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.iii-v. Secondly, the initial ejective *k’* is also odd, although ejective *k’* (or *t’*) does sometimes occur in inherited forms, *Introduction*, § 0.7.5.11. Abaev considers *k’annag* a case of contamination with a Caucasian substrate form, cf. Ing. *k’ānk* ‘bride’, which itself may have an Iranian origin (*Etym. Index*, s.v. *k’ynz* ‘bride’).

iii. Another form has no certain etymology.

- *soj* / *sojna* ‘melted fat; juice’ < ? **srān-ia*; cf. Skt. *śraṇa-* ‘boiled, roasted’.

4.4.6. **Včj*

The cluster **čj* probably became voiceless **č̣j*, similar to the Khotanese treatment⁵³ of **čj* > *tš*, (Tumš.) *čch*. Subsequently, **č̣j* was simplified to *c*.

Three certain instances can be mentioned and none of them shows *i*-epenthesis.

- *ducyŋ* / *dygd* / *docun* : *dugd* ‘to milk’ < **daučja-*; Khz. *δws-* (< **daučja-*, Samadi: 67), Par. *dūc-* ‘id.’ (< **daučja-*, EVS: 31, s.v. *δaj-*).
- *fyeyŋ* / *fyx(t)* / *ficun* : *funxt* ‘to boil, be boiled, to bake, be baked’ < PIr. **pač-ia*; Khot. *pačb-* ‘to be cooked’ (**pačja-*, SGS: 63), Khz. *ps-* ‘to be cooked, become ripe’ (Samadi: 160-161), etc. For *y-* / *i-* of *fyeyŋ* / *ficun* see On **u*, **u*, § 6.3.
- *wac* / *wac*, *wacā* 1. ‘message, news’, 2. ‘deity, divine, holy’ < **uāčja-*; Skt. *vācyā-* ‘to be spoken, said, announced’.

⁵³ The phonetic reason for the absence of voicing of clusters with **j* (such as **čj*) is given by Emmerick-Pulleyblank (1993: 33): “This can be easily accounted for, if we assume that such groups formed geminates, the tenseness of which gave rise to aspiration in the case of stops and affricates and elsewhere, inhibited voicing.”

4.4.7. **azj*

One certain instance of the sequence **zj* can be cited, showing no *i*-epenthesis.

- *wæz* / *wæzæ* ‘weight, load’ < PIr. **uazja-*; LAv. *uazja-* (n.) ‘load’, Skt. *vahyā-* (n.) ‘litter, palanquin’. A derivative of *wæz* / *wæzæ* is *wæzæw* ‘heavy’, which has retained geminate *zæ*.

4.4.8. **ušj*

- *qoysyn* : *qoyst* / *iğusun* : *iğust* ‘to be heard, to reach one’s ears’ < **ui-guš-ia*; Khz. *byws-* ‘to be silent’ (< **apa-guš-ia*), etc.
- *ysyn* : *syst* / *isusun* : *isust* ‘to evaporate, dry, run dry’ < **ui-šusja-*; Skt. *vi-śusyati* ‘dries up, withers away’.

4.4.9. **Vrj*

The development of **ri* and **rj* is similar: both **i* and **j* palatalized the preceding **r* > Oss. (f)l. On the simplification of geminates see *Accent*, § 5.5.

i. Sequence **rj* is found in numerous instances. Several nominal forms can be mentioned.

- *Alegate* name of a Nart-family < **ariaka-*; Av. *airia-*, Skt. *ārya-* ‘Aryan’.
- *allon* a mythical people < PIr. (Gpl.) **ariānām*; LAv. *airia-*, OP *āriya-*, Skt. *ārya-* ‘Aryan’, etc.
- *dallag* ‘lower’ < **adariāka-*; cf. LAv. *aḍara-* ‘lower, occidental’, Skt. *ādharma-* ‘lower’.
- *karlan* ‘witchcraft, sorcery’ < **kar-ia-na-* lit. ‘(magic) deed, sorcery’; cf. Sogd. (Chr.) *gryn-* ‘scripture, reading, lesson’, Oss. *kaŋyn* / *kaŋnun* ‘to do, make’.
- *nal* ‘male, [rarely] man’ < **narija-*; LAv. *nairia-* (adj.) ‘male, virile’, etc. The expected D. form *nalæ* was replaced by *nal* only very recently, see *Etym. Index* (s.v.).
- *Nuzal* / *nozale* 1. (I.) ‘name of an Alagirian settlement’, 2. (D.) ‘green, fresh’ < **naḥa-zariā*, Av. *zari-* ‘yellow’.
- *wəllag* ‘upper, utmost’ < **uḥariāka-*; cf. LAv. *aunarə* ‘down under’.
- *xollag* / *xwəllag* 1. ‘fodder for the cattle; provisions’, 2. [D.] ‘food; provision’; [+*toppi* ‘gun’] ‘gunpowder’ < **huariāka-*; Khz. *xw’ry’k* ‘provisions for a voyage’.

Since the two spatial adjectives, viz. *dəllag* and *wəllag*, do not have precise correspondences in other (Indo-)Iranian languages, they are probably not old, being formed with the productive possessive suff. *-lag*. However, the formations must be dated before the general monophthongization, cf. § 4.7.3, s.v. *l*.

ii. All following instances with sequence **rj* are *ia*-verbs, mostly reflecting old passives.

- *azəlyn* : *azəld* / *azəlyn* : *azəld* ‘to echo’ < **ā-z(a)rija-* (lit.) ‘to be sung’, Oss. *zəlyn* (q.v.).
- *avdəlyn* : *avdəld* / *evdəlyn* : *evdəld* ‘to be indolent, unemployed, free (of work), idle’ < **apa-d(a)rija-*; Skt. *dhriyāte* ‘holds (still)’. The D. form with its initial *e-* has been influenced by its nominal derivative *evdəlon* (I. *avdəlon*) ‘indolent, unemployed’. Initial *e-* may contain the privative *ā-*: *ā-* + *avdəlon* > *evdəlon*. We are probably dealing with semantic re-interpretation.

- *mælyn* / *mælyn* ‘to die’ < Plr. **mrija*–; Av. *miriia*– (pres.), Skt. *mriyāte* (pres.) ‘dies’, etc. A nominal derivative of *mælyn* is *mælat* ‘death’ (< **mariaba*–).
 – *st’ælyn* : *st’æld* I. ‘to die, starve’ < Plr. **st’ija*–; Av. *star*– ‘struere’, (pass). *auua-ā-striia*– ‘to lie on the ground’, Khz. *stry*– ‘to lie down’ (< **st(a)ria*–, Samadi: 187).
 – *uzælyn* : *uzæld* I. ‘to nurse, tend; to coax; to show attention; to do something nice (care, caress, being a good host); to regale’ < **ayā-zar-ia*–; Skt. (pres.) *bāryati* ‘loves’.
 – *yzmælyn* : *yzmæld* / (*æ*)*zmælyn* : (*æ*)*zmæld* ‘to be moved’ < **ham-zar-ia*–; v. *uzælyn*. This verb has undergone metathesis **mz*– > *zm*–.
 – *zælyn* : *zæld* I. ‘to sound’ < **zar-ia*–; Kurd. (Kurm.) *zerin*, *zirin* ‘to bray’, cf. Oss. *zaryn* / *zarin* ‘to sing’ (caus. **zāraia*–), Kurd. (Kurm.) *zarin* ‘to cry, complain’, Skt. *jārate* (mid.) ‘sings’, etc.

iii. Several forms have no clear etymology and /or morphology.

- *ævellon* D. ‘extraordinary’ (Etymological Index, q.v.).
 – *ænqælyn* ‘to suppose’ < ? **ham*– + **gar-ia*–.
 – *bælyn* ‘to long for, desire’ < ?
 – *cæl* / *cæla* ‘treat, feast’ < ? **čar-ia*–.
 – *fæzæl* I. ‘supporting thread’ < ? **pati-čar-ia*– or < NP *pāčāl*.
 – *kælyn* / *kælyn* ‘to flow’ < ? **kar-ia*–.
 – *st’aly* / (*æ*)*st’alu* ‘star’ < ? **stār*–.
 – *tælen* D. ‘striving; dream’ < ? **tar-ia-na*–.
 – *ævzaly* / *ævzalu* ‘coal’ < ? **zūār*–.
 – *wilyn* / *welun* ‘to throw (dice)’ < ? (Abaev: **uar-ia*–).
 – *xælæg* I. ‘envy’ < ? **hyariaka*–.
 – *æxsaly* / *æxsali* ‘juniper’ < ?
 – *xymællæg* / *xumællæg* ‘Humulus, black beer’ < ? *Wanderwort*.

4.4.10. **rmi*

- *kælm* / *kæлма* ‘wormy, worm-’ < **krmija*–; cf. Oss. *kalm* (q.v.). For final *-æ* of the D. form v. *Apocope*, § 1.2.1f.v.

4.4.11. Summary and evaluation

The results can be summarized in the following table (next page). The right section of the table features **i* that has largely effected the preceding consonant(s), but not the preceding vowel (hence the rise of *l* and *ʒ*). The appearance of geminated consonants, notably *ll*, *ʒʒ*, suggests that a cluster **Ci* was first assimilated to **CC*, which may be subsequently simplified, cf. *Acent*, § 5.5.

SEGMENT BEHAVIOUR **VCi*

PIr.		Oss.	PIr.		Oss.
– * <i>aii</i>	>	-iw- / -ew-	– * <i>ami</i>	>	-am-
– * <i>adi</i>	>	-id- / -ed-	– * <i>aθi</i>	>	-ac-
– * <i>Vni</i>			– * <i>Vñi</i>		
* <i>ani</i>	>	-ina- (before -C)	* <i>auñi</i>	>	-uc- / -oc-
	>	-in- / -in-	(* <i>aiñi</i>	>	-yc- / -ic-
	>	-in / -ijnæ	* <i>aiñi</i>	>	-ac / -aæ
* <i>āni</i>	>	-oj / -ojna	– * <i>azñi</i>	>	-æʒʒ-
* <i>auni</i>	>	-in / -ujna		>	-æʒ / -æʒæ
–			– * <i>uñi</i>	>	-(a)ys- / -us-
–			– * <i>Vñi</i>		
			* <i>ari</i>	>	-al(l)-
			* <i>ari</i>	>	(-)al(l)-
			* <i>ri</i>	>	-al-
			– * <i>rmi</i>	>	-alm / -alma

The results of the left column show that *i*-epenthesis was possible before **u*, **d* and **n*. Especially **d* is remarkable, since it was not palatalized to an affricate, unlike the other dentals before **i*, **j*. This clearly indicates that the old Iranian **d* and intervocalic **t* (> Oss. *d*) were still kept apart anterior to Early *i*-Epenthesis, even after the general voicing of postvocalic PIr. voiceless stops in the pre-*Ossetic* period. Since in most East Iranian languages **d* became fricative *ð* and **t* voiced stop *d*, this was most likely the situation in (pre-)Ossetic, too.

4.5. FORMS WITH **VCCi*

Forms containing the sequence **VCCi* are extremely rare. One instance, without *i*-epenthesis, is found in Ossetic.

4.5.1. **tussji*

- *tussag* I. (said of wine-sacks, bags, and the like) ‘meagre, without fullness’ < **tussjaka*–; Khot. *tuśśaa*–, Pth. *tuśyk*, MP *tuhig* ‘empty, vain’. For the reconstruction cf. Nyberg (1931: 214 f.).

4.6. FORMS WITH SYNCOPATED **V(C)CiC*

After syncope of the vowel **i*–, a new consonant cluster arose, which could be simplified afterwards.

4.6.1. *aruiC

– *małzyg* / *mulzyg* ‘ant’ < **marui-uka-* (Syncope, § 2.3.4); cf. LAv. *mairi-*, Khot. *mumjaka-*, NP *mürčah* ‘ant’, etc. The preceding **r* is clearly affected by **i*, but *i*-epenthesis has not taken place.

4.6.2. *abiC

This sequence is limited to the prefix **abi-*, which has yielded two different reflexes in Ossetic: *iv-* / *ev-* (with epenthesis) and *av-* (without). We have to bear in mind, however, that the prefix **apa-* would also yield *av-* in Ossetic, so that forms without *i*-epenthesis are often ambiguous.

i. Three verbs are clearly prefixed with epenthesized *iv-* / *ev-*.

– *ivgūjyn* / *evgūjyn*: *evgūd* ‘to pass, go by; to miss [of shooting]’ < **abi-gu-*; Oss. *gawryn* / *gewun* ‘to need, desire’, Sogd. *γw-* ‘to want, lack, be wanting, be at fault’, Khz. *γw-* ‘to be necessary, miss; to err’ (Samadi: 81).

– *intynzyn*: *intygđ* / *evtynzyn*: *entygđ* ‘to harness a horse’, ‘to load (a gun)’, ‘to wind up (a watch and the like)’ < **abi-θanja-*; Av. *θanjaia-* ‘to pull, draw’, Khot. *thamj-*, Sogd. (Man.) *pōdyne-* ‘to pull’. A nominal derivative of *intynzyn* is *intong* / *evtong* ‘equipped, ready for action’.

– *ivxærzyn*: *ivxærst* / *evxærzyn*: *evxærst* (*evxærst*) ‘to put someone across a river, dangerous place or sim.’, ‘to help someone who is in trouble, danger or sim.’ < **abi-xarša-*; cf. Av. *karš-* ‘trahere’, etc.

ii. There are more instances, however, which show the reflex *av-* (*af-* before a voiceless consonant) without *i*-epenthesis. Two of them are verbs.

– *afsin* / *afsiyna* ‘mistress of the house, who is in charge of the household, supplies, cooking and providing food for the guests’, ‘husband’s mother’ < **abi-saiθni-* (ELO: 19), LAv. *aifsi-šaetan-* (Dsg. *aibi-šaitθne*) ‘inhabitant of the house’.

– *alvisyn*: *alvyst* / *alvesun*: *alvest* ‘to spin’ < **abi-uraisa-*; LAv. *aifsi.urnaes-* ‘to turn’, MP, NP *abrēšom* ‘silk’, Pš. *vrēšol* ‘to spin’ (< **abi-rai-* [sic], EVP: 90), etc. The *l* < **ri* in *alvisyn* is to be ascribed to a zero-grade form: **abi-uris-* > **aifsi-(u)lis-* >> **aifsi-(u)lais-* > *alvisyn* / *alvesun* (metathesis).

– *avgenyn*: *avgad* / *avgenun*: *avgad* ‘to pour, fill in; to bail’ < **abi-ka-na-*⁵⁴; Khot. *byañ-* ‘to cover’ (< **abi-*, SGS: 105), Av. *kan-* 1. ‘to dig’, 2. ‘to throw’, etc.

– *avgid* / *evged* ‘bail; guarantor’ < **abi-kaita-*; Av. *aifsi-kaēt-* ‘to consider, contemplate’ (ELO: 48). Initial *e-* of the Digoron form is probably best explained by means of vowel assimilation (Introduction, § 0.7.5.8).

iii. Ambiguous are the following instances, the prefix of which may be derived either from **abi-* or **apa-*. Some of them do not even have a certain etymology.

⁵⁴ For semantic reasons it is less likely that the Oss. formation goes back to **apa-ka-na-*, which means ‘to throw away’ in Iranian languages, cf. MP *abgandan* ‘to throw away’, Pth. *’bgn-’jeter, lancer*’ (Ghilain: 55), NP *afgandan* ‘to throw, cast away’, Arm. *apakanem* ‘to destroy’ (< WIt.).

- | | |
|---|---|
| – <i>afsnajyn</i> ‘to remove, clean up’ | – <i>avdulyn</i> ‘to roll; to knead’ |
| – <i>aftawyn</i> ‘to throw on’ | – <i>avduzyn</i> ‘to bolt; to squeeze; to press’ |
| – <i>aft’aryn</i> ‘to gorge’ | – <i>avgad</i> ‘childbirth’ |
| – <i>afsaalyn</i> ‘to injure, damage’ | – <i>avgil</i> ‘pole devoted to Wacilla’ |
| – <i>afsaalyn</i> ‘to be damaged’ | – <i>avzaryn</i> ‘to pick out, choose’ |
| – <i>afsaaryn</i> ‘to offend, insult’ | – <i>avzaryn</i> ‘to occur, to appear’ |
| – <i>alhasyn</i> ‘to pull out; to take out’ | – <i>avzyjyn</i> ‘to fall out [hair]’, to wither’ |
| – <i>avdærzyn</i> ‘to hurt yourself’ | |
| – <i>avdisyn</i> ‘to show’ | |

4.6.3. *ātiC

The sequence **tiC* is generally found in the prefix **pati-* ‘against, towards to, into, upon’, which shows double treatment in Ossetic: *fi-* and, with *i*-epenthesis, *fi-* / *fe-*. The double treatment of **pati-* is also found in other Iranian languages⁵⁵. In order to explain this state of affairs, particularly in Ossetic, Benveniste (ELO: 98 ff.) postulated an Iranian prefix **pa-*, which would have become Oss. *fa-*, while **pati-* would have yielded *fi-* / *fe-*. This theory received acclaim from Fisher (1979: 219 ff.). In support of Ir. **pa-* Benveniste cited a number of Ossetic, Middle Iranian and even two Avestan reflexes, to which Fisher added several other Iranian examples and two further Avestan forms. The Ossetic forms cannot be used to support his assumption, however. In the case of *falizyn* / *fallezun* ‘to abandon, to leave a place’, the D. form with geminated *-ll-* points to an assimilated cluster and may be derived from the pre-form **pari-raiā-* (> **fali-raiā-* > **fallaiā-*), instead of **pa-raiā-*. Benveniste’s reconstruction of *farazyn* / *farazun* ‘to be able’, ‘to carry away’ < **pa-nā-* is doubtful (see *Etyim. Index*, s.v.). The other forms, viz. *fadaryn* / *fedarun* (ORNS III: 1351) ‘halten, tragen, unterstützen, ernähren, schuldig sein’, Sogd. *pōr-* ‘nourrir’, Khot. *pader-* ‘to maintain’ (**pati-dāraia-*, SGS: 69) and I. *fāsyzyn* ‘tarit’, as cited by Benveniste (ibid.: 99) are fully transparent compound verbs, being prefixed with the productive *fa-* to the simplex *daryn* / *darun* ‘to hold, keep’ and *ysyn* ‘to dry’ respectively. I. *falizyn* (from *lizyn*), too, is transparent.

The Middle Iranian forms are equally problematic. There are no compelling reasons to consider them formations prefixed with **pa-*. While the use of a prefix **pa-* is not encountered in the oldest Indo-Iranian languages, it would be rather surprising if the later Iranian languages have preserved and employed it. In later Iranian languages **pa-* may easily have arisen from **apa-*, **upa-* or **pati-* (due to developments like syncope or assimilation), as admitted by Fischer (ibid.: 225 ff.). The Avestan forms cited can hardly provide evidence for the existence of a prefix **pa-*, since they are late or isolated, being often etymologically obscure: *paždaiia-* ‘to chase away’⁵⁶, *paxrušta-* ‘driven off by screams’,

⁵⁵ For instance, Khot. *patī-* / *pa-*, Sogd. *p-* / *pt-*.

⁵⁶ The derivation of *paždaiia-* from **pa-žd-* (**had-* ‘to sit’), proposed by Fischer (ib.: 224), is to be rejected, as there is a far better etymology provided by Bailey (*Asica*, s.v. Oss. *farzdag* ‘smoke’), Sogd. (Bud.) *pž-* ‘id.’: from **pažda-* < IE **paśda-* ‘to break wind (softly)’, Lat. *pēdō*, Russ. *bždet*, etc. The semantic developments are selfevident.

pāiiaozā 'who stirs up (the water)' and *paxruma*⁵⁷ 'roofed stall'. In short, there is no compelling reason to assume a Plr. preverb **pa-*, cf. Henning (1965: 246, fn. 29).

Since the preverb **pati-* yielded two reflexes in Ossetic, viz. *fæ-* and *fī-* / *fē-*, there was no doubt competition between *fæ-* and *fī-* / *fē-*. The number of *fī-* / *fē-* forms is relatively restricted, which means *fæ-* was generalized. For instance, *fædaryn* 'to maintain, support' (< *fæ-* + *daryn* 'to keep, hold') has probably replaced older *†fidaryn* / *†fedarun*, which can be inferred from the nominal derivative *fidar* / *fedar*.

The dental of the sequence **tiC* became palatalized, which, accompanied by voicing, resulted in a palatal affricate, something like **ž*, cf. Gershevitch (1991: 229, § 24). After syncope, secondary **ž* came into contact with the following consonant. The ensuing simplification of the newly arisen consonant cluster **žC* has yielded different results in Ossetic.

i. Clear formations prefixed with **pati-* are amply attested in Ossetic. The following verbs show the reflex *fī-* / *fē-*.

- *fīppajyn* : *fīppajd* / *fēppajun* : *fēppajd* 'to remark; to guess; to discern, suspect' < **pati-pāja-*; Av. *pā(ii)-* 'to take care', +*pati* (mid.) 'to protect oneself, cover oneself against'.
- *fidar* / *fedar* 'strong, strength', 'guarantor' < **pati-dāra-*; Av. *dar-* + *paiti* 'to bring back', Khot. *pader-* 'to maintain', Sogd. *pā'r* 'to support', etc.
- *fidawyn* : *fīdyd* / *fēdawnun* : *fēdud* 'to be reconciled with', 'to fit, suit, be appropriate' < **pati-tāpa-*; LAv. *paiti.tanuab-* 'showing resistance', et al.
- *fīdis* / *fēdes*, *fēdis* 'rebuke' < **pati-daisa-*; Khz. *peys(y)-* 'to make similar; to interpret', MP (Turf.) *pyys* 'instruction', Skt. *prātidesāya-* 'to point out'.
- *fīcawyn* / *fēcawun* (I.) 'to stir meat', (D.) 'to pass, drive by' < (caus.) **pati-čāpa-*; Skt. *prāti-cyaviṣya-* 'pressing against or towards'.

We may add one nominal formation:

- *fīston* / *fēstona* 'handle' < **pati-štānā-*; Av. *paiti-štāna-* 'dwelling', '(lower) leg', Sogd. *ptšt'n* 'thigh'.

ii. The regular outcome *fæ-* < **pati-* is assured in the following forms, which have exact correspondences in other Iranian languages.

- *fæzaxsyn* / *fæzaxsun* 'to charge with; to order; to admonish; to bequeath' < **pati-čaxsa-*; Khot. *paxas-* (mid.) 'to confess', Sogd. (Man.) *ptxčs-*, *pčxčs-* 'to receive'. The simplex of *fæzaxsyn* is not attested in Oss.
- *fæsmarun* : *fæsmard* (D.) 'to know; to be known; to find out; to recall' < **pati-šmara-*; Av. *paiti-šmar-* 'to recall; to long for', Sogd. *ptšmrt-* 'to think, count', Khot. *patāmar-* 'to report, inform'. The simplex of *fæsmarun* is not attested in Ossetic.

iii. The outcome *fæj-* < **pati-* is exceptional, found in one form.

⁵⁷ Bailey (1969: 147 ff.) proposed to translate the hapax form *paxruma-* (translated by Bartholomae [AiW.: 819] as 'fest') as 'stable'.

- *fæjnæ* (adv.) 'on, from every, etc.' < Plr. Lsg. **patinai* (*Apocope*, § 1.4.1b).

iv. In one compound, sequence **tiC* does not involve **pati-*, but **pāti-*.

- *fajnost* / *fajnosta* 'wife of the husband's brother' < **pāti-šnaušā*; Skt. *pāti-* (vrddhi-form of *pāti-* 'lord') and Oss. (D.) *nosta* 'wife of brother'.

v. The following forms are either etymologically or morphologically obscure.

- *acc* / *acce* 'wild duck' < ? **āti-č-* (Abaev V: 63b).
- *fæzæl* (I.) 'a supporting thread in order to get a thick thread in the eye of a needle' < ? **pāvaria-* (ELO: 29), **pāti-čar-ia-* or < Pers. *pāčāl* 'treadle of a weaver's loom'.
- *fælyyn*: *fælyd* / *fælyvun*: *fælynd* 'to cheat, deceive' < *fæl-* + *ivyn* / *evun*, see *Etym. Index* (s.v.).
- *færazyn*: *færazt* / *færazun*: *færazt* 'to be able; to carry out' < **pati-rāza-*, **para-haza-* (Ab.), etc. (v. *Etym. Index*, s.v.).
- *fæzæzæz* 'autumn' < **pati-zi-ka-* (Ab.), see *Etym. Index* (s.v.).

4.6.4. **ašC*

One certain case can be mentioned.

- *dæсны* / *dæsnī* 'clever', 'expert', obs. 'wizard' < **dašnišā-*, v. *Syncope*, § 2.3.1a.

4.6.5. **VriC*

i. Syncopated **riC* is found in a group of verbs with preverb **pari-*. The preverb has regularly yielded Oss. *fæl-*, which is unproductive in the contemporary language.

- *fældisyn* : *fældyst* / *fældesun* : *fældist* 1. 'to make'; 2. 'to dedicate to the deceased' < **pari-daisa-*; Sogd. *prōys* 'to build', Khz. *prōs-* 'to repair (a wall)'.
- *fælgasyn* : *fælgæst* / *fælgasun* : *fælgast* 'to see, observe, look around' < **pari-kasa-*; (caus.) Sogd. (Man.) *prqys* 'to imprison', Khz. *prk'ly-* 'id.'. The simplex form is *kasyn* / *kasun* 'to look (for), read'.
- *fælizyn* / *fællezun* 'to abandon, to leave a place' < **pari-raiča-*; Sogd. (Bud.) *pr'yc* 'to leave, abandon', Khot. *parrij-* 'to deliver, rescue', MP *parrēxtan*, *parrēz-* 'to remain over, be superfluous', etc. See also above, § 4.2.3.
- *fælmæcyn* : *fælmæcyd* / *fælmæcun* : *fælmæst* 'to get tired; to feel something as a burden; to pine; to worry' < **pari-mačia-*. The simplex form is *mæcyn* / *mæcun* 'to wallow', § 4.4.4.
- *fælvaryn*: *fælværd* / *fælværun*: *fælværd* 'to try, test' < **pari-bāra(ia)-*.
- *fælyndyn* : *fælyst* / *fælyndun* : *fælyst* 'to dress (up); to adorn' < **pari-gunda-*; Khz. (inch.) *praxj-* 'to become obscure, covered' (inch. of **prywnd-*, Samadi: 158), Orm. *parjynd-* 'to dress'. The disappearance of **g* (> Oss. *ǵ*) is highly unusual, since a sequence *-ǵ-* is attested in Ossetic, e.g. *alǵ* / *alǵæ* 'abhorrence, disgust'.

ii. In addition, two nominal forms can be cited.

- *angylz* / *angulzæ* 'finger' < **anguri-čā-*; cf. Skt. *angūri-*, *angūli-* (f.) 'finger; toe', Bal. *angul* 'id.'. For *-z(-)* see § 4.3.1.
- *zælda* (D.) 'young grass, grass; turf' < (f.) **zaritā-*; v. *Apocope*, § 1.2.1f.v.

iii. Some forms are unreliable, being etymologically or morphologically unclear.

- *fəldaxyn*: *fəldæxt* / *fəldæst* ‘to turn over’ < ? **pari-tāxa*.
 – *xəlmag* / *xəwəlmag* ‘scab’ < ? **hyuri-māka* (Ab.).

4.6.6. **apiC*

- *raft* / *rafta* ‘noon’ < Plr. **rapitθā*; LAv. *rapitθā* (f.) ‘noon’, MP *rabih* ‘noon’, etc.

Abaev assumes an epenthized variant of **rapitθā*, viz. *riwət*, *riwəd* (I.) ‘summer siesta of the cattle’, but this etymology can hardly be correct, see *Etym. Index* (s.v.).

4.6.7. Summary and evaluation

The left column of the table below features the syncopated consonant clusters which gave rise to diphthong **ai* > Oss. *i* / *e*, as opposed to the right column. The table in the middle (next page) features the ambiguous results. Apparently, the rise of **ai* is specific, being

SEGMENT BEHAVIOUR OF SYNCOPATED **V(C)C(C)C*

PIr.	Oss.	PIr.	Oss.
–		– * <i>apiθu</i> > * <i>aβiθβ</i>	> <i>-aft-</i>
– * <i>abiC</i>		– * <i>abiC</i>	
* <i>abig</i> > * <i>aβiy</i>	> <i>ivg-</i> / <i>evg-</i>	* <i>abiš</i> > * <i>aβiš</i>	> <i>afs-</i> / <i>afs-</i>
* <i>abiθ</i> > * <i>aβiθ</i>	> <i>ivt-</i> / <i>evt-</i>	* <i>abir</i> > * <i>aβil</i>	> <i>ahv-</i>
* <i>abix</i> > * <i>aβix</i>	> <i>ivx-</i> / <i>evx-</i>	* <i>abik</i> > * <i>aβig</i>	> <i>avg</i> ⁵⁸
– * <i>atiC(C)</i>		– * <i>atiC(C)</i>	
* <i>atip</i> > * <i>ažip</i>	> <i>-ipp-</i> / <i>-epp-</i>	* <i>atič</i> > * <i>ažič</i>	> <i>-až-</i>
* <i>atid</i> > * <i>ažid</i>	> <i>-id-</i> / <i>-ed-</i>	* <i>atišm</i> > * <i>ažišm</i>	> <i>-asm-</i>
* <i>atič</i> > * <i>ažič</i>	> <i>-ic-</i> / <i>-ec-</i>		
* <i>atišt</i> > * <i>ažiš</i>	> <i>-ist-</i> / <i>-est-</i>	– * <i>ašin</i>	> <i>-asn-</i>
–		– * <i>VriC</i>	
–		* <i>arim</i>	> <i>-alm-</i>
		* <i>arit</i>	> <i>-ald-</i>
		* <i>arid</i>	> <i>-ald-</i>
		* <i>arik</i> > * <i>alig</i>	> <i>-alg-</i>
		* <i>arig</i> > * <i>alij</i>	> <i>-al-</i>
		* <i>arir</i> > * <i>alil</i>	> <i>-al-</i> / <i>-all-</i>
		* <i>urič</i> > * <i>ulig</i>	> <i>-ulig-</i> / <i>-ulig-</i>
		– * <i>aruč</i> > * <i>aliž</i>	> <i>-alž-</i> / <i>-ulž-</i>

⁵⁸ Also I. *avg-* before *-i* and D *evg-* with secondary (harmonic) *e-*.

PIr.		Oss.
– * <i>ātiC</i>		
* <i>atin</i>	>	<i>-ejn-</i>
* <i>ālišn</i>	>	<i>-ajñ-</i>

determined by the nature of the consonant(s) and the further treatment of the newly arisen consonant clusters.

In the first place, the rise of **ai* is possible if the consonant cluster consists entirely of fricatives, either original or having originated from Plr. voiced stops. Exceptional would be **apiθu*. The sequence consists of consonants which, on their own, allow *i*-epenthesis. Perhaps, *i*-epenthesis was halted due to the triconsonantal character of the sequence arisen after syncope. Note also the sequence **usji* of the previous section (§ 4.5), which does not show *i*-epenthesis either, although **j* would normally allow insertion of *i*.

Secondly, the rise of **ai* also appears to depend on the further treatment of secondary palatal **ž* as part of a new consonant cluster. In the previous sections we saw that palatal **ž* (from palatalized **t*) normally precluded *i*-epenthesis, but, if **ž* was simplified to **j* before certain consonants, **ai* might arise. Before nasal, the development **ž* > **j* should then have taken place after the general monophthongization of **ai*. Another possibility was assimilation to a following consonant that allowed *i*-epenthesis (i.e. the syncopated cluster **atip*).⁵⁹ Nevertheless, it must be admitted that a comprehensive explanation which accounts for all these reflexes cannot be given.

On the other hand, the rise of *i* from palatalized **r* clearly precludes *i*-epenthesis. Also **j* appears to impede *i*-epenthesis, if we look at **abiš* and **ašin*: the consonants **β* [< Plr. **-b-*] and **n* do allow *i*-epenthesis, as shown in the previous sections.

4.7. FORMS WITH SYNCOPATED **CVi*

Syncope of the short vowel in the sequence **CVi* gave rise to a new consonant cluster **Ci*, which was treated differently from the old cluster **Ci* in several ways.

4.7.1. **žai*

One certain case can be mentioned.

- *izər* ‘evening’ < **uz-ajara*; LAv. *uzajara* (n.) ‘afternoon’, cf. *Syncope*, § 2.3.1a.

4.7.2. *-iad* / *-iada* < **iā-tā*

This denominal suffix forms abstract nouns. On the origin of this suffix see *Appendix*, A § 11.

The suffix is found after the following consonants.

- w*: – *wəžžajwada* D. ‘heaviness’; cf. Oss. *wəžžaw* ‘heavy’.
n: – *afojnadył* / *afojnadabəl* (Adsg.) ‘well in advance, early, in time’; cf. Oss. *afoñ* /

⁵⁹ Assimilation without *i*-epenthesis might explain the gemination which is often found after the productive preverb *fə-* (particularly in Digoron), e.g. D. *fəkekasun* ‘to look at’, *fəttocun* ‘to fight’ (vs. I. *fəkeasyn*, *fəttocyn*).

afonæ 'time'.

– *lymanad* / *limæjnada* 'friendship'; cf. Oss. *lyman* / *liman* 'friend'.

g: – *æznaggad* / *æznaggada* 'harm'; cf. Oss. *æznag* 'enemy'.

– *læggad* / *læggada* 'service, servitude'; cf. Oss. *læg* 'man'.

– *susæggad* / *sosæggada* 'secret'; cf. Oss. *susæg* / *sosæg* 'secret, hidden'.

x: – *padcaxad* / *padcaxada* 'government, rule'; cf. Oss. *padcax* 'ruler, king'.

s: – *ægæssad* / *ægæssada* 'health'; cf. Oss. *ægæ* 'healthy'.

st: – *ræstad* / *ræstada* 'truth'; cf. Oss. *rast* 'true, truth'.

r: – *ældarad* / *aldajradæ* 'lordship'; cf. Oss. *ældar* 'lord, prince'.

– *cağajrad* 'slavery, servitude'; cf. Oss. *cağar* 'slave, servant'.

– *sabyrad* / *sabujradæ* 'softness, meekness'; cf. Oss. *sabyr* / *sabur* 'soft'.

– *styrad* / *æstujradæ* 'greatness; glory'; cf. Oss. *styr* / (*æ*)*stur* 'big, great'.

– etc.

There is a tendency, notably in Iron, to eliminate epenthetic *-j-*, for instance *lymanad*, *sabyrad* and *styrad*.

4.7.3. *-iag* < **-aiäg* < **-aiäka-*

The suffix *-iag* forms adjectives or nouns indicating origin, belonging or relation. Furthermore, the suffix is also found after certain ordinals (without any semantic modification), which has parallels in Sogdian and Baluchi, v. *Syncope*, § 2.4.2a.

The suffix *-iag* is added to forms ending in the following consonants.

f: – *xælajfag* 'material for trousers'; cf. Oss. *xælaf* 'trousers'.

– *xælæjfad* 'object of desire, craving'; cf. Oss. *xælaf* 'greed, gluttony'.

– *tæfag* 'emanating a smell; influence', [D.] 'breathing'; Oss. *tæf* 'breath'.

fs: – *wæfssag* 'leather, material for soles'; cf. Oss. *wæfs* 'sole' (on *a* before *-CC#* see *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.ii).

m: – *adæjmag* 'human, person'; cf. Oss. *adæm* 'people'.

– *azimæjmag* / *azujmag* 'getting convicted; [D. also] evil power, devil'; cf. Oss. *azym* / *azun* 'guilt, transgression'.

– *æstæjmag* (D.) 'eighth'; cf. Oss. I. *æstæm* 'id.'.

– *ævdæjmag* 'seventh'; cf. Oss. I. *ævdæm* 'id.'.

– *cuppærajmag* (D.) 'fourth'; cf. Oss. I. *cypæræm* 'id.'.

t: – *gorætag* 'citizen'; cf. Oss. *goræt* 'town, city'.

– *kæjyættag* / *kurættag* 'material for a beshmet'; cf. Oss. *kæjyæt* / *kuræt* 'beshmet'.

– *sabættag* 'provisions for the sabbat'; cf. Oss. *sabat* 'sabbat' (on *a* before *-CC#* see *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.ii).

– *tælattag* 'driven away, confiscated'; cf. Oss. *tælet* 'driving away the cattle (in raids), spoil; confiscation'.

d: – *qæddag* / *gæddag* 'wild, forest-'; cf. Oss. *qæd* / *gædæ* 'wood, forest'.

– *qæyddag* / *guddag* 'affair, matter', cf. ppp. *qæyd* / *gud* (*qæwyn* / *gæwyn* 'to be needed').

– *xuddag* / *xoddag* 'material for a hood, hat'; cf. Oss. *xud* / *xodæ* 'hat'.

n: – *æfsæjnag* 'iron(-)'; cf. Oss. *æfsæn* '(iron) plough', (obs.) 'iron'.

– *bujnag* (D.) 'felt'; cf. Oss. *byn* / *bun* 'floor, lower part'.

– *dojnag* 'river-'; cf. Oss. *don* 'river; water'.

– *nywæznag* / *niwæznag* 'being under influence, drinking'; cf. Oss. *nywæzyn* / *niwæzun* 'to drink'.

– *xærinag* / *xwærinag* 'food'; cf. Oss. *xæryn* / *xwærun* 'to eat'.

– *xudinag* / *xodujnag* 'shame, disgrace'; cf. Oss. *xudyn* / *xodun* 'to laugh, smile'.

(n)x: – *xoxag* / *xonxag* 'mountaineer'; cf. Oss. *xox* / *xonx* 'mountain'.

k: – *turkeag* / *turkeag* 'Turkish'; cf. Oss. *turk* 'Turk; Turkey'.

g: – *fændaggag* 'provisions for the road'; cf. Oss. *fændag* 'road'.

– *læggag* 'future husband'; cf. Oss. *læg* 'man'.

– *middæggag* / *medæggag* 'interior'; cf. Oss. *midæg* / *medæg* 'middle'.

– *myggag* / *muggag* 1. 'family(-name); sex; race, species'; cf. Oss. *myg* / *mug* 'semen'.

– *qyggag* / *giggag* 'evil; querulous', 'strong [of drinks]'; Oss. *qyg* / *gigæ* 'sorrow, grief'.

q: – *qazæqag* (I.) 'Kosack'; Oss. I. *qazæq(q)* 'Kosacks'.

xs: – *ræxs(s)ag* / *ræxsag* 'heavenly, blessed'; cf. Oss. *ræxs* / *ræxs* 'light'.

s: – *dissag* / *dessag* 'miracle, wonder'; cf. Oss. *dis* / *des* 'amazement'.

– *fidissag* / *fedissag* 'that, what is to be reproached, disgraceful'; cf. Oss. *fidis* / *fedes*, *fedis* 'rebuke'.

– *sæğæssag* 'object of sorrow'; cf. Oss. *sæğæs* '(bitter) thought, sorrow'.

– *usag* / *osag* 'suitable as wife, bride-to-be'; cf. Oss. *us* / *ostæ* 'wife'.

– *wyrjssag* / *urussag* 'Russian'; cf. Oss. *Wyrjs* / *Urus* 'Russia(s) people'.

st: – *fæstætag* 'rear; last, final'; cf. Oss. *fæstæ* 'behind'.

– *qæstætag* / *gæstætag* 'object of complaint'; cf. Oss. *qæst* / *gæst* 'complaint'.

– *ræstætag* 'right'; cf. Oss. *rast* 'true, truth' (on *a* before *-CC#* see *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.ii).

z: – *aqæzætag* / *ağæzætag*, *ağæzætag* 'excellent, good'; cf. Oss. *aqæz* / *ağæz* 'aid'.

– *razætag* 'frontal'; cf. Oss. *raz* 'front; before'.

r: – *bajrag* 'foal'; cf. Oss. **bar* 'horse' (?) (< **bāra* 'carrier'), cf. *gajlag* (q.v.).

– *bæzæjrag* 'pertaining to the bazaar'; cf. Oss. *bæzar* (< NP *bāzār*).

– *cağajrag* 'slave(-), serf(-)'; cf. Oss. *cağar* 'slave'.

rs: – *færsætag* 'side-, outside, foreign', 'window'; cf. Oss. *færs* 'side' (on *a* before *-CC#* see *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.ii).

– *urssag* / *orssag* 'dairy products'; cf. Oss. *urs* / *ors* 'white'.

l: – *æmbajlag* 'afterbirth, placenta'; cf. Oss. *æmbal* 'companion'.

– *gajlag* 'bull-calf'; cf. Oss. *gal* 'cow, bovis'.

– *mangajlag* 'Mongolian'; cf. Oss. *Mangol* 'Mongolia'.

– *wæjlag* 'upper, above'; cf. Oss. *wæl* 'on, up'.

In some cases (e.g. *tæfag*, *gorætag*, *usag* / *osag*), the expected insertion of *-j-* (i.e. Late *i*-Epenthesis) or gemination is absent. These (very recent) formations are probably influenced by forms with the deverbal active suffix *-ag* / *-agæ*, e.g. *kæssag* / *kosagæ* 'worker' (*kæsyn* / *kosun* 'to work'), *tærsag* / *tærsagæ* 'fearing, coward' (*tærsyn* / *tærsun* 'to fear'), etc., v. *Appendix*, A §2.

4.7.4. *-oj* / *-ojnæ* < **-āna* + **-jā*

The relatively unproductive suffix *-oj* / *-ojnæ* forms action and instrumental nouns from adjectives and nouns. On the origin of the suffix see *Appendix, A* § 13.

The following instances are found in Ossetic.

- *æncoj* / *æncojnæ* 'rest; support'; cf. Oss. (I.) *æncan* 'light, easy'.
- *buronjæ* (D.) 'dirt, thrash, garbage, dung'; cf. Oss. (I.) *byron* 'garbage; dung'.
- *kəgyroj* / *kurojnæ* 'mill'; cf. Oss. **kuron*, cf. Svan. *gurana* 'pestle'.
- *səgoj* / *səgojnæ* 'pitchfork'; cf. Oss. **sag* 'horn(ed)', cf. *sag* 'deer'.
- *wisəj* / *wesəjnæ*, *jesəjnæ* 'broom'; cf. Oss. *wis* / *wes*, *jes* 'branch; rod'.
- *zəngəj* / *zəngəjnæ* 'leather stocking'; cf. Oss. *zəng* / *zəngæ* 'shin; stalk'.

4.7.5. *Summary and evaluation*SEGMENT BEHAVIOUR OF SYNCOPATED **V(C)CVi* > **V(C)Ci*

post-syn. stage	Oss.	post-syn. stage	Oss.	post-syn. stage	Oss.
– * <i>ui</i>	>	– <i>jw</i>	– * <i>rki</i>	>	– * <i>xi</i>
– * <i>fi</i>	>	– <i>jf</i>	– * <i>gi</i>	>	– * <i>st</i>
– * <i>mi</i>	>	– <i>jm</i>	– * <i>qi</i>	>	– * <i>zi</i>
– * <i>ni</i>	>	– <i>jn</i>	– * <i>si</i>	>	– * <i>xi</i>
	>	– <i>j / jnæ</i>	– * <i>fsi</i>	>	– <i>fsi</i>
– * <i>ri</i>	>	– <i>jr</i>	– * <i>ksi</i>	>	– <i>ksi</i>
– * <i>li</i>	>	– <i>jl</i>	– * <i>rsi</i>	>	– <i>rsi</i>
			– * <i>ti</i>	>	– <i>ti</i>
<i>V</i> = * <i>u</i> :	>	– <i>i</i> / <i>-uj</i>	– * <i>di</i>	>	– <i>di</i>

The cluster *Ci* which arose from **CVi* through syncope was treated differently from the old cluster **Ci*. Late *i*-Epenthesis has affected the sonants *l*, *m*, *n*, and *r* and also the fricative *f*. Late *i*-Epenthesis before the suffixes *-lad* / *-lada* and *-lag* is productive, affecting even very recent borrowings, cf. *bəzəjrag* 'bazaar', *məŋgəjlag* 'Mongolian', *ææəjnag* 'Chechen' (left column).

The effect of **i* on other consonants is usually gemination (middle column), but sometimes the effect is less unequivocal (right column). Gemination notably applies to stops and *r*. As for the results of the right column, a specific (multiple) consonant cluster such as **-st-* and **-nx-* may explain the apparent lack of any effect. The treatment of the post-syncope cluster **zi* is complicated. The rare outcome *jz*, found in a dialectal Digoron form, is undoubtedly very archaic, which would reflect the stage anterior to the (common-Ossetic) development *-zz-*. The rise of epenthetic *j-* before *-z-* most likely accounts for the initial *i-* (< POss. **uj-*) found in *izəz*. Plr. **uzəzara* > **uzəz* > POss. **uzəz*, v. *Aphaeresis*, § 3.3.1a.i. Generally, epenthetic *j-* becomes part of Ossetic diphthongs such as *aj*, *ej*, *oj*, but *uj*, which is regularly preserved in Digoron, has become *i* in Iron.

4.8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

4.8.1. *i*-Epenthesis and palatalization

Vowel **i* and consonantal **i* affected either the preceding vowel, which resulted in *i*-epenthesis, or consonant(s), which resulted in palatalization. Most frequently, **i* and **i* disappeared through apocope, syncope or assimilation.

i-Epenthesis or insertion of *i* (= *i*, Oss. *j*) in the preceding vowel took place in (at least) two periods, which can be concluded from the double treatment of **a* with epenthetic *i*: due to early epenthesis short **a* developed into **ai*, which merged with Plr. **ai* (> Oss. *i* / *e*), while the more recent *i*-epenthesis produced *aj* in modern Ossetic – other vowels do not show a similar twofold treatment. Early *i*-Epenthesis applied to the sequences **V(C)Ci*, **V(C)Ci* and the sequence **V(C)CiC* with syncopated **i*. Late *i*-Epenthesis is found before the newly arisen consonant clusters **Ci* from syncopated **CVi*.

Certain consonants were palatalized by **i*, **i*:

- **i* > **i* (postvocalic) **z*,
- **i* > *c*,
- **i* > *l*.

4.8.2. *Conditions of i*-Epenthesis

Early *i*-Epenthesis only applied to the following consonants:

- (former) fricatives **δ* (< Plr. **d*), *g* (< Plr. **g*), *v* (< Plr. **b*), *x* (< Plr. **x*), **k* [after assim.];
- nasal *n*;
- originally dental sibilant *s* (< Plr. **s*);
- bilabial *w* (< Plr. **u*).

In the presence of other consonants (especially **z*, *h*), Early *i*-Epenthesis was halted. This might also be the case if a consonant cluster contained more than two consonants.

The conditions of Late *i*-Epenthesis are somewhat different than those of Early *i*-Epenthesis. Late *i*-Epenthesis applied to the consonants:

- liquid *r*, *l*;
- nasal *m*, *n*;
- fricative *f*;
- bilabial *w*.

4.8.3. *Simplification of consonant clusters*

The treatment of certain (newly arisen) consonant clusters could trigger the rise of secondary **ai*, which subsequently merged with old Plr. **ai*. The merger runs parallel to **ai* that arose after Early *i*-Epenthesis. Thus, the rise of secondary **ai* in the syncopated sequence **Vu(C)C* > **Vz(C)C*, palatalized **z* probably became **i* before certain consonants: **z* normally halted *i*-epenthesis. Also the sequence **Vsti* > **Vsi* triggered the rise of secondary **ai*, which was probably aided by the simplification of **i* > Oss. *i*.

Consonantal **i* was usually assimilated to the preceding consonant, giving rise to gemination, which is frequent in syncopated sequences.

5. ACCENT

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Our knowledge of Ossetic prosody has always been unbalanced, being mainly focussed on Iron. In addition, relatively little attention has been devoted to the historical aspect of Ossetic accent.

For our investigation of the historical accent we start from the contemporary situation. The treatment and interpretation of some aspects of the accent in Iron and Digoron are dealt with in the light of the results achieved in previous chapters.

5.2. IRON ACCENT

A thorough investigation on the Iron accent was carried out by Abaev before the Second World War and published in two articles, viz. "On the accent in Ossetic" (1924: 152-155) and "The rhythm of Ossetic speech" (incorporated in *OJaF*: 529 ff.).

According to Abaev (1924: 152), the nature of Iron accent is a combination of pitch and stress ("a mixed musical-expiratory type"). Generally speaking, stress prevails.

Accent assignment in Iron word forms is largely predictable, depending on the quality of the vowel. A distinction should be made between so-called "weak" vowels, viz. *æ* and *y*, and "strong" ones, viz. *a*, *u*, *i*, *o* and *e*. Accent falls on the first syllable of a word, but it shifts to the second if the first syllable contains a weak vowel: *ádæjmag* 'human, person', *nyrrizyn* 'to start shaking', *fydólta* 'fathers', etc.

In many personal names and borrowings the accent is assigned to the second syllable, regardless of the nature of the vowel in the preceding syllable or even the rules of accentuation in the source language. Examples are *Afégo*, *Temjrbolat*, *Alyksandyr*, *Fatjma*, *samávar* (Russ. *samovár*), *andákat* (Russ. *advokát*), *gobún* 'sack (of straw)' (Georg. *góbani*), *tamáko* 'tobacco' (Georg. *támako*). Abaev suggested, on account of these forms, that there was a tendency to fix the accent on the second syllable and that this may have been the original situation. The latter conclusion is rather tenuous: why should personal names (often of foreign origin) and borrowings have preserved a particular archaic phonological trait? Definiteness⁶⁰ can also play a role in accent assignment, e.g. *xázar* 'the house' < **i* *xázar* (vs. indef. *xázár* '(a) house'), i.e. accent retraction takes place, if the noun is definite. Since this rule only affects a small group of non-monosyllabic nouns with weak vowel in the first syllable, it is not surprising that the use of definiteness, described by several authors, is nowadays moribund or extinct in standard Iron.

Assignment of the accent in phrases with two or more constituents can be complicated. The functional load of accent assignment often depends on the division of the phrases, for instance *báx ná qáwý max* 'we need our horse' vs. *báx ná qáwý max* 'we don't need the horse'. The following constituents form one syntagm:

1. preposition or postposition and the referent, e.g. *sæxt midæg tarxón kanjnc* 'among them they pass judgment', *ad báx* 'with horse', *dóny byn* 'under the water';
2. the qualifying attribute and the referent, e.g. *Nártý Wælxæg*⁶¹ 'Nartic Wælxæg';
3. the gerund and its complement (in absolute constructions), e.g. *kæcón dæ, zæggæ, ja færsjnc* 'sayingly, from where do they ask you?' (*zæggæ* gerund 'saying'), *næ dér cærgæ kany*, *næ dér mælgæ* 'he does not live, nor die' (*cærgæ kany* lit. 'to make living, alive');
4. the finite verb and its complement (predicate), e.g. *cóm Sozryqo!* 'Let us go, Sozryqo!';
5. a nominal or verbal form and clitic particle(s) or pronoun(s), e.g. *kæf fjrt dæ?* 'whose son are you?', *næ zónys mæ mády rævdýd* 'I don't know of my mother's caressing', *má tærs!* 'do not be afraid!';
6. certain strings of clitic (adverbial) particle(s) and/or pronoun(s), e.g. *dý tá wal mæm æj árdæm ærbákæ* 'then, meanwhile, you lead him to me!'.
Accent assignment in a syntagm basically follows the same rules: accenting is limited to the first two syllables, while accent falls on the first strong vowel or the second weak vowel.

It is possible that a whole sentence consists of only one or two complex phrases:

- *áavut má xurtæ!* 'go (pl.) my sun(shine)s!'
- *cy águry, mágyr læg?* 'what are you looking for, poor man?'
- *új xázan sylgojmag níkaý xæzaræf rakæzganis ærtæ Nartæ!* 'such a woman shall not look from any home, three (families) of the Narts!'

5.3. DIGORON ACCENT

The situation in Digoron is less clear, despite the fact that there are three articles dealing with Digoron accent, viz. Henderson (1949: 74-79), Bailey (1950) and Dzagurov (1929). While Henderson and Bailey relied on one and the same Digoron informant, who had left his homeland more than twenty years earlier, Dzagurov was a native speaker of Digoron. Despite the use of the same informant, Henderson and Bailey wrote from different perspectives: Henderson concentrated her efforts on the phonetic aspects of Digoron word forms, whereas Bailey attempted to discover the pattern of accent assignment in Digoron forms. Dzagurov tried to formulate rules of accenting by compiling an extensive word-list.

Henderson concluded that word accent was quite indistinct and expressed by a falling pitch, for instance, *rimaxsun* 'to hide, conceal' was transcribed as *riməx'sun*, with intonation [·\]. Accent assignment apparently depends on the number of syllables: disyllabic and also trisyllabic forms generally receive the accent on the second syllable, while in polysyllabic forms, accent usually falls on the third syllable. Exceptions and restrictions are quite numerous, however. Within syntagms, the way of accenting could deviate as well. In addition, she observed that her informant associated accent rather with vowel quantity. Strong vowel *a*, *e*, *o*, *ij*, were pronounced long and were felt as if carrying accent.

Shortly after the article of Henderson, Bailey published the results of his own investigation (1950: 58ff.). Digoron accent was quite intensive, according to Bailey:

⁶⁰ The marker of definiteness used to be expressed by the particle **i*, which Digoron has preserved. The origin of **i* is the old relative pronoun **iu*, v. Bailey (*Asia*: 15 ff.)

⁶¹ Vs. *Nártý Wælxæg* 'Wælxæg of the Narts (family)'.

"L'accento è intensivo, ma A [= the informant] non è pronunciato così energicamente come quello che egli adopera in russo". Accent assignment is restricted to the first three syllables. If all syllables of polysyllabic forms contained either long or short vowels, the accent falls on the third syllable. In disyllabic forms the second syllable was accented. Bailey also added that in forms with more than three syllables final short *-æ*, *-i* should be ignored. In addition, accent assignment deviated when the syllables contained both short and long vowels, and when we were dealing with compounds, composite verbs, and contrast/emphasis. In short, his postulation of the "trisyllable rule" contained so many exceptions and restrictions that the rule was practically meaningless.

Finally, Dzagurov (1929: 130 ff.) arrived at the following rules (p. 142):

1. accent in Digoron is difficult to determine;
2. accent assignment can be on any syllable, up to the fifth, counting from the end of the word;
3. accent assignment totally depends on the length of the vowels: if the word contains a long vowel, accent on any syllable with short vowel is impossible;
4. in forms with only long vowels or with only short ones accent always fall on the last vowel; also borrowings from Russian tend to conform to this rule;
5. short vowel before two consonants counts as long;
6. in the case of weakening of the long vowel under accent [i.e. of the type *cupparajmag* 'fourth', pl. *cupparajmagta*], the accent shifts to the preceding syllable with long vowel, diphthong or also short vowel before double consonant [e.g. *cupparajmag* → pl. *cupparajmagta*].

Clearly, his conclusions contribute little to our understanding of Digoron accent. His general understanding of accent was erroneous, tending to equate accent to vowel quantity, which was also the case with the Digoron informant from whom Henderson and Bailey had collected their material. For conclusion 6 see § 5.5.

Based on my own observations of Digoron accent during a stay in Vladikavkaz, North Ossetia⁶², I noticed no distinctive accent in Digoron, confirming the conclusions of Henderson. The nature of the accent could vary according to intonation, in both stress and pitch. Variation in accent was especially noticeable in the first three syllables. Certain syllables were more inclined to receive prominence than others, especially the second syllable. However, in unmarked position, prominence was absent, which means that all syllables were pronounced with the same flat pitch and no additional stress. In syntagms, it is only natural to expect emphasis on certain constituents, for instance *na 'fsijn'* 'mylady!' (with loss of final *-æ*), *æx dær* 'I too'. Also in syntagms, accent on the second syllable is preferred.

⁶² For this purpose I could rely on the co-operation of the following Digoron informants: prof. X.A. Takazov, Dr Ju.D. Karažev and Ms M.K. Karaževa. All of them are employed at the North Ossetian State University of Vladikavkaz. The former two informants were born in the exclusively Digoron-speaking *Irafskij Rajon*, in the villages of Lesken and Xaznidon respectively, while the latter was born in El'xotovo, the principal village in the predominantly Iron-speaking *Kironskij Rajon*. Furthermore, I got hold of a tape, which recorded some episodes from the Narts epic. A full report of these investigations must be reserved for the future.

5.4. IRON AND DIGORON ACCENT: A COMPARISON

When we compare both accentual systems, the question arises which prosodic system is more conservative. We have indications that Iron prosody has undergone some innovations. One of the characteristic features which separates Iron from the sister dialect Digoron, is frequent apocope of final *-æ*, as described in chapter 1. The Iron apocope is most probably related to the nature of stress in Iron. Deletion of final *-æ* in Digoron is a rather sporadic phenomenon, being ad hoc, for instance, in addressing someone (*na 'fsijn'* 'mylady!'), or highlighting a contrast/opposition (*ačw<u>n načem* 'I am going home! [but not you]'), which is usually accompanied by a strong stress. Apparently, Iron accent has become a stress accent (whence apocope of final *-æ*). Also, the nature of the vowels plays a significant role in Iron accent assignment, while in Digoron it is of less relevance.

5.5. ORIGIN OF THE OSSETIC ACCENT

Little has been published on the history of the Ossetic accentual pattern. Most recently, Thordarson (1990) devoted an article to the possible development of accent from Proto-Iranian to Ossetic. In his article he deduces some features of the Alanic prosody.

From the Ossetic vowel shift *a*⁶³ > *æ* (ibid.: 260 f.) he concludes that Alanic might have a system of free accent. In support of his "vowel shift" he cites the following instances:

- plural formations, e.g. *marǵta* 'birds' vs. sg. *marǵ* (< **mrga*-),
- ordinals, e.g. *fanǵæm* 'fifth' vs. *fanǵ* 'five' (< **panǵa*);
- formations formed with certain suffixes, e.g. *tašsag* 'dangerous' (from *taš* 'fear'), *bæræ* / *bæræx* 'measure' (from *baryn* / *barun* 'to measure').

Thordarson assumes that the "vowel shift" *a* > *æ* was caused by a dynamic stress on the following vowel, implying a prosodic system of free accent⁶⁴. In fact, it is unnecessary to invoke accent movements to explain the "vowel shift". The vowel alternation affects all formations with the suffixes involved (save the very recent), which is due to the fact that all inherited forms ending in consonant cluster *-CC#* show lengthening of the preceding vowel **a*, e.g. *ars* 'bear' < **arša*- (< PIr. *(H)*r̥ša*-), *bærǵond* 'high; height' (< **br̥ǵant*), *darǵ* 'long' (< **darga*-), v. *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.ii-iii. At some point, this alternation became a productive ablaut pattern. Whereas the pattern was originally restricted to forms with *-CC#* (in singular), such as *ars* ~ *arsyta*, *darǵ* ~ *darǵta*, it later spread to other forms, e.g. *don* (< **dānu*-) ~ *dætta* / *danta* 'water; river' (with originally long **a*).

Another trace of free accent is sought by Thordarson (ibid.: 264) in syncope of certain unproductive forms with suffix *-g* / *-gæ*. He derives this suffix from oxytone **-aká*.

⁶³ This also includes Oss. *o* from older, Alanic **a* before nasal.

⁶⁴ Thordarson thus assumes that "the vowel shift (shortening) *a* > *æ* was caused by a dynamic stress on the immediately following syllable. If this interpretation is correct, it bears witness to a prosodic system of free accent in some earlier phase of the history of the language" (p. 263-4).

kʲyʒg / *kʲyʒa* 'girl' < **kʲyʒakā* (Turkic *qıʒ*). He admits though that the form can also reflect barytone **kʲyʒakā*. See further below.

Earlier, Gershevitch noted a suggestive⁶⁵ resemblance between Sogdian and Ossetic (here: Iron) accent assignment. In Sogdian, a pervasive rhythmic principle was operative: the accent falls on the first syllable, if it contains a long vowel, diphthong or a vowel before /_mC/, but otherwise shifts to a following syllable. The effect of this rhythmic principle was loss of short vowel and weakening of long vowels in several positions. Unfortunately, due to an inadequate representation of short vowels in all the three Sogdian scripts, many cases of syncope cannot be demonstrated, cf. Sims-Williams (1984: 207 f.). Apocope can be deduced more easily: for instance, forms with a long stem vowel show loss of endings. The contemporary accentual systems of Ossetic may have been the result of an entirely autonomous development, however. The Rhythmic Law most likely reflects an internal development in Sogdian. Note that even in Yaghnobi, a modern (quasi-)successor of Sogdian, the law has not been operative, cf. Sokolova II: 64.

The comprehensive investigation on syncope and apocope in Ossetic, carried out in previous chapters, reveals some aspects of the Alanic prosodic system. We have arrived at the following results:

1. final vowels *-a, *-u, *-i were deleted at a certain stage in Pre-Ossetic (the general apocope);
2. a short middle vowel was syncopated after the general apocope, also at a Pre-Ossetic stage.

Evidently, the cause of both apocope and syncope can only be attributed to dynamic stress. Furthermore, these clear-cut rules do not allow an older prosodic system with free accent, but rather one with *fixed* accent. Our results favour initial accent as the most probable cause for the developments that have taken place in pre-Ossetic. As an instructive parallel development, we may cite apocope and syncope in Old Irish, which had initial fixed accent. The strong stress brought about apocope of final short vowels and shortening of final long vowels, which was subsequently followed by syncope in the second syllable of forms still having more than two syllables, cf. Thurneysen (1946: 67). The only minor difference with Ossetic is that in Ossetic long middle vowels were not shortened and thus could not be syncopated.

In a recent paper I argued that certain cases of gemination betrayed a trace of accent position (Cheung 2000: 69 ff.). Ossetic shows a peculiar double treatment of *-Cj-: geminate consonant before an (etymologically) long vowel, but single consonant before a short vowel.

⁶⁵ "In view of the close connexion existing between Ossetic and Sogdian ..., it is not surprising that the two languages should share in a development of this nature" (Gershevitch 1948: 63).

Examples are:

<i>allon</i> 'an ethnonym' < Gpl. * <i>arjānām</i>	<i>alag</i> a Nartic family < * <i>arja-ka-</i>
<i>innæ</i> 'other' < pron. pl. * <i>anai</i>	<i>acæg</i> 'true, truth' < * <i>baθia-ka-</i>
<i>waʒʒaw</i> 'heavy' < Nsg. * <i>waʒjāwāh</i>	<i>waʒ</i> / <i>waʒa</i> 'load, burden' < * <i>waʒja-</i>
<i>ɔllag</i> / <i>ɔwallag</i> 'provisions' < * <i>huāriā-ka-</i>	<i>zarin</i> / <i>zarinæ</i> 'gold(en)' < * <i>zaranja-</i>

The distribution suggests that a pretonic geminate is preserved (left column), but in posttonic position it was simplified (right column). I suggested that this development was dated before syncope, but the chronology must be revised on the basis of the outcome of the forms with secondary cluster *-Cj-. The secondary cluster, which arose from syncopated *-CVj- (cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.7), shows the same distribution with older geminates: *iʒær* 'evening' (< **uʒjar* < Plr. **uʒ-ajara-*) vs. *raʒʒag* 'frontal' (Oss. *raʒ* 'front; before' + suff. -*jaʒ*), etc. In addition, the rise of secondary -a after final geminate consonant (e.g. *zarin* / *zarinæ*, *waʒ* / *waʒa*, see *Apocope*, § 1.2.2b.i) is at variance with early simplification. Simplification of both old and recently arisen geminates is therefore better dated after apocope and syncope.⁶⁶

5.6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

At a certain Pre-Oss. stage a stress accent prevailed, being fixed on the initial syllable. The result was apocope of final short vowel, followed by syncope. After this stage a shift of accent took place, which accounts for the simplification of geminate consonant before short vowel: short vowel in this position was (or became) unaccented. The implications are twofold:

1. in non-monosyllable forms, the accent was normally on the second syllable;
2. the accent assignment at this stage depended on vowel quality: long vowel attracted the accent, while stress on a short vowel was avoided.

When we consider the final outcome of the historical developments in the Ossetic prosody, we see that the accentual patterns in the contemporary Ossetic dialects are discernibly different from each other. In Iron a strong (i.e. dynamic) stress accent brought about apocope of final -a. Accent is usually on the initial syllable, but it shifts to the second syllable if the first syllable contains an etymologically short vowel. None of these features is important in Digoron prosody: accent varies in stress and pitch, tending to fall on the second syllable.

⁶⁶ The only exceptions are *ʃæʒʒag* and *ʃysʒag*. The latter may in fact have a triple consonant cluster at a previous stage: **tussʒag* < **tussjaka-*. The triple consonant cluster arose after the assimilation of *j to the preceding consonant. The geminate consonant in *ʃysʒag* is the result of simplification of the triplet. For *ʃæʒʒag* see *Etymological Index* (s.v.).

6. ON *u, *u

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The rounded vowel *u (<PIr. *u, *u) and its consonantal variant *u have generally become Oss. (w)y / u and w, cf. *Introduction*, §0.7.2.4, §0.7.3.2. Sometimes, *u, *u have disappeared in Ossetic due to certain special developments, which were treated in previous chapters. In this chapter, the effect of Ir. *u, *u (abbr. U) on the adjacent vowel is discussed.

6.2. u-UMLAUT

Under the influence of U in the following syllable, umlaut of *a > *u took place, in e.g. *fyr* / *fur* 'much, many' (< *paru-), *myd* / *mud* 'honey' (< *madu-), *fyx* / *funx* 'ripe, cooked' (*paxxa-, with secondarily added *-na, cf. *Appendix*, A §4). According to Miller (OË II: 51 and Gr.: 19), u-umlaut depends on the presence of an adjacent labial consonant and following vowel u. Miller (Gr.: 19-20) assumed that in participles in final -nd, -md, the u-umlaut took place, too, e.g. *amynd* / *amund* (*amony* / *amonun* 'to show, instruct'), *kynd* / *kund* (*komyn* / *komun* 'to obey, yield'), but this phenomenon has a different explanation (see below).

6.2.1 Evidence

Let us now take a closer look at this development. We have at our disposal the following forms which have undergone u-umlaut.

- *cymyn* / *cumun* 'to sip, to gulp' < *c(i)am-una-, Av. *šam*-, Sogd. (Bud.) *š'm*-, Khot. *tsām*- 'to swallow, slurp'.
- *cyppar* / *cuppar* 'four' (< *cāṭuārah, LAv. *caṭṭārō*, etc.
- *dymyn* / *dunsun* 'to swell (up)' < inch. of *dymyn*, below.
- *dymyn* / *dumun* 'to blow (up); smoke', see below.
- *fyr* / *fur* 'much, many' < *paru-, OP *paru*-, Av. *pouru*- 'id.'.
- *fys* / *fus* 'sheep' < *pasu-, Av. *pasu*- m. 'small cattle'.
- *fyx* / *funx* 'ripe, cooked' < *paxxa-, Skt. *pakvā*- 'id.'.
- *myd* / *mud* 'honey' < *madu-, LAv. *maḍu*- (n.) 'an alcoholic drink', etc.

If we take these cases at face value, they seem to confirm the conditions established by Miller. If a labial consonant was not present, u-umlaut did not apply: *kæstær* 'smaller, smallest' (< *kasu- + comp. -dar, Av. *kasu*- 'little'), impv. 3sg. -æd (< *atu-, cf. Av. -atū, Khot. -(i)tu, Skt. -atū).

The rise of -pp- in *cyppar* is difficult to explain: the development is also found in *fippajyn* 'to remark' (< *pati-pāia-), with -pp- from syncopated *šjβ-, but not in *rafi* / *rafiæ* 'noon' (*rapitṭhā-), in spite of *-θu-. The development of -pp- is possibly connected with u-umlaut of initial *a, on which see below.

There are, however, a few forms which do not follow the conditions posited by Miller.

- *fanyk* / *funuk* 'ashes' < *pa(n)snu-ka-, LAv. *paṣnu*- m. 'dust'.
- *farsk*, *farsk'* / *farsk'a* 'rib' < *parsukā-, Sogd. *pr'sk* 'rib', Khot. *pālsuā* (DKS: 234, s.v. *pālsuve* 'ribs, sides; spoke of wheel').
- *małzyg* / *mulzyg* 'ant' < *maru-ū-ka-, LAv. *mauruu*-, NP *mārcāb* 'id.'.
- *warax* / *urux* 'wide, spacious', see below.

We expect u-umlaut in these forms, since they contain both labial consonant and following *u, but in *farsk'* / *farsk'a* u-umlaut is absent, while in *fanyk* / *funuk*, *małzyg* / *mulzyg* and *warax* / *urux* it is present in Digoron only. In the latter Ossetic forms, the Iron vocalism can hardly be secondary, whereas Digoron often shows vowel assimilation, cf. *Introduction*, §0.7.5.8. This assimilation should also account for the initial u in D. *funuk* and *mulzyg*. In the case of *warax* / *urux*, the preforms cited by Abaev, viz. *paru-ka-, *uru-ka- (cf. Av. *vouru*-, Skt. *urī*- 'id.'), do not explain final -x in both Ossetic forms, which was also noticed by Hübschmann (Oss.: 62 f.). Besides, the second preform *uru-ka-, which is given by Abaev, is morphologically impossible in Iranian. A different reconstruction (and etymology) is preferable. If we consider the Iron reflex more archaic, we may derive it from POss. *warax^w < *warah^want-, Nsg. *warah^wāb, a derivative formation of *warah-, cf. Skt. *vāras*- n. 'width, breadth, space'. D. *urux* can be derived from this formation, if we assume that POss. *warax^w first yielded *warux in Digoron and that, subsequently, the initial vowel was assimilated⁶⁷, cf. above. The Iron vocalism remained unaffected by final *x^w, apparently because *x^w was early simplified to x, cf. *xæd*- / *xwæd*- 'self, auto-', *xæcyn* / *xwæcyn* 'to keep, hold'.

The question now is why *fanyk*, *małzyg*, *farsk'* and *warax* have not undergone u-umlaut. A common feature of the majority of umlauted forms is that *U, the trigger of u-umlaut, was in final position and was apocopated at an early stage. This evidently implies that the root vowel *a was assimilated to final *U prior to apocope, being realized as allophonic [ɔ] vel sim. When final -U was apocopated, [ɔ] acquired phonemic status and merged with old *u. In *fanyk*, *farsk'*⁶⁸ and *małzyg* this development did not take place, because the conditioning factor was still present and [ɔ] remained allophonic.⁶⁹ Prior to the subsequent syncope the vowel presumably reverted to the unrounded variant again. The implication is that the verbs *cymyn* and *dymyn* (and inch. *dymyn*) cannot be considered as genuine cases of u-umlaut, which was improbable anyhow.⁷⁰ In fact, *dymyn* reflects denominative *dimaia-, Skt. *dhūmayati*, rather than *dama-ia- (Skt. *dhām*- 'to smoke'), while the vocalism of *cymyn* has been imported from the participle (*cymd* / *cund*), see also §6.2.2.

⁶⁷ Another instance of this development may be found in Balk. *bardux*, *urdux* 'twisted twig', which have been borrowed from Digoron, cf. *Etym. Index* (s.v. *wærdex*).

⁶⁸ The implication of the argument is that we can now consider *farsk* as an old *kā*-formation, at least dating to the pre-apocope stage: *parsu-ka-, cf. *Syncope*, §2.2.1b.

⁶⁹ The case *fyx* / *funx* does not necessarily contradict these assumptions, as the conditioning factor *u could have disappeared after the addition of *-na, cf. *Appendix*, A §4.

⁷⁰ Paradigmatic levelling usually starts from the indicative present or preterite, occasionally from other moods, but seldom from the infinitive, cf. *Syncope*, §2.4.5.

As for *cyppar* / *cuppar*, the disappearance of older **u* (and rise of a labial consonant) might have coincided with apocope of *-*U*, whence the phonemicization of [ɔ] in the first syllable.

We can thus endorse that the conditions of *u*-umlaut are essentially correct, with the addition that **U* must be in final position, see also § 6.2.3. That means that *u*-umlaut must be dated before syncope.

6.2.2. participles with final -nd, -md

Miller's explanation of **u* before *nt*, *md* in the participles (see previous section) is erroneous. A closer look at the corresponding infinitives reveals a common feature: except for *cymyn*, the infinitives all share -*o*- (from older **ā*) as stemvowel.

Several forms can be mentioned.

- *amynd* / *amund* : inf. *amonyŋ* / *amonun* 'to show, instruct'.
- *keynd* / *kund* : inf. *komyn* / *komun* 'to obey, yield'.
- *xoynd* / *xund* : inf. *xonyŋ* / *xonun* 'to call, invite'.
- *zynd* / *zund* : inf. *zonyn* / *zonun* 'to know'.

This ablaut pattern is not restricted to participles ending in **nd*, **md*: also the participle *æssyd* / *æssud* (inf. *æssonyn* / *æssonun* 'to push') shows this pattern. The rise of **u* in these participles can scarcely be the result of a phonological development. Rather, a morphological cause is much more likely behind the rise, i.e. we are dealing with paradigmatic ablaut remodelling. These verbs seem to be remodelled after the well attested ablaut type **u* : **au* as found in the verbs:

- *ærdyst* / *ærdust* : inf. *ærduzyn* / *ærdozun* 'to castrate', etc.
- *dygd* / *dugd* : inf. *ducyn* / *docun* 'to milk';
- *kejrd* / *kurd* : inf. *kuryŋ* / *korun* 'to request';
- *qoyst* / *igust* : inf. *quzyn* / *igosun* 'to hear, listen';
- *ramygd* / *ramugd* : inf. *ramuzyn* / *ramozun* 'to tear apart, rip out';

The remodelling after these verbs took place on account of two factors. The first one is the development of **ā* > POss. **o* (in front of *N*), which was also the result of the monophthongization of **au*. The ablaut pattern POss. **o* : **u* (< **au* : **u*) is well attested, whereas ablaut patterns with vowel **o* < **ā* / -*N* in the present stem and a vowel other than **u* in the corresponding past participle is very rare. It is for this reason that the four verbs concerned imported the more frequent ablaut pattern **o* : **u*. The participle *cymd* / *cund* has subsequently influenced the infinitive (and present stem): POss. **comun* >> *cymyn* / *cumun*. The existence of earlier **comun*, with originally long **ā*, is assured by Khot. *tsām*-, Skt. *ā-cām*- 'to swallow'.

The regular continuation has been preserved in Ossetic, due to a particular nominal usage, in notably one case *amond* 'luck, [D.] compassion; sin'.

6.2.3. *u*-umlaut and **ɣ*

There is yet another aspect of *u*-umlaut, which has remained unnoticed thus far, viz. the development of vocalic **r*- to POss. **ur* (> (w)yr / ur) in some forms.

- *ambyrd* / *amburd* 'gathering' < ppp. **hambɣta*-, cf. LAv. *buš.hqm.bərsta*- 'brought together, acquired', Skt. *sambhṛta*- 'brought together, assembled';
- *wyrdyŋ* / *urdug* 1. 'standing up; perpendicular', 2. 'steep' < **ɣdya-ka*-, Khz. *ʾrōβk*-, LAv. *ərəβsa*-, Skt. *ūrdhvā*- 'erected, high', *ūrdhvaka*- 'standing up'. The second vowel -y- / -u- suggests contraction of (only medial ?) **ua* > POss. **u*.
- *wyrz* / *urz* 'fingertip' < **ɣzu*-, LAv. *ərəzu*- 'finger'.

The development is parallel to the treatment of initial **ur*-, which has become Ossetic *wyr*- / *ur*-.

- *wyrz* / *urz* 'kidney' < **urθka*-, LAv. *varəθka*-, Skt. *urθekā*-.
- *wyrmyŋ* (I.) 'to believe' < **urma*-, Av. (pres.) *varəma*-.
- *wyrs* / *urs* 'stallion' < **uršna*-, **urša*-, cf. Av. *varəšna*- 'male', Skt. *uršan*- (m.), *urša*- (compounds) 'virile man; male animal', *uršanvant*- 'having stallions'.
- *awerst*⁷¹ / *aurst* (*awerdyŋ* / *awerdun* 'to regret; to economize, spare') < **ā-urzda*-, Av. *varəd*-, *varəzda*- 'augere', Skt. *vardh*-, *urddhā*- 'id.'.

Normally, vocalic **r* has yielded Oss. *ar* or (before -CC#) *ar*, e.g. *barzond* 'high' (**brzant*-, Av. *barəzant*-), *ard* 'oath' (< **ɣta*-, Av. *aša*-, Skt. *ṛtā*-). The outcome (POss.) **ur*, on the other hand, has apparently arisen in the proximity of **U*, without the additional requirement of another labial consonant. Hence, -y- / -u- in *ambyrd* / *amburd* (reflecting **hambɣta*-) points to **U* in final syllable. Deriving *ambyrd* from an Iranian *u*-stem is implausible, nor can it possibly reflect a formation in **uan*(t). There is yet another possibility. In Khotanese and Sogdian, Plr. *-*am* has regularly become -*u*. The Ossetic form finally provides evidence that this development has also taken place in (Pre-)Ossetic, viz. *ambyrd* < *(h)*ambɣdu* < Plr. **hambɣtam*.⁷² Secondary **u* thus merged with old **ū*. The Ossetic form most likely reflects the NAsg. of the (substantivized) neuter participle.

Similar to Sogdian and Khotanese, final **ām* of the genitive plural ending *-*ānām* may also have been shortened to **am* (thus merging with Plr. **am* > **u*), cf. Khot. GDpl. -*ānu*, Sogd. Gpl. *nw* (Emmerick, JGS: 266; Sims-Williams 1990: 280). The shortening in Khotanese has been explained as a result of the heavy stress on the penultimate syllable by Emmerick (JGS: l.c.). In Ossetic, the Gpl. ending *-*ānām* > **ānu* has become the suffix -*on*, which indicates relation or (ethnic) origin, e.g. *allon* ethnonym (**ārīānām*), *xəzaron* 'house-, domestic' (*xəzar* 'house'), *iron* 'Ossetian' (*ir* 'the Ossetians, Ossetian people'), *æsson* 'Balkarian' (*asy* 'Balkaria'). The ending has been preserved in the plural of the pronouns I. *adon* 'these' and *wydon* 'those', cf. Thordarson (CLI: 469, 472).

⁷¹ The vocalism is due to paradigmatic levelling: the expected reflex should be *ɣawrst*.

⁷² Another case is *æz* 'I', which would then go back to < **azu* < Plr. **azam*. The case is subject to Miller's conditions of *u*-umlaut.

6.3. DELABIALIZATION

In three Digoron forms we encounter delabialization of **u* to *i*.

- *myst* / *mista* ‘mouse’ < **mūs*; Av. *mūš* daēvic being, Sogd. *mūš* ‘mouse’, etc.
- *sy* / *siwa* ‘horn’ < **srūā*; LAv. *srūā*, Khot. *s(s)u*, Khz. *šw*, MP *srū* ‘horn’, etc.
- *syfc* / *sufca*, *sifca* in *sufcaj lasun* ‘to take in tow’ < **suf(t)iā* (or **sufθiā*), see *Etym. Index* (s.v.); LAv. *supti* ‘shoulder’, Khot. *suti*, MP *suf*, Skt. *śūpti* (f), etc.

The strange *i*-vocalism of the Digoron forms has not been explained. Only Petersson (1920: 16) attempted to explain the vocalism of *mista* by attributing it to the influence of *syst* / *sista* ‘louse’. Although *myst* / *mista* and *sista* are both small vermin, the associative link between these two is not evident. In the case of D. *sufca*, *sifca*, the D. variant with *-u-* is probably not phonologically regular. Since *sifca* cannot be explained within Digoron, it is probably the original form, whereas *sufca* is rather secondary, cf. *judbuluz* ‘bad spirit, demon’ (also D. *judbiliz*, I. *judbylyz* < *fyd* / *jud* ‘bad, evil’ + Arab.-Pers. *ibliz* ‘devil’) and *Fatumaet* PN (< ultimately Arab. *Fatima*). According to Fritz (1983: 100), the latter form is a “hyperdigoronized” variant of *Fatima*: does this suggest an erroneous Digoron translation of Iron *Fatyma*? The explanation may also apply to the forms above (*mutatis mutandis*).

The conditions for the delabialization appear to be very specific. A labial consonant must be adjacent to **u*. Another requirement seems to be the presence of a following palatal consonant, cf. *syfc* / *sufca*. For *mysta* / *mista* we may reconstruct the preform **mūs-ā-ā* (cf. *Appendix*, A § 1). The suffix **-ā-ā*, which has normally yielded Oss. *-z* / *-zæ*, has been simplified to *-t* / *-ta* after sibilant, similar to *ist* / *est* < **dšē* < **astī*, cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.3.7. In the case of *sy* / *siwa*, the presence of a palatal is not evident though. The labial *-u-* may have been palatal previously, being imported from (archaic) derivative formations like D. *siwin* ‘made of horn, horn-’ < **srūāina-* (LAv. *srūāēna-*, Khot. *svīnaa-*), D. *siwgin* ‘horned’ < ? **srūūi* (Av. *srūui*).

The established rule may account for the puzzling vocalism of *fyeyn*: *fyx(t)* / *ficun*: *funxt* ‘to bake, be baked’ (< PIr. **paš-ia*; Khot. *pach-*, Skt. *pac-*, *pācyati* ‘is cooked, ripens’). First, the vocalism **u* was introduced from the past participle into the other moods and the infinitive: >> POss. **fučun*. Subsequently, the stem vowel was delabialized.

6.4. SECONDARY OSS. *U* / *O*

In some instances, the rounded vowel **u* has given rise to I. *u*, D. *o*, which is the regular reflex of **au*.

- *cyppurs* / **capporse*⁷³ ‘winter festival’ < **cābrušua-*; LAv. *cābrušua-* n. ‘a quarter’ (in *cābrušum yāra* ‘quarterly’), El-OP *ša-iš-šu-iš-ma(š)*, *ša-šu-iš-ma* (= **cašusūva-*). Vowel *-a-* in the Digoron form must be genuine, whereas the Iron vocalism is influenced by *cyppar* ‘four’. To the numeral *four* we can also attribute geminate *-pp-* as well.

⁷³ The Digoron form is only attested in the genitive-locative ending. Abaev cites the D. form *capporse*, with final *-e*, which is merely the allophone of *-a-* before (GLsg.) *j*.

- *furd* / *ford* ‘great river, lake’ < **paruta-*; Av. *pauruta-* name of a certain country (or water), “Sc.” Πόροτα (Hdt.) name of a river, Khz. *puṛd* (m.) ‘sea’, Russ. *Prut* ‘the river Prut’ (< “Scythian”).
- *morz* (D.) ‘short’ < **m(a)rzu*; LAv. *marazu-jiti-* ‘short living’, Sogd. *murz*, *murzē* ‘short’, Khot. *mulysga-* ‘id.’ (< **mṛzuka-*). I. *murzæg* ‘part of carcass’ (cf. Av. *marazu-* ‘vertebra’) is probably related to *morz*.
- *urs* / *ors* ‘white’ < **aruša-*; LAv. *auruša-*, Skt. *aruśa-* ‘reddish, flame-coloured’, “Sm.” (= Al.) Ἀγοροί, Ἀλανογοροί (Ptol., Strabo) ‘White Alans’.
- *xur* / *xor* ‘sun, sunny’, ‘luck’, see below.

Unreliable cases are:

- *mus* / *mos* ‘threshing floor’ < (LW) **mašy-*, cf. Abaza *maš*.
- *tolz* / *tolzæ* ‘oak’ < ? **tarū* + **ā*.

The only way to explain *furd* and *urs* is to assume “metathesis”⁷⁴ of postvocalic **ru* > **ur*. This kind of metathesis is reminiscent of *u*-epenthesis in Avestan (see Hoffmann-Forssman 1996: 51-52, § 19). The development must be very old, as it is already reflected in the Sarmatian tribal name Ἀγοροί.

The remaining forms are more complicated. The Ossetic form *xur*, which has a hitherto unexplained vocalism can neither reflect **hvar-* nor zero grade **hūr-*, as proposed by Abaev.⁷⁵ In order to account for the vocalism⁷⁶, *xur* / *xor* may derive from **hvaruant-*, (Nsg.) **hvaruāb*, Skt. *svārvant-* ‘provided with splendour, luck, bliss’. This possessive *uant-* derivative of **hvar-* accords very well with the Ossetic meanings. As for D. *morz* and *cyppurs* / *capporse*, a convincing explanation cannot be given. Undoubtedly, the forms are the results of some morphological levellings which we cannot recover any longer.

6.5. SUMMARY

Under certain circumstances, labial (semi-)vowel **u*, **y* (= *U*) has effected the neighbouring vowel. The developments can be summarized as follows.

6.5.1. *U*-umlaut

Colouring of **a* > **u*, or *u*-umlaut, took place, if **a* was preceded by a labial consonant and followed by final *U* which was apocopated. The implication is that syncope postdated *u*-umlaut. The deletion of *U* in final position thus resulted in phonemicization of labialized *a* (= [ɔ]), which merged with vowel **u*.

⁷⁴ The mechanism probably runs via *u*-epenthesis, as in Avestan (cf. Hoffmann-Forssman, l.c.).

⁷⁵ Cf. Av. *bunar-*, Skt. *svār-*, etc. Alternatively, Bielmeier (1979: 257) suggests that the Ossetic form was borrowed from a West Iranian language. As *xur* belongs to the basic vocabulary, this is unlikely (although theoretically possible). In addition, the Ossetic form has also the additional meaning of ‘luck’, which is not attested in the (W)Ir. languages, e.g. MP *xuar*, NP *xūr* ‘sun, radiance; east’, Kurd. *xor* ‘sun’.

⁷⁶ The counterexample *zær* / *zæruvæ* ‘old age’ (< PIr. **zaryan-*, Nsg. **zaryā*, Av. *zauruan-*) probably shows interference of *zæron* ‘old’.

Also vocalic **r* in the proximity of *U* was coloured to **ur* (> I. (w)yr, D. ur).

6.5.2. U-metathesis

The sequence **arU* in inlaut position underwent metathesis, resulting in **aur*. The metathesis must be dated to the Alano-Sarmatian period.

6.5.3. Delabialization

There is a tendency to delabialize POss. **u* to *i*, if **u* is adjacent to a labial and palatal consonant.

APPENDIX

The results of previous chapters can now be used to interpret and clarify a number of morphemes ending in D. -*a*. Cat. A. features suffixes, while in cat. B. the verbal endings are treated in their entirety.

A. SUFFIXES WITH D. -*æ*

Here is a list of suffixes⁷⁷ ending in -*a* in Digoron that are analysable and, in most instances, productive in (Proto-)Ossetic.

1. -*az* / -(b)*azæ*

Three words contain this suffix, viz. *kərdaz* / *kərd(b)azæ* 'smithy' (*kərd* / *kurd* 'smith'), *mydaz* / *mudazæ* 'wax' (*myd* / *mud* 'honey'), *kərdaz* / *kərdbazæ* 'scabbard' (< *kərd* 'knife; sabre; sword'). These formations are very rare, being probably old compounds. Labial *b*- in the suffix is only attested in Digoron, tending to disappear. In the case of *mudazæ*, the absence of *b*- can be attributed to dissimilation: *m... b* > *m... ø*.

The origin of this suffix has not been adequately explained thus far. On the basis of a single case, *kərdaz* / *kərdbazæ*, Bailey (DKS: 407a, s.v. *sambajsa* 'saw') connected -*az* / -*azæ* with **uak*- 'be crooked', Skt. *vakrá*- 'bent', etc. This etymology is untenable, as the assigned meaning is at variance with the other formations: they clearly denote a certain place⁷⁸. I suggest that the suffix -*az* / -(b)*azæ* is connected with *badyn* / *badun* 'to sit (down); [D.] to settle, stay' (< **upa-had*-, Abaev I: 230-231). The whole suffix possibly goes back to: **upa-had(a)-* + **-ā* + **-ā* > -*az* / -*bazæ*.

The element **z* / **zæ* most likely continues the characteristic East Iranian suffix **-ā*, which shows "thematicization" in Ossetic: **-ā* + **-ā*. Thematicized **z* / **zæ* has cognates in several East Iranian languages⁷⁹. The use of **-ā* as feminine suffix is widespread, cf. Morgenstierne (1962: 162 ff.), often corresponding to the masculine suffix **-ka*.

The suffix **-ā* + **-ā* is also used independently⁸⁰, e.g. *kynz* / *kinzæ* 'girl', *ængylz* / *ængulzæ* 'finger', *widaz* / *widazæ* 'reign', etc. These formations are no longer transparent in modern Ossetic.

⁷⁷ Not included is -*c'ar* / -*c'aræ*, mentioned by Miller (Gr.: 94, no. 37). The alleged meaning of -*c'ar* / -*c'aræ*, viz. multiplicative, can only be supported by one form, i.e. *dye'ar* / *dic'aræ* 'double' (*dy-* / *du-* 'two'). The formant is perhaps identical to *c'ar* / *c'aræ* 'bark; skin; cover'.

⁷⁸ The meaning of 'wax' for *mydaz* / *mudazæ* can be interpreted as 'something associated with honey'.

⁷⁹ For instance:

- Khot. (f) *-gyā*, e.g. *surgyā*- (f. of *surāa*-) 'pure', *ahyāgyā*- (f. of *ahyānaa*-) 'boy, prince' 'princess';
- Sogd. (light) *-ē(y)ā*, e.g. **c'* (in *-(y)nc*), cf. Sims-Williams (1981: 15);
- Pā. *-jā*, e.g. *xəjā* 'woman' (< **stri-ā* + f. -*ā*), *winjā* 'slave girl' (< **banda-ā* + f. -*ā*), cf. Morgenstierne (ibid.: 164).

⁸⁰ The simple **-ā* has left far fewer traces in Ossetic. The only certain example is *idaz* 'widow(ed)' which functions primarily as an adjective.

2. -ag / -agæ

This suffix derives nomina agentis from present stems often indicating a permanent quality (Miller, Gr.: 89): *cawag* / *cawagæ* 'wanderer' (*cawyn* / *cawun* 'to go'), *tarsag* / *tarsagæ* 'coward' (*taryn* / *tarsun* 'to fear'), *sijag* / *sijagæ* 'freezing' (*sijyn* / *sijun* 'to freeze').

The origin of this suffix clearly goes back to the suffix *-āka, Skt. -āka, which "dient ... zur Bildung von Nomina ag. im Sinn von 'dem Verbalbegriff gewohnmäßig u.dgl. vollziehend", mainly pejoratively: *kuttāka* 'splitting, brawler' < *kutt* 'to split', *jalpāka* 'tattler' < B. kl. *jalp* 'to tattle, talk' (AiGr. II/2: 267).

Traces of *-āka are found in many Iranian languages. In Sogdian, -'k(') is added to the verbal stems, forming mostly active nouns or adjectives: *yrβ'k* 'wise' (< *yrβ* 'to know'), (Man.) *ynd'k*, (Bud.) *ynt'k*, *ynt'k(')* 'bad' (< *ynt* 'to smell, stink'), cf. Pth. *gnd'g* 'stinking, foul', *mw'g* 'teacher', Bal. *gəndəg* 'bad, evil', Khot. *haurāka* 'giver, giving' < *haur* 'to give', *išāka* 'switcher' < *iš* 'to reverse' (Degener 1989: 42 ff.), MP *hamwazāg* 'teacher' < *hamwaz* 'to speak to', *tarsāg* 'Christian' < *tars* 'to fear, be afraid'.

Final -a in D. -agæ is therefore not old: assuming an ā-variant (feminine ?) of the suff. *-āka is hardly attractive and not attested in the other (late) Iranian languages, anyhow. The accretion is probably due to the influence of the gerund suffix -gæ (see 9).

3. -as / -asæ

This suffix forms pronominal adjectives, emphasizing equal quality or size (of someone or something), e.g. *ujas* / *ojasæ* 'so big' (< *uj* / *oj* 'he, she, it'), *maxjas* / *maxjasæ* '(as big) as us' (< *max* 'we'), *cas* / *cjasæ* 'how big, how much' (< *cy* / *ci*, Gsg. *cæj* 'what'). According to Miller (Gr.: 94), the suffix -as / -asæ is related to NP -(ā)sā 'like, similar', e.g. *šēr-āsā* 'lion-like', *pil-sā* 'elephant-like', probably from *āsā(-) 'in place of, cf. Skt. āśā 'place, region' (A.L.).

4. -ag / -angæ

This rare suffix derives possessive formations from nominal forms: *axsinag* / *axsinangæ* 'dove' (< D. *axsin* 'dark-grey'), *kadag* / *kadangæ* 'song of praise' (< *kad* / *kada* 'honour'), *qarag* / *qarangæ* 'lamentation' (< *qaryn* / *garun* 'to cry'), *wasag* / *wasangæ* 'rooster' (< *wasyn* / *wasun* 'to sing, crow').

The interpretation of this suffix has remained uncertain. According to Miller (ibid.: 90), the assumed older nasal in the I. form has been assimilated to following -g: *-angæ > *-ang > *-agg > -ag. However, this kind of assimilation normally does not take place, cf. *radang* 'with red, plump face', *dang* 'sound of a gun', *mang* / *mangæ* 'faulty, imaginary', *zang* / *zangæ* 'shin', etc. Abaev (1985: 17 f.), on the other hand, suggested that the nasal in Digoron is secondary, having arisen before velar⁸¹. The alleged Digoron-Ossetic development is hardly plausible, since we have numerous counter-examples, cf. the suffix -ag / -aga, *fuga* / *foga* 'rhododendron', *myg* / *muga* 'semen', *bax* 'horse', *ix* / *ex* 'ice', *waxæn* D. 'such', etc. Nasal -n- in D. must be genuine. The divergent treatment of the nasal in the

⁸¹ The assumed development served as a phonetic parallel for the well-known appearance of -j- before -b- in Avestan.

Ossetic dialects bears some resemblance to the treatment in *az* / *anz* 'year' (**aznām*) and *qwaž* / *qəwənz* 'female deer' (**qayazna-*), where final nasal was lost in Iron, but metathesized in Digoron. For the suffix -ag / -angæ this presupposes the reconstruction **akanā(-)*, which became **agna* after syncope in the penultimate syllable. Eventually, the final vowel disappeared in Iron (due to recent apocope), with (subsequent) loss of final **n*, while the consonant group **gn-* was metathesized in Dig. The reconstruction is supported by the formation *axsinag* / *axsinangæ* which has close correspondences in two (formerly) neighbour languages: both Khot. *āśānaa-* and Toch. B *eksineke*⁸² 'dove' (< Iranian, probably pre-*Ossetic* or *Alanic*) clearly reflect a *ka*-formation. The second element of the suffix is perhaps the abstract suffix *-anā, cf. § 12.

5. -æx(x) / -ænxa

This rare suffix derives nominal forms with abstract meaning: *fydæx* / *fudænxa* 'wickedness' (< *fyd* / *fud* 'bad, evil'), *xoræx* / *xwarænxa* 'goodness' (< *xoræ* / *xwaræ* 'good').

The origin of the suffix is obscure. Iron -x(x) seems to be the result of assimilation of the consonant group -nx. Abaev connects the second part *æx / *ænxa with LAv. *ahnuā-* (= GAv. *ahnuā-*) 'energy, vitality', to which the suffix *-anā is possibly added (see above). Perhaps, the "suffix" originated in *fydæx* / *fudænxa* < **pūta-ahy-anā* 'the state of a bad [lit. 'foul'] life'.

6. -c / -cæ

The suffix -c / -cæ⁸³ derives abstract formations not only from old adjectives, but also from present stems: *dərg* (< older I. **dərgē*) / *dərgæ* 'length' (*dərg* 'long'), *wærc* (< **wærcæ*) / *wærcæ* 'breadth' (*wærcæ* 'broad'), *bærc* / *bærcæ* 'measure' (*bærc* / *bærcun* 'to measure'), *xælc* / *xælcæ* 'subsistence' (*xærcyn* / *xwærcun* 'to eat').

Abaev derives -c / -cæ from the abstract suffix *-ti, but this reconstruction explains neither the voiceless nature of the affricate nor the final -æ in Digoron. Oss. -c / -cæ appears to be connected with Khotanese -cā, -kyā. The Khotanese suffix is discussed by Degener (1989: 199, § 38 ff.) in detail. Suffix -cā derives primarily abstract nouns from the following categories:

1. verbal adjectives, e.g. *kāscā* 'Sorge' (*kāsta* 'fallen'),
2. present stems, e.g. *gūscā* 'deliverance' (*ggūsc-* 'to be delivered'), *iškyā* 'return' (*iš-* 'to return'),
3. substantives, with no apparent semantic modification, e.g. *tcaryā* 'face' (*tcari-* 'id.'), *štakulcā* 'abuse' (*štakulcā* 'id.'),
4. adjectives, changing them into collective abstracts, e.g. *kāššāngyā* 'thickness' (*kāššāna-* 'thick'), *pūcā* 'coolness [under a tree]' (*pūwāta-* 'cool').

⁸² The Tocharian form is only attested with the productive possessive -ññ.

⁸³ Grammars also mention the variant -z / -zæ of this suffix, e.g. *gəwz* / *iguzæ* 'embryo, foetus' (but D. *iguræ* 'birth') from *gəwryn* / *igurun* 'to be born', *arz* / *arzæ* 'nature' from *aryn* / *arun* 'to give birth'. Actually, -z / -zæ continues *-ti + *-ā and cannot be treated as a mere "voiced" equivalent of -c / -cæ. Since the suffixes -c / -cæ and -z / -zæ are semantically very close, it is understandable that confusion in their use has arisen. This seems also to be the case with some Khotanese formations, which are not commented on by Degener, however.

The Khotanese suffix derives from either **-kyā* (as attested in older Khot.⁸⁴), or **-čyā*, which Degener (ibid.) prefers.

7. *-don / -donæ*

The element *-don / -donæ* is mainly used as second element of compounds. The lexeme *don / donæ* (<PIr. **dānā-*) itself means 'location, receptacle'. Compounds with **dānā-* are amply attested in (Indo-)Iranian: Av. *aβš-dāna-* 'functioning like a watertank', OP *daivadāna-* (n.) 'temple of the idols', Sogd. *γzd'ny* 'tomb' (< **aβ-dāna-* 'bone-container', GMS: 250), MP, NP *zēn-dān* 'jail', Skt. *agni-dhāna-* 'fire receptacle'. Ossetic examples are: *karkedon / karkedonæ* 'hen house' (*kark* 'hen'), *myddon / muddonæ* 'beehive' (*myd* 'honey', 1.2.6a.), *xordon* 'granary' (*xor* 'grain').

Despite the Avestan, Persian and Sanskrit reflexes of neuter **dānā-*, Oss. *don / donæ* cannot be derived from thematic neuter: final *-æ* of D. *-donæ* rather points to a feminine noun in **-ā* (unless *-æ* derives from neuter plural?). Feminine **dānā-* is supported by some Iranian languages: Kurd. *-dan(k)* (f.) 'container' suffix (e.g. *sardank* 'refrigerator'), M. *firō-lōnō* 'tripod' (**frādānā-*), R., B. *ardōn* (f.) 'hearth' (< **ābra-dānā-*), v. EVS: 15b.

8. *-zinad / -zjinada*

This composite suffix forms abstracts from old adjectives and substantives, e.g. *restzjinad / restzjinada* 'truth' (*rast* 'true'), *warzonzjinad / warzonzjinada* 'love' (*warzon* 'loved, beloved'), *lymazzinad / lymazzinada* 'friendship' (*lymaz / lymaz* 'friend'). It consists of the noun **žinab-* (or **žanab-*) 'wish, desire' and the abstract suffix *-iad / -iade* (v. 12.). The employment of **žinab ~ *žanab-* as suffix is not confined to Ossetic, being found in Khotanese⁸⁵, Parthian⁸⁶ and Sogdian⁸⁷, too, cf. Sims-Williams (1989: 326 f.). In Ossetic it is also found in the future tense: *-zyn- / -zin-*, *-zan- ~ -zyn- / -zin- ~ -zy- / -zi-* (B § 1.6.3).

9. *-gæ*

The suffix *-gæ* forms gerunds⁸⁸ from present stems. According to Thordarson (1986: 277), it goes back to the Isg. of the *ka*-suffix: **-akā*. However, this would not explain the

⁸⁴ The Old Khotanese material is not always closer to the Proto-Khotanese situation. In this case, it is a matter of orthography, cf. Emmerick (1981: 193): "... *ky* and *c* seem to be almost completely interchangeable from the earliest texts as are *gy* and *j*".

⁸⁵ For instance, we read in Zambasta 22, 163: *dirsi jina* 'wishing to see'.

⁸⁶ Notable examples are (from Osnovy II: 197): *š'd-en* 'fortunate' (*š'd* 'happy'), *kum'r-en* 'girl' (*kum'r* 'boy, prince' < Skt.).

⁸⁷ In GMS (156, § 1020), two examples are cited: *p'f-en* 'the Reverend' (*p'f* 'respect') and *wx's-en* 'exhausted' (*xw's* 'to be(come) exhausted').

⁸⁸ The Oss. gerund has several functions, defined as follows by Thordarson (Cancoll. 7, handout):

- it is a verbal adverb, marking an action concomitant with the action expressed by a finite verb, e.g. *læppu kærugæ bacyd jæ xæzarmæ* 'The boy entered his house crying' (*læppu* 'boy', *kærugæ* 'crying', *bacyd* 'he came in');
- it is a noun, with the syntactic properties of a noun: head or modifier of a noun-phrase, the nominal part of a compound verb, a postposition: e.g. *æwugæ don* 'running water' (*æwugæ* 'to go', *don* 'water'), *xæd-tulgæ* 'bicycle'

preservation of *-æ* in both Iron and Digoron. I. D. *-gæ* rather points to Isg. **-kai*, which is employed in absolute construction here. It can be interpreted as the (absolute) locative of the Ossetic present participle in **-ka*: *badæg* (*badyn / badun* 'to sit'), *wajæg* (*wajyn / wajun* 'to run'), etc.

10. *-in / -ijnæ*

Some *nomina agentis* are derived from present stems with this suffix, which is more productive in Digoron than in Iron: e.g. D. *ænbadijnæ* 'table-companion' (*æm-* 'together' + *badun* 'to sit'), *æmzarin / ænzarijnæ* 'roommate' (*æm-* + *æryn / ærun* 'to live'), D. *ængarzijnæ* 'playmate' (*æm-* + *gæzun* 'to play'), *æmxysyn / æncussijnæ* 'bedfellow' (*æm-* + *xysyn / xussun* 'to sleep'), *fæszawin / fæszawijnæ* 'servant', lit. 'someone who goes after' (*fæ-* 'behind' + *æwun / æwun* 'to go'). Abaev notes that the use of this suffix (s.v. *fæszawin*) is accompanied by prefixation.

The origin of this suffix has not been clarified so far. The suffix is perhaps identical to Khot. *-iñā-*, which derives relational adjectives from animate nouns, e.g. *dabiñā-* 'masculine, manly, man-' (*daba-*), *mudiñā-* 'pertaining to the dead, dead-' (*muda-*), *kaviñā-* 'fishy, of fish' (*kava-*). For the origin of the Khotanese suffix *-iñā-*, Degener (1989: 129 ff.) offers several possibilities. The source of *-iñā-*, which Degener prefers, seems to stem from *stāriñā-* 'female', which derives from earlier **striñā-*. From **striñā-* a suffix *-iñā-* was abstracted, which lost its feminine character once formations like *dabiñā-*, *mudiñā-* were formed by analogy. The formation **striñā-* might originate in **iā-* adjectives of feminine animal names in **-i-ni-*, which was suggested by Sims-Williams (1979: 344), cf. Š. *wirjin* (f.) 'she-wolf' (Š. *wurj* m. 'wolf').

11. *-(i)ad / -iade*

This suffix forms abstract formations both from adjectives and substantives (Miller, Gr: 91, § 10): *styrad / (æ)stujradæ* 'size' (*styr / stur* 'big'), *aldarad / aldajradæ* 'the authority of the aldar, aldarship' (*aldar* 'lord, prince'). In Iron the suffix often lacks epenthetic *j*.

Oss. *-(i)ad / -iade* is obviously a composite suffix. According to Miller (ibid.), it derives from **-iā-* + **-tā-*. As the middle vowel *-a-* of *-(i)ad / -iade* points to **-ā*, it is better to derive the suffix from **-(i)ā* + **-tā* > POss. **-jadæ*. For **-tā* cf. Skt. *-tā*, and for **-(i)ā* cf. Skt. *-yā*. The Ossetic suffix has an exact Khwarezmian correspondence *-y'd*⁸⁹, e.g. *š'w'ny'd* 'Garantie, Bürgschaft' (*š'w'n* 'Garant, Bürge'), *š'β'ry'd* 'testimony' (*š'β'r* 'witness'). Perhaps, *-(i)ad / -iade* is identical to the rare abstract-suffix *-iā* in Khotanese (Isg., hapax) *cišīye* 'by youthful hubris' (*cista-* 'youthful'), *abvīya-* 'ignorance' (< **a-buda-* 'ignorant'), (hapax) *askhaukariyā* 'elevation' (*askhaukara-* 'elevated, elevation'). Degener (1989: 156) assumes that Khot. *-iā* is derived from **-iā-tā*, but there is no obstacle to derive it from **-(i)ā* + **-tā*.

(*xæd* 'self', *tulyñ* 'to roll'), *kæm xæzge kænyš* 'Where do you eat?' (*kæm* 'where', *xæzge* 'eating', *kænyñ* 'to do'), *gæzge* 'according to' (*kæryñ* 'to look').

⁸⁹ Pointed out to me by Prof. Sims-Williams.

12. -n / -næ

This suffix derives instrumental or action nouns from present stems: *ivazn* / *ivaznæ* 'fathom' (cf. *ivazyn* / *ivazyn* 'to draw, stretch'), *faræz(n)* / *faræznæ* 'means; possibility' (cf. *farazyn* / *farazyn* 'to be able'), D. *arǵevnæ* 'pincers' (cf. D. *arǵevun* 'to grip'), D. *izaznæ* 'steer, rudder' (cf. D. *izazyn* 'to lift the rudder'). In Iron the suffix -n / -næ tends to be replaced by the more usual -an: *sajna* 'deception' (vs. D. *sajna*, cf. *sajyn* / *sajyn* 'to deceive'), *xizæn* 'pasture' (D. *xæznæ* cf. *xizyn* / *xæzyn* 'to graze, pasture').

The origin of -n / -næ is obvious: PIr. *-anā, Skt. -anā, Av. -anā, Khot. -na, etc. In Sanskrit, -anā forms abstract nouns from verbs (cf. *AiGr.* II/2: 190, § 84). In the Ossetic suffix -ag / -angæ (§ 4), *-anā was added after the present participle in *-ka (e.g. *badæg* 'sitting' < *badyn* / *badun* 'to sit'). Possibly also -æx / -ænæ goes back to *āb-quant- + *-anā (§ 5).

13. -oj / -ojnæ

The improdutive suffix -oj / -ojnæ derives action and instrumental formations from adjectives and nouns: *ancoj* / *ancojnæ* 'rest; support' (*ancon* 'light, easy'), D. *burajna* 'thrash, garbage; dung' (**buron*, attested only in Iron *byron* 'garbage; dung', borrowed in Svan. *buran* 'dung'), *kəoj* / *kəojnæ* 'mill' (**kuron*, borrowed in Svan. *gurana* 'pestle'), *sagoj* / *sagojnæ* 'pitchfork' (< **sag* 'horn(ed)', cf. *sag* 'deer'), *wisoj* / *jesojnæ* 'broom' (< *wis* / *wes* 'branch; rod'), *zængoj* / *zængojnæ* 'leather stocking' (< *zæng* / *zængæ* 'shin; stalk').

This suffix can be connected with the (rare) Sogd. suff. -ny [ān], which forms action nouns e.g. (?)*ket'ny*, (Man.) *'ket'nyy*, (Chr.) *qit'ny* 'sin' (< ppp. **kerta* 'done'), *y'twkeny*, (Chr.) *y'twqny* 'sorcery' (< *y'twq* 'sorcerer'), *pu(r)ny'nyb*, *pu'ny'ny* [pu'nyānī] 'merit, meritorious act' (< Skt. *punya*). According to Sims-Williams (1981: 16, 19), this suffix goes back to *-āna + *-iā, from which the Oss. suffix -oj / -ojnæ can also be derived.

14. -tæ

The suffix -tæ is the common plural ending. Plural suff. -tæ is clearly connected with Sogd. (Bud.) -t', -th, -t, (Man.) -t', -d' (after n), Chr. -t', (obl.) -ty, Khz. -c, Yağn. -t, (obl.) -ti, W. *t (in the pl. suff. -išt). It is also frequently found in North Iranian (i.e. Scythian, Sarmatian, vel sim.) tribal names mentioned in classical sources: Μασσαγέ-ται, Σαυρομά-ται, Θυσσαγέ-ται, Αὐχά-ται, Ζακά-ται, etc. These plural markers are originally collective in meaning. The collective (and abstract) meaning is still preserved in the Avestan and Sanskrit correspondences -tāt and -tā, -tāt: e.g. GAv. *karapō.tās*-(cā) 'the karpan-hood', *kaunūtāt* 'the kavi-hood', LAv. *daēnuō.tāt* 'the daēva-hood', Skt. -tā, e.g. *devā-tā* 'divinity' (*devā* 'god'), *nagnā-tā* 'nakedness' (*nagnā* 'naked'), etc.

The voiceless nature of the dental in Oss. -tæ poses a problem though. There are two explanations possible. Firstly, it is suggested that -tæ actually continues *θā, instead of the commonly held *-tā. Another explanation is that this "suffix" occupies a semi-independent position, i.e. behaving like an enclitic, as put forward by Bailey (*Asia*: 25) and accepted by Thordarson (*CLJ*: 469): possible allomorphs with voiced dental have been eliminated in favour of the more prevalent -tæ.

The first possibility is supported by -āθ in Yazghulami and -(i-)bā in Persian. The Persian pl. suffix is apparently derived from *-(iā-)θya-āda (*Osnovy* II: 61). The Yazghulami

plural suffix appears to be a compromise form of *-θya and *-tā (*Osnovy* IV: 382). However, a serious objection to the reconstruction *θā is that the Ossetic form would be rather isolated within the East Iranian language group.

The second explanation is more likely. In Avestan, the suffix -tāt sometimes stands independently, cf. Y 62.6 Dsg. *yaunaēca tāite* 'and for eternity' (normally *yaunaētāt*), Y 32.15 *uθō.tās* 'fatness'. The special treatment of initial t- in this suffix is not uncommon in other East Iranian languages either: Khot. *tušā-tātā*, Pš. *taityā* 'emptiness' (< **tussia-tāt*), cf. Morgenstierne (1942: 93).

The preservation of final -æ in the Iron form is perhaps due to its protected position before the endings. On the other hand, we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that final -æ reflects the pronominal ending Npl. *ai, which would also result in Iron -æ.

15. -ynz / -inzæ

The suffix derives diminutives from inanimate, mostly solid objects: *arçynz* / *arçinzæ* 'a kind of three-edged needle for sewing boots' (lit. 'little spear', cf. *arc* / *aræ* 'spear'), *qadynz* / *qadinzæ* 'onion' (*qad* / *qada* 'stem, log'), I. *wadynz* 'reed-pipe' (*wad* 'wind').

Oss. -ynz / -inzæ can be connected with Sogd. -(y)nc, (in light stems) -(y)nc, e.g. (Man.) *δ'rwkyn* f. 'vegetable' (*δ'rwk* 'wood'), *n'ktync* f. 'of silver' (m. *n'ktyyny* < Chr. *n'qty* 'silver') and Khotanese -imgyā. The suffixes are the feminine counterpart of Sogd. -(y)ny(y) and Khot. -inaa. The diminutive sense of the Ossetic suffix is not found in Sogdian and Khotanese, but the diminutive meaning can easily arise from the feminine.

The first segment -yn- / -in- reflects *-aina. This is the well-known Iranian material suffix, cf. Av. -aina, OP -aina, MP, NP -in, Oss. -yn / -in, etc. In some more recently attested Iranian languages the use of this suffix is not restricted to solid materials (like stone, silver, etc.), but also extended to liquids, as in MP *širēn* 'sweet' (*šir* 'milk'), or even to abstract concepts, as in Khot. *dātinaa* 'Gesetz-, Lehre-, Dharma-' (*dāta* '(Buddhist) law, doctrine'), *ggūstinaa* 'Fleisch-' (*ggūstā* 'meat'). Quite often, a secondary suffix is added to *-aina. In the case of Khotanese and Sogdian the material suffix is enlarged with *aka, hence -inaa < *-aina-ka (Degener 1989: 133, § 21 ff.) and Sogd. -(y)ny(y) (< *-aina-ka, *GMS*: 160, § 1053). The Ossetic reflex -yn(-) / -in(-) has preserved the ancient meaning, e.g. I. *durn* 'stone mug' (*dur* 'stone'), *xəjzaryn* '(of) pig's leather' (*xəjzarm* 'pig's skin'), etc.

The feminine correspondence of *-ka is *-ā in most East Iranian languages, hence Sogd. -ync, -ync', Khot. -imgyā and Oss. -ynz / -inzæ. We have already come across the final element 'z / 'zæ, which goes back to thematized *-ā + *-ā, cf. § 1. The element is also found in *kynz* / *kinzæ* 'girl', *angəylz* / *angulzæ* 'finger', etc., which are no longer transparent in (Proto-)Ossetic. Deriving 'z / 'zæ from the abstract suff. *-i, as suggested by Abaev, must be declined. For more details see Morgenstierne (1962: 102 f.).

B. VERBAL ENDINGS

1. Indicative

1.1. PRESENT

sg.	1. -yn / -un	pl.	1. -am / -æn
	2. -ys / -is		2. -ut / -etæ
	3. -y / -uj		3. -ync / -uncæ

1sg.: POss. *-un. The origin of the ending is problematic. According to Miller (*Gr.*: 70), final -n is derived from PIr. *-m(i), (Av., Skt. -mi) for which he cites *dæn* 'I am' < **had(a)* + **abmi*. The *-u- (< *-a-) of the ending would then be due to the influence of labial -m. However, the derivation *dæn* 'I am' from **had(a)* + **abmi* is phonologically improbable, cf. Weber (1983: 89 ff.).

Delabialization of -m in final position is not a common Ossetic development, being restricted to Digoron only, hence I. D. -n < POss. *-n. Since final -n in *-un appears in other first person singular endings (ind. pret., subj., etc.) as well, it is likely that this -n is analogical, being introduced from the subjunctive (future).

Concerning the vocalism, *a would normally become Oss. æ (or o) before nasal. Labial *-u- must be explained otherwise. According to Christol (1986: 38), vowel *-u- was abstracted from stems in *-nu, e.g. POss. **kanu*- 'to do, make' (> (inf.) *kænyn* / *kænun*). This is implausible, since -u- would then be found in all other persons. The origin of *-u- is probably best explained, if *u reflects 1sg. inj. *-am, Av. -am, Khot. -u, Sogd. -u. On the development of (final) PIr. *-am > *-u see also On *u, *y, § 6.2.3.

2sg.: POss. *-is. Sibilant -s probably goes back to athematic (*ruki*-variant) *-ši (Av. -ši, Skt. -ṣi). The i in *-is may derive either from the primary ending *-ahi (Av. -ahi, Skt. -aṣi) or from the secondary *-ah, both of which became *i in Khotanese and Sogdian, cf. the 2sg. act. ending of Khot. -iä, -i (SGS: 192) and Sogd. Man. (y)y(b), Bud. -(ʿ)y [i] (GMS: 108, § 692). Subsequently, the more characteristic ending *-ši was added. This kind of blending has parallels in other languages, for instance, in Sogd. yš 'thou art'⁹⁰ and Slavic 2sg. pres. -ši (Beekes 1995: 232).

3sg.: POss. *už > *-uj. Miller (ibid.) derived this ending from thematic *-ati, which is improbable. PIr. *-ati (Av. -atiš, Skt. -ati) would rather yield Oss. -æž / -æj, cf. **yinsati* > Oss. *yysæž* / *insæj* 'twenty', cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.1. Still, it is possible that athematic PIr. *-ti (Av. -ti, Sogd. -ty, Khot. -dä, Skt. -ti) has yielded POss. *-ž, which has regularly become -j in Digoron. In Iron, on the other hand, the palatal affricate has been analogically removed, probably under the influence of the subj. fut. (§ 1.3).

⁹⁰ Gershevitch (GMS: 65, § 432) derived yš from PIr. *ahi, adopting the suggestion of his teacher Henning, who assumed that the transition *b > š was due to palatalization. No other cases of this development are found in Sogdian, however. Several pages later, Gershevitch (p. 108) derived the ending 2sg. -(y)y(b), -(ʿ)y [i] from PIr. *-ahi.

The -u- of *-už is difficult to explain. According to Miller (ibid.), the vowel has come from the 1sg., but it is odd that 2sg. does not exhibit this -u-, too. Note that 3pl. shares the same *u. Prof. Sims-Williams has suggested to me that -u- may be abstracted from the endings of *bū- (**baya*-) 'to be, become', Av. bū- (pres. *bauua*-), Oss. *wyn* / *un*. The influence of *bū- in the verbal system is well-known in Iranian languages⁹¹, also in Ossetic, cf. 2pl. (I.) -u-ta. A difficulty though is that *u ought to be derived from the zero grade stem *bū-, which is normally not used in the indicative or imperative mood. No doubt, the *u of 3sg. and 3pl. have the same origin, on which see also below.

1pl.: POss. *am. The ending derives from the athematic flexion, either from the primary ending *-mahi (Av. -mahī, Khot. -mā, Skt. -mas(i)) or the secondary ending *-ma (Av. -mā, Skt. -ma). The primary ending would yield pre-Oss. *-mi⁹². After apocope a secondary vocalic *-ṃ arose. In short: **mab(i)* > *-mi > *-ṃ (apocope) > Oss. -am (vocalisation of *ṃ). It is also possible, however, that the POss. ending is derived from thematic *-āma(bi), assuming that it has been subjected to shortening of the thematic vowel *ā-, through paradigmatic levelling. Christol (1986: 38) derived the Ossetic ending from IIr. *ā-ma(s) and also ascribed short -a- to (early) paradigmatic levelling.

2pl.: POss. *ta. The ending has probably been taken from the impv., v. § 3.

3pl.: POss. *-uncæ. -nc / -næ cannot be derived directly from PIr. *-(a)nti (Av. -antiš, Skt. -anti), as assumed by Miller (l.c.) and adopted by Weber (1983: 85). The suggestion that final -æ would have prevented the development c > j in Ossetic is untenable, cf. *awæž* / *awæžæ* 'furrow', *ang yłž* / *angulžæ* 'finger'. The voiceless nature of c is probably to be ascribed to the influence of the subjunctive, cf. § 2.1.

The origin of *-u- is puzzling. A labial vowel is also found in the Khot. 3pl. of the subjunctive and optative mood: -āru, -āro and -iru, -iro respectively (the subj. is characterized by -ā-, the opt. by -i-). Khot. -ru is considered to be the expected reflex of PIr. *-ram (cf. LAv. Yt 19.69 pf. opt. mid. 3pl. *vaqzīram* 'they may come along'), cf. Emmerick (SGS: 203). The ending *-ram is regarded as the sandhi-variant of *-ran, which is mirrored in Vedic -ram ~ -ran (cf. Thieme 1929: 32). This suggests that Oss. *-u- derives from the secondary (sandhi-)ending *-aⁿ/m, Av. -an, Skt. -an. If we accept this explanation, this means that final *nc / *næ should have been added secondarily, being imported from the subjunctive, cf. 1sg.

⁹¹ A notable parallel can be observed in the Sogd. irrealis construction, which contains the typical marker -wt-, abstracted from *βuty* [βōtē] = early NP *buvadē*, cf. Sims-Williams (CLJ: 188).

⁹² Emmerick (SGS: 195) derived Khotanese 1pl. -āmā from PIr. them. *-āmahi. To account for the absence of palatalization (> †-emā), he assumed early loss of final *-i. The objection is that in Khotanese, PIr. final *-i is normally preserved. In fact, there is no evidence for the "i-less" variant *-mah (= Skt. -mah) in Iranian, being entirely absent in Av. and OP. The fact that the thematic vowel has not been palatalized suggests that Khot. -āmā goes back to the secondary ending *-āma (Av. -āma, Skt. -āmā), rather than *-āmahi. Note that Khot. 2pl. -da also reflects secondary *-ta, Av. -ta, Skt. -ta. Final -ā of -āmā is to be ascribed to the influence of 1sg. -imā.

An interesting picture now emerges from our assessments: it appears that most, if not all, Ossetic present endings derive from the Plr. secondary (ind., inj.) endings, to which the subjunctive endings have been added (A.L.).

1.2. PRETERITE

1.2a. *preterite transitive*

sg.	1. -(t)on 2. -(t)aj 3. -(t)a	pl.	1. -(t)am / -(t)an 2. -(t)at / -(t)ajta 3. -(t)oj / -(t)onca
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The preterite is an Ossetic innovation: "Da letztere jedoch auf keine iranische Grundlage zurückgeführt werden können, so bleibt es nur übrig, wieder an eine Analogiebildung zu denken." (Miller, l.c.: 73). This tense is clearly based on the past participle, which has parallels in numerous (Middle and New) Iranian languages, cf. the Khotanese perfect, Sogdian preterite, etc. The appearance of *t* or even *dt* in the transitive preterite endings is determined by the final consonant of the verbal root. Since the intransitive preterite is evidently formed with the verb for 'to be' as auxiliary, we can confidently assume that the transitive preterite is periphrastic too, only the auxiliary verb is here **dā* 'to put' (A.L.). Its initial **d'* accounts for the gemination.

The endings continue the old aorist subjunctive endings of **dā*. Incidentally, the old *present* subjunctive has become the future subjunctive in Ossetic, see § 2.3.

1sg.: POss. **(-)don*. The ending reflects 1sg. **dāni*, cf. Av. aor. subj. ending *-āni*, Skt. *-āni*.

2sg.: POss. **(-)daj*. The ending goes back to 2sg. **dāhi*, GAv. aor. subj. *dāhi*.

3sg.: POss. **(-)da*. The ending continues **dāt*, Av. aor. subj. *dāt*, Skt. *dhāt*.

1pl.: POss. **(-)dam*. This continues **dāma*, GAv. aor. subj. *dāmā*, Skt. *dhāma*. The expected vocalism Oss. *†-o-* (before nasal) has been replaced by *-a-* (< sg.).

2pl.: POss. **(-)dat(a)*. This continues **dāba*, cf. Av. subj. ending *-ba*, Skt. *-tha*. Short final **-a* should have been apocopated, D. final *-a* may be imported from the 3pl. Also D. *-j-* is probably secondary, being taken from the 2sg.

3pl.: POss. **(-)don*. This continues **dānt*, GAv. aor. subj. *dan*. For more details of the Ossetic ending see § 2.3, s.v. 3pl.

1.2b. *preterite intransitive*

sg.	1. -(t)an 2. -(t)a 3. -(i)s / -aj	pl.	1. -ystam / -an 2. -ystut / -ajta 3. -ysty / -anca
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The intransitive preterite is, like the transitive preterite, based on the past participle. The Ossetic verb *wyn / un* 'to be', employed here as auxiliary, is highly irregular in the indicative: 1sg. *dān*, 2sg. *dā*, 3sg. *u, i(s) / je(s)*, 1pl. *stam / an*, 2pl. *stut / ajta*, 3pl. *sty / anca*. According to Weber (l.c.: 90), who elaborates on Benveniste (ELO: 74), the singular endings are pronominal in origin: 1sg., 2sg. *d-* (< **(ai)ta-*), 3sg. *u* (< **aŋa-*), *i / aj, je* (< **aja-*), **i, is / jes* (< **aiša-*). The origin of *d-* in 1sg., 2sg. is unknown. The explanation of Weber, viz. *d-* < pron. **(ai)ta-* is doubtful⁹³. The Iron present plural endings clearly reflect the endings of **stā* 'to stand'.

1sg.: POss. **(-)dān*. Final *-an* cannot go directly back to Plr. 1sg. **ah-mi* (Av. *ahmī*, Skt. *āsmi*, etc.), as pointed out by Weber (1983: 89), because I. *-n* cannot reflect older *-m*. The nasal *-n* is no doubt taken from the subjunctive.

2sg.: POss. **(-)dā*. The ending goes back to 2sg. **ahi*, Av. *ahī*, Skt. *āsī*, etc. Intervocalic **-h-* disappeared very early, hence **ai* (> Oss. *-a#*).

3sg.: POss. **-*. In Oss. we have *u, i, is* (I.), *aj, je, jes* (D.) for 3sg. 'is'. If we take these endings at face value, it is difficult to derive them all from Plr. **asti*, which prompted Weber (l.c.: 87) to deny any connection between the Oss. forms and Plr. **asti*. His major objection against deriving from **asti* concerned the preservation of *st* in Ossetic. Although the regular reflex of the sequence **-asti* is indeed *-ist / -est* (cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.3.4), the verbal form *is / es* is not necessarily at variance with the reconstruction, since it is used enclitically (in line with most Iranian languages). It is not surprising therefore that some consonants have been dropped, final *-t* already at the POss. stage and, subsequently, even *s* in some (sub-)dialects as well. Tzetzes still has *-ετς*, which probably reflects */es/*. Weber's own suggestion, viz. deriving *is / es* from pronominal **aiša-* 'hic' (Av. *aēša-*, etc.), is therefore superfluous and even implausible.⁹⁴ Although pronominal origin for the copula *u / aj*, proposed by Weber, cannot be excluded, there is no particular reason to deny any relation between *u* and **bū-*, which, after all, supplies most non-present endings of Oss. *wyn / un*. Final *-a* in D. *aj* may be imported from 1sg., 2sg.: **uj >> aj*. Initial *j-* in D. *je* is prothetic. In view of similar preterite constructions in other Iranian languages, we expect that the 3sg. does not have a specific ending. The addition of an ending must therefore be considered a late development in Ossetic.

1pl.: POss. **?* It is impossible to reconstruct the Proto-Ossetic plural endings, the I. and Dig. endings being totally different. The "enlargement" in Iron has been explained in two ways. According to Miller (l.c.), it goes back to **-st-* of 3sg. **asti*, which has parallels in NP

⁹³ We might ask why the pronominal **aita-* has not spread further to the other persons, thus behaving like a verb, e.g. Wāxi *teit- tu-* 'to be', which seems to be of pronominal origin, cited by Weber (l.c.: 91, fn. 30).

⁹⁴ Although among several Iranian languages there is evidence for the employment of pronominal elements in the verb, it is strange though that **aiša-* is found in the third singular only. Moreover, the sharply defined employment of *u / aj* and *i(s) / je(s)* respectively, does not favour pronominal origin for *is / es* either. While the form *u / aj* is used as copula, *is / es* is rather reserved for "existential" constructions (similar to Russ. *est*).

and Polish: *hast-im*, *hast-id* and *jesteśmy*, *jesteście* respectively. This explanation was accepted by Weber (l.c.: 86). Alternatively, *-jst-* can go back to **hi-šta-* 'to stay, stand', Oss. *styn* / *istun* 'to get up; [D.] to stand', as proposed by Bielmeier (1979: 162). The latter explanation is preferable, since it also accounts for *(-jy-* of *(-jyst-*. The use of **stā-* 'to stay, stand' in the sense of 'to be' is well attested in Iranian and Indo-Aryan languages. Iron *-jstam* reflects the 1pl. pres.

2pl.: POss. **?* The POss. ending cannot be reconstructed. For the *-u-* of I. *-jstut* see § 3.

3pl.: POss. **?* Miller derived the I. ending from **-ync*, whereas the loss of **nc* has been "viell. durch das Zusammenfallen der Form **stinc* mit der 3. Pl. Präs. Ind. vom Verbum *stijn* (*stinc* = »sie stehen«) hervorgerufen". In other words: the final cluster **nc* has been lost in order to avoid convergence with 3pl. *stync* of *styn* 'to stay'. This is hardly a plausible explanation. In absence of further parallels final Iron *-y* cannot be clarified. According to Weber (l.c.: 86), it would simply reflect Plr. 3 singular **asti*. This is not only phonologically unlikely, but there is also no credible motivation to interpret 3pl. as 3sg.: there is no indication that the 3pl. has ever been confused with 3sg. in Oss. Final *-y* normally corresponds to D. *-i*, *-u* or *-iwa* (cf. *yy* / *siwa* 'horn').

1.3. FUTURE

sg.	1. <i>-zynan</i> / <i>-zanen</i>	pl.	1. <i>-zystam</i> / <i>-zinan</i>
	2. <i>-zyne</i> / <i>-zana</i>		2. <i>-zystut</i> / <i>-zinajta</i>
	3. <i>-zan(is)</i> / <i>-zanaj</i>		3. <i>-zysy</i> / <i>-zennace</i>

The future indicative is a regular Ossetic periphrastic formation which is constructed with an element *-zen-* (or its variant *-zy(n)-* / *-zi(n)-*). The endings are those of the intransitive preterite. The origin of the Ossetic future suffix can be sought in the noun **ānab-* (n.) 'desire' (Av. *cinab-* 'desire', Skt. *cānas-* 'affection, satisfaction', etc.), which was suggested by Benveniste (ELO: 77-78). The *-z-* of *-zen-* is due to sonorization of intervocalic **-č-*. The variants *-zy(n)-*, *-zen-* were explained by Benveniste as follows. Nasal *-n-* evidently disappeared before a consonant cluster. The distribution of *-y* (I.), *-i* (D.) and *-a* seems to depend on the position of the morpheme. In Iron, the morpheme appears as *-zen* in word-final position, and as *-zyn-* in non-final position. In contradistinction, Digoron shows another distribution: *-zen-* before *-a*, but *-zin-* before *-a*.

1.4. SUMMARY

The POss. indicative endings can be summarized as follows:

	Present	Preterite tr.	Preterite intr.	Future
1sg.	<i>*-un</i>	<i>*(-)don</i>	<i>*(-)dan</i>	<i>*-z^a/in-æn</i>
2.	<i>*-is</i>	<i>*(-)daj</i>	<i>*(-)da</i>	<i>*-z^a/in-a</i>
3.	<i>*-už</i>	<i>*(-)da(d)</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>*-žen</i>
1pl.	<i>*-am</i>	<i>*(-)dam</i>	<i>*?</i>	<i>*?</i>
2pl.	<i>*-l(x)</i>	<i>*(-)dat(x)</i>	<i>*?</i>	<i>*?</i>
3.	<i>*-unae</i>	<i>*(-)don*</i>	<i>*?</i>	<i>*?</i>

2. Subjunctive

2.1. PRESENT

sg.	1. <i>-in</i> / <i>-ijnæ</i>	pl.	1. <i>-ikkam</i> / <i>-ijana</i>
	2. <i>-is</i> / <i>-ijæ</i>		2. <i>-ikkat</i> / <i>-ijajta</i>
	3. <i>-id</i> / <i>-ijda</i>		3. <i>-ikkaj</i> / <i>-ijonæ</i>

The present subjunctive goes back to the old Iranian (present) optative, indicated by the characteristic *-i* (I.), *-ij-* (D.). On the other hand, the plural endings also show influence of the old subjunctive. There are two major difficulties with the interpretation of the endings, viz. the *kk*-“enlargement” in the plural of Iron, and final *-æ* in Digoron; both are also found in the preterite subjunctive (§ 2.2).

Final *-æ* of the D. endings normally presupposes **-ā*. The vowel is probably connected with the (Late-)Avestan particle *yā* 'in order to, like; that', which is often used with subjunctive or optative in subordinate sentences. If we assume that the particle **iā* was added to the endings in Ossetic, we may explain some additional features of the Ossetic subjunctive as well. In the first place, the Ossetic outcome *-i-* / *-ij-* from the old Iranian optative marker **-ai-*, **-iā-*, **-ija-*, **-i-* can only be explained by *i*-epenthesis triggered by **i-* of **iā*. Normally, **ai* would yield Oss. *i* / *e* or (before *n*) *y* / *i*, while the other variants would become Oss. *-ija-*, *-yja-* / *-ijæ-* and *-y-* / *-i-* respectively. Another thorny problem, viz. the origin of I. 3pl. *-oj*, can be solved in this way too (q.v.).

1sg.: POss. **-in-jæ*. The ending reflects, with some modifications, 1sg. **-ai(i)a*m + **iā*, cf. Khot. *-ā*, *-i* (< **-aim*, SGS: 206), Sogd. (Bud.) *-y* (**-ai(i)a*m, GMS: 108, § 689), Skt. *-eyam*. According to Edel'man (1990: 125-126), *-in* / *-ijnæ* has been created by contamination of the subj. 1sg. **-āni* with the opt. mid. 1sg. **-aiā*, resulting in **-āniā*. This reconstruction is impossible, since **-āniā* would rather become Oss. *†-onæ*, cf. *zardæ* 'hart' (**zrdāja-*), v. *Apocope*, § 1.4.2b. Nevertheless, the origin of the nasal *n* of the Ossetic ending must probably be sought in the subjunctive. Note the LKhot. 1sg. opt. *-ine*, which "probably began in the mid. under the influence of *-āne* 1 sg. subj. mid. *-āne* *-āru* = *-ine* *-iru*" (SGS: 207).

2sg.: POss. **-e / i^s-jæ*. The ending goes back to **-aiš* + **iā*, Av. *-ōiš*, Skt. *-es*. The sibilant **š* should have blocked *i*-epenthesis, whence **-aiš* + **iā* > *-is* / *-esæ*. The D. vocalism has been probably taken from other persons.

3sg.: POss. **-ed-jæ*. This reflects **ait* + **iā*, Av. *-ōit*, Khot. *-ā*, Skt. *-et*. POss. **e* (< **ai*) may result, after *i*-epenthesis, in D. *-ij-*, cf. *Apocope*, § 1.4.3, fn.

1pl.: POss. **-ij(kk)am*? It is difficult to reconstruct the POss. 1pl. ending. The *-kk*-enlargement in Iron is problematic, on which see below. Vowel *-a* before nasal cannot be the result of a regular development, suggesting rather analogical replacement, viz. from the 2pl. Final *-æ* of D. *-ana* is probably late, being imported from other persons, which accounts for nasal *n* (POss. **-m#* > D. *-n*).

2pl.: POss. **-ij(ke)at(a)*? Medial *-ke-* may be ascribed to **kāma-* 'wish', which became incorporated in the verbal system and conjugated accordingly. The Ossetic reflex *kom* is nowadays only used in the expression *kom dæddyn* 'to agree with'. The use of **kāma-* for modal purposes is well attested in Khwarezmian and Sogdian, cf. Khz. fut. 1sg. *'k'm-k'm* 'I will do', Sogd. fut. opt. 3sg. *qō' ... wšyke'm* 'when will be'. It conveys an act or situation that is pending. It is troublesome though that the supposed use of **kāma-* in Ossetic would be confined to the plural only. The construction with **kāma-* might reflect a separate mood originally, being restricted to the 2pl.: polite imperative.

The following developments may be postulated for Ossetic: 2pl. pres. opt. thematic **-aita* + **kāma-* >> POss. **-ijd-katæ* > (assimilation) **-ijkkat*. Digoron could have fully eliminated the *-ke-* "enlargement" due to paradigmatic levelling. Ossetic *-t* < **-θ* points to influence of the old subjunctive.

3pl.: POss. **-ij(C)koN-ja* or **-ijonž-ja*. Iron *-oj* normally corresponds to D. *-ojnæ*, which is the case with suffix *-oj* / *-ojnæ*, cf. A § 13. It has been generally accepted that *-oj* / *-onæ* is derived from subj. 3pl. **-anti*, despite some serious phonological problems, cf. Miller (Gr.: 71, § 79), Gershevitch (1991: 229, § 24 f.). The principal problem is the Ossetic treatment of final **-ti*. It is thought that the secondarily arisen affricate **ž* from palatalized (and intervocalic) **t*, would have yielded the "glide" **j* in Iron, which is at variance with the other instances of intervocalic **-ti* > I. *-z* in final position (cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.1). Even after nasal or other consonant, the outcome *j* is unexpected in Iron, e.g. *æfsonž* / *æfsoj* 'yoke' < **span-ti* (cf. Abaev I, s.v.), *ağd* 'hip' < **baxti-* (*i-Epenthesis*, § 4.3.2), *arc* / *aræ* 'spear' < **fšti-*. The Iron ending *-kekoj* may rather be derived from **C-kāma-ja* > (syncope) **C-kāmja* > **-k-kom-ja* > I. **-kekojm*. After the Iron apocope of final *-a*, a nasal disappears after vowel *o*. Geminated *kk* from assimilation of a consonant to *k* is frequently found in Iron, e.g. *ækekoj* 'the carrying of a burden on the back' < **ham-* + **kân*. Subsequently, *-oj* has been extended to other moods and tenses.

D. *-ijonæ* may reflect the old optative 3pl. ending **-ai-ant*, to which **iä* was added. The addition of **iä* would account for the rise of palatal and for voiceless *-c*: **j* palatalized and inhibited voicing of the preceding consonant (cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.6, fn.). Naturally, the expected (syncopated) outcome **-aimäa* became contaminated with the old subjunctive.

2.2. PRETERITE

sg.	1. <i>-(t)ain</i> / <i>-(t)aijnæ</i> 2. <i>-(t)ais</i> / <i>-(t)aijsæ</i> 3. <i>-(t)aid</i> / <i>-(t)aijda</i>	pl.	1. <i>-(t)aikkam</i> / <i>-(t)ajjana</i> 2. <i>-(t)aikkat</i> / <i>-(t)ajjajta</i> 3. <i>-(t)aikkekoj</i> / <i>-(t)ajjonæ</i>
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The periphrastic preterite subjunctive is based on the past participle and the endings of the present subjunctive.

2.3. FUTURE

sg.	1. <i>-on</i> 2. <i>-aj</i> 3. <i>-a</i>	pl.	1. <i>-æm</i> / <i>-æn</i> 2. <i>-at</i> / <i>ajta</i> 3. <i>-oj</i> / <i>-onæ</i>
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The future subjunctive is clearly derived from the PIr. present subjunctive. The endings have undergone some influences from the endings of the other moods and tenses.

1sg.: POss. **-on*. The ending continues PIr. **-āni*, Av. *-āni*, Khot. *-iñi* (< **-ani*, with sec. shortening of **-ā-*, SGS: 201), Sogd. *-h*.

2sg.: POss. **-aj*. The ending goes back to **-āhi*, cf. Miller (Gr.: 71).

3sg.: POss. **a(d)*. The ending cannot be derived from **-āli*, Av. *-āli*, which would have yielded Oss. *†-až* / *aj* (cf. D. *astaj* 'eighty' < **astāti*). It is, however, possible to derive *-a* from the variant **-āt*, Av. *-āt*, Skt. *-āt*, similar to Khot. subj. 3sg. act. *-a* (SGS: 202). Sogd. *-h*. The date of the loss of the final dental **-d* cannot be ascertained. If it were early, the expected outcome *†-æ* would be levelled to *-a* (from the other endings). If it were late (i.e. after apocope and syncope), the outcome would be *-a*, cf. *wa* 'so' (< **aḡāt*).

1pl.: POss. **-æm*. The ending has been clearly imported from the present indicative (§ 1.1).

2pl.: POss. **-at(a)*. The ending continues PIr. **-ātha*. Final *-æ* of the Digoron ending is perhaps taken from the 3pl. D. *-j-* of *-ajta* is taken from from 2sg.

3pl.: POss. **-onž*, **-on(d)*? The expected Ossetic continuation of the OIr. thematic ending **-ant(i)* is POss. *†onž* or *†on(d)*, which was possibly remodelled by the dialects separately.

2.4. SUMMARY

The POss. subjunctive endings are probably as follows:

Persons	Present	Preterite	Future
1sg.	<i>*-in-ja</i>	<i>*-da-in-ja</i>	<i>*-on</i>
2.	<i>*-e / jš-ja</i>	<i>*-da-e / jš-ja</i>	<i>*-aj</i>
3.	<i>*-ed-ja</i>	<i>*-da-ed-ja</i>	<i>*-a(d)</i>
1pl.	<i>*-ij(ke)am</i> ?	<i>*-da-ij(ke)am</i> ?	<i>*-æm</i>
2.	<i>*-ij(ke)at(a)</i> ?	<i>*-da-ij(ke)at(a)</i> ?	<i>*-at(a)</i>
3.	<i>*ij(C)kom-ja</i> or <i>*-ijonž-ja</i>	<i>*ij(C)kom-ja</i> or <i>*-ijonž-ja</i>	<i>*-onž</i> , <i>*-on(d)</i> ?

3. Imperative

2sg. <i>-ø</i> / <i>-æ</i>	2pl. <i>-ut</i> / <i>-etæ</i>
3. <i>-æd</i>	3. <i>-ant</i> / <i>-anta</i>

2sg.: **-æ*, **-ø*. Short final **-a*, of the impv. 2sg, Av. *-ā*, OP *-ā*, Skt. *-a*, should have been apocopated. Paragoge could well give rise to secondary *-æ*.

3sg.: *-*ad*. This ending continues *-*atu*, Av. -*atū*, Skt. -*atu*.

2pl.: *-*ta*. I. -*ut* is clearly identical to the impv. 2pl. of 'to be': *ut* / *wota*. I. *u-* derives from the ending 2sg. *u* (= D. *uo*) 'be'. According to Benveniste (ELO: 74), "[i]l faut sans doute partir du thème *bupa-* qui est devenu en préossète phonétiquement [vuwa] puis [uwa-], enfin *uo-*, *u-*". It must continue the impv. 2sg. *-*baṃa* (Skt. *bhāva*), although the expected result would be †*b*/*uaw* (cf. *jaw* 'barley' < *-*iaṃa-*). Perhaps, the result is different because *-*baṃa* was enclitic.

The D. vowel -*e-* is more difficult to explain. According to Salemann (*apud* Miller, l.c.: 70), the vowel has been abstracted from stems in -*aiā*⁹⁵. It is strange though that the segment *-*aiā-* does not appear in the other endings, as in Middle Persian, Parthian or Khotanese. Miller himself hesitantly suggested that it might be a case of "intrusion" of (D.) *aija* 'estis'. It remains unclear how -*aj-* then became D. -*e-*. Gershevitch (1991: 232, fn. 4) offered yet another explanation. In his opinion, -*etā* continues an enclitically used *-*abiθa*, i.e. *-*abi* 'thou art' enlarged with 2pl. *-*θa*.

The element -*t* / -*ta*, with voiceless -*t*, is odd. It cannot go back directly to impv. 2pl. *-*ata*, Av. -*atā*, Skt. -*ata*. We may assume, following the suggestion of Gershevitch, that *-*ata* was replaced by ind. 2pl. *-*aθa*, comparable to Sogd. impv. 2pl. -*ō(?)* < *-*aθa*. Still, since final short *-*a* should have been apocopated (cf. *Apocope*, 1.2.1), we have to explain final -*a* of D. Also in the 3pl. we find -*t* / -*ta*, which cannot have arisen regularly either⁹⁶. We may invoke the attachment of an emphatic element⁹⁷, which is perhaps *-*tā* (A.L.), cf. Av. *tā* 'thus, so'⁹⁸. The secondary cluster which would arise after the deletion of *-*a* should be geminate *-*tt*, cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.7.3 ff. The geminate *-*tt* would account for the loss of voice, cf. Axvlediani (1963: 60). The geminate could be afterwards simplified, cf. *Accent*, § 5.5.

3pl.: *-*antā*. The I. ending implies final -*a* in Proto-Ossetic, as we would otherwise expect †-*ont*. The PIr. impv. 3pl. *-*antu*, LAv. -*antu*, Skt. -*antu*, would have yielded Oss. †-*ond* (cf. *hærgond*, *Apocope*, § 1.2.3b.). On final *-*t* / -*ta* see above.

⁹⁵ This has a parallel in the Bactrian ind. pres. *lhyyd* 'gives', *lūwlyyd* 'washes away' (with enlarged -*y-* < *-*aiā-*), cf. Sims-Williams (CLI: 235). For Parthian we have an even clearer parallel:

*-*aiā-* > -*ay* has been most clearly intruded in the second and personal endings of the present: 2sg. -*y(y)*, pl. -*y(y)d*, 3sg. -*y(y)d*, pl. -*y(y)nd*.

⁹⁶ The postnasal *-*t* was sonorized at an early stage, cf. *Introduction*, § 0.7.4.7.ii.

⁹⁷ The attachment of an emphatic element to the 2pl. impv. is also found in LKhot. -*ara*, -*arā* (< -*a* + *ra*, *rā* 'even, also; for his part'), cf. Emmerick (JGS: 212).

⁹⁸ Khz. encl. -*d'* may also be included: it is used with verbs of utterance, striking, compound verbs based on 'to do, make' and some other verbs as well (MacKenzie 1990: 109), "with ill-definite meaning, approximately 'through, beyond, off, probably connected with Old Iranian *ati*' (Henning 1955: 47), e.g. *kerby-d* 'babble!', *ēkyj-d* 'm'e 'don't lie!', *ēpd-d* 'he clapped'. This would obviate the etymology of Henning, which was phonologically difficult, anyway (we rather expect *-*ati* > Khz. †*(')d*).

In South Iron only -*at* is found, with voiceless -*t*, as pointed out by Gershevitch (l.c.: 221 ff., citing Tibilov 1929: 8). According to him, it goes back to *athematic* 3pl. *-*atu*. There is no particular reason, however, to consider the South Iron ending archaic. For the levelling of thematic and athematic flexional endings should have taken place already before the POss. stage. Perhaps, the ending is rather the result of contamination with the 2sg.

ETYMOLOGICAL INDEX

All Ossetic forms which were treated in abridged form in previous chapters are listed here. They are arranged in the order of the Ossetic latinized alphabet, with simple *k* preceding both palatal *k̆* and ejective *k'*. Clearly transparent compounds and cursorily cited forms are excluded. On the other hand, I include some forms which are not treated in the *Historical-Etymological Dictionary of the Ossetic Language* of V.I. Abaev. The entries are cited with the Russian meanings provided by Abaev, the English translation is given in brackets. A reconstruction, etymology, (Indo-)Iranian cognate forms and, if felt necessary, further comment or discussion accompany the forms. The starting point of any discussion is usually the *Dictionary*, but every effort is made to allow the reader to follow a discussion without constantly consulting the *Dictionary*. Some corrections and addenda are also included. It is not the aim of this *Index* to correct every error to be found in the *Dictionary*. The reconstructions have been standardized as much as possible, for instance, **μ* for Ir. **v*, **w*, and **ī* for Ir. **y*.

A

acc | **accæ** 'ди́кая утка' ('wild duck')

< **āti-ā-* (Abaev V: 63b); cf. Khot. (pl.) *āc* 'water birds', W. *yoč*, Y. *jeχko*, Skt. *āti-* (f.) 'duck'.

♦ The origin of final **cc* / **ccæ* is somewhat uncertain. The sequence perhaps reflects the addition of **-ā-ā* (> Oss. -*g* / -*ga*, *Appendix*, A § 1) to the stem **āti-* (> pre-Oss. **āčī-*), at a certain stage. Still, geminated -*cc* is inexplicable.

afæz | **afæj** 'ро́д' ('year')

< **āfati-*; cf. LAv. *āfanta-* 'time, *zruuan-*', Oss. *afon* (q.v.).

♦ The reconstruction **āpati-* and the accompanying etymology, suggested by Abaev and accepted by Bielmeier (1979: 111), should be rejected, see s.v. *afon*. Intervocalic **p-* has become voiced -*v-* in Ossetic, for instance, *axsæv* / *axsævæ* 'night' (< **xšap-ā-*, Av. *xšap-*, Skt. *kṣap-*). A better etymology was given by Benveniste (1954: 17 ff.), Bailey (1956: 120) and was further clarified by Gershevitch (1967²: 173), who connected *afæz* and *afon* (q.v.) with LAv. *āfanta-*. According to Gershevitch (p. 173, fn.), *afæz* goes back to an old feminine *ti*-abstract **āfati*¹.

On final -*g* / -*j* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.1.

afon | **afonæ** 'время', 'пора', 'сро́к' ('time, period')

< **āfānab-*, **āfānā-*; cf. LAv. *āfanta-*, Khz. *ʷfny* 'then, at that time', Khot. *phan-* 'to move', also Š. *si-fān-* : *sifid* ~ *si-fēn-* : *sifent* 'sich erheben, hochheben', R. *si-fān-* : *sifod* ~ *si-fēn-* : *sifent* 'id.', B. *si-fān-* : *sifod* 'sich erheben', v. Bielmeier (1979: 111).

♦ The etymology and inherent reconstruction **āpana-* (Av. *āpana-* (n.) 'attainment', Skt. *āpana-*, **āp-* 'to reach, pursuit', etc.), suggested by Abaev, are to be declined on account of the voiceless affricate *f-*. A more plausible etymology was proposed by Bailey (1956:

¹ In this footnote, Gershevitch implicitly rejected the reconstruction he proposed in the body of the text, where he derived Oss. *afæz* from the feminine active participle **āfati-*.

120)², who connected the etymon to LAv. *āfanta-* (translated as 'place of movement, course'). Abaev³ objected to this connection, because it would not fit semantically very well, but it suffices to cite Engl. *to pass, past* and Fr. *passer, passé* to refute his objection. Actually, the objection can be completely obviated, since Gershevitch (1967²: 173 f.) has convincingly shown that LAv. *āfanta-* is in fact a synonym for *zruuan-* 'definite time'. In a footnote (p. 173), Gershevitch derived Oss. *afon* / *afonæ* from **ā-fānab-*. Final *-æ* of the D. form is unclear: it is either secondary or reflects Nsg. f. **āfānā-*.

For the development of **-ah* > Oss. *-ə* v. *Apocope*, § 1.2.3.

ağd 'ляжка', 'бедро' ('thigh, hip')

< PIr. **haxti-*; Av. *haxti-* (n.) 'part of thigh', Khot. *buta-* 'part of a horse's body', MP *haxt*, Kurd. *hēt*, Skt. *sákthi-* (n.) 'thigh', etc.

♦ On the effect of final **-i* on the preceding consonant group see *Epenthesis*, § 4.3.2.

ağud | **ağodæ** 'чехол', 'футляр', 'кобура', 'раковина' ('cover, etui, holster, shell')

< **ā-gadā-*; Sogd. (Bud.) 'γ'ωδ, Khz. 'γωδ 'cover, covering'.

ajdæn | **ajdænæ** 'зеркало' ('mirror')

< ? **ād(i)ianā-*; cf. Khot. *āyāna-* 'id.', Sogd. (Bud.) 'δ'yn'k, MP *ēwēnag* (contaminated with *ēwēn* 'manner, custom, form' ?), NP *āyīnah*, Y. *āinō*, M. *āina* 'mirror', Bal. *āden(k)* 'mirror', ? OP **ā-daina-kara-* 'mirror maker'.

♦ The form *ajdæn* is difficult to analyse. If we accept the preform **ādajana-* reconstructed by Abaev, we expect the antepenultimate syllable to be syncopated, yielding Oss. *†ajden* (cf. *Syncope*, § 2.3.1.): D. *-æ* needs to be explained. Alternatively, Benveniste (ELO: 10) proposed **ādaina-*, which underwent an ad hoc vowel-metathesis: >> **āidana-*. Perhaps, Oss. *ajdænæ* reflects the instrumental *anā*-derivative of **di-* 'to look, observe' (Av. *paiti-dita-* 'seen', OP *dī-*, etc.), comparable to *arğevnæ* 'pincers' (**grab-* 'to seize, grab'). This would also explain the Khotanese form *āyāna-*, which Emmerick (SGS: 229, 258) derived from **ādai(a)na-* or **ādaina-* (with secondary shortening of **-ai(a)-* > Khot. **-i-* > *-ā*). The corresponding verb **ā-dai-* is attested in Khotanese: *āy-* 'to be reflected'.

ajk | **ajkæ** 'яйцо' ('egg')

< **āyia±kæ-*; cf. LAv. Asg. *aēm*, Khot. *āhaa-*, MP *xāyag*, Khz. *y'k*, Pš. *bā*, *hōya*, (Waz.) *yōwya*, Kurd. *bēk*, Bal. *haik*, Tal. *ūva*, Harzandi *ōva*, Orm. *wulk*, etc.

♦ According to Morgenstierne (EVP: 30, nr. 55) and Henning³ (1954: 291), labial **-μ-* has disappeared in the 'egg' forms of most Iranian languages. Only in a few recently attested languages is there evidence for **-μ-*, viz. in Taleshi, Harzandi, Pashto and Ormuri. The loss of the labial in the Ossetic forms is probably the outcome of the following developments: **āyia±kæ* > (syncope & *i*-epenthesis) **āyuga* > Oss. (devoicing of velar) *ajk* / *ajkæ*.⁴ On the other hand, it is remarkable that in IE the *μ*-less variants

² Also Benveniste (1954: 17 ff.).

³ In his interpretation, the Avestan form NAsg. n. *aēm* derives from **aiam* < **aiam*, which should continue **aiyam*. For the supposed Avestan loss of **μ* Henning cited the example *nikaiia-* 'witness', cf. Sogd. (Chr.) *myc'ny* 'martyr, witness'.

⁴ Abaev is reluctant to accept a preform with **-μ-* for the Ossetic form, because **āyiaaka-* would rather become *†aj(i)wag*. If we start from feminine (or plural ?) **āyiaka-*, we can very well arrive at Oss. *ajk* with syncope and subsequent loss of **-μ-*.

are widely attested, on which see Schindler (1969: 1160 ff.).

For more details on the devoicing of velar and the suffix **-kæ* see *Syncope*, § 2.2.1b.

Alægatae name of a Nart-family

< **āriaka-* (Dumézil 1958: 81); cf. Oss. *allon* (s.v.), *Kjyrd-Alagon* (*kjyrd* 'smith') divine blacksmith in Ossetic mythology.

♦ This family name is considered to be West Caucasian (cf. Kab. *Alleg* Nartic family) by Abaev, possibly derived from Abkh. **a-lag* (cf. Abkh. *lagaž* 'old man', Abaz. *lag* 'servant, serf', Oss. *lag*⁵ 'man'), with article *a-*. Several objections can be raised though. Semantically, it is unlikely that the *Alægatae*, who belong to the most illustrious families of the Narts, is connected with Abkh. **lag*, which has an unfavourable connotation of 'weak, impotent'. Also, the formal analysis poses some problems as well: why has *Alægatae* retained the Abkhaz article *a-*, but *lag*, which is also considered to be borrowed from Abkhaz, has not? It becomes even more incomprehensible if we consider the fact that **a-lag* does not appear as *proper name* in Abkhaz. Further, the West Caucasian Nartic correspondences of *Alægatae* do not have a convincing West Caucasian etymology. The Ossetic form, on the other hand, is apparently Iranian, going back to **āriā-ka-*, which, despite Bielmeier's reservations, poses no genuine formal or semantical problems. For the most recent review of *Alægatae* see Gaglojti (*Fs Abaev*: 85 ff.).

alg 'оконечность', 'кончик (пальцев, губ, языка)' ('extremity; tip [of fingers, teeth, tongue]')

< (Nsg.) **agrab*; LAv. *ayra-* 'first, upper', Skt. *āgra-* (n.) 'beginning, top'.

♦ For liquid *-l-* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.2, *Apocope*, § 1.2.3b.

allon certain people in fairy-tales

< (Gpl.) **āriānām*, (class. sources) 'Ἀλιανοί, *Alani*, cf. LAv. *airiia-*, *airiiana-*, OP *ariya-* 'Aryan', MP *ērān* (**ariānām*), etc.

♦ For the treatment of final **ām* see *On *u, *y*, § 6.2.3.

aly | **ali**, **alli** 'всякое', 'всякий' ('each, every(one)')

< (?) **harūi* (+ ? GLsg. *-y* / *-i*) < PIr. Nsg. m. **harūah*; Av. *hauruua-*, OP *haruua-* 'whole', Khot. *har* 'every, each', MP, NP *har*, Skt. *sārva-* 'all, every, whole', etc.

♦ Several points of *aly* are strange. In the first place, the origin of final vowel *-y* / *-i* is puzzling. Since *aly* is indeclinable, occurring only in attributive-adjectival sense (cf. Axvlediani 1963: 191 f.), the vowel possibly reflects the petrified use of the genitive-locative ending, on which see also *dasy*. The original *i*-less form would then have been preserved in expressions like *al rajsom* 'every morning', *alkæd* 'always' vel sim.

Medial *-l(i)-* has apparently arisen from **r* before a vowel **i*. Perhaps, **i* derives from older (PIr.) Nsg. m. **-ah*, which has been apocopated. Alternatively, the **i* may be connected with contemporary (Gsg.) *-y* / *-i*. The Iron form *ally*, with geminated *-ll-*, cited by Abaev, does not exist.⁶

Initial *a-* is also strange: it may be identified as deictic *a-*, cf. *annæ* '(yet) another [in

⁵ For the etymology of Oss. *lag* see Bielmeier (1979: 180), with references.

⁶ The postulation of a form *ally* is perhaps based on the passage in *Gr.* (p. 55): "oss. *aly*, w.oss. *ali* (/erscheint auch geminirt) »jeder« ...". Abaev may have falsely concluded from the remark "Ierscheint auch geminirt" that a form with geminated *-ll-* is also attested in Iron?

third position]' (v. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.5), *am* / *ami* 'here', etc.

amæntyn : amæst | amæntun : amast 'месить тесто', 'мазать', 'марать' ('to knead the dough; to soil, stain')

< **ā-manθa-*; cf. Oss. *yçmantyn* 'to mix' (s.v.), Sogd. (Bud.) *mnd* 'he churns', Khot. *manṭh-* 'to churn, stir', Skt. *manṭh-* 'to stir, to shake, to rub', etc.

amonyñ : amynd | amonun : amund 'показывать', 'наставлять', 'учить', 'monere' ('to show; to admonish; instruct')

< *caus.) **ā-māna-*; Khz. 'm'ny- 'to show', Av. *man-* 'to consider, think', etc.

♦ For the vocalism see *On *u, *y*, § 6.2.2.

araznæ, aræznæ (D.) 'руль' ('steering-wheel')

< **ārāzand-*, **arāzand-*; Khot. *bārays-*, *biray-*, *berays-* 'to spread; to declare', caus. *bārās-*, *birās-* 'to declare; to instruct; to teach', MP *wirāstan*, *wiray-*, Pth. *wr'z-* 'to regulate; to prepare; to cultivate', Av. *raz-* 'to direct, to order'.

♦ Like *arǰævnæ*, *izǰǰnæ* and *izǰæznæ*, the formation *araznæ* is a verbal abstract noun, deriving from the (causative) verb *arazyn*: *aræzt* 'to build, do, direct'. *Aræznæ* stems from *arazyn* 'to happen', to be in order'.

arc | arcæ 'копьё' ('spear')

< Plr. **r̥sti-*; Av. *aršti-* 'spear', adj. *ārštīia-* (in *ārštīiō.barāzan-* 'von Klafterhöhe'), Khot. *hālīstā* (pl.) 'spear', Khz. 'ʒe 'id.', (?) "Sc." 'Ἀρθιε' in 'Ἀρθιέμμωνος PN, Skt. *r̥stī-* (f).

♦ Apparently, interconsonantal **-r̥s-* disappeared after the rise of a complicated consonantcluster **-r̥s̥-* (< **-r̥st̥-*), which also gave rise to final *-æ* in Digoron, see *Apocope*, § 1.2.2b.i.

ard | ard, art 'клятва' ('oath')

< Plr. *(*a*)*rta-*; Skt. *rtā-* (n.) 'truth', Av. *aša-*, OP *ṛta-* 'truth, justice, order' (cf. El. *ir-t*, *ir-d* in PN), Sogd. 'rt' in (Bud.) 'rt'wsp'y 'righteous' (< **arta-yasta-*).

♦ The Ossetic meaning 'oath' seems very archaic, cf. Skt. *rtā*⁷. For voiceless *-t* see *Introduction*, § 0.7.3.7.iii.

arfa 'благословение', 'поздравление', 'приветствие' ('blessing; congratulation; greeting')

< **āfraja-* (Thordarson 1990: 258), Npl. **āfrajah* << **āfrijah*; LAv. *āfri-* (f.) 'Anwünschen' (attested only in compounds), Skt. *āpri-* (f.) 'invocation, introducing a sacrifice' (in compounds).

♦ For final *-æ* in I.D. see *Apocope*, § 1.4.2b.

arǰ 'цена', 'выкуп' ('price; ransom')

< Plr. **arǰa-*; Sogd. 'r̥y' 'price', Bact. αροο 'value' (Sims-Williams 2000 : 180b), Skt. *arǰhā-* (m.) 'price, value'.

arǰævnæ (D.) 'клевщи' ('pincers')

< **āgrabana-*; Sogd. (Chr.) *grbn* (f.) 'pincers', Khz. 'grβyn 'grip' (in *dst-grβyn* 'grip (of bow)'), OP *pati-grabanā-* (f.) name of a Parthian town (lit. 'receptaculum'), Skt. 'grabhanā- (in RV *agrabhanā-* 'having no grip'), possibly Khot. *grauṇā-*, *gronā-* 'garland' (lit. 'something

⁷ *ṛta-* in the meaning of 'oath' may be assumed in RV X 34, 12: *tād ṛtām vadāmi* 'That I speak out as truth'. The antonym *ānṛta-* 'perjury' is attested several times, e.g. MS II 14: 6, 10: *ānṛtam vā eṣā karotī yāb sāmāntam abhi-drīhyati* 'A perjury does he commit, who deceives equally', RV I 23, 22 : *yād vā śepā utānṛtam* 'or when I have sworn an oath'. Meaning and examples are taken from Hoffmann (1969: 198, fn.).

holding') < **grabana-* (DKS: 93).

♦ This verbal noun (see *araznæ*) is derived from the unattested verb **arǰeyn*.

arm | arm, ar '1. рука; 2. оголобля' ('1. arm; 2. [D.] shaft')

< Plr. **arma-*; Av. 'arama- (m.), Sogd. 'rm (in Bud. 'ps'rm'y 'arms tied on the back', Gr.S. II: 90; GMS: § 171); Khz. 'rm- (in *permk* 'arms (tied) on the back', Khot. 'arra- (in *nānārra-*, *ninārra-* 'palm of the hand'), Lsg. *erra* 'arm', Zāz. *erre* (m.) 'arm, shoulder' (Malmisanij: 106a), NP *arm* 'upper arm', Skt. *irmā-* (m.) 'arm', etc.

♦ D. *arm* is found in compounds only. The expected D. counterpart of I. *arm* is *ar*, which has a slightly different meaning, viz. 'shaft'. The linguistic reality of the D. hapax variant *aræ* which Abaev also mentions is doubtful, see *Apocope*, § 1.2.1e.iii.

ars 'медведь' ('bear')

< Plr. *(*H*)*r̥sa-*; Av. *arša-*, Sogd. 'šš, Khz. *hrs*, Khot. *arrā* Nsg. m. 'bear', MP {hls}, Pš. *yaž*, Wan. *yirž*, Y. *yērš*, *yarš*, Š. *yürš*, Yz. *yurš*, Sq. *yürš*, *yurš*, Sangl. *xars*, Kurd. *binē*, NP *xirs*, Skt. *ṛkṣa-* 'bear'.

♦ The conventional Plr. reconstruction *(*a*)*r̥sa-* does not account for some peculiar reflexes in Iranian. Khot. *arrā* has a surprising geminate liquid⁸, cf. *bāmura-* 'forgetting' (**fra-ā-mr̥sa-*, DKS: 478a). Equally odd is the appearance of affricate *č* in the Kurdish form, although *birš* also seems to be attested (Socin, *GIPH* 1/2: 264 § 96⁹) too. Even more peculiar is the Persian reflex. Two striking features can be observed: initial *x-* and *s* (instead of palatal *š*, cf. *aršt* 'spear' < **arštī-*). Initial *x-* is usually considered "prothetic" (also attested [r̥s] without [h-], in Zor.P), while *s* would rather point to **r̥sa-*, according to Hübschmann (*PSL*: 143). However, the preform **r̥sa-* is supported by only a few Iranian languages. Besides, the Skt. form *ṛkṣa-* does not agree well with this preform either. Anyway, both **r̥sa-* and the traditional reconstruction *(*a*)*r̥sa-*, which clearly shows Avestan bias, are untenable. In order to arrive at a more acceptable reconstruction, we must evaluate the developments from PIE and the subsequent Ilr. stages. The PIE form can be reconstructed as **H₂rtko-*, on the basis of Hitt. *ḫartagga-*, Gr. ἄρκτος, etc. PIE **H₂rtko-* may become PIr. **Hrtla-*. The expected Iranian continuation would be something like *(*H*)*r̥sa-*, involving PIr. **t* > Plr. **θ* (before consonant) and PIr. **č* > Plr. **s*. This reconstruction *(*H*)*r̥sa-* would fully explain the Iranian reflexes. The medial dental fricative **θ* might receive various treatments in the Iranian languages. The consonant group **θs* might yield an affricate in Kurdish, but in Persian geminated **θθ* > MP *ss* > (simplification) *s*. In Avestan, on the other hand, interconsonantal dental was lost, cf. Lpl. *naṣṣu-ā* 'and on the grandchildren' (< **naṣṣ-/θ-su*), giving rise to palatal *š*, which might thus account for *arša-*. The Ossetic form may also had a similar development.

⁸ Normally, intervocalic *-rr-* < **r̥(r̥)N-*, e.g. *kārra-* 'deaf' (**karna-*, Av. *karva-*), *arra-* 'arm' (**arma-*, Av. *arəma-*).

⁹ Here, Socin thought that Kurd. *č* may also stem from Ir. **š*, which is wrong. Although there are some dialects which have *š*, corresponding to *č* in other, specifically eastern, archaic Kurd. dialects, it is almost certain that in this case we are dealing with simplification of the affricate. Besides, the examples cited by Socin, *l.c.*, are not valid. Kurd. *ān* 'to go (away), to walk' has an original Ir. **č*, cf. Oss. *cawyn*, Khot. *tsi-* 'id.', and not Ir. **š*, based on NP *šudan* 'id.', which in fact also reflects Ir. **č*.

art 'огонь' ('fire')

< **ābra-*; Av. m: *atar-*, Sogd. 'tr, 'rō 'fire' (also a deriv. 'ī'k, 'ī'y 'ashes' (**ābrā-ka-*), Bact. αθρο, Khz. 'rv, MP *ādur*, *atur* (?) 'fire', Pš. *or*, Yağn. *āl*, Š., B. *yōc*, R. *yūc*, Sq. *yuc*, Yz. *yec* (**ābra-*, EVS: 105a), Zāz. *adīr*, (early) NP *ādar*, Kurd. *ār*, Bal. *ās*, *āc* (Rossi 1981: 176, 81) 'id.', etc.

♦ The word for 'fire' was thematized in many Iranian languages, including Ossetic form.

arv 'небо' ('sky')

< **ha-abra-*; Skt. *sābhra-* 'cloudy', cf. Av. *aštra-* (n.) 'cloud; rain', Khot. Lsg. *o(r)ñā* 'sky', MP *aur*, NP *abr*, Pš. *ōra*, *ourai*, Bal. *aur*, Kurd. (*h*)*aur*, *aur* 'cloud', Skt. *abhrā-* (n.) 'cloud', etc.

♦ A semantic *pars pro toto* shift from 'cloud' to 'sky, heaven' is not an uncommon development. The shift in Ossetic is best explained, if *arv* reflects a (possessive) derivative of **abra-* 'cloud'. Oss. *arv* probably reflects **ha-abra-* 'cloudy, (provided) with clouds', cf. Skt. *sābhra-*. The absence of *u*-umlaut also pleads for the reconstruction, since we expect umlaut in neuter **abram* (> **ašru* > Oss. †*uryw* / †*urw*), cf. On **u*, **y*, § 6.2.3. Etymologically long **ā-* is not subjected to *u*-umlaut.

♦ Khot. *o(r)ñā*, too, may be a derivative formation of **abra-*, going back to **abra-nā-*, NP *ab(a)rnāk* 'cloudy'.

as | **asæ** 'величина', 'рост', 'возраст' ('growth; size, age')

? **āsā-*; cf. Š. *parwōs*, Sq. *par(w)us*, Yz. *parwas*, Pš. *parōs* (< **parna-āsa-*), Yağn. *piyōsō* last year' (< **apa-āsāka-*), *yōsō* 'year'.

♦ According to Abaev, *as* is a borrowing from Turkic *yaš* 'age; years'. Morgenstierne (EVS: 60b, s.v. *parwōs*) hinted at the existence of **āsā-*, on account of some EIr. formations, to which the Ossetic form can also be added. Further connections are uncertain, perhaps, they are connected to Skt. *āsā-* 'place, region' (A.L.). For suffix *-as* / *-asæ* see Appendix, A § 3.

asin, **wasin** | **asijnæ** 'лестница' ('ladder')

< **ā-srañi-* + **ā-*; cf. Y. *afsinjo*, M. *afsinja* 'ladder' (< **upa-/abi-sriñnakā-*, IIFL II: 188b), Skt. *śrēṇi-* (f.) 'row, multitude'.

♦ The appearance of *w-* is limited to Adsg. *wasinyl*, which suggests secondary origin. It is probably a case of attraction from the locational prefix *wel*, postp. *wælx* 'up, on'. The reconstructions proposed by Abaev, viz. **ā-srin-*, and Morgenstierne (EVP: 78), viz. **ā-sriñna-*, are to be declined, since we would expect Oss. †*asyn* / †*asin* and †*asyn* / †*asinn* respectively.

asojnæ D. 'борона деревянная' ('wooden harrow')

< **ā-sāna±ā-*; cf. (with diff. pref.) Khot. *basāñā-* (?), NP *afsan*, *ausan*, *sān*, Pš. *psān*, W. *pisōn* (< NP), Sangl. *vāsīn*, Y. *āfseno* 'whetstone', cf. MP, NP *sūdan*, *sāy* 'to rub', Skt. *ā-śi-*, 'śā- 'to sharpen, whet; [metaph.] to make zealous', Oss. *ysson* / *insojnæ* 'whetstone', *yssyn* : *yssad* / *insun* : *insad* 'to sharpen'.

♦ The connection with the Iranian 'stone'-forms (Av. *asan-*, OP *abānga-*, etc.) and Pers. *ās* 'millstone', NP *āyānah* 'whetstone', etc. must be rejected. Even if we admit the possibility that a harrow was originally made of stone, initial vowel *a-* in the Ossetic form cannot possibly be reconciled with short **a-* found in the 'stone'-forms. Further,

the connection with the Persian forms can be excluded: Pers. *ās* et al. are rather derived from **ar-* 'to grind' (cf. Av. *aša-* 'grinded', Kurd. *aš*, Khz. 'rō, Sogd. 'rō 'millstone'). In fact, D. *asojnæ* is structurally similar to (*y*)*sson* / *insojnæ*, *ansojnæ* 'whetstone', if not etymologically related. While (*y*)*sson* reflects **ham-sāna-*, D. *asojnæ* possibly has another prefix: **ā-sāna-*, cf. Skt. *ā-śi-*¹⁰, etc. Evidently, the material used for the harrow is of no relevance. For D. *-ojnæ* see Appendix, § 13. Other Iranian designations for 'harrow' are NP *mālah*, Kurd. *mal* (**marx-* 'to rub, grind'), Gaz *vāz*, NP (Isfahan) *vāz*, Pš. *bāt*.

ast 'восемь' ('eight')

< PIt. **aštā*, LAv. *ašta*, Sogd. 'št, Khot. *hašta*, Khz. 'št, MP *hašt*, NP *hašt*, Pš. *otz*, (Wan.) *ata*, Orm. *ašt*, Par. *ōst*, Y. *aščō*, W. (*h*)*at*, Š. *wašt*, Yz. *ašt* 'eight', Skt. *aṣṭā* 'id.', etc.

♦ On the loss of final **-ā* see Apocope, § 1.3.1c.

avd 'семь' ('seven')

< PIt. **hafta*, Av. *hapta*, Sogd. 'ft, Khot. *boda*, Khz. 'βd, NP *haft*, Y. *avdoh*, Š. *ūd*, *ūjt*, M. *ōvdā*, Skt. *saptā*, etc.

avg | **avgæ** 'стекло', 'бутылка' ('glass', 'bottle').

< **āp(a)kē-*; cf. M. *yūrya*, Y. *yūryō* 'water' (< **āpakā-*, IIFL II: 272), W. *yupk*, (?) *yāpak*, Zāz. *awke* (f.) 'water' (Malmisaniy 1987: 26b), MP *ābgēnag* 'crystal, glass' (borrowed in Sogd. 'pkyn-, 'pkyn'k, (Man.) 'pkyn(ny) (?)', Khz. 'bky(n)k' 'glass'.

axo, yr | **axur** 'учение', 'привычка', 'ученый', 'приученный', 'обученный', 'привыкший' ('study; custom; learned, instructed, got accustomed to')

< NP *axūn* 'theologian, preacher; orator; a tutor' (through Turkic, probably Azeri *axun* 'chief mullah').

♦ The Ossetic form ultimately goes back to Persian. The final *-r* found in Ossetic is odd. According to Abaev, this is due to nasal dissimilation, which occurred in expressions like *ax, yr kənyyn* 'to study'.

az | **anz** 'год' ('year')

< PIt. Gpl. **aznām*; Av. *azan-*, *azn-*, Gpl. *asnām*, Skt. *āhan-*, Gpl. *āhnām*, cf. Khot. *vaysñā* 'now' (**āma-azñā-*, cf. DKS: 376a), Pš. *parūn*, Sangl. *parūzd* 'yesterday' (< **pāra-azna-*), etc.

♦ Already Miller has connected Oss. *az* with Av. *azan-* 'day', etc., to which Abaev brings forward two objections. In his opinion, initial *a-* of the Oss. form, which normally reflects older **a*, cannot be reconciled with the short vowel found in the word for 'day'. This is incorrect, as short **a* is lengthened to **ā* before (Pre-Oss.) final *-CC#*, thus becoming Oss. *a*, cf. Introduction, § 0.7.2.1.ii. His second objection concerns the nasal, which the (neuter) *n*-stems could not have preserved in Ossetic, cf. *carm* 'skin' (< **carman-*, NAsg. **čarma*, see Apocope, § 1.2.1c). This is not a valid argument either, since **azan-* is not a genuine *n*-stem, being a heteroclitic */n*-stem in origin: a different treatment can be expected. Oss. *az* / *anz* is probably derived from the more frequent zero grade stem **azn-*. His own suggestion, a connection with Av., OP *asmān-* 'heaven',

¹⁰ The vocalism of the root is odd. Normally, the ablaut-pattern **ā* ~ **i* in IIr. points to the presence of a laryngeal: IE **ēH* ~ **iH*: the vocalic laryngeal thus accounts for Skt. and Ir. **i* in zero grade. On the basis of LAv. *saeni-* 'top (of tree)', Nordic *hain* (OE *hān*, English *hone*), Lat. *ōs* 'whetstone', a root IE **keH₃(i)-* is generally reconstructed, cf. EWAia II: 627, s.v. *śā-*. The rather elusive character of the **i* enlargement is unexplained.

etc., is probably best to be abandoned, see Bielmeier (1979: 106-107). Miller's proposal is not without flaws though. The semantic shift from 'day' to 'year' is not quite evident, which Gershevitch (1975: 203-205) tried to remedy by postulating the vřddhi-derivative *āz-na- of *ažan-, which would originally be part of a lost compound *sarda-āz-na- 'Jahrgang' > 'year' (s.v. Oss. *sard* 'summer'). At a certain stage, the meaning of the whole compound was transferred to the last element *āz-na-. According to Gershevitch, Sogdian may have preserved the compound *sarda-āz-na-, viz. in the documents of Muq: *srō* 'year'. Gershevitch thus assigned the meaning 'year' to this apparently hapax phrase *srō* 'year'. The existence of an Iranian vřddhi derivative *āz-na- was solely based on Skt. *āhnā-*, for which Gershevitch adopted the traditional meaning 'series of days'. He was apparently unaware of the treatment of the Sanskrit form by Hoffmann (1960: 14 f.), who came to the conclusion that *āhnā-* rather meant 'daily'. Evidently, the meaning 'daily' does not favour the conjectures of Gershevitch.

To account for the Ossetic meaning, I derive *az* from Gpl. *ažnam [of] the days'. As a designation for time or period, *ažan- often stands in the genitive case, clearly shown by the Av. and Skt. correspondences. For the shortening of Gpl. *-ām > *-am (> *-u) see On *u, *y, § 6.2.3.

azælyn : azæld | azælyn : azæld 'давать отзвук, эхо' ('to echo')

< *ā-ž(a)rija- (lit.) 'to be sung'; see Oss. *zælyn* (q.v.).

Æ

æcæg 'истинный', 'действительный', 'правдивый', 'правда', 'истина' ('truth, true')

< *baθia-ka-; cf. Av. *baithia-*, OP *baθiya-*, Skt. *satya-* 'true', Khot. *baθibhā-* 'truth' (on -*θibh-* see JVK III: 158-159).

æd 'c' ('with')

< Plr. *badā, GAv. *badā*, LAv. *badā*, OP *badā*, Khz. *θ*, *θ'*, MP (Turk.) *d*, Pš. *la*, Sogd. *δ* in (Man.) *δn*, (Chr.) *dn*, (Bud.) *δnn*, (Anc.Lett.) *δnn*, Skt. *sabā*, *sadha-* 'provided with', etc.

æddæ | ændæ 'снаружи', 'вне' ('adv. postp.] outside')

< Lsg. *antai; Skt. *anta-* (m.) 'border, limit', Lsg. *ānte* 'border, edge'.

♦ On final -æ see *Apocope*, § 1.4.3.

æfsad | æfsad 'войско' ('army')

< Plr. *spāda¹¹; GAv. *spāda-*, LAv. *spāda-* (m.) 'army, host', OP **spāda-* (in *Taxmaspāda* PN, lit. 'having a brave army'), Sogd. *ʾsp*ʾd, (Chr.) *sp*ʾd 'army', Khot. *spādā-* 'army official', Khz. *sb* ʾm, MP *spāb*, NP *spāb* 'id.' (LW ?).

æfsadyn : æfsæst | æfsadun : æfsast 'насыпать' ('to saturate')

< *spāta-; Khot. *spai-*, ptc. *spata-* 'to be satisfied', Skt. *spā-* 'to become fat'.

♦ The infinitive *æfsadyn* is apparently derived from the past participle.

æfsæn | æfsæn 'сошник', 'лемех', (obs.) 'железо' ('ploughshare', [obs.] 'iron')

< *suanā-; Sogd. *ʾspn*, Khot. *hiśāna-* (< ? **aśuānā-*, DKS: 487a), Khz. *ʾspny*, MP *asin*, Š.

¹¹ No convincing IE origin can be given for Ir. **spāda-*. The latest proposal is from Weiss (1993: 125 ff.), who connects it with the rare and exclusively OCS form *spodb* 'a company of people sitting together at a meal'. The OCS form is possibly a borrowing from Iranian, be it directly or indirectly.

špin, M. *yūspan*, W. (y)šn, Pš. *špāna*, *špina*, NP *āhan* 'iron', etc.

æfsærm, æfsarm | æfsarm, æfsar 'стыд', 'стыдливость', 'соблюдение приличий' ('shame; diffidence; observance of decency')

< Plr. *šarma-, LAv. *šarāma-* (m.) '(feeling of) shame', Sogd. (Bud.) *šš'rm* 'k' *ʾpuḍenda*, Khot. *ksārma-*, MP, NP *šarm* 'shame', etc.

æfsin | æfsijnæ 'хозяйка дома, распоряжающаяся хозяйством, припасами, стряпней, угощением', 'свекровь' ('mistress of the house, who is in charge of the household, supplies, cooking and catering', 'mother-in-law')

< *abi-šaiθni- (ELO: 19); LAv. *ašbi-šaitan-* (Dsg. *aibi-šaitne*) 'inhabitant of the house', (?) Sogd. *ššyn* title of a high rank official (from **xšaiθni-*, for **xš* > Sogd. dial. (?) *šš* (GMS: 48, § 314), also Isaev 1980: 186 ff.).

♦ The equation of *æfsin* with Alanic μέσφιλι (Tz.), suggested by Abaev (and others), is phonetically difficult, v. Bielmeier (1993: 5 ff.). Bielmeier derived the Alanic form μέσφιλι from compounded **maiba-paruḡa-* lit. 'primus domi', which is not attested in Iranian or in (contemporary) Ossetic though.

The interpretation of the Sogdian title *ššyn*, as encountered in Arabic texts only, is problematic: it is uncertain, whether we can connect it with the Ossetic form, cf. Bielmeier (l.c.).

æfsnajyn : æfsnajd | æfsnajun : æfsnajd 'убирать', 'прибирать' ('to clean up')

< *apa-snāja- or *abi-snāja-; Khot. *bināj-* 'to steep, soak' (< **abi-snā-*, SGS: 96), cf. Av. *snā-* + *fra* 'to wash off; to purify', *fra-snāti-* (f.) 'Abwaschung', Khot. *haysn-* 'to bathe, swim' (< **fra-snāja-*, SGS: 148), Sogd. *snj* 'bathe, swim' (< **fra-snāja-* (GMS: 49, § 316), Oss. *najyn* : *nad* / *najun* : *nad* 1. [I.] 'to bathe', [D.] 'to cross over in a raft, to sail on a boat', Av. *snā-* 'to wash', Khz. (ppp.) *ʾsn* 'd' 'ritually washed' (Samadi: 184), Skt. *snā-* 'to wash'.

♦ Only the formation with the preverb **fra-* is well attested in Iranian. Other prefixed formations are much rarer.

æfsurg | æfsorq 'чудесная порода коней' ('a wondrous breed of horses')

< *aspa-ugra-; cf. Oss. *jařs* 'mare' (q.v.) and Av. *ugra-*, Skt. *ugrā-* 'strong', etc.

♦ This compound is probably identical to Sm. Αοργουρος PN (Gorgippia, passim), lit. 'having strong horses'.

æftawyn : æftyd | æftawun : æftud 1. 'накидывать', 'набрасывать'; 2. 'прибавлять'; 3. 'вынимать', 'снимать', 'выдергивать' (1. 'to throw on', 2. 'to increase', 3. 'to take out, away, to pull out')

< (?) *apa-tāya-; cf. Khot. *nařtan-* 'to pour out' (**niř-tāya-*), Š. *pit(t)āw-d*, R. *pit(t)ēw-d* 'to throw away' (**pati-tāyāta-*, EVS: 63b; SGS: 51), Oss. *tawyn* / *tawun* 'to sow, scatter' (s.v.).

æftæryn : æftærd | æftirun : æftird 'жрать' ('to gorge, fressen')

< *abi- (or *apa-?) + *tæryn* / *tærun* (s.v.).

æfxalyn : æfxæld | æfxalun : æfxald 'повреждать' ('to injure, damage')

See s.v. Oss. *æfxælyn*.

♦ The verb *æfxalyn* is the causative to *æfxælyn*.

æfxælyn : æfxæld | æfxælyn : æfxæld 'повреждаться (о коже, организме)' ('to be damaged [of skin, body]')

< (?) *apa-xada-; cf. Oss. *xælyn* / *ixælyn* 'to rot, decay; to scatter' (s.v.).

♦ A nominal derivative is *æfxælc* / *æfxælcæ* 'miscarriage'.

æfxærȳn : **æfxærd** | **æfxwærȳn** : **æfxward** 'обижать', 'оскорблять', 'выговаривать', 'наказывать' ('to offend, insult; to reprimand; to punish')

< **apa-huara*; cf. Skt. *sva-* 'to sound, sing, praise'.

♦ Other Iranian correspondences of Skt. *sva-* remain uncertain, v. *EWAlia* II: 793.

ægas | **ægas**, **igās** 'весь', 'целый', 'заоровый', 'живой' ('whole', 'wholesome, healthy', 'alive')

< **akāsa*, **yi-kāsa*; cf. MP *kās*, NP *kāh*, *kāstan* 'to decrease' (Bailey, *Asia*: 36) or ? Oss. *kāsȳn* 'to see', Av. *ka-* 'id.', etc. (Miller, *IF* 21: 323).

♦ There are two etymologies for this word. The connection with Oss. *kāsȳn*, proposed by Miller (l.c.) is rejected by Abaev on semantic grounds. A more likely etymology was suggested by Bailey (*Asia*: 36). He derived *ægas* from **a-kāsa*, lit. 'not deficient', MP *kās*. Abaev also connects *ægas* with Sarmatian names like ΑΚΑΘΑΣ and (as second element) Sm. Γωδ-ΥΑΘΟΣ, etc. (cf. *OJaF*: 152-153). The interpretation of the so-called Scythian, Sarmatian and Alanic names is often a matter of speculation however, especially when it involves compounded names with no clear Iranian (or even Ossetic) correspondences.

ægdaw 'обычай', 'адат', 'норма поведения' ('custom, adat, pattern of conduct')

< **haxtāyant*, **haxtāyāb*; Sogd. *yt'w*, (Man.) *xw* 'judge', cf. LAv. *haxta* 'qualified, authorized'.

♦ For the treatment of the old nominative ending *-āh see *Apocope*, § 1.3.2.

ækkoj (I.) 'ношение груза на спине' ('transport of a burden on the back')

< **ham-* + **kāna-* + *-iā; cf. OP *avākanam* impf. 1sg. 'I placed, put', Pth. *aſgan-* 'to throw', MP *aſkandan*, NP *aſgandan* 'to throw away'.

♦ For the suff. *-oj see *Appendix A* § 13.

ældar 'господин', 'князь' ('lord, prince')

< ? **arma-dāra*; cf. Sm. (Tanais) ? Αρδαρος, Hung. *aladár* 'centurio cohortis praetoriae' (< Al.).

♦ According to Abaev, the Ossetic form can be compared with Mongolic *aldar* 'fame, honour', which is improbable. The meaning 'fame, honour' is attested in all Mongolic languages, only in Kalmuk 'lord' is found, but the usage of this meaning is restricted to addressing persons (of the type 'Your Highness, Excellency'). The Osseto-Mongolic comparison is even more unlikely if Oss. *ældar* goes back to Iranian **arma-dāra* (cf. German *Handhaber*), which was suggested earlier by Abaev (*OJaF*: 154): > syncope **armdār* > *ældar*, with liquid dissimilation and loss of medial *-m-. The resemblance may be therefore pure chance.

ælgȳn (I.) 'скупой', 'алчный' ('stingy, greedy')

< *alg* / *algā* 'abhorrence, disgust' + suff. -in / -ijna; cf. ? Av. *arȳant-* 'dark (?)', to bend, be bend¹² (?), tumultuous¹³ (?), Sogd. *ry'nt* 'stingy, greedy', MP *aryand* 'horrible', NP *arȳand*, *arȳandah* 'angry'.

♦ Final I. -in cannot reflect *-aina, as suggested by Abaev, cf. the material suff. *-aina > I. -yn. Rather, -in can be identified as the agent suff. -in / -ijna, see *Appendix A*, § 10.

ælvāsȳn : **ælvæst** | **ælvāsȳn** : **ælvast** 'извлекать', 'вынимать', 'натягивать', 'стягивать' ('to pull out; to take out; to stretch on; to contract')

< **apa-* or **abi-lāsa*; cf. Oss. *lāsȳn* : *last* / *lasun* : *last* 'to carry (off), to drag', (medio-pass.) *lāsȳn* : *last* / *lasun* / *last* 'to be dragged, carried off'.

♦ The suggestion of Abaev, that *lāsȳn* has been dissimilated from **nasun*¹⁴ is improbable: the infinitive can scarcely be the source of a paradigmatic levelling. Rather, a connection with *lask* / *laska* 'herding of someone's cattle on payment of a number of its offspring' seems more likely, q.v.

ælvīsȳn : **ælvæst** | **ælvēsȳn** : **ælvēst** 'прясть' ('to spin')

< **abi-uraisa*; MP, NP *abrēšom* 'silk' (borrowed in several languages, e.g. Pš. *vrēšam* (Š. *vrēšum*, Sq. *varašim*, *valašim*), Pš. *vrēšal* 'to spin' (< **abi-rai-* [sic], *EVP*: 90), Bal. (*b*)*rēšay* 'id.', cf. Khz. *ryy-* 'to spin'.

♦ Liquid / < **r* of *ælvīsȳn* / *ælvēsȳn* is to be ascribed to a zero grade form: **abi-uris* > **aſi-(u)lis* > **aſi-(u)lais* > *ælvīsȳn* / *ælvēsȳn* (metathesis).

æmæ, **ymæ**, **mæ** | **æma**, **ma** 'и', 'но', 'чтобы', 'что' ('and; but, in order to, that')

< Absg. **hamāt*, Av. *hamāt*, OP *hama-* 'the same, common', Skt. *sāma-* 'the same', etc.

æmbis (I.) 'половина' ('half, halve')

< **ham-paisa*; Khot. *hambisa* 'preparation, collection, heap', Pth. *mbyś* 'heap of corn'.

æmbisond | **æmbesond** 'пословица', 'басня', 'притча', 'чудесное', 'чудо' ('proverb; fable, tale; miraculous, miracle')

< **ham-paisant*; cf. LAv. *paēs*, OP *paiθ-* 'to adorn, paint', Sogd. (Bud.) *py'it-* 'to adorn', Oss. *fysȳn* / *finsun* 'to write', Skt. *piś-*, (pres.) *pīśati* 'prepares; adorns; forms, embellishes', etc.

♦ Apparently, *æmbisond* is the present participle of a lost verb **ambisȳn* / **æmbesȳn*, to which Abaev assigns the meaning 'to compose (in writing, stories)' ("sočīnjat"). The primary meaning of *æmbisond* would thus be 'proverb; story, vel sim.' (lit. 'composing, composition', cf. Russ. *sočīnenie*), which has also the connotation 'fabulous, miraculous' (a feature associated with stories and old-wives' tales).

Regarding the etymology of *æmbisond*, Abaev hints at an connection with *mysȳn* / *imisun* 'to consider, conceive' (q.v.), which is phonologically improbable though: the postulated development *ammisond* > *æmbisond* (II: 145 f., s.v. *mysȳn*) is without parallel in Ossetic. If we uphold the original meaning 'composition' for *æmbisond*, a relation with LAv. *paēs*, OP *paiθ-*, etc. comes to mind. The meaning 'to form, embellish' is preserved in the Vedic Sanskrit correspondence.

For the fate of the present participles see *Apocope*, § 1.2.1f.i.

æmbond 'орпаша', 'стена' ('fence, wall')

< **ham-banda*; Sogd. (Bud.) *hṣ'nt* 'joined, attachment', Khot. *hambañ-* 'to compose', Skt. *sambandha-* (m.) 'connection, union'.

æmbyd | **æmbud** 'гнилой' ('rotten')

< ppp. **ham-pūta*; Khot. *hambūta-* 'rotted, festering', cf. Oss. *ambyjȳn* / *ambujun* 'to rot', LAv. *pu-*, 'to stink, rot', etc.

¹² Cf. Hintze (1994: 233 f.).

¹³ Cf. Humbach-Ichaporla (1998: 124).

¹⁴ Av. *nas-*, (pres.) *nāsa-* 'hingelangen zu', Skt. *naś-* (aor.) 'to take', Khot. *nās-*, Yağn. *nos-* : *nōta* 'take'.

æmbyrd | æmburd 'собрание' ('meeting')

< NAsg.n. **ham-bṛtam*; Av. *ham-bar* 'conferre, to carry, bring together', Skt. *sam-bhṛti* 'convention', *sām-bhṛta* 'brought together, gathered'.

♦ On the basis of Av. *ham-barati* 'meeting' and Skt. *sam-bhṛti* 'convention', Miller (Gr.: 19) postulated the preform **ham-bṛti* for *æmbyrd*, which is declined by Abaev, as we would rather expect †*ambylc* (cf. s.v. *xælc*). Therefore, Abaev derives the etymon from the old ppp. **ham-bṛta*. The vowel *y* / *u* is the result of *u*-umlaut, e.g. *myd* / *mud* 'honey' (< **madu*), on which see On **u*, **y*, § 6.2.3.

æmrast 'прямо', 'напрямик' ('straight', 'right').

< **ham-raštam* (Asg. n. adv.); Khot. *ham-raštu* 'right; all right', Av. ppp. *rašta* (hapax), *rašta*, (NAsg. adv.) *raštām* 'rightly', OP *rāsta* 'straight, right, true', etc.

♦ The exact correspondence of the Oss. form can be found in Khot. *ham-raštu* < **am*.

æncad 'тихий', 'спокойный', 'тихо', 'спокойно' ('quiet(ness), tranquil(ity)')

< ppp. **ham-ñāta*; Sogd. 'nēy 'to stay, remain', Khz. *hncy* 'to rest, repose', caus. *hnc'wy*, cf. Av. *ñiā* 'to enjoy', GAv. *ñiāta*, *šāta*, MP *šād* 'glad', etc.

♦ On the development *-c* < **ñ* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.6, fn.

æncoj | æncojnæ 'покой', 'отдых', 'подпорка' ('rest, repose; prop, support')

< **ham-ñāna+ja*; Sogd. 'nēn 'pause, rest', Khz. *hncy* 'to rest, relax', Oss. *æncad* (q.v.).

♦ Abaev's reconstruction **ham-ñ(ā)na* needs to be revised a little, as it does not account for *-j* in the Ossetic forms. On final **oj*, / **ojnæ* see *Appendix*, A § 13.

On the development *-c* < **ñ* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.6, fn.

ændağd (D.) 'сильный', 'сильно' ('strong', 'strongly')

< ppp. **ham-taxta*; Av. *ham-tac* 'to flow, pour into', Khz. *m-ndxs* 'to approach, press into' (Samadi: 123), MP *bandāxtan*: *bandāz* 'to bring together, reunite', NP *andāxtan*: *andāz* 'to throw', cf. Oss. *tağd* 'swift', Sogd. 'twxt (in c'twxt 'how swiftly'), Av. *tacma* 'strong, brave, heroic'.

ændær 'другой (какой-нибудь, неопределенный)', 'alius' ('[some, unspecified] other')

< **antara*; Av. *antara*, Khot. *bandara* (with prothetic *b*), Khz. 'ndyr, NP -andar 'step-' (in *padarandar* 'stepfather', etc.), Pš. (Wañ.) *nor* (? **andāra*), Skt. *āntara* 'other', etc.

ændærg, ændarg 'силуэт' ('silhouette')

< (?) **antara-(ka)*; cf. LAv. *antara*, Khot. *bandara* (with sec. *b*), Pth. 'ndr, Skt. *āntara* 'within, interior', etc.

♦ The form usually appears as *sawændær(g)* / *sawændarg* (*saw* 'black'), while the "variant" *ændarg* is not attested in Iron (Digoron only). Abaev's reconstruction **ham-tanbra-ka* (cf. Oss. *tar* 'dark(ness)') is doubtful, in view of vowel *-a-*, which goes back to short **a*¹⁵. Another etymology is preferable. Since *ændarg* most frequently appears with *saw*, we are perhaps dealing with a (bahuvrihi) compound **ñāna+antara-(ka)* 'having black interior'. Final *-g* points to the presence of the ubiquitous suff. **-ka*. Syncope possibly explains the outcome *ændarg* / *ændarg*: **(*)antara-ka* > (apocope) **andarag* > (syncope) **andrag*. The syncopated form **andrag* would have yielded an awkward consonant cluster, which may be solved by *r*-metathesis.

ændewun : ændiwd (D.) 'сметь', 'дерзать', 'быть смелым' ('to dare, to be bold')

< **ham-daiya*; cf. Skt. *div* 'to play dice, gamble', (?) Av. *diuu* 'to endeavour' (Beekes 1988: 206).

♦ The reconstruction **ham-tay-ia* (from **tay-* 'to be strong', Av. *tauu*-, Skt. *tav-*, (pres.) *tāviti* 'is strong, capable', etc.), proposed by Abaev, is not supported by any (I)Ir. evidence. The verb *ændewun* may be connected with Skt. *div*-. The older meaning of the Oss. form was probably something like *'to take risks [in a game of dice]', which has become 'to dare' in the modern language.

The full grade form *ændewun* has secondarily arisen, being remodelled after *lizyn*: *hygd* / *lezun*: *liğd* 'to flee', *alvisyn*: *alwæst* / *alwesun*: *alwæst* 'to spin', etc.

ændon 'сталь' ('steel')

< **ham-dāna* lit. 'putting together'; cf. Skt. *sam-dhā* 'to put together, unite, etc.', *sam-dhāna* 'uniting, etc.', (?) Sm. *Avdānakoṣ* PN (lit. 'a man of steel' ?), borrowed in Finno-Ugr. (cf. Udm. *andān*, Zyry. *jendon* 'steel') and in Caucasian languages (cf. Chech. *ondun* 'strong', Ing. *ondə* 'steel').

♦ Some connections quoted by Abaev are dubious. The Tocharian forms A *añcwāsi*, B *eñcuwo* 'of iron', which Abaev connects with *ændon*, are rather related to Ir. **ṣyana* 'iron', Av. *hao-safna*, Khz. (?) *spny*, Oss. *æfsæn*, etc., see Bailey (1957: 55-56); Isebaert (191-192, § 185). The most recent addendum, Khz. *andān* {'nd'n-y} 'bonds, shackles' (V: 5) can be discarded. The Khwarezmian form corresponds to Skt. *samdāna* 'bond, fetter' (*dā*, pres. *dyāti* 'to bind' = GAv. *dā*).¹⁶

The use of steel was well-known among Scythian tribes, which would suggest that the technical meaning assigned to **ham-dāna* was first coined in Alanic.

ængas | ængas(t) 'взгляд', 'вид' ('look, appearance')

< **ham-kāsa*; Sogd. (Man.) 'ngs 'face', Skt. *sam-kaś* 'to appear in sight, become visible, caus. 'to look at, see', cf. Oss. *kæsyn*: *kæst* / *kæsyn*: *kæst* 'to see', 'to read', Av. *kaś-* (+ *a*) 'to appear, perceive', etc.

♦ This formation is either an old ppp. of †*ængæsyn* / †*ængæsun* (hence "additional" final *-t* in D.), or it may rather correspond to the Skt. formation *samkāśa*-(m.) 'look, appearance'.

ængylz | ængulzæ 'палец' ('finger')

< **anguri-* + **-ā-ā*; Bal. *angul* 'finger', W. *yāngl*, Māzand. *engel*, Pš. *grut* 'space between thumb and first finger' (< **anguri-muṣṭi*?, EVP, s.v.), Skt. (RV) *āṅgūri-*, *āṅgūli-* (f.) 'finger; toe'.

♦ For feminine suffix **-ā* see *Appendix*, A § 15.

ængoyd | ængūd 'срок' ('date, term')

< ppp. **ham-guta*; Pth. 'ngw : 'ngwān 'to complete, finish', cf. Khz. *γd* (f.) 'term', Oss. *gæwyn* / *gæwun* 'to be necessary' (s.v.).

♦ A connection with Sogd. 'ny'w (< **ham-gāma*) 'hurry' has to be dismissed: 'ny'w is more likely to be the Sogd. counterpart of Khot. *hamgām* 'swift' (**gam-* 'to go, come'), cf. Gershevitch (GMS: 245, A § 351). Since *ængoyd* has a fricative *g*, instead of the expected stop *g* (after nasal), the formation is apparently recent. The unattested simplex form

¹⁵ Oss. *-a-* in D. *ændarg* can be of secondary origin, having arisen before (POss.) final *-CC#*.

¹⁶ The reconstruction of Henning (1971: 29b) **bandāma* (cf. Skt. *samdhā* 'to restrain') is phonologically improbable.

†ǰəvd / †ǰud has then a perfect correspondence in Khz. *γd*.

æŋqəlyn : æŋqəld | æŋqəlyn : æŋqəld 'полагать', 'думать', 'надеяться' ('to suppose, think; to hope for')

< *ham- + *garja-; cf. (?) Khz. *bry-* 'to be excited' (< *upa-garia-?, Samadi: 18), cf. (?) LAv. (inf.) *gairē* 'xu wachen über...', Khz. *yr's-* 'to (be) awake, awaken', Yağn. *yār-* 'to look', Skt. (pres. mid.) *jārate* 'wakes up, is awake'.

◆ Oss. *æŋqəlyn* contains *gar- 'to awake', but a *ja*-formation of this root is hardly attested in Indo-Iranian.

ænos | ænos 'вечность' ('eternity')

< Plr. *anausa-, LAv. *anaōsa-* (adj.) 'immortal, undecaying', Khot. *nāsa-* (Nsgm. *nāsa*) 'nectar', MP *anōs* 'immortal, i.e. the next life; elixer, antidote', Sogd. *nūs'k* 'eternal'.

ærduzyn : ærdyst | ærdozun : ærdust 'холостить', 'кастрировать' ('to neuter, castrate')

< ? *drau-/za-; borrowing from Balto-Slavic?, cf. Lith. *dróžti* 'to cut, carve'.

◆ The reconstruction of Abaev, viz. *drauš-, MP *drōš* 'mark, branding; punishment', Bal. *druš-* 'to thresh'¹⁷, which is proposed for *ærduzyn*, is phonologically improbable, on account of voiceless *f-. Also the equation of the ptc. *ærdyst* to LAv. *društa-* is doubtful. The meaning 'castrated' was only cautiously suggested by Bartholomae (*AiW.*: 782)¹⁸. Rather, we have to derive *ærduzyn* from *drau-/za- 'to cut, castrate', for which there are no reliable Iranian reflexes though.

ærdyn | ærdunæ, ænduræ 'лук (оружие)', 'arcus' ('bow [weapon]')

< *dr(a)una-; MP *drōn*, Khot. *durna-*, Sogd. (Bud.) *dr'un*, NP *darūnah*,Orm. *dring*, Aškun *drō*, *drū* 'war bow', ? Bal. *drin* 'rainbow', Skt. (Lex.) *druṇa-* 'bow' (< Ir.).

ærdyston (I.) 'футляр для лука', 'горит' ('bowsheath')

< *druna-stāna-; Sogd. *drwnstn* 'quiver', s.vv. Oss. *ærdyn* and *-ston* / *-stonæ* suffix of place (Av., OP *stana-, Sogd. *stn, etc.).

ærfyg | ærfug 'бровь' ('eyebrow')

< *brūka-; Sogd. *br'wke* 'brow', Khz. (?) *brw* (pl. tant.) 'eyebrow' (*brūka- or *brūš-?), Khot. *brāuka-lā* 'brow', MP *brīg* '(eye)brow', Y. *urīya*, M. *urīga* (*brūka-) 'eyebrows', Kurd. (Kurm.) *brū* (m.) (*brū-, *brūka-), Baxtiari *burg*, Skt. *bhrūka-* 'eyebrow', etc.

◆ Voiceless *f-* is odd. From *brūka- we expect †*ærnyg* / †*ærnyg*, cf. *arv* 'sky' (< *abra-), *arvad* / *arvada* 'brother' (*brātā). Furthermore, the appearance of voiceless *f-* in this form is an exclusively Ossetic phenomenon, unlike (D.) *naft(f)æ* 'navel', *wafyn* 'to weave' (q.v.). The regular metathesis of *Cr > rC would have given rise to a unique sequence *βu, which has possibly merged with (Pre-Oss.) *fu, cf. *fud* / *fud* 'bad', *fyr* / *fur* 'much, many', *fys* / *fus* 'sheep', etc. Even in contemporary Ossetic, which has adopted many borrowings with alien phonological features, forms with *βu are rarely found, tending to be adapted to more familiar sequences, e.g. *səlavyr*, *səlabyr* / *səlawr* 'marten', *synyŷz* / *sibulŷz* 'a kind of elm', *Ulmus suberosa*, *Ulmus pamila*, D. *ærguvun* : *ærguvd*, see below.

ærgəvyn : ærgəvd | ærguvun : ærguvd 'схватив, поднять' (*sərgəvyn*), 'опустить' (*ær-*),

¹⁷ Abaev also cites Sogd. (Buddh.) *dr'wŷyḥ* 'sacrifice' (not: 'mutilation'), which perhaps goes back to *zaōbra- (*dr* is pseudo-historical spelling for /z/).

¹⁸ Humbach-Ichaporla (1998: 74) translate *društa-* as 'branded, stigmatized', which is connected with *draošiṣuant-* 'the surface of which is burnt down', *draōša-*, MP *drōš* 'marking, branding, punishment'.

переместить' (*arġəvyn*, *barġəvyn*), 'подсаживать', 'поднимать', 'взваливать', 'взводить курок' ('to lift smb. up [i.e. in order to carry on the shoulders or to mount a horse], to lift, to settle at, with; to pull the trigger')

< *graba-; Av. *grab-* 'to seize', OP *gr(a)b-* 'id., to conquer', Sogd. *grβ-* 'to know, understand, take', Skt. *grbh-* 'to seize', etc.

◆ In Digoron, *arġəvun* : *arġəvd* 'to hit the target, to grab, seize' is also attested. The D. forms with vowel *-u-* are unexplained.

ærgom | ærgon, ærgom 'вязанка дров, хвороста', 'ноша', 'тюк', 'бремя' ('bundle of wood, faggot', 'burden; package; load')

< *grāma-; Sogd. (Chr.) *gr'm* 'riches', Khz. *yr'm* 'weight', Bal. *grām* 'bundles or load of grain fit for a man to carry', ? Kurd. (Kurm.) *giraw* (m.) 'bail', Skt. *grāma-* (m.) 'heap, multitude, host (of warriors), [usually] village'.

ærin | ærijnæ 'локоть' ('ell')

< Plr. *araθni-; Av. *arəθnā*, *arəθni-* (in *frārəθni.drajab-* 'length of an ell'), OP *araθni-*, Sogd. *r'ynæ* 'cubit' (= Yağn. *ōrnj* 'elbow'), Khot. *arūnē* adj. 'of the elbow', MP *aranj*, NP *aranj*, Tati *arešni*, *aršima*, *aršenia*, Š. *wiščārn*, B., R. *xičrn*, Yz. *samārn*, Skt. *aratni-* (m.) 'elbow', etc.

◆ This etymon is only attested as the second part of a compound: I. *almærin* (arm) and D. *ængarijnæ* (cong 'arm') respectively.

For D. -æ see *Apocope*, § 1.2.2b.i. Medial *-i-* / *-ij-* is the result of epenthesis, see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.3.1, § 4.3.7.

ærnæg 'невозделанный (о земле)', 'дикий', 'одичавший (о животных, растениях)' ('uncultivated [of land]', 'wild [of animals and plants]')

< *arana-ka-; cf. Skt. *arāṇa-* 'far, alien', "Sc." Ἀρνακῆς PN (lit. 'the wild one').

◆ The connection with Av. *auruna-* can be discarded, as the Avestan form means 'hellbraun', see Wüst (1969: 28 f.), rather than 'wild, ferus, saevus', as translated by Bartholomae (*AiW.*: 190) and adopted by Abaev. Av. *auruna-* is therefore identical to Skt. *arunā-* 'reddish brown'.

ærtæ 'три' ('three')

< (Npl. m.) *θraīah; LAv. *θraīiō*, *θraīias-ca*, Khot. *drai*, Sogd. (Bud.) *dry*, Khz. *ŷy*, MP, NP *sē*, Y. *šurōi*, M. *širōi*, Išk. *rōi*, W. *trai*, Pš. *drē*, Skt. *trāyab* (pl. m.) 'three', etc.

ærtyskæn, ærcyskæn | artskinæ 'щипцы для угля' ('coal-pincers')

< art 'fire' + *(u)skæn; cf. Oss. art 'fire' (s.v.) and Sogd. (Bud.) *skn-* 'to engrave'.

◆ The compound was probably transparent until quite recently. The Digoron form shows an additional suff. *-iā (cf. *Appendix*, A § 13).

ærvad | ærvadæ 1. 'брат'; 2. 'родич' (1. 'brother', 2. 'kinsman')

< *brātār-, Nsg. *brātā; Av. *brātār-* (m.), OP *brātār-*, Sogd. *br'rt*, Khot. *brātār-*, Khz. *br'rd*, MP *brādar*, Skt. *bhrātār-* (m.), etc.

◆ The meaning 'brother' is very rarely found in Iron: *ævsymær* (D. *ansuuer* < *hama-sūbara- 'having the same uterus', s.v. *synær*) is used instead.

ærwæz (D.) 'стадо оленей' ('herd of deer')

< *urazā-; Skt. *vrajā-* (m.) 'enclosure, fold, stall' (*ELO*: 35).

ærzæ, ærzæ 'несметное число', (epic) 'тысяча' ('countless number', (epic) 'thousand')

< *hazābrā; LAv. *hazābrā-* (n.), Khot. *ysāra-*, Sogd. *z'r*, MP, Pth. (Turf.) *h'z'r*, Pš. *z'ar* 'thousand', (?) Sm. Ἀζιαιων (Tanais) PN, Skt. (n.) *śabāśra-*, etc.

◆ The Ossetic form has been borrowed in Finno-Ugric languages, e.g. Hung. *ezet, ezre*, v. Rédei: 466-467; Benkó 1993: 346.

On the metathesis of **zr* > *rz* see *Introduction*, § 0.7.5.14. On final -*a* see *Apocope*, § 1.4.4.

ærzæt 'pyaa' ('ore')

< PIr. *(*a*)*rzata-*; Av. *arazata-* (n.), OP (*a*)*rdata-* (n.) 'silver', Khot. *ālsata-* (DKS: 25a: "In *ālsata-* is intrusive -*d*- **ar(d)zata-* [sic]") 'id.', Khz. *ʔyɔd* 'silver(-coin)', Yazdi *āldi* 'money' (Bailey 1936: 345)

◆ *Ærzæt* is very similar to *ærza* 'mineral', which was mentioned by Benveniste (ELO: 128), but it appears to be a ghostword: I was unable to find *ærza* in any dictionary. Voiceless -*t* is unexpected, which has further parallels, see *Introduction*, § 0.7.3.7.iii.

Regarding the ablaut, long *ā* in both Khot. and Yazdi correspondences presupposes full grade, while Av. *arā* points to zero grade. Also the Persian reflex has zero grade, on account of Elamite spellings with *ir*.

æskʔæmæg (D.) 'iskpa' ('sparkle')

< **skaranaka-* (ELO: 34); cf. LAv. *skarana-* (in *garomō.skarana-* 'fire utensil (?)'), *skairiia-* 'a certain way to rekindle fire', Khot. *skara-* 'coals', also forms with **-ā-*, for instance, Sogd. (Chr.) *sqʔ* 'coal, ember', Pš. *skōr* 'coal', NP *sikār* 'coal'.

◆ MacKenzie (1990: 121) equates Khz. *skernk* 'earthenware bowl' with Av. *skarana-*, to which he also adds (with a query) *skarana-* 'round', NP *skerb* [= *sukurrah* 'bowl'].

æssyr | **ænsur(æ)** 'клык', 'коренной зуб' ('tusk; incisor')

< **ansūra-*; Sogd. (Bud.) *ʔnsʔwr*, (Chr.) *ʔwr*, LAv. *asūra-* 'tusk'.

◆ The etymology of *æssyr* / *ænsur(æ)* is somewhat puzzling. The Ossetic form has apparently an exact Sogdian correspondence¹⁹. There are no other Iranian cognates²⁰, except for the LAv. form *asūra-*, which is part of the hapax compound *tiži.asūra-* in Yt 10.70. The correct explanation of this form was given by Bailey, *apud* Gershevitch (1967²: 219). A thorny problem with the Avestan form, however, is the absence of any trace of the nasal. According to Gershevitch (*ibid.*), initial *a-* of *asūra-* goes back to (IE) vocalic **u*, thus implying zero grade. This seems strange though: why should an evidently rare form like 'tusk' have different ablaut variants? Perhaps, initial *a-* is secondary, reflecting perseveration from preceding *arínō* 'male'?

Further Indo-Iranian and IE connections are uncertain. A connection with Tocharian A *ānkar*, B *ānkār* 'tusk' is attractive, which Hackstein (1998: 227) derives from PIE **h₂énk₂-t*, **h₂énk₂-én-s*, cf. Lat. *uncus* 'hooked, bent in, curved'. The Iranian formation is strange though, perhaps, **ansūra-* is modelled after **bāzura-* 'wing'? Similar forms are also found in Finno-Ugric, Voty. *važer, važer, važer*, Zyry. *vožir*, Hung. *agyar* 'tusk, incisor', Vog. *anšer* 'big tooth', cf. Rédei (340, s.v. *onča-rž*), Benkó (1993: 13). The derivation from the Finno-Ugric root **onča* 'forehead', which these finno-ugrists assumed, seems improbable to me. Rather, we have to reckon with borrowing from Iranian.

¹⁹ The occasional omission of *n* (and *m*) in Sogdian points to the development of *an* > nasalized *ā*.

²⁰ Forms like Khot. *baska-* 'tusk', NP *ašk, yašk* < **aska-* 'id.', Sogd. (Bud.) *ʔk-* 'thorn' are perhaps best to be left out of consideration, although they might share the same root with the Ossetic and Sogdian forms.

æstaj (in shepherd's dialect) 'восьмьдесят' ('eighty')

< PIr. **astāti-*; LAv. (f) *astāti-*, Khot. *haštātā* (with *b-* from *baudātā* '70'), Sogd. *ʔtʔ*, Khz. *ʔtʔ*, MP *baštād* (with *b-* from '70'), Pš. *anyā*, Orm. *astān*, etc.

◆ For -*aj* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.1, § 4.2.4.

æstæg 'кость' ('bone')

< PIr. **astaka-*; Khot. *astaa-* (**astaka-*), Khz. *ʔstk, ʔstyk*, Sogd. *ʔstk*, MP *astag*, etc.

æstæjmag (D.) 'восьмой' ('eighth')

< **astamajāka-*; Sogd. (Bud.) *ʔstmyk*, cf. Oss. *ast* (s.v.)

◆ Final *æjmag* cannot reflect **-ama+ka-*, assumed by Abaev, cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.7.3.

æstæs, æstdaes 'восьмнадцать' ('eighteen')

< PIr. **astadasa-*; Av. *aštadasa-* (adj.) 'the eighteenth', Khot. *haštusu, haštūsu*, Khz. *ʔtōys*, Sogd. *ʔtʔ*, *ʔtōs*, Skt. *aṣṭādaśa* 'eighteen', etc.

ævdaj 'семьдесят' ('seventy')

< PIr. **haftāti-*; Av. *haftāti-*, Khot. *haudātā, bodātā*, Sogd. *ʔftʔ*, Khz. *ʔftʔ*, MP *haftād*, Skt. *saptatī-* (f) 'seventy', etc.

ævdæjmag 'седьмой' ('seventh')

< **haftamajāka-*; cf. Oss. *avdam* (I.) 'seventh', Sogd. (Man.) *ʔftmyk*, (Bud.) *ʔftmyk*, (Chr.) *ʔftmyk*, Bal. *haptumi* 'id.'.

◆ For *æjmag* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.7.3.

ævdælyn : **ævdæld** | **ævdælyn** : **ævdæld** 'быть праздным, незанятым', 'иметь досуг', 'быть порожним' ('to be indolent, unemployed, free (of work)')

< **apa-d(a)rya-*; Skt. *dhr̥*, pres. *dhriyāte* 'holds (still)', cf. Oss. *daryn* / *darun* 'to hold; put; to keep cattle' (< caus. **dāraja-*), Av. *dar-* 'to hold, seize', OP *dār-* 'to hold; to dwell', Skt. (RV) caus. *dhāriyati* 'holds', etc.

◆ The D. form with unexpected *e-* has no doubt been influenced by its nominal derivative *evdælon* (I. *evdælon*) 'indolent, unemployed'. The initial *e-* of this form may contain the privative *a-*: *a-* + *evdælon* > *evdælon*. We are probably dealing with re-interpretation of the form in order to make it suit semantically.

ævdærzyn : **ævdærzt** | **ævdierzun** : **ævdirzt** 'натирать', 'раздражать кожу' ('to rub in; to irritate the skin')

< **apa-darzaia-*; (?) Sogd. *βδʔstke* 'loaded' (< ppp. **abi-dršta-*, GMS: 245), cf. Oss. *dærzæg* / *dirzæg* 'hard, rough', Av. *darəz-* 'stabilize, vibrate', (caus.) *ham-darəz-* 'to fasten, joint together', Khot. *dali-* 'to make firm, fasten; load' (**darzaia-*, SGS: 44), Khz. *δzy-* 'to load', Pth. *drz-* 'her, charger' (Ghilaim: 52), Skt. *darb-* 'to (be) firm', etc.

◆ Since *ævdærzyn* does not show *i*-epenthesis, *æv-* probably reflects **apa-*, cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.6.2, § 4.7.2.

ævdæes 'семнадцать' ('seventeen')

< **haftadasa-*; Av. *haptadasa-* (adj.) 'the seventeenth', Khz. *ʔdōs*, MP *haftadab*, Skt. *saptādaśa* 'seventeen', etc.

ævdisyn : **ævdyst** | **ævdesun** : **ævdist** 'показывать' ('to show')

< **apa-daisa-*; Av. *apa-dis-* 'to show forth' (?), Skt. *apa-diś-* 'to assign', cf. Oss. *dis* / *des* 'amazement', Av. *daēs-*, Skt. *deś-* 'to show', etc.

◆ For *æv-* < **apa-*, v. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.6.2, § 4.7.2.

ævdiw | **ævdew** 'демон', 'колдун' ('demon; wizard')

< ? **apa-daiṇa*- 'Abgoit'; cf. Skt. (class.) *apa-devatā*- f. 'an evil demon', also Av. *daiṇua*- 'evil divinity', OP *dāna*- 'false god', Khot. *dyū*, MP, NP *dēv*, Š. *δēw*, R. *δiū* 'demon', Skt. *dēva*- 'divinity', etc.

◆ The reconstruction **āp-daiyā-* ‘water-demon’, suggested by Miller (Gr.: 6), is declined by Abaev and Benveniste (ELO: 103-131). Not only is *avdiw* not associated with water in any way, but, according to Benveniste, it is also not common to qualify a divine being by means of the element associated. Theophoric compounds like ***ὄυδανο-θεος*, ***ὄυδο-δαίμων*, Skt. ***yāta-deva-* are inconceivable. On the other hand, the reconstruction of Abaev, viz. **hafta-daiyā-* (cf. **Ἀρδαβδα* ‘Theodosia’ < **rta-hafta-* ‘having seven truthful (gods)’) is problematic, as we would rather expect **fævddiw* / **fævddew*, with geminated -dd-. Perhaps, the first part reflects the (negative) prefix **apa-*, which Dumézil (1960: 39 f.) suggest. The implication is that Ossetic would have preserved the neutral meaning **daiyā-* ‘divinity’, “par héritage direct de l’iranien commun et sans le retournement de sens zoroastrien”.

ævdulyn : ævdyld | ævdolun : ævduld 'валать', 'валаться', 'катать, месить тесто' ('to roll; to knead')

< **apa-taula-*; cf. Oss. *tulyn* / *tolun* 'to drive, roll (down)'.

♦ The etymology of *tulyn* / *tolun* is unknown.

ævduzyn : ævdyzt | ævdozun : ævduzt 'закреплять петлей, задвижкой', 'щемить', 'жать' ('to fasten with a noose, bolt; to squeeze; to press')

< **apa-dauza*-. ? connected with MP, NP *dōxtan*, *dōz*-, Bal. *dōčag* 'to sew'.

ævellon (D.) 'необычайный', 'вызывающий изумление' ('extraordinary', 'astonishing')
 < ? **a-pairjana*-lit. 'unbelievable'; cf. Sogd. *pyr* 'to believe', (Chr.) *pyryq* 'believer', (Bud.)
pyryn 'k' 'faithful', Khot. *pir* 'to believe', Toch. AB *perak* 'believing' (LW).

◆ According to Abaev, *avellon* can be connected with Gr. πειρά 'experience, test', Lat. *experior* 'to try, test', Germ. **firina*, Goth. *fairina* 'guilt', OHG *firina* 'crime', i.e. a "Euro-Scythian" isogloss. The connection is semantically implausible. In my opinion, *avellon* is rather connected with Sogd. *pyr*, Khot. *pīr*. Further connections are uncertain. The link to Av. *par-* 'to convict', pass. *piriia-* also remains uncertain.

ævgænyn : ævgæd | ævgænun : ævgæd 'насыпать', 'нагружать', 'наливать', 'черпать'
(to pour, fill in; to draw)

< **abi-kana*²¹; Khot. *byāñ* ‘to cover’ (SGS: 105), cf. Av. *kan-*, OP *kan-* 1. ‘to dig’, 2. ‘to throw’, Khot. *kāñ* (iter.) ‘to throw’, (pass.) *kāñ* ‘to be thrown’, *pyan* ‘to cover’ (< **pati-kana-*, SGS: 86-87), *kamggan* ‘to dig’, Khz. *pcken* ‘to pray; to swallow medicine’ (< **pati-kana-*, Samadi: 140), MP, NP *āgandan* ‘to fill, stuff’.

ævgid | evged ‘поручка, поручитель’ (‘bail; guarantor’)

< **abi-kaita*; Av. *aβi-kaēt* 'to consider' (ELO: 48).

♦ These forms are old and unanalysable in contemporary Ossetic. The *e-* of the Digoron form is probably due to vowel assimilation, v. *Introduction*, § 0.7.5.8.

21 For semantic reasons it is less likely that the Oss. formation goes back to **apa-kana*, which would mean 'to throw away'. Evidence for **apa-kana* can be found in MP *abgandan* 'to throw away', Pth. *bgn-'jeter, lancer*' (Ghilain: 55), NP *abgandan* 'to throw, cast away', Arm. *apakanem* 'to destroy' (< Wlr.).

ævgil 'шест с подвешенной бараньей или козиной шкурой, культового назначения, употребляется в праздник громового божества Уацилла' ('pole with a hanging sheep or goatskin, used during the feast in honour of the thundergod Wacilla')

< *apa? , cf. Oss. *qil* / *ǵelæ* 'pole, stick, club', 'standing upright'. Related to Kurd. *gil*, *gili* 'branch, stem'?

◆ The form is Iron in appearance, which has been apparently borrowed into Digoron.

ævgæd 'роды и послеродовой период, проводимый роженицей в постели' ('childbirth and post-natal period, when the woman in child-birth stays in bed')

< **apa-gata-*; Av. *apa-gam-* 'to go away (from)', Skt. *apa-gam-* 'to go out, leave', etc.

♦ The verb **gam-* can be used not only in spatial, but also in temporal sense. The specific meaning of 'recovery period after labour' is actually a narrowing of the broad semantic field of 'to go (away)'. Ir. **gam-* (and its derivatives) is often related to a specified period of time. The specialization in Ossetic is comparable to the German designation for 'woman in childbirth': *Wöchnerin* (short for *Sechs-wöchnerin*), which characterizes the necessary period of rest.

For *æv-* from **apa-*, not **abi-* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.6.2, § 4.7.2.

ævraġ 'облако', 'ливень' ('cloud; shower')

< (?) **abra-rāga-*; cf. s.vv. Oss. *arv* 'sky', *rağ* 'back(bone); mountain range'.

♦ The connection of *avraǵ* with Ir. **abra-* 'cloud' (Oss. *av*, q.v.) is tempting, but Abaev points out the phonological difficulties, especially the consonant group *-vr-* would have shown metathesis. The fact that metathesis has not taken place, suggests that the consonant cluster *-vr-* is of recent origin, viz. originating from a syncopeated sequence. I suspect that *avraǵ* reflects a bahuvr̥hi-compound **abra-rāga-* lit. 'having clouds on a (mountain-)top', to which syncope has applied: > **ar̥sraǵ* > (simplification) *avraǵ*.

ævsymær | ænsuvær 'брат' ('brother')

< **ham+sūbara*-lit. 'co-uterinus, (born) from the same womb', s.v. Oss. *syvar*.

◆ The Iron shows a peculiar metathesis of **æmsyær* > *ævsymær*.

ævzaly | ævzalu 'уголь' ('coal')

< **zuār*; cf. NP *zuval* 'a live coal, firebrand', Tati *zuval* (LW ?), ? Kurd. *zuval* 'id.' (LW ?), Skt. *jvālā* 'coal' (Lubotsky 1988: 38).

♦ According to Abaev, *avzaly* goes back to **zuar̥ia-*. The reconstruction **zuar̥ia-* is troublesome, however: it scarcely accounts for D. final *-u* (see s.v. *ast'aly*) or Oss. *-a*.

ævzaryn : ævzærst | ævzarun : ævzurst 'выбирать', 'отбирать', 'отделять', 'разбирать',
'разбираться', 'испытывать' ('to pick out, choose; to separate; to make out (of),
understand; to experience')

< **uz-uāra* -; MP *uzwārdan* 'to know, understand', Pth. 'zw'r 'id.' (**uz-uāra*).

ævzægod (D.) 'internal layer of a beehive'

< Caucasian, cf. Georg. *bzi-k-* 'wasp', Circ., Kab. *bž'e* 'bee'. *Ævɯa** is also attested in D. *avzan* 'swarm of bees', *avzak'a* 'supplementary bees'.

♦ According to Abaev, *avragod* goes back to **uabza-ganda*, the first element *avra* reflects Ir. **uabza*-, cf. LA.v. *vašzakā*- 'a daëvic animal', MP *wabz*, Bal *grabz* 'wasp', and the second *aḡud* / *aḡode* 'cover'. For the presumed loss of initial *w*- Abaev cites other examples, viz. *Acyruks* (beside *Wacyruks*, D. *Wacyruks*) name of a beautiful woman (Narts), *Acamonga* name of a divine cup (Narts) (beside s.v. *Wacamonga*, D. *Wacamonga*)

and *adta* D. 'then' (cf. *wed ta*), which are not valid though.²² In the latter example, the D. form *adta*, which is used as a (rare) emphatic particle, can be analysed as *ad* 'with' + *ta* 'and, then; again' (q.v.), rather than *wed* 'there' + *ta*. The other examples are relevant for Iron only. The loss of *w-* in these two instances is not a regular phonological development: influence from *Acamar* a popular Nartic hero (famous for his musicality) ? A Caucasian origin most likely accounts for Oss. *awxæ*: Circassian *bʒ'e* seems to be the source, rather than the receptor (as assumed by Abaev), of the Ossetic form. The Caucasian forms appear to be onomatopoeic, cf. Georg. *bʒu-* 'to hum, buzz', Megr. *buʒ-in-* 'to break wind', Svan *bʒu-l-* 'to hum, buzz' (Klimov 1998: 15), from which Georg. *bʒu-kuna-* 'a kind of fly', *bʒik-* 'wasp' are derived.

ævzæryn : **ævzærst**, **ævzærd** | **ævzærun** : **ævzurst** 'отделяться', 'всходить (о растениях)', 'прорастать', 'происходить', 'вести начало', 'возникать', 'являться' ('to get separated', 'to sprout (of plants)', 'to occur', 'to have one's origin', 'to appear')
< **uʒ-ɣara-*; see above.

ævzidyŋ : **ævzyst** | **ævzedun** : **ævzist** 'замахиваться', 'потрясать рукой или оружием', 'грозить' ('to threaten; to shake with one's arm or weapon')
< Plr. **uʒ-ɣaidaia-*; Av. *uʒ-unaēdaia-* 'to threaten' (caus. of *naēd-* 'to get to know'), Khz. *ɣuʒuʒ-* 'to threaten with, to fill with fear' (< **uʒ-ɣaidaia-*, Samadi: 266), Sogd. *ɣuʒdm* 'threat'.

♦ The etymology proposed by Abaev (cf. Sq. *ba-ɣeid-*, *bi-ɣeid-* 'to hit (the target)', Av. *ɣiia-* 'to impel') is inferior to the etymology of Benveniste, who identified Oss. *ævzidyŋ* with Av. *uʒ-unaēdaia-*, etc. Benveniste's etymology was repeated by Gershevitch (1977: 63).

ævzyjyn : **ævzud** | **ævzujun** : **ævzud** 'выпадать, лезть (о волосах)', 'чахнуть' ('to fall out (for instance, hair), to wither')

< **apa-ɣu-*: cf. Sogd. *uʒɣu-*, Khot. *bujɣai-*, Š. *wi-ɣāw-* : *wi-ɣud* 'to be extinguished', *wiʒāw-* : 'ɣud' 'to extinguish' (unrel. Š. *ɣyāw-*, *ɣyū(y)-* 'to dry up', v. EVS: 109b), etc.

♦ For *av-* < **apa-* cf. i-Epenthesis, § 4.6.2, § 4.7.2.

æx 'хороший', 'добро', 'благо' ('good, well(-)')

< (?) **abu-*, **abū-*; LAv. *abū-* 'vital force', GAv. *abuū-* 'id.; mind, spirit', Sogd. *-ux* (in *š't-ux* 'happy, joyful'), Khz. *o-xy* 'from the mind'.

♦ *Æx* is found in one specific expression, viz. *wa-j-æx fəwaj*, and, according to Abaev, also in a few compounds, notably *æxcon* / *æxawæn* 'pleasant, agreeable', *æxcul* D. 'attached to someone, beloved' (?), *zəbæx* 'good', *fidaex* / *fudənɣæ* 'evil', *xorɣæx* / *xwarɣənɣæ* 'goodness'. The expression is a sarcastic reply, usually uttered by women to someone who has done something wrong, and is synonymous to *wa zəbæx fəwaj* 'let the good so run away!'. Abaev tentatively derives *æx-* from **ɣabu-* (cf. Av. *vaɣhu-*, *vobu-*, Skt. *vāsu-* 'good'). The examples which Abaev cites to support the loss of initial **u-* are not valid though: *ævʒ-* 'bee' (q.v.), *Acyruks*, *Wacyruks* / *Wacimox* PN, *Acamonga*, *Wacamonga* / *Waciamonga* name of a divine cup. The loss of initial *w-* in the latter examples is clearly a sporadic, late development in Iron, see also s.v. *wyn* / *un* 'to be'. Considering the

expression, another, formally more appropriate, etymology for *æx* comes to mind: a connection with LAv. *abū-*, GAv. *abuū-*, etc. The expression *wa-j-æx fəwaj*, thus meant originally: *'let the vitality so run away!'.

æxcon | **æxawæn** 'приятный', 'удобный' ('agreeable, welcome')

< *æx-* (supra) + **ɣawana-* 'going'; cf. Oss. *cwan* / *cawæn* 'hunt' (s.v.).

♦ The preform **ɣabu-ɣawana-* cautiously suggested by Abaev, is to be declined if *æx-* reflects **abū-*, **abū-*, proposed in the previous entry.

æxsæly | **æxsæli**, **æxsæla** 'можжевельник', 'Juniper' ('juniper')

Etymology unknown.

♦ The origin of *æxsæly* is unclear. Morgenstierne (1973: 85) derived it from **xšarja-*, with two question marks and no etymology. Abaev does not exclude Caucasian origin: Georg. *ask'ili* 'sweetbrier', Karač.-Balk. *šxeli*, *šxeili*, *šxeli* 'juniper' (< ??).

æxsæmæɾ(æ)g | **æxsæmæɾæ** 'хмелерпаб' ('a kind of fir, Carpinus Osirys')

Wanderwort; cf. Ukr. *smereka* 'silver fir', Georg. *xxemuri* 'hornbeam', Chuv. *šēmert*, Tatar *šamirt* 'bird cherry', etc.

♦ Oss. *æxsæmæɾ(æ)g* is evidently a borrowing, the source of which is unclear: "A Scytho-Slavic isogloss with echoes in Kartvelian and Altaic." (Ab.).

æxsærɣæn 'водопад' ('waterfall')

Etymology unknown.

♦ Abaev postulates **apsarjana* on the basis of a superficial similarity with NP *abšār* 'waterfall', which poses some serious phonological problems. In the first place, **āp-* 'water' would regularly yield Oss. *av-*, cf. *avg* / *avgæ* 'glass' < **āp(a)kā-*, but more importantly, **p-* > *-x-* is not a regular Oss. development.²³ The Ossetic form has no clear Iranian correspondences.

æxsæv | **æxsævæ** 'ночь' ('night')

< **xšap-ā-*, Av. *xšap-*, OP *xšap-*, Sogd. (?)*xšp-*, MP, NP *šab*, Kurd. *šew*, Auramani *šawa*, Bal. *šap*, Pš. *špa*, M. *xšāwā*, Y. *x'šowā*, Š. *šab*, Yağn. *xšap*, Skt. *kaśap-*, etc.

♦ On final **ā-*, see *Apocope*, § 1.3.1b.

æxsid | **æxsed** 'заря', 'зарево' ('dawn', 'glow')

< **xšaeta-*; LAv. *xšaeta-* 'glowing, shining' (also used as epithet of Yima), MP *šed* 'bright; sorrel [horse]', Kurd. *šē* 'chestnut [horse]; light-brown', cf. Skt. *kaśāta-* epithet of Soma.

♦ The often cited cognate of *æxsid*, Sogd. *xš'ud*, *xš'ud*, (Man.) *xš'ud* 'lord', is rather connected with OP *xšāyabiyā-* 'king' (Sims-Williams, C2: 163, fn.).

æxsijnæ | **æxsijnæ** 'госпожа', 'барыня' ('lady, mistress')

< **xšaiθni-*; LAv. *xšaiθni-* f. of *xšaeta-*, Al. *χσινά* (Tz.), Oss. *æxsid* (q.v.).

♦ The honorary title *æxsijn* was originally restricted to goddesses and women of noble birth, e.g. *Wadæxsijn* 'goddess of the winds' (ELO: 19).

æxsin D. 'темно-серый' ('dark blue')

< Plr. **axšaina-*; Av. *axšaina-*, OP *axšaina-*, MP *axšēn*, Khot. *āšēina*, Sogd. *ʾxs'yn*, Y. *axšīn* 'blue', Orm. *šin* (HFL I: 409b: "Genuine"), Pš. *šin*, f. *šna* 'green', Š. *xīn* 'blue, grey, green', Kurd. *šin* 'blue, geen, blue-green', etc.

♦ This etymon is not attested in Iron, which Abaev fails to mention.

²² Assuming labial dissimilation in **wəwɣ* > *əwɣ* is rather ad hoc, cf. *wafyn* / *wafun* 'to weave' (**uāfa-*), *wənd* / *wənda* 'wefit' (Khz. *ʃind*), (s.v.) *wyn* / *un* 'to be' (*baɣa-*). See s.v. *æx-*.

²³ *Æxsærɣæn* 'cheek' is a special case, having arisen dissimilatorily from **apsar-far* 'chin-side'.

æxsyr | **æxsir** 'молоко' ('milk')

< **xšira*; MP, NP *šir*, Y. *xšira* (m.), M. *xširo* 'milk', (hapax) ? Av. *apa-xširā* (f.) name of a certain country (lit. 'without milk' ?; cf. *Ai. Gr.* II/2: 855; et al.), Skt. *kṣirā* (n.) 'milk'.

æz 'я' ('I')

< PIr. **azam*; GAv. *azm*, LAv. *azm*, OP *adam*, Khot. *aysu*, Sogd. *ʾz*, Khz. *ʾz*, Pš. *z*, Y. *z*, M. *za*, W. *wuz*, Osm. *az*, Pth. *ʾz*, NP (dial.) *az*, Kurd. *ez* 'I', Skt. *aham*, etc.

æzgelun : **æzgild** D. 'рыть', 'копать', 'разгребать' ('to dig; to rake')

Etymology unknown.

♦ The verb is most likely not of Iranian origin. A connection with Oss. *kaŷyn* (q.v.), suggested by Abaev, is phonologically implausible.

æznag 'vpar' ('enemy, foe')

< **a-znā-ka* lit. 'ignorant, unknown' (Stackelberg 1888: 671), cf. Skt. *a-jñā* 'not knowing, ignorant', Oss. *zonyn* / *zonun* 'to know', Av. *zān*-, etc.

B

baivæd [+ *ja* / *a*] 'по своим свежим следам' ('in one's own fresh footprint')

< **upa-ati-pada* lit. 'going up along the steps' (?); cf. Oss. *šad* 'footstep' (s.v.).

♦ Abaev's reconstruction, **upā-padam*, does not account for the presence of *j*- in *baivæd*.

bal 'группа', 'партия', 'отряд', 'шайка' ('group, party, detachment, gang')

< **bāra*-, Nsg. **bārah*; NP *bār* 'burden, load; assembly, audience', Skt. *bhārā* (m.) 'burden, load; a large quantity, mass, bulk'.

♦ On final *-*ah* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.2, *Apocope*, § 1.2.3b.

bar | **baræ** 'воля', 'право' ('will; right')

Etymology uncertain.

♦ The Ossetic form can hardly go back to **uāra* (Av. *vāra*-), as suggested by Abaev, on account of the initial labial (**u*- > Oss. *u*-). According to Abaev (following Miller, *Gr.*: 33, § 37.3), the development is a "dialectism". Borrowing from Khotanese is considered here, also Bielmeier (1979: 128, s.v. *bēlai*): "Diese Entwicklung von pir. **w*- zu b-, welche den Übergang vom Mp. zum Np. charakterisiert, ist im Ostiran. typisch für das Sa. [= Khotanese]. Es weisen somit zwei für das Sa. lautgesetzliche Entwicklungen auf eine Vermittlung (oder u.U. Entlehnung) des oss. Wortes durch das Mittelostiranische.". Benveniste (*ELO*: 139²) is more inclined to think of borrowing from Arm. *barē* 'caractère, conduite', "qui doit venir de l'iranien".

baræŷ 'всадник' ('rider')

< **bāraka*-; Khot. *bāraa* 'vehicle; riding animal', (as member of compounds) 'riding', Khz. *β'ryk*, *β'rk* 'horseman' (Benzing: 196), MP *bārag* 'mount, horse', cf. s.v. Oss. *baryn*.

barc | **barcæ** 'грива' ('manes')

< **br̥sti*-; cf. LAv. *baraša* m. 'throat, neck (of a horse)', Sogd. *βnš*, Khz. *βš*, MP, NP *buš*, Arm. *bars* (< WIr.) 'manes', etc.

♦ The sound changes leading to *barc* are similar to those of *arc* (s.v.), cf. *Apocope*, § 1.2.2b.i.

baryn : **barst** | **barun** : **barst** 1. 'взвешивать', 'измерять'; 2. 'прощать' (1. 'to contemplate; to measure'; 2. 'to forgive')

< caus. **bārāja*; Av. *bar*-, caus. *bārāia*-, OP *bar* 'to carry', (with **a*-) Khz. *β'ry* 'to

forgive', (with **pari*-) Sogd. *prβ'yr* 'to explain, tell, expose', Skt. *bhar*-, etc.

♦ The polysemic character of *baryn* can easily arise from 'to carry, bring', cf. also Eng. 'to bear'.

barz 'куча', 'возвышение', 'курган', 'множество' ('heap, tumulus, multitude')

< PIr. **barzab*-; LAv. (n.) *barzab* 'height, hill, mountain', MP *borz* 'high', Khz. *βz* (in compounds) 'long', etc.

bas | **basæ** 'суп', 'похлебка' ('soup')

< (?) **upa-āšā*-; cf. Khot. *hvašā* 'juice from meat' (**hy-āšā-ka*-), MP, NP *āš* 'meat, soup, broth', ? Yz. *paš* 'thick abricot compote', Skt. *aś* 'to eat', etc.

♦ For more details of the development Oss. *b*- < **up*- see *Aphaeresis*, § 3.2.5.

For final -*a* in D. see *Apocope*, § 1.2.1e.iii.

bast 'связанный', 'сверток' ('constrained', 'bundle')

< PIr. **basta*- (ppp.); Av. *basta*-, OP *basta*-, Sogd. *βst*, Khot. *basta*-, MP *bast*-, Skt. *baddhá* 'bound', etc.

baz 'подушка' ('cushion')

< PIr. **barzāš*-; LAv. *barzāš* (n.), MP *bāliš* 'cushion, pillow', W. *vōrz*, Bal. *barzī* 'saddle-bag' (Morgenstierne 1932: 41). With suffix: Khz. *βžnyk*, Y. *virzan* 'id.', Skt. *barhiś* (n.) 'sacrificial straw made from the *Kuśa*-grass', etc.

♦ Normally, the cluster **rz*- is preserved in Ossetic, but in this case it became **lz*- and, subsequently, *l* was lost (a cluster *lz* does not exist in Oss.), see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.3.7.

bazyg | **bazug** 'рука выше локтя', 'плечевая кость' ('arm above the elbow; shoulder-blade')

< **bāzuka*-; Sogd. (Man.) *β'z* 'arm', Khot. *bāysū* (**bāzuka*-, DKS: 277), Y. *virza*, M. *vuzg* 'the arm above the elbow' (**bāzuka*-), Sq. *vuzg* 'id.', Kurd. (Kurm.) *bazō*, Bal. *bāsk* 'upper arm' (**bāzu-ka*-, CLL: 354), NP *bāzū* < **bāzūk* 'arm', cf. Skt. *bāhū* (m.) '(lower) arm', Av. *bāzu* 'arm', MP *bāzā* 'id.', B. *bōzū* 'ell'.

bazyr | **bazur** 'крыло' ('wing')

< PIr. **bāzura*-; LAv. *bāzura*- (in *snānuara.bāzura* 'having sinews as arms'), Pth. *b'zwr* 'wing', etc.

♦ *Bazyr* is an old formation formed with the unproductive suffix *-*ra*-, derived from **bāzu* 'arm' (LAv. *bāzu*-). Also derived from the simplex form is Oss. *bazyg* / *bazug*, see above.

bæŷæmsar | **bæŷænsar** 'с непокрытой головой' ('bareheaded')

< (POss.) **bæŷam-sar*, cf. (s.vv.) Oss. *bæŷnæg* 'naked', *sar*, 'sar' 'head'.

♦ The compound is of relatively recent date, see the entry below.

bæŷæmvad | **bæŷænvad**, **bæŷænbad** 'босой', 'босоногий' ('with bare feet')

< **bagna-pāda*-; Khz. *bgn-p'd* 'with bare feet', cf. Oss. *bæŷnæg* 'naked' and *šad* 'foot', s.vv.

♦ The "displaced" nasal in the compound is the result of syncope in the second syllable, which gave rise to secondary vocalic **ŷ*- (> Oss. -*æn*-). Other Ossetic compounds with **bagna*- were modelled after this compound or, at least, influenced by it. For more details see *Syncope*, § 2.3.4.

bæŷæmzæŷ | **bæŷænzæŷ** 'с голыми коленями', 'с голыми ногами' ('with bare knees, feet')

< POss. **bæŷem-zæŷ*, cf. Oss. *bæŷnæg* 'naked' and *zæŷ* / *zæŷæ* 'ankle', s.vv.

- ♦ For the formation of the compound see the entry above.

bægdwan | bægdaond 'порукá' ('bail, responsibility')

< **baxštāwānt-*, (?) NApl. n. **baxštāwānt*, cf. Av. *baj-* 'to apportion', (ppp.) *baxta-* '[spec.] assigned (by fate)', Khz. *šyd* f. 'gift, alms', Sogd. (Man.) *šaxš-*, (ppp.) *šaxt-* 'to divide', MP *baxtan*, *baxš-* 'apportion, distribute', *baxt* 'fortune, fate', Skt. *bhāj-* 'to divide, assign', etc.

♦ The formation *bægdwan* possibly reflects old neuter NApl. **ā-wānt*, cf. GAv. NApl. *mīšdāwān* 'having reward'. Normally, the suffix **ā-wānt-* has become Ossetic *-aw*, cf. *Apocope*, § 1.3.2b. f.

For the Iron contraction *-awo-* > *-wa-* cf. *Introduction*, § 0.7.5.9.

bægnæg 'голый', 'нагой' ('naked')

< **bagna-ka-*; Khot. *būnaa-*, Sogd. (Bud.) *šyn'k-*, (Chr.) *byny*, Khz. *šynn'k-*, MP *brahnag* (with sec. *-r-*), cf. LAv. *mayna-*, Skt. *nagnā-* 'naked', etc.

♦ Since all Iranian correspondences, except Avestan, point to initial **b-*, we must reconstruct PIr. **bagna-*. The Avestan form shows (partial) assimilation: *b ... n > m ... n*. Another example of this assimilation is *kamna-* 'little' (see s.v. *kegnæg*).

-yl | -bæl (adess.), **bæl-** (pref., rarely) D. **bælæ** (ORNS I: 334) 'на, над, через, подде, для' ('on, upon, through, by, for')

< (<) **upari*, **uparai*; Av. *upairi* 'up, over', *upara-* 'upper-, superior', Skt. *upāri* 'up, over', *upara-* 'lower (!), posterior', cf. Khot. *vīra*, *vīrā*, *vīri* (postp.), Khz. *br*, *pr* 'on', MP *abar* 'up, upon, over', etc.

♦ Abaev does not distinguish *bæl* from *wæl* (q.v.), deriving both from **upari*, cf. Hübschmann (Oss.: 60), Miller (Gr.: 46 f.). Benveniste (ELO: 32) justifiably declined the double treatment, deriving only D. (-) *bæl* (I. *-yl* has been shortened) only from **upari*. For more details see s.v. *wæl*.

bællyn : bælyld | bællun : bæld 'стремиться к ч.-л.', 'желать ч.-л.' ('to long for, want something')

Etymology uncertain.

♦ The etymology and accompanying reconstruction proposed by Abaev, viz. **uaria-* (cf. LAv. *uairia-* 'having to choose', Skt. *vārya-* 'wishful'), does not explain initial *b-*, which normally reflects **b-*, **up-*. In his *Index*, Abaev favours a connection with Arm. *baġam*, *baġjanam* 'to wish, desire, long for passionately' (V: 7), which does not have a clear etymology though.

bælvyrđ | bælvurd 'действительно', 'действительный', 'достоверно', 'достоверный' ('real(ly), true(ly), certain(ly)')

< (?) **upari-b/rtam*; cf. Oss. *bælæ* (q.v.), Av. *par-* 1. 'to make similar', 2. 'to convict', etc. (*AIW*: s.v.).

♦ The origin of *bælvyrđ* is puzzling. According to Abaev (I: 655), the Ossetic form goes back to **upari-rtā-*, the second element being connected with Oss. *wyrryn* 'to believe', Av. *var-* (pres. *varənanu-*). The reconstruction meets phonological difficulties: the development of (intervocalic) **-u-* > Oss. *-v-* is atypical, cf. *Introduction*, § 0.7.3.2. On purely formal grounds we can arrive at the preforms **upari-brtam* or **upari-prtam*: the second element may thus contain either the root **bar-* 'to carry' or **par-* 1. 'to convict, try, transgress', 2. 'to make similar'.

For the vocalism *-y-* / *-u-* see *On *u, *u*, § 6.2.3.

bændæn 'веревка' ('rope')

< PIr. **bandana-*; cf. Pš. *wandanai* (**bandanaka-*) 'sheafband, rope', Skt. *bāndhana-* 'binding', (n.) 'bond, tie', also 'cord, rope'.

bærz | bærzæ 'береза' ('birch')

< **barza-*; Skt. (m.) *bhūrjā-* (m.) 'Betula utilis', cf. ? NP (Tadj.) *burs*, *burz* 'juniper', Khot. *brānġa-* (m.) 'birch-tree', *brunġa-* (f.) 'birch-tree, birch-bark', W. *furz*, Sangl. *bærez*, Š. *boruj*, *boriūz* 'birch', Pš. *barj* 'birch-bark, birch-tree', (?) Y. *zewiryo*, M. *vəzviryə* (dissimilated from **brza-warakā-* or **brza-pābrakā-* 'birch bark', IIFL II: 276), etc.

♦ Regular Iranian correspondences of Oss. *bærz* are rare: the Pamir, Khotanese, Pashto and Tadjik forms quoted by Abaev are apparently borrowings from an archaic (Middle) Indic dialect (EVP: 15; EVS: 20; EIWaia I: 269-270). Perhaps, only the Yidgha-Munji forms are genuinely Iranian. As for W. *furz*, the initial *f-* is unexplained (v. IIFL II: 456).

bærzond 'высокий', 'высота' ('high; height')

< **brzant-*; LAv. *brəzant-* 'high', Khot. *buhysa-* 'long', Sogd. *brz* 'long', Khz. *βz* (in compounds) 'long', MP, NP *buland*, Bal. *burz*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *berz* 'high', Skt. *bṛhānt-* 'large, elevated, high, wide', etc.

♦ For the treatment of *nt*-stems see *Apocope*, § 1.3.2b.

bæstæ 'страна', 'край', 'мир', 'место' ('land', 'world', 'place')

< PIr. Lsg. **upastai*; Skt. *upāstha-* (m.) 'lap [said of the mother, waters, earth, etc.]', cf. LAv. *upas-* (only in *upas.puθria-* (n.) 'pregnancy', lit. 'carrying a child in the womb'), Svan *bwast* 'world' (LW).

♦ On the development Oss. *b-* < **up-* see *Aphaeresis*, § 3.2.4.

biræ | be(w)raæ 'много', 'многий', 'даого', 'очень' ('many, much; very')

< **baiauar*; LAv. *baēuuar*, (obl.) *baēuuan-*, Sogd. (Man.) *šryur* (for irreg. *-r-*, v. GMS: § 362), Khot. *byūru*, MP, NP *bēwar* 'myriad, ten thousand'.

♦ On final *-æ* in I.D. see *Apocope*, § 1.4.4.

biræg | beræg 'волк' ('wolf')

< ?; cf. Russ. *birjuk*, Mord. *virgez*, *virgas*, Mari *pirägy* 'wolf'.

♦ The origin of *biræg* is uncertain. A certain resemblance can be noted with Turkic 'wolf', cf. Chagatay, Turk. *bōri*, etc., but final *-æg* does not have a reflex in any Turkic language. Borrowing from Khotanese is suggested by Abaev: *birgga-* < PIr. **urka-*, Av. *wbrka-*, etc. The Khotanese form would also account for the Turkic forms. However, Khot. *-gg-* (= [g]) does not agree well with Oss. fricative *-g*. Are the Russ. and Fennic forms loanwords from (pre-)Ossetic?

bon 1. 'день', 2. 'сила', 'богатство' (1. 'day', 2. 'strength', 'riches')

< PIr. **bānu-*; LAv. *bānu-* (m.), Skt. *bhānū-* (m.) 'light, beam, appearance, brilliance', ? Sm. Βανας PN (P.), etc.

bud | bodæ 'благговоние', 'ладан' ('fragrance; incense')

< **bandā(-)*; LAv. *baoda-* (m.) 'scent; incense', Khot. *bū* 'incense, perfume', Sogd. *šwōd*, *šwōdh*, *šwōh*, Khz. *šwōd* (f.) 'scent, fragrance', MP, NP *bōy* 1. 'perception, sense, 2. 'smell', Bal. *bod* 'id'.

♦ There is also the derivative *bodæn* 'garlic' (< **bandana-*), which is attested in Digoron only.

bwar | bawær 'тело' ('body')

< **upānara*-; cf. Khz. ppp. *b'wde* 'to hide' (**upa-ā-urta-ka*-, Samadi: 12), Av. *var*-, Skt. *vr*- 'to cover', etc.

♦ Long **ā*- in **upānara*- betrays the presence of initial laryngeal **H*- in the root **Hnar*- (Lubotsky 2000: 317 f.).

For the contraction of *-awə* > *-wa*- in Iron cf. *Introduction*, § 0.7.5.9.

byjyn, bijyn : **byd** | **bijun** : **bid** 'вить', 'плати (например, косу)' 'скручивать' ('to wind, braid (e.g. pigtail), twist')

< Sl. **vi*-; cf. OCS *po-viti*, Russ. *vit*' 'to wind, braid', etc.

♦ According to Abaev the Ossetic formation is a common IE word, but Oss. *byjyn* can hardly be an inherited formation. Phonologically it is difficult to regularly derive *byjyn* from a root **ui*-, for which Abaev cites Sogd. *ptw'y*, Skt. *vayati*, OCS *vit*, Russ. *vit*', Lit. *výti*, Lat. *viere*. Skt. *vayati* 'weaves' does not belong here, since it is rather connected to Lit. *aušti* 'to weave' (< IE **H₂eu-* 'to weave'), whereas it remains uncertain whether Sogd. *ptw'y* 'to roll, wind' is connected to the other IE cognates (cf. *EW/Aia* I: 275 f., s.v. *o-* 'to weave'; also II: 592 f., s.v. *vya* 'to cover, wrap'). These IE cognates do mean 'to braid, wind, sim.', deriving from IE **ueiH*-.²⁴ (cf. Rasmussen 1989: 167). Since Ossetic *byjyn* are closest, if not identical, to the Slavic forms, in both meaning and appearance, this suggests borrowing. The initial *b*- of *byjyn* may have resulted from intermediary **β*, a fricative labial just like Sl. **v*. See further *Introduction*, § 0.7.3.4.i.

byn | **bun** 1. 'низ', 'основание', 'дно', 2. 'наследство' ('bottom', 'foundation', 'ground', 2. 'legacy').

< Plr. **buna*-; GAv. *būna*- (m.) 'ground, floor, depth', Khot. (Lsg.) *būña* 'at the bottom', MP, NP *bun* 'base, foundation, bottom', Bal. *bun* 'root', Kurd. (Kurm.) *bin* (m.) 'ground, floor; bottom of the sea', Skt. *budhnā*- (m.) 'floor, ground, depth', etc.

bynz | **binzæ** 'муха' ('fly')

LW.

♦ Abaev tentatively compares Oss. *bynz* with OHG *bini*, German *Biene*, also TTK. *cibin*, Krim Tatar *ibin* 'fly', and some (West) Caucasian forms like Ubykh *benzə*, Kab. *baze* 'fly'. Nikalayev-Starostin (1994: 304 f.) consider the Ossetic form as a loanword from West Caucasian.

C

cad | **cadæ** 'озеро' ('lake')

< "them." f. **catā*-; Khot. *tcāta*- (f.) 'pool, lake', Sogd. (Bud.) *c't*, Khz. *c't* (m.), Bact. *caōdo* 'well', Av. *cāiti* (Lsg. f.) 'well', MP, NP *cāh*, Bal. *cat*, *cāh*, *cā(h)* 'well'.

♦ For Oss. *-æ* see *Apocope*, § 1.3.1b.

caġar 'paб' ('slave')

< Mongolic *caġar*?

♦ Abaev mentions several correspondences of Oss. *caġar*, viz. NP *čakar* 'servant' (> Pš. *čakar*), MP *čakar*, Sogd. *c'yr*, "Scythian" *Θιαγαρος*. The connections, which do not formally agree, are extremely problematic, however. The NP form has the meanings 'a servant, apprentice; maid' (borrowed into TTK. *čaker* 'slave, servant'). Regarding the MP

form, there is only *caġar* [čkʲ], which means 'wife (of the second degree)' (MacKenzie 1971: 21). The Sogdian form *c'yr* does not exist. Apparently, Abaev incorrectly cites Vladimircov (1925: 327), who suggested Sogdian *č'yr* on the basis of Mongolic *caġar* 'paupers, common people, servants (et al.) living around a princely court or monastery', Ganjur 'court, settlement, place'. The latter meanings are similar to those of Turkic: Osman, Chagatay *caġar* 'fortified place with walls; army camp within the town walls ...'. As the Mongolic and Turkic forms cannot be explained internally, Vladimircov considered them borrowings from Iranian, probably from Sogdian. His argument for an Iranian origin is also based on Chinese sources, which cited *toho-kie* 'crack troops, life-guards of Bukhara'. The identification with Persian *čakar*, which has no Iranian etymology, by Marquart (*apud* Vladimircov, *ibid.*) is no more than a conjecture, however. The Ossetic form is perhaps a borrowing from a Mongolic language, via Circ. *caġar* 'slaves'?

calx 'колесо' ('wheel')

< **čaxra*-, Nsg. **čaxrah*; LAv. *caxra*- (m.), Sogd. *cax*, MP *čax*, NP *čarx* 'wheel', Bal. *čark*, Skt. *cakrā*- (usually n.), etc.

♦ In order to explain / < **r* Abaev derives *calx* from **čaxrja*-, which is improbable, as we would expect the outcome *čarlx* / *čarlxæ*, with paragogic final *-æ* in Digoron, see *Apocope*, § 1.6.1. *Calx* regularly reflects the ending Nsg. m., see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.2, *Apocope*, § 1.2.3b.

carm | **car** 'шкура', 'кожа' ('skin', 'leather')

< **čarman*-, NAsg. **čarma*; LAv. *caraman*- (n.) 'skin, leather', OP *čarman*- (n.) 'id.', Khz. *crm* 'skin', Khot. *tcārman*-, MP, NP *čarm*, Sogd. (Bud.) *crmyh*, Pš. (m., f.) *carman* 'skin, leather', Kurd. (Kurm.) *çerm*, *çerm* 'id.' (< NP ?), Skt. *cārman*- (n.) 'stripped skin', etc.

carv 'масло (топленое)' ('(liquid) fat')

< **čarpa*-; Sogd. (Bud.) *crp*, Khot. *tcārba*- 'fat', MP, NP *čarb* 'fatty, oily; mild, gentle', Sq. *čorv* 'fat, grease, butter', cf. Skt. *carpī*- (n.) 'clarified butter', etc.

casm | **cans** 'петля (сети, башлыка, при тканье)', 'силок', 'сеть' ('loop [of a snare, *bashlyk*, or while weaving], noose, snare')

< **čašman*-, NAsg. **čašma*; Av. *cašman*- (n.), Khot. *tcē'man*-, Khz. *cm*, MP, NP *čašm*, Sogd. *cšmy*, Bal. *čamm*, Yz. *čām*, Š. *cēm*, B. *cīm*, Kurd. *čaw* 'eye', etc.

♦ There is also a more distantly related Indo-Aryan form: Skt. (RV) *cāksmā*- 'related to the heavenly eye', a vṛddhi-form of **cāksman*- (*EW/Aia* I: 524).

cæfsyn¹ : **cæfst** | **cæfsun**¹ : **cæfst** 'липнуть', 'прилипнуть' ('to stick, glue')

< Plr. (inchoat.) **čafissa*-; NP *čafsidan* 'to stick, adhere'.

cæfsyn² : **cæfst** / **cæfsun**² : **cæfst** 'to warm; [D. also] to burn'

< ? **ali-tafssa*- (cf. Bailey 1930: 67); cf. Oss. *čæfsyn* / *čæfsun* 'id.', Av. (inch.) *tafsa*- 'to become hot'.

cæl | **cælæ** 'угощение', 'пир' ('treat, feast')

< (?) **čarja*-; cf. Skt. *carya*- (n.) 'change, behaviour', LAv. *ā-car*- 'to wander', MP *wi-car*- 'to get on, through', Oss. *caryn* : *card* / *cærun* : *card* 'to live', Pš. *caridel* 'to graze', NP *čaridan* 'id.', Kurd. *čeran*, (intr.) *čeran* 'to graze', Skt. *car*- 'to walk, move'.

♦ Abaev proposes to connect *cæl* with the root **čar*-, LAv. *ā-car*- 'to wander', Skt. *car*-, Oss. *caryn* / *cærun*, etc., which is semantically troublesome though. The parallel provided

²⁴ Iranian continuations are Sogd. (Bud.) *nyl* ('k'), Yağn. *vita* (or *vita*) 'cord'.

by Abaev, viz. Lat. *convivium* 'banquet' from *vivō* 'to live', falls somewhat short, since the semantic modification of Lat. *convivium* largely depends on the prefix *con-* 'together', thus literally meaning 'an occasion of) living, staying together'.

cærgas 'opeł' ('eagle')

Wanderwort; cf. Sogd. *orkas* [carkas] 'bird of prey', Av. *kabrkaša* 'vulture', MP *kargās* [klk's], Khz. *kerkys* 'vulture', NP *kargas*, Y. *karyaz*, M. *kargas* 'black and white eagle', Sq. *kiryj*, *korys* 'small falcon', *cory* 'eagle' (EVS: 24a, 41a), etc., also Skt. (late) *kerkaśa*- (f.) 'a kind of bird'.

♦ There are several similar Iranian forms for 'vulture, bird of prey, vel sim.', which cannot be reconciled with each other. Ossetic *cærgas* resembles most closely the Sogdian and Sargoli forms. The Avestan form has long *ā* in second syllable, which is absent in several Iranian correspondences (e.g. Khz., NP, Y., M.). We are possibly dealing with a *Wanderwort*, being adopted or re-interpreted in different ways. Similar forms are also found in Finno-Ugric: Lapp. *aisku*, Zyry. *žut*, *žuz* 'a falcon species', Hung. *sas* 'eagle; [obs.] vulture' (Rédei I: 51, s.v. *šáku* 'a bird of prey'), Vog. *šárkēš*, *šarkēš*, Fin. *kotka*, Cherem. *kutkēž* 'eagle', sim. (Rédei II: 668, s.v. *kočka* 'eagle').

cæwyn : cyd | cæwun : cud 1. 'идти'; 'ехать'; 2. 'слышаться', 'раздаваться'; 3. 'получаться'; 4. 'вмещаться'; 5. 'сходить'; 6. 'хотеться' (1. 'to go', 2. 'to be heard, sound', 4. 'to be put in', 5. 'to go down', 6. 'to be willing')

< Plr. **čāwā-*; Av. *šāw-*, OP *šyav-*, Khot. *tsu-*, Sogd. *šw-*, MP, NP *šaw-*, inf. *šudan*, Kurd. *šān*, Skt. *cyu-*, etc.

♦ A derivative formation of this verb is *cæwet* 'offspring'.

cwan | cawæn 'oxota' ('hunting')

< **čāwāna-*; Skt. *cyāwāna-* (n.) 'expulsion', cf. Oss. *cæwyn* / *cawun*, see above.

♦ For the contraction of **-awā-* in Iron, cf. *Introduction*, § 0.7.5.9.

cymyn : cymd | cumun : cund 'хлебать', 'пить глотками (чай, кофе, суп)' ('to gulp, to sip [tea, coffee, soup]')

< **č(i)āma-*; Av. *šām-*, Sogd. (Bud.) *š'm*, Khot. *tsām-* 'to swallow, slurp', Skt. *ā-cām-* 'to slurp', etc.

♦ For the vocalism see *On *u, *y*, § 6.2.2.

cyppar | cyppar 'четыре' ('four')

< (<) Plr. **čabūarab*; Av. (m. pl.) *caθšārāb*, Sogd. (Bud.) *čfš'r*, (Chr.) *čf'r*, Khot. *tcabaurā*, MP, NP *čabar*, Pš. *calor*, (Waz.) *calwōr*, W. *cabūr*, M. *čfir*, Y. *čšir*, Kurd. (Sul.) *čwār*, Bal *čār*, Skt. *catvārāb* (m. pl.) 'id.', etc.

♦ For the vocalism *-y-* / *-u-* see *On *u, *y*, § 6.2.1.

cuppæram | cuppæræjmag 'fourth'

< **čabūaramajāka-*; Sogd. (Bud.) *čfš'rmyk*, (Man.) *čf'rmyk*.

cuppærdæs | cuppærdæs 'четырнадцать' ('fourteen')

< (<) **čaturdasa-*; LAv. *caθrudasa-* 'fourteenth', Skt. *caturdaśa*, Khot. *tcabaulasā*, MP, NP *čahārdab* 'fourteen', etc.

♦ This form is obviously transparent, being remade as 'four' + 'ten'.

cyppor | cyppor 'сорок' ('forty')

< (<) **čabūarn-sat*; cf. Av. *caθšarasatam*, Khot. *tcabolsā*, Skt. *catvārimśāt*, etc.

♦ Two peculiarities can be observed. In the first place *-o-* appears in both dialects. As

the decimal system was imported from Digoron in Iron, due to external influences, *cyppor* is perhaps an "hyperironized" form, cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.1, fn. Still, D. *-o-* is unexplained: normally, *-o-* reflects older **-au-* or is the result of metathesis in medial **-aru-* > **-aur-*, see *On *u, *y*, § 6.4. As 'four' also has the variant ending in **-u*, viz. **caθru-* (cf. Av. *caθru-* in comp. and deriv.), **or* possibly points to the addition of **-u-* **čabūaru* > (metathesis) **čabūaur*.

Secondly, not a single trace of **sat-* can be found in the Ossetic form, in fact, nor in the preceding and following decade: *artyn* / *artin* 'thirty' (cf. LAv. *θrisat-*, Skt. *trimsāt-*) and *fanžaj* 'fifty' (cf. LAv. *pañcāsāt-*, Skt. *pañcāśāt-*) respectively. Since **sat-* is absent in the higher decades, this suggests that it was analogically removed in the numerals '30-50', especially if **sat-* became associated with *sæda* 'hundred'.

cyppons | *cæpporsæ²⁵ 'название зимнего праздника, в христианской среде приуроченного к рождеству' ('a winter-holiday, [Chr.] Christmas')

< (<) Plr. **čabrušma-*; LAv. *caθrušma-* (n.) 'quarter' (in *caθrušum yārā* 'as a quarter of a year'), El-OP *ša-iš-šu-iš-ma(i)*, *ša-šu-iš-ma* (= **caθrušma-*).

♦ Medial *-a-* in the D. form is probably genuine, as it cannot be explained within D., while the Iron correspondence is more strongly influenced by *cyppar* 'four'. To the numeral *four* we can attribute geminate *-pp-* as well. For more details on the development of *cyppor* see *On *u, *y*, § 6.4.

cyrg | cyrg 'острый' ('sharp')

< Plr. **tigra-*; LAv. *tiyra-*, OP *tigra-* 'pointed', Khot. *ttira-* 'bitter', Sogd. (Bud.) *tryh* 'sharp', M. *tirgo*, *torya*, Y. *tiry* 'id.', Pš. *tēra* 'id.' (with sec. full grade: **taigra-*), etc.

cyt | citæ 'почет' ('honour')

< Plr. **čibā-*; Av. *ciθā-* (f.) 'punishment, revenge'.

♦ A semantic parallel is provided by Gr. τιμή 'price, tribute; punishment; honour', which, like *cyt* / *citæ*, is derived from the IE root **kwi-* 'to revenge, punish', Gr. τίνω 'to pay', (mid.) 'to take revenge, punish', Skt. *cy-* 'to take revenge', *ciθ-* (f.) 'retaliation', etc.

D

dalys | dalis 'годовалый барашек' ('one year old lamb')

< (?) Svan *dalisw*, *dalis* 'young lamb (about 6-12 months old)'.

♦ The origin of *dalys* remains a mystery. On the one hand, similar forms are found in West Caucasian languages: Georg. *dol-a* 'hornless cow', Mingr. *dul-u* 'hornless (of goats)', Svan *dalisw*, *dalis*, cf. Fährnich-Sardshweladse (1995: 113, s.v. **dol-*). On the other hand, Abaev also suggests a possible connection with W. *dürs*, Sq. *dors*, M. *lurs* 'goat's wool', Skt. *dārikā-* 'daughter, girl' (*Slovar* I: 655): *dalys* would then go back to **dāriša-*, **dāriš-*. Semantically, the latter connection is less probable. A Caucasian source, most likely from Svan, is preferable.

daræn 'стойбище с постройками для скота и пастухов' ('encampment for cattle and shepherds')

< **dārana-*; cf. LAv. *dārana-* 'dwelling, shelter', Skt. *dhārana-* 'holding, keeping'.

²⁵ The Digoron form is only attested in the genitive-locative ending. Abaev cites as D. form *cæpporsæ*, with final *-æ*, which is merely the allophone of *-a-* before (GLsg.) *j*.

dard | **idard** 'далекий', 'далеко' ('far')

< ppp. **ni-tyta-*, cf. LAv. (ppp.) *vi-tarsta-* 'brought away, isolated', OP *vi-tar-* 'to cross over', MP *widardan* 'to pass (by, away), cross, die', (caus.) *widārdan* 'to let pass, transport', NP *gubārdan* 'to pass; to cause to pass', etc.

darg 'длинный', 'долгий' ('long [spatially and temporally])

< PIr. **darga-*; GAv. *darəga-*, LAv. *darəya-*, OP *darga-*, Khot. *dāra-*, MP *dagr-*, NP *dēr-*, Pš. *lārya* 'delay', Yz. *ḍury* 'late', Orm. *drāy* 'long', Skt. *dirgha-* 'long', etc.

dawæg | **idawæg** 'божество' ('deity')

< **nitāyaka-*, **nidāyaka-* ? Borrowed in Permian and Caucasian, e.g. Zyry. *ideg* 'angel, apostle', Darg. *idbag* 'prophete'.

♦ A *dawæg* is usually a "lesser" divinity which has the jurisdiction of one precise zone, service or natural element. For the origin of *dawæg* several connections have been proposed. Ab. connects it with Av. *tauuah-* 'power': **nitāya-ka-*. As for the meaning, we may compare the *Powers*, which constitute the 6th order of angels in the celestial hierarchy. The etymology is not without difficulties though. The long vowel **-ā-* is unexplained, while the presence of the prefix **ni-* is odd, considering the meaning of the form.

According to Gershevitch (1955: 483 ff.), *dawæg* is a distortion of **ardawæg*, which is to be connected to OP *artavan-* 'blessed' (of the deceased). Subsequently, **ardawæg* was interpreted as **ar-dawæg*, *ar-* being a perfectivizing prefix, to which an imperfective form has been created: *dawæg*. The reason for the re-interpretation is unclear, however. A serious objection is that the D. form *idawæg*, with pref. *i-*, would be left unexplained. The prefix *i-* cannot be recent, in view of the Zyryan borrowing.

A different etymology is suggested by Benveniste (ELO: 132-133), who connects *dawæg* to Av. *danu-* 'to remove; to chase', Oss. *dawyn* / *dawun* 'to smooth; to polish', whence **ni-dāyaka-* 'who chases away'. *Dawæg* is in the first place an apotropaic divinity, being invoked in case of disease and ill fortune. The assumed apotropaic function of the *dawæg* was criticized by Dumézil (1960: 41 f.) though, since the apotropaic function is confined to one particular *dawæg*, viz. *Ryny bardawæg* the divine being of illnesses.

dæl-, dælæ 'внизу', 'под' ('below, under')

< (<) **adari-*, Lsg. **adar(i)ai-*; LAv. *adairi* (prep.) 'under, below', *adara-* 'lower', Khot. *dīra-* 'low' (< **adaria-*, DKJ: 159a), Sogd. **ḍr* (in *c'ḍr* 'under, below'), MP *ēr* [dl] (< **adari-*) 'under, below', Pš. *lar* 'lower, below', Š. *ḍir* 'lower', Skt. *ādharma-* 'lower'.

♦ For final *-æ* see *Apocope*, § 1.4.3.

dællag 'нижний' ('lower')

< **adaria-ka-*; cf. Khot. *dīra-* 'low', LAv. *adara-*, Skt. *ādharma-* 'lower', Oss. *dæl-, dælæ* (q.v.).

dændag 1. 'зуб', 'зубец', 'спица колеса'; 2. D. 'действие нечистых сил', 'порча' (1. 'tooth, cog, spoke', 2. D. [also] 'effect of dark forces, decay')

< **dantāka-*; Sogd. *dnt'k*, Khot. *dandaa-*, *dandāka-*, Yagn. *dindāk* 'id.', etc.

dærk' | dærk'æ '[I.] телка, [D.] годовалый козленок' ('[I.] calf, [D.] 'one-year old kid')

< f. **darakā-*; Skt. *daraka-* 'young animal', cf. W. *ḍirs*, *ḍirs*, Y. *lirs*, M. *lurs*, Š. *ḍoḥ* 'goat's hair' (Morgenstierne, IIFL II: 43).

♦ For the loss of medial vowel see *Syncope*, § 2.2.3c.

dæs 'десять' ('ten')

< PIr. **dasa-*; GAv. *dasā-*, LAv. *dasa-*, Sogd. *ḍs*, *ḍs'*, Khot. *dasau* ('au from *nau* 'nine'),

(Tumš.) *dase*, Khz. *ḍs*, *ḍys*, MP, NP *dah*, Pš. *las*, Y. *los*, Š. *ḍis*, Yz. *ḍūs*, Skt. *dāsa*, etc.

dæsæm | **dæsæmag** 'tenth'

< **dasamaṣāka-*; Sogd. (Bud.) *ḍsm'yē*, (Man.) *ḍsm'yē*.

dæsny | **dæsni** 'искусный', 'мастер', 'знаток', (obs.) 'знахарь' ('clever', 'expert', obs. 'wizard')

< **dašiniṣa-*; cf. Skt. *dakṣiṇya-* 'worthy of the sacrificial fee', Sogd. *ḍṣny* 'favourable', Skt. *dakṣiṇa-* 'right, able', Av. *dašina-* 'id.', MP *dašin* 'right', etc.

♦ According to Abaev, Oss. *dæsny* corresponds to Skt. *dakṣiṇa-*, etc., but as Bailey (DKJ: 153-154, s.v. *dašta-*) correctly remarked, this would not explain the final vowel *-y* / *-i* in Oss. His own explanation of *dæsny* however is not probable either: **dastia-* (Khot. *dašta-* 'skilful', Bailey, l.c.) would become Oss. *†dist* / *†dest(æ)*. Equally improbable is the reconstruction of Thordarson (CLI: 459): **daš(i)niṣa-* > *†dasn(n)ṣa-*, *†dæsn(n)ṣa-*. The semi-vowel **ṣ* is usually assimilated to the preceding consonant, e.g. *anna-* (< **aniṣa-*), *allon* < **ariṣānam* (s.vv.) and *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.11. Final *-y* / *-i* must be relatively old, since *dæsny* has been subjected to syncope, on which see § 2.3.1a. Perhaps, *dæsny* is a relational *ṣya-* formation to **dašina-*, cf. Skt. *dakṣiṇya-*. Alternatively, it could also be the Ossetic genitive-locative ending, which may derive from Gsg. **-aṣia*, cf. *zy* / *zi* (q.v.).

dæw Gsg. 'тебя', 'твой' ('(of) you', 'your')

< PIr. **taṣa-*; LAv. *tauuā-*, Sogd. *tw'*, Skt. *tāva*, etc.

♦ The unexpected voicing of initial *d-* is due to sandhi, since the pronoun is often used enclitically (Abaev).

dæwccag | **idæwccag** 'спорный' ('questionable')

< **ni-dāya-*; cf. Oss. (D.) *idæwun* 'to question', Av. *vi-danu-* 'to talk hither and thither', MP *dawīdan*, *dawīstan*, *daw-* 'to speak [dæwič]'.
♦ This form is deverbal in origin, derived from (D. only) *idæwun*.

dojny | **ædonug** 'жажда' ('thirst')

no common preform; cf. s.v. Oss. *don* 'water; river'.

♦ The Ossetic dialect forms go back to different preforms. While the Digoron form is probably a recent formation, the Iron form reflects an abstract formation in **-iṣa-*: **dānu-ia-*. Final *-y* is probably locative. For more details see *Apocope*, § 3.3.2.

don 1. 'река', 2. 'вода' ('river', 'water')

< PIr. **dānu-*; LAv. *dānu-* (f.) 'river, stream', "Scythian" *Távauç* 'the river Don' (Hdt., Strabo), Russ. *Don* (LW), Skt. *dānu-* (n., f.) 'dripping liquid' (EWAsa I: 719).

don | **donæ** (as second member of compounds) 'вместилище', 'помещение' ('receptacle', location)

< f. **dānā-*; cf. Skt. f. *dhāni-* (e.g. *abhi-dhāni-* 'halster'), M. *firō-lōnō* 'tripod' (< **frādānā-*), R., B. *ardōn* f. 'hearth' (< **āθra-dānā-*, v. EVJ: 15b), Kurd. *-dank* f., cf. LAv. *gao.dana-* (n.) 'milk vessel', OP *daiva-dāna-* (n.) 'temple of idols', Skt. *dhāna-* (n.) 'container, vessel', Khot. *padāna-* (Nsg. 'ā) 'receptacle, vessel' (**pati-dāna-*), Sogd. *pyrn* 'saddle' (< **pari-dāna-*, GMS: 17, § 123), etc.

♦ Both the Avestan and Sogdian forms underwent shortening of their long vowel. Oss. *don* / *donæ* cannot derive from the thematic neuter, the final *-æ* of D. *-donæ* rather points to a feminine noun in **-ā*. The presumed feminine **dānā-* is supported by Kurdish and several Pamir languages. The corresponding f. form in Skt. is *dhāni-* (e.g. *abhi-dhāni-*

'fathom').

On the use of *-don* / *-donæ* as Ossetic suffix see *Appendix, A § 7*.

ducyn : **dygd** | **docun** : **dugd** 'доить' ('to milk')

< **daučā*; Khz. *ḡw-* (< **daučā*, Samadi: 67), Par. *dūč-* (< **daučā*, EVS: 31, s.v. *ḡj-*), cf. Skt. *du(g)h-*, MP *dōxtan*, *dōš-*, Bal. *dōš-* (< **dauxšā*), W. *ḡic-*, Y. *lūž-*, Š. *ḡj-* 'to milk' (< **daučā*, EVS: 31).

dur | **dor** 'камень' ('stone')

Etymology uncertain.

♦ *Dur* is seen as an old borrowing from a Caucasian language by Abaev, cf. Georg. *t'al-i*, Svan *t'ol* 'flintstone', Chech. *t'ul-g* 'stone', Ing. *t'ol-g* 'little stone'. The Caucasian connection is fraught with phonological difficulties, as made clear by Bieltmeier (1979: 144). A possible Iranian correspondence is Khot. *dūra-* 'hard; hard clod or stone'. The Ossetic and Khotanese forms are strikingly similar to Lat. *dūrus* 'hard'.

dwar 'дверь' ('door')

< Plr. **duār-*; Skt. *dvār-* (f.) 'door', cf. Av. *duuar-* (m.), OP *duvar-* (n.), Sogd. *ḡḡr-*, Khz. *ḡḡr*, *ḡḡr* 'gate', Khot. *vara-* 'door?', MP, NP *dar* 'door', Pš. *war*, Yağn. *devar* 'id', Bal. *dovār* 'threshold', Tati *bar* 'door', etc.

♦ The Sanskrit form is closer to *dwar* than the other Iranian cognate forms, which all point to a short root vowel, while *dwar* must have originally long *-ā-. The Iranian forms with short vowel most likely derive from the plural **duarab*.

dykkag | **dukkag** 'второй' ('second')

< **dyaka-jāka*; cf. Skt. *dvakā-* 'twofold', MP *dōgānag*, Khz. *ḡfγ* 'manifold', NP *dugānab* 'double' (**dyaka-* + **ānaka-*).

♦ *Duk* contains the ordinal suffix *-iag*. For the subsequent rise of geminate *-kk-* from *-k- + *-j-, see *Epenthesis*, § 4.7.3. Vowel *-y-* / *-u-* in the first syllable may be ascribed to the cardinal *dynwæ* / *duwæ*.

dyk'axyg | **duk'axug** (not in *Dict.*) 'two-legged, biped'

< *dy-* / *du-* 'two' + *k'ax* (< Cauc.); cf. Chech. *kog*, Batsbi *kok*, Ing. *kog* 'foot'.

dymæg | **dumæg** 'хвост', 'курячок' ('tail, fatty tail of a sheep')

< **dumaka-*; Khot. *dumaa-* 'tail', Khz. *ḡumk* 'Fettschwanz', NP *dumbah* 'id.' (with sec. *ḡ*), Arm. *dmak* 'id.' (< WIt.), cf. LAv. *duma-* (m.) 'tail', Sogd. *ḡum*, MP *dum*, Khz. *ḡum*, Pš. *lām* 'id.', etc.

dymyn : **dymst** | **dunsun** : **dunst** 'надуваться', 'раздуваться', 'вздуваться' ('to swell (up)')

< sec. inch. **dum-s(s)a-*; cf. Sogd. (Bud.) *ḡm's* 'to swell up' (<(< **dmH-ssa-*), Oss. *dymyn* 'to blow')

dymyn : **dymd**, **dymst** | **dumun** : **dund** 1. 'дуть', 'надувать', 2. 'курить' ('to blow (up)', 'to smoke')

< **dūmāya-*; cf. (denomin., pres.) Skt. *dhūmayati* 'smokes, steams'

♦ See On **u*, **u*, § 6.2.1.

dyson | **adosæ** 'вчера ночью', 'вчера вечером' ('yesterday night, yesterday evening')

< **daūšā*; LAv. *daoša-* (in *daoša(s)tara-* 'occidental'), Skt. *dosā-* (f.) 'darkness, evening', MP *dōš*, NP *dōš* 'last night, previous evening', W. *ḡōš*, Sangl. *dōš* 'late'.

♦ The vowel *-y-* of I. *dyson* is surprising. According to Abaev, the vowel has arisen from

a (unmotivated) weakening of *u* (< **au*): I. **duson* > *dyson*. Indication for the original I. **u* would be the accent assignment: it is always accented on *j*. Another, more attractive explanation was given by Benveniste (ELO: 109), who considered the peculiar vocalism of *dyson* as a case of attraction from **zyon* > *zyon* 'yesterday' (q.v.), being similar in form and meaning. The difference in accenting (*dyson* vs. *zyon*) is probably to be explained in terms of definiteness / indefiniteness (v. *Aphaeresis*, § 5.2).

dywwæ, **duwæ** | **duw(w)æ** 'два' ('two')

< Plr. **duuar*, Av. *duua-*, Khot. *duva-*, *dva-*, Sogd. *ḡw'*, *ḡw'*, MP, NP *dō*, Bal. *dō*, Pš. *dva*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *dō*, Yağn. *du*, Š. *ḡu*, R. *ḡaw*, W. *bū*, M. *lu*, Skt. *dvā-*, etc.

♦ On final *-æ* in both I. and D. see *Aphaeresis*, § 1.4.1a.

dyzḡoyn | **duzḡun** 'потрепанный', 'исковерканный' ('deformed, disfigured')

< **duž-gauna-*; cf. Av. *duš-*, *duž-* 'dys-, mis-', etc. and *gaona-* 'hair (colour)', MP *gōn*, NP *gūn* 'colour', etc.

♦ The antonym of *dyzḡoyn* is attested in Khotanese: *hvi* 'having, good, fine colour' (DKS: 508a).

3

zag | **izag** 'полный' ('full')

< ? **zi-āka-*; cf. Khz. *c'k* 'full'.

♦ Further connections are uncertain, cf. MacKenzie (1990: 108, s.v. *c'k*).

zuryn : **zyrd** | **zorun** : **zurd** 1. 'говорить'; 2. 'звать' (1. 'to speak', 2. 'to call')

<(< ? (caus.) **jūāraja-*; cf. Khot. *šver-* 'to tell', Sogd. (Chr.) *žuryry* 'enemy, ill-wisher' (**ā-jūāraja-*, cf. Sims-Williams, C2: 61; Gharib: 94).

♦ The origin of *zuryn* is unclear. In his *Index* Abaev (V: 11) suggestively mentions Lith. *žurgti* 'to murmur', OS. *žuriti*. A more plausible etymology is proposed by Gershevitch (apud Sims-Williams, C2: 61), who connects *a-zuryn* with Sogd. *žuryry*. The vocalism of the Ossetic form needs clarification though: remodelling?

zy | **zi** 'из него', 'от него', 'в нем' ('from, off, on this')

< ? **bačā* + GLsg. *-y* / *-i*; GAv. *bačā*, OP *bačā* 'from, off', Sogd. (Man.) *c-*, *c'*, *c* 'of, from', Khot. *jsa*, *jsā*, *jsi* (Tumš.) *tsi* 'from, with', Khz. *c'*, (+ def. art.) *cy*, NP *až*, *z(i)*, Kurd. *ji* 'from, out off, due to', etc.

♦ Abaev tentatively derives *zy* / *zi* from **bačā*, leaving the vocalism unexplained. Almost all later Iranian reflexes of **bačā* have lost the initial vowel, since **bačā* functions as an enclitic preposition. Often, **bačā* has been fused with a pronoun. Also Oss. *zy* may contain the genitive(-locative) ending.

F

fad 'нога' ('foot')

< Plr. **pāda-*; LAv. *pāda-* (n.) 'step, tread, pace', OP *pāda-* (m.), Khot. *pā* (m.) 'foot', Khz. *p'ḡ*, *b'ḡ* 'foot, leg', MP, NP *pāy*, Pth. *p'ḡ*, Bal. *pād*, Š. *pōḡ*, W. *pād* 'ligature on bow' (**pāda-*), Y. *palo*, *polo*, M. *pālo* 'foot' (**pāda-*), Skt. *pāda-* (m.) 'foot', etc.

fajnost | **fajnostæ** 'ятровь', 'жена деверя' ('wife of the husband's brother')

< **pāti-snausa-*; cf. Av. *pāiti-* 'lord, husband', Skt. *pāti-*, *pāti* 'id.', etc., and **snausa-*, Oss. (D.) *nostæ* 'daughter-in-law', s.v.

- ♦ Skt. *pāti-* is the vṛddhi-form of *pāti-* 'lord', which is employed in compounds.

On the development of *-j-* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.6.3.

fag | **fagæ** 'достаточно', 'довооль', 'достаточный' ('enough, sufficient')

Etymology unclear.

- ♦ The reconstruction of Abaev, **ap-āka-* (cf. Av. *ap-* 'to attain'), does not account for the absence of an initial vowel in Oss. Other connections are possible, viz. with NP *pāk* 'all, whole'. *Fag* may be even a loanword from Arab. *faqat* 'only', cf. Šegren (1844: 68).

fal-, far-, falæ 'за', 'по ту сторону' ('after, over, on the other side')

< PIt. **pāra-*; Skt. *pāra-* 'bringing across', Oss. *far-* (in *farast* 'nine').

- ♦ The *-l-* in *fale* has been introduced through dissimilation which has occurred in derivatives like *fal-dar* 'further' < **far-dar* (Ab.).

For final *-æ* see *Apocope*, § 1.4.3.

farast 'девятъ' ('nine')

< **pāra-aštā* lit. 'after eight'; cf. Av. *pāra-* (m.) 'border', Skt. *pāra-* 'transferring', etc. and **aštā*, s.v. *ast*.

fark | **farkæ** 'лопастъ (например, мельничной турбины)', 'дощечка', 'кусок', 'осколок' ('blade [e.g. of a mill-turbine], board, fragment')

Etymology uncertain.

- ♦ There are two possible etymologies for *fark*, either 1. **parna-ka-* (Khaz. *pnc* (pl. **pnk*) 'leaves', Av. *parna-* 'wing', etc.) or 2. **f/pārakā-* (Khaz. *p'rk* 'fragment', Skt. *phalaka-* 'Brett, Latte, Blatt', Emmerick *apud* Abaev V: 12).

farn | **farnæ** 'небесная благодать', 'благополучие', 'преуспевание', 'пристойность', 'мир', 'тишина' ('blessing; prosperity; luck')

< PIt. **parnah-* (Lubotsky 1998: 479ff.); Skt. *pārinās-* 'fullness, abundance', cf. Av. *parnahuuant-* 'copiosus'.

- ♦ The concept of *farn* has spread from the Scytho-Median to the whole Iranian world, cf. *Introduction*, § 0.4.3.

Final *-æ* of the D. form is paragagic, on which see *Apocope*, § 1.2.3a.i.

fars 'бок', 'сторона' ('side')

< PIt. **pārsya-*; Skt. *pārsvā-* (n.) 'region of the ribs, side, flank', cf. LAv. *pārsu-* (in compounds, e.g. *pārsu.masah-* adj. 'having the size of a rib'), Khot. *pārsu-* 'rib, side'; spoke of wheel', W. *purs*, Pš. *puštai* 'rib', ? Kurd. (Kurm.) *persar* 'side', Skt. (RV) *pārsu-* (f.) 'rib', etc.

- ♦ Since *u*-umlaut (v. On **u*, **y*, § 6.2) did not occur in *fars*, it is probably better to compare the Oss. etymon to Skt. *pārsvā-*, the thematized lengthened grade of *pārsu-*, etc., which is semantically preferable.

faxs 'бок', 'сторона' ('side')

< PIt. **paxsah-*; Skt. *pāksas-* (n.) 'side, party'.

faz | **fazæ** 'половина', 'сторона' ('half', 'side', also [not mentioned by Abaev] 'podex')

< PIt. **pāzah-*; LAv. *pāzah-* (in *pāzahuuant-* '(broad-)breasted'), Khot. *pāysa-* (Nsg. **ā*) 'surface', Sogd. *p'z* 'face', Khz. *p'z* 'breast', Sq. *puz* 'id.', W. *pūz* 'id.', ? Zāz. *pizg* 'belly, stomach', ? Kurd. (Kurm.) *piz* 'vagina', Skt. (RV) *pājas-* (n.) 'zugewandte Seite, Fläche (?)'.
♦ See also *Apocope*, § 1.2.3a.i.

fæd 'следа' ('foot-print')

< PIt. **pada-*; LAv. *pada-* (n.) 'step, tread', MP *pay* 'foot; footstep, track', Skt. *padā-* (n.) 'step, tread, pace', etc.

fædaryn : **fædard** | **fædarun** : **fædard** (ORNS III: 1351) 'подержать, поносить, поддерживать, кормить, быть должным' ('to hold, carry, support, feed, be obliged')

<< (caus.) **pati-dāraja-*; Sogd. *pδ'r* 'nourish', Khot. *pader-* 'to maintain' (< **pati-dāraja-*, SJS: 69), cf. Oss. *daryn* 'to hold, keep', Av. *dāraia-*, OP *dāraya-*, Skt. *dhārāyati* 'holds', etc.

- ♦ The reflex *fæ-* < **pati-* is not the regular phonological development in *fædaryn*, on which see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.6.3.

fædæg I. [of animals] 'сосок' ('nipple')

< ? **pata-ka-* lit. 'what falls down'; Skt. *pataka-*, cf. Av., OP, Skt. *pat-* 'to fall', etc.

- ♦ The reconstruction **pāta-ka-* (cf. Av., Skt. *pā-* 'to drink'), proposed by Abaev, is difficult on account of the vocalism. Perhaps we are dealing with a formation of **pat-* 'to fall, descend'. Incidentally, for the 'human nipple, breast' the Lall-form *zizi* / *zeze* is used instead.

fædg, **fædk** | **fædgæ** 1. 'обычай', 2. 'потомство', 3. (also D.) 'дань, подать' ('1. custom, 2. offspring, 3. [D.] taxation, tax')

< **pada-ka(-)*; Sogd. *pδg*, *pδk*, *pδkb* 'law, dharma', (?) Orm. *padak* 'like' (*Asica*: 12), cf. Oss. *fæd*, s.v.

fæzæl I. 'тонкая нить в ушке иглы для соединения с толстой, не входящей в ушко' ('a thin supporting thread to get a thick thread through the eye of a needle')

< **pati-ār-ja-* or < Pers. *pāāl* 'treadle of a weaver's loom'; v. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.6.3.

fæzæxsyn : **fæzæxst** | **fæzæxsun** : **fæzæxst** 'поручать', 'давать наказ', 'наставлять', 'завещать' ('to charge with; to order; to admonish; to bequeath')

< **pati-āxsa-*; Khot. *pasas-* (mid.) 'to confess' (**pati-āxsa-*, SJS: 63), Sogd. (Man.) *pīcxi-*, *pīcxi-* 'to receive'.

fæjjaw (fijjaw, fyjjaw) 'пастух' ('shepherd')

< **pāiāuant-*, **pāiānab-*; cf. Av. *pāiu-*, Skt. *pāyū-*, Mitanni *payawa* 'protector'.

- ♦ The short vowel *-æ-* in *fæjjaw* is puzzling. According to Gershevitch (1952: 484), the vowels of the form have been metathesized, which is not supported by other evidence. Benveniste (ELO: 88) reconstructed **pāiāna-*, "dérivé d'un thème verbal **pay-* certainement authentique" (**pay-* in Av. *pāia-*, cf. *staorō.pāia-* 'comportant garde du bétail'), which is uncertain. Perhaps we are dealing with shortening of **-ā-* before **-j-*, which is quite common in East Iranian languages, e.g. in Avestan (cf. Hoffmann-Forssman 1996: 58), Sogd. and Khot. Other Ossetic cases are *maj* / *mæja* 'moon; month' (**māhīā*), q.v.

For more details on the old ending see *Apocope*, § 1.3.2b.

fæjnæ distributive adv. 'на каждого', 'с каждого' etc. ('on every, from every', etc.)

< Lsg. **patinai* (*Apocope*, § 1.4.1b); Av. *paitina-* 'different, separate from', Khot. *pana-* 'each, every', Sogd. (Bud.) *pt'yn*, (Man.) *ptyyn* 'id.'.

- ♦ On *-j-* see *Epenthesis*, § 4.6.3. ff.

fæjnæg 'доска' ('board')

< **fanajaka-*; Khz. *šnyk* (var. *šnyk*, *šnyk*, *šnyk*) 'shield', further connections are uncertain.

- ♦ The reconstruction of Abaev, viz. **pānaka-* (cf. Av., Skt. *pā-* 'to protect', etc.), must be rejected, as *-æj-* cannot possibly be the reflex of long **-ā-*. Also, the connection with

Khot. *phvai* 'spade', NP *fib* 'id.', etc., which are actually cognate forms of Oss. *fijjag* 'shoulder-blade' (q.v.), is untenable.

fæl-, fælæ prefix

< Plr. **pari*; Av. *pairi*, Khot. *par*, Sogd., Khz. *pr-*, OP *pariy* 'over; around', Skt. *pāri* 'against, around', etc. See also *Syncope*, § 2.3.1b.

♦ The form *fælæ* is evidently coined after *dælæ*, *bælæ* (q.v.).

fælaxs 'смертый', 'оснувшийся', 'исхудалый' ('paltry, emaciated')

Etymology unknown.

♦ Abaev's reconstruction (ppp.) **pari-ā-xšita-* (cf. Skt. *ksi-* 'to destroy', ppp. *ksitā* 'exhausted', Oss. *axsynun*: *axsyd* / *axsinun*: *axsid* 'to chew on, gnaw') is improvable. The Ossetic result would be *†fælaxsyd* / *†fælaxsid*. Final **-ita-* cannot disappear without leaving a trace in Ossetic, cf. ppp. *axsyd* / *axsid* (**xšita-*, Skt. *ksitā*- ppp. 'exhausted').

fældaxyn : fældæxt | fældaxt 'переворачивать' ('to turn over')

< ? **pari-tāxa-*; ? MP, NP *pardāxtan*, *pardāz-* 'accomplish', (intr.) *pardāxtan*, *pardāz-* 'to be done with, freed of', 'to run after'.

fældemæn (D.) 'лживый', 'обманный' ('lying, deceitful')

< **pari-daiman-*, *fæl-* + **daiman-*; cf. Oss. *fæl*, *fæla* (s.v.), and **daiman-*, Av. *daēman* 'eye(ball)', etc., MP *handemān* 'before, in the presence of', also without **-ān-*, e.g. Sogd. *ōym*, Pš. *lēmā* 'id.', NP *dim* 'face'.

♦ *Fældemæn* probably means originally 'away from (= avoiding) the glance' (Gershevitch 1952: 485).

fældisyn : fældyst | fældesun : fældist 1. 'творить'; 2. 'посвящать покойнику' (1. 'to make'; 2. 'to dedicate to the deceased')

< **pari-daisa-*; Sogd. *prōys* 'to build', Khz. *prōs-* 'to repair (a wall)'.

♦ No further connections can be mentioned: a root **dais-* 'to build' might be postulated, cf. Samadi: 152.

fældesond (D.) 'создание' ('creation')

< ptc. pres. **pari-daisant*; cf. Oss. *fældisyn* / *fældesun*, on which see above.

♦ For the fate of the present participles see *Apocope*, § 1.3.2b.

fælgæsyn : fælgæst | fælgæsun : fælgast 'смотреть', 'наблюдать', 'обозревать' ('to see, observe, look around')

< **pari-kasa-*; Sogd. (Man.) *pray* 'to imprison', Khz. *prk'iy-* 'id.' (caus. **pari-kāsaia-* ?)

fælgætæg 'ограждение вокруг жернова, не дающее муке рассыпаться' ('fence around the mill-stone, to prevent flour scattering around')

< **pari-??*, cf. MP *pargandag* 'spread, scattered', Sogd. (Man.) *pr'ken* 'to sow', etc. (**kan-* 'to dig').

♦ The additional meanings of *fælgætæg* 'flour, collected around the mill-stone, [also] the box for the flour collected' are not mentioned by Abaev.

The preform postulated by Abaev, viz. **parikatakā-*, would not explain intervocalic *-t-* in *fælgætæg* (normally *-t-* < **-θ-*). Besides, the preform is hardly a possible formation, if we accept the connection to MP *pargandag*, etc.

fælizyn | fællezun (not in *Dict.*) 'to leave, flée'

< **pari-raiūa-*; Khot. *parrij-* 'to deliver, rescue', (inch.) *pars-* 'to escape', Sogd. *pr'ye* 'to leave, abandon', Khz. (inch.) *pryx-* 'to leave behind', MP *parrēxtan* 'to remain over',

Yagn. *piraxs-* 'to abandon'. Cf. Oss. *lizyn* / *lezun* 'to run away, to leave the place of residence' (with *l* from ppp. *lygd* / *lygd*).

♦ Geminate *-ll-* in the Digoron form has arisen after the loss of intermediate vowel **-i-*, see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.6.3.

fæliyn : fælyvd | fælevun : fælivd 'обманывать', 'изменять' ('to deceive; to be unfaithful')

< *fæl-* + *ivyn* / *evun* 'to (ex)change'.

♦ According to Abaev, this verb goes back to **pāti-raip-*, connected with MP *frēftan*, NP *fireftan*, Bal. *brēp-* 'to deceive', Sogd. (Bud.) *βrṣṣ'nt* 'deceit', Skt. *rip-*, *lip-* 'to smear; to deceive'. The presence of *-l-* in *fæliyn* would be imported from the participle *fælyvd*. The etymology is disputable. Less complicated would be to treat *fæliyn* as a composite verb of *ivyn* / *evun*. Moreover, the preform **pāti-raip-* would no longer be supported by any (Indo-)Iranian correspondences, if the Persian forms (borrowed into Baluchi?) have a different etymology: **fra-dab-* (cf. Nyberg II: 79), Av. *dab-* 'to deceive', Oss. *davyn* 'to steal'. Also the Sogdian form may not belong here, being phonologically troublesome.

fæloj | fælojnæ 'трудо' ('work, labour')

< **pari-mrāna-* + **-iā-*, cf. Oss. *fællajyn*: *fællad* / *fællajun*: *fællad* 'to become tired, exhausted', Skt. *pari-māyati* 'fades, withers away', *mlāna-* 'faded, exhausted', *mlāyati* 'withers', Av. *mrāta-* 'softened'.

♦ The preform suggested by Abaev, viz. **para-mrāna-*, needs to be modified. Final **oj* / **ojnæ* rather reflects **āna-* + **-iā-* (see *Appendix*, A § 13), while the prefix is more likely to be **pari-* (> pre-Oss. **fali-*), in view of the Sanskrit correspondence. The nasal **-m-* poses a problem, as we would expect the rise of secondary vocalic **-b-* after syncope. Perhaps the (unattested) simplex verb lost the nasal *-m-* in initial position before **-r-*.

fælmæsyn : fælmæcyd | fælmæcun : fælmæst 'утомляться', 'тяготиться', 'изнывать', 'мучиться' ('to get tired; to feel something as a burden; to pine; to worry')

< **pari-mathia-*; cf. Oss. *mæsyn* / *mæcun* 'to wallow' (s.v.).

fælvaryn : fælværd | fælværun : fælværd 'пробовать', 'испытывать' ('to try, test, attempt')

< (caus.) **pari-bāra-(ia-*) lit. 'to carry around'; Sogd. *prṣṣ'yr* 'to explain, tell, expose', cf. Oss. *baryn*, s.v.

♦ The etymology of Abaev (**pari-ūar-*; cf. Av., Skt. *var-* 'to choose, select') is unlikely, since (intervocalic) fricative *-v-* cannot be derived from **-u-*.

fælxor | fælxwaræ 'объедки', 'остатки корма' ('left-overs, food scraps')

< pl. **para-huāra-*; cf. adv., pref. **para(-)*, Av. *parā* 'away, aside', etc. and Oss. *xor* / *xwar* 'grain', Khot. *huāra-*, MP *xwār* 'food'.

♦ The liquid *-l-* is the result of dissimilation: **r*.... *r* > *l*.... *r*.

fælyndyn : fælyst | fælyndun : fælyst 'одевать', 'наряжать', 'украшать' ('to dress (up); to adorn')

< **pari-gunda-*; Khz. (inch.) *praxj-* 'to obscure' (inch. of **pryund-*, Samadi: 158), Orm. *parjund-* 'to dress'.

♦ The loss of the velar after *l* in the Oss. form is strange, having no further parallels in Ossetic.

fænd | fændæ 'замысел', 'план', 'намерение', 'желание' ('intention, plan; wish')

< Plr. **pantā-*; LAv. *pantā-* (m.) 'way', Khot. *panda-* (m.) 'way, path', MP *pand* 'path, counsel', Skt. *pāntā-* (m.) 'way, path', etc.

fænzæm | fænzæjmag 'fifth'

< **pañcamajāka-*; Sogd. (Bud.) *pnomyk*, *pnem*, (Man.) *pnjmyk*.

fænyk | funuk 'зола' ('ashes')

< **pa(n)snu-ka-*; LAv. *pasnu-* m. 'dust', Khot. *phāna-* 'dust' (*ph* < ?), Skt. *pāmsū-* 'dust, sand'.

♦ For more details of *fænyk* see On **u*, **y*, § 6.2.1.

færazyn : færazt | færazun : færazt 'мочь', 'быть в состоянии', 'выносить' ('to be able; to carry out')

< *fæ-* + **razyn* / **razun* (cf. *arazyn* / *arazun* 'to build, do, direct'), **para-bazga-* (cf. Av. *baz-*, Skt. *sah-* 'to be able, have the power'), **fra-rāzāia-* (cf. Khz. *br'zy-* 'to grab, reach for something' (< **fra-rāzāia-*, Samadi: 91), Khot. *harās-* 'to extend' (< **fra-rāzāia-*, SGS: 149).

♦ Several preforms are possible. In addition to the preforms suggested by Abaev, we may also think of deriving *færazyn* from (caus.) **fra-rāzāia-*. The first *r* would be lost dissimilatorily.

færaet 'ronop' ('axe, hatchet')

< ? **parabū-*, **tapara-*; cf. OP **parabū-*, Khz. *pyk*, Pax. *pasō*, Yz. *parūs*, Skt. *pāraśū-* 'hatchet', LW Toch. A *porat*, B *peret* 'id.' (< Alanic ?) and MP *tabrag*, NP *tabar*, Kurd. *tevir*, Y. *tuwor*, etc., Russ. *topor*, Polish *topór* (etc.), Finn. *tappara* (< Sl.), Tk. *teber* (< Pers.), etc.

♦ E. Liden was the first scholar (*apud* ELO: 107 ff.) to consider *færaet* a loanword from OP, which was rejected by Benveniste (l.c.), not only because of the lack of any Persian evidence, but also because the Iranian forms cited cannot go back to one preform, which strongly suggests that we are dealing with a *Wanderwort*. The objections of Benveniste are hardly compelling.

A similar form **tapara-* is widely attested in and also outside Iranian. According to Gershevitch (1952: 485, fn. 1), **tapara-* is a loanword from Scythian or Sarmatian, which shows metathesis: **tapara-* < Sc., Sm. **parat-*.

færcy | færci (postp.) 'благодаря', 'с помощью' ('thanks to, due to')

< **p(a)ršti-*, **par(V)ē(V)-*; cf. LAv. *paršti-* (f.) 'back', Khz. *pīk* (f.) 'back' (< **pršta-kā-*), Sogd. *prh* 'back(spine); protection, support', (postp.) 'after', Bactr. (α)παρσο 'after', Skt. *prstī-* (f.) 'rib'.

♦ Beside the preform **paršti-*, derived by Abaev, we may also consider **par(V)ē(V)-*, in view of the Sogdian and Bactrian correspondences (S-W).

Final *y* / *-i* of the Oss. form probably reflects the Ossetic GLsg. ending.

færsk, færsk' | færsk'æ 'ребро' ('rib')

< **pursukā-* (cf. On **u*, **y*, § 6.2.1; Syncope, § 2.2.1b); Sogd. *pr'sk*, Khot. *pālsuā*, Yz. *parāk*, W. *pürsk*, M. *pürsiga*, Y. *pürsəye* 'rib'.

fæsiwæd | fæsewæd 'молодежь' ('youth')

< *fæs-* 'behind, after' + *inyw* / *eww* 'to exchange' (Ab.).

According to Bailey (*Zor. Problems*: xxxix), *fæsiwæd* goes back to **pasai-pada-*, which

meets serious objections²⁶.

fæsm | fans 'шерсть осенней стрижки' ('wool shaved in the autumn')

< Plr. **pašman-*, **pašma-*; Khot. *pe'ma-*, MP, NP *pašm*, Y. *paṁ*, *pām*, M. *pōm*, Sangl. *pām*, ? Bal. *phim* 'wool', Skt. *pāksman-* (n.) 'eyelash'.

♦ It is peculiar that the Iron form shows *-æ-* instead of *-a-* (v. *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.ii). It may be influenced by the derivative *fæsmyn* 'woollen, of wool'.

fæsmærun : fæsmard D. 'знать', 'быть знакомым', 'узнавать', 'вспоминать' ('to know; to be known; to find out; to recall')

< Plr. **pati-šmara-*; Av. *paiti-šmar-* 'to recall; to long for', Sogd. (Man.) *ptšmr-* 'to think, count', (Chr.) *pcmr-* 'to count', Khot. *patāmar-* 'to report, inform' (SGS: 67), ? Yz. *paṁar-* 'to wait' (EVS: 56).

fæstæ 'за', 'позади', 'после' ('after, behind')

< Plr. **paścā-*; LAv. *pasca*, OP *pasā-*, Khot. *pāscu*, Skt. *paścā* 'after, behind', etc.

♦ For final *-æ* in I.D. see *Apocope*, § 1.4.3.

fætæn 'широкий' ('wide')

< Plr. **paθana-*; LAv. *paθana-* 'broad, wide', Khz. *pθn-* in *pθn-PRwnk* 'broad-headed (arrow)', MP, NP *pahn* 'wide, broad', Pš. *plan* 'id.', Bal. *patan* 'wide'.

♦ The Khotanese form *phattanai* 'palate of the mouth', quoted by Bailey (1961b: 134 ff; DKS: 259b), Abaev and Bielmeyer (1979: 240-241), cannot be the regular outcome of **paθana-* (+ **-ka-* suff.), which would have become *†paba/āna-* (cf. *paba-* 'bag' < **paθa-*). Khot. *phattanai* is perhaps a borrowing from Alanic **faθanag(a)-*, the *ka*-formation of **paθana-*.

fæzdon | fæzdonæ 'вымя' ('udder')

< ? **-don* / *-donæ* (v. *Appendix*, A § 13).

♦ The etymology and accompanying preform are uncertain. The comparison with Av. *fštāna-* 'breast', hesitantly suggested by Miller (OĖ II: 86), was no longer mentioned in Gr. The preform **pai(a)zdāna-* suggested by Gershevitch (1952: 484) is phonologically difficult. The intermediary development assumed by Gershevitch is not compelling: > **fæzdon*, with assimilation of postvocalic **j* to following *z*, for which Gershevitch cited Bailey (*Asica*: 13 ff.)²⁷. There are no further examples, however. We rather expect **aj* to

²⁶ Bailey compared the formation to other compounds of *fæd* 'step; offspring', such as *æwæd* 'without trace; without offspring', *fjdwæd* I. 'having unfortunate offspring'. Regarding medial *-i-* / *-æ-* < **-ai-*, he assumed that the juncture **-ai-* has replaced older *-as* / *-az-* (cf. OP *vahyazdāta-*, Av. *angazdāta-*), which is hardly plausible. Even if we admit some kind of a morphological replacement, the existence of such a late (?) Iranian compound vowel **-ai-*, presumably found in Oss. *saribar* / *serebar* 'free(dom), independent, independency' (s.v.), Khot. *bisūraa-* 'son of the house', et al. cannot be proven. Rather, in most cases we are simply dealing with the reflex of a case ending, often genitive **-ahja*, although the segmentation of such compounds is often uncertain. In short, the etymology and reconstruction of Bailey are no more convincing than Abaev's. In addition, the translation 'latter people, descendants' assigned to *fæsiwæd* by Bailey is sheer etymological speculation: *fæsiwæd* just means 'youth', with no further connotations or meanings. This was implicitly admitted (p. xl): "I have not yet found a formula which would permit connection between [D.] *fæsiwæd* and the word for 'generation, family'".

²⁷ See the entry *fæzæzæg*.

merge with the old diphthong **ai* (> Oss. *i* / *e*), cf. (1.) *nudas* 'nineteen' (*Syncope*, § 2.3.1a). Only a recently arisen **-aj-* may have its *j* assimilated to following *z*, cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.7.3, s.v. *z*. Another preform is suggested by Abaev, viz. **pat-dāna-*, which is morphologically implausible.

fəzzæg 'осень' ('autumn')

< **p*; cf. Khot. *paša-*, *patišu* 'in summer', Sogd. (Man.) *phyz*, *pt'z*, MP *pādēz*, Sq. *pij* 'id' (LW?, v. EVS: 55b), NP *pāyīz*, Sq. *pij* (< NP, EVS: 55b).

♦ According to Skjærvø (SVK III: 85, s.v. *patišu*), the Middle Iranian forms for 'autumn' derive from an old compound **patiia(k)-ziam* '(the time) turned toward/verging upon winter'. The Ossetic form, however, can hardly reflect **patiia(k)-ziam*. On the other hand, the preform **pati-z(a)ia-ka-* reconstructed by Bailey (*Asica* 13; esp. 1948: 329) and accepted by Abaev is morphologically unlikely and isolated.

fecawyn : fecud D. 'проходить', 'проезжать' ('to pass, drive by')

< (caus.) **pati-čānaia-*; Skt. *prāti-cavīyas-* 'pressing against or towards', Oss. *cawyn* 'to go', Av. *šānu-* 'to go', (caus.) *šānuuāia-* 'to set into motion', Skt. *cyu-*, (caus.) *cyāvāyati* 'causes to move, shakes'.

fidar | fedar 1. 'крепкий', 'стойкий'; 2. 'крепость'; 3. 'поручитель' (1. 'strong'; 2. 'strength'; 3. 'guarantor')

< **pati-dāra-*; cf. Oss. *fadaryn* 'to support, maintain', Av. *dar-* + *paiti* 'to bring back', *paitidarana-* 'dwelling', Khot. *pader-* 'to maintain' (**patidāraia-*, SGS: 69), Sogd. *pd'r* 'to support', *padāra-* 'honouring', MP *pādirān* 'restrained, held back', Yz. *padir-* : *padæg* 'to hold back, restrain', Sq. *pador* 'apparatus for churning butter'.

fidawyn : fidyd | fedawun : fedud 1. 'мириться'; 2. 'быть к лицу', 'быть привлекательным', 'приличествовать', 'подходить' (1. 'to be reconciled with'; 2. 'to fit, suit, to be appropriate').

< **pati-dāna-*; Skt. *prāti-dhāvati* 'runs back, rushes upon', *dhāv-* 'to walk, run, flow', MP *dawidan* 'to walk', etc.

♦ Deriving *fidawyn* from **pati-dā-* (from **dā-* 'to give; put'), as proposed by Abaev, does not account for the labial *-w-*, which must be regarded as an integral part of the root, in view of the corresponding past participles of *fidawyn*. Another etymology is more preferable. The verb may be connected with Skt. *dhāv-*. A parallel for this semantic development is readily available, viz. in Russian: the verb *podxodit* 'not only means 'to go to, arrive', but also 'to suit, fit'. The original meaning 'to go forth' is possibly preserved in *fidiwæg*.

fidis | fedes, fedis 'попрек' ('rebuke')

< PIr. **pati-daisa-*; Khz. *pays(y)* 'to make similar; to interpret' (< **pati-daisaia-*, Samadi: 149), MP (Turk.) *pyys* 'instruction', MPth. *pāys* 'id.', Skt. (caus.) *prāti-dēśayati* 'points out'.

♦ Khot. *pis-*, *pes-* 'to teach' (DKS: 241-242) can be excluded from the comparison, see Sims-Williams (SVK III: 94 f.).

fidiwæg | fedewæg 'глашатай', 'вестник', 'герольд' ('herald, messenger')

< ? **pati-dāy-ia-ka-*; cf. Oss. *fidawyn* (s.v.), Skt. *prāti-dhāv-* 'to run back, rush upon', *dhāv-* 'to walk, run, flow', MP *dawidan* 'to walk', etc.

♦ The etymology of *fidiwæg* is uncertain. According to Abaev, *fidiwæg* goes back to **pati-dāy-aka-*, which leaves medial *-i-* / *-e-* unexplained. *Fidiwæg* perhaps reflects an old

gerundive formation **pati-dāy-ia-*? For **-ay-ia-* > *-iwe-* / *-ewa-* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.1, § 4.4.11.

fidyn : fyst | fedun : fist 'платить' ('to pay')

< ? denom. **paida-*; cf. Khot. *piha-* 'price', Toch. B *pīa* 'id.'

♦ The reconstruction of Abaev, viz. **pati-dā-*, is improbable. The participle suggests a stem *fid-* / *fed-*, which can scarcely be derived from **pati-dā-*, cf. *dæddyn* / *dæddun* 'to give' (< redupl. pres. stem **da-da-*, Av. *da-dā-*, etc.). More likely, *fidyn* is connected with Khot. *piha-* (DKS, s.v.).

fijag, fyjjag | fijagæ 'лопата' ('spade, shovel')

< **fijākā-*; Sogd. *fyk* 'shoulder', Khz. *fyk* 'oar', Yagn. *fik*, Š. *f(i)yyak*, W. *fiak*, Išk. *fayak* 'wooden shovel; shoulder-blade' (cf. EVS: 34b), NP *fab*, *fib* 'an oar; shovel', Kurd. *pi* 'shoulder', also Skt. *sphiyā-* 'shoulder-blade; oar' (with *s-*mobile).

fippajyn : fippajd | feppajun : feppajd 'замечать', 'подмечать', 'догадываться' ('to remark; to guess')

< **pati-pāia-*; Av. *pā(i)-* 'to guard', + *pati* (mid.) 'to guard against, to protect from; to suspect', Sogd. (Anc.Lett.) *pç'y* 'to expect, be ready for'.

firtun D. 'крупный рогатый скот' ('horned cattle')

Etymology unknown.

♦ The etymology proposed by Abaev, viz. **piθra-na-* (cf. LAv. *pitru-* 'solid food', Oss. *fjd* / *fid* 'meat', s.v.), cannot be upheld. Not only has the formation no further correspondences, but such a formation is also morphologically improbable: the employment of the alternating or so-called "Caland" suffixes **-u* ~ **-ra* is confined to adjectives only, see *AiGr.* II/2: 466, § 286c.

fistæg | fest(æg) 'пеший', 'засушенный (о рукаве)' (1. 'pedestrian; 2. 'rolled up [sleeve]')

< PIr. **pasti-* + *-æg*, OP *pasti-* (m.) 'foot-soldier', Skt. *pattī-* (m.) 'pedestrian; foot-soldier'.

♦ According to Benveniste (ELO: 8), this formation either goes back to the simplex **fist* / *fest*, to which the productive suffix has been added, or this is an old derivative. Since the suffix *-æg* is employed optionally in D., this formation is likely to be recent.

The meaning '(with) rolled up (sleeve)' is peculiar: an explanation is wanting.

fiston | festonæ 'рукоять' ('handle')

< PIr. **pati-šāna-*; Av. *paitištāna-* 'dwelling, residence', Skt. *pratiṣṭhāna-* (n.) 'pedestal, base'.

♦ The second element **ston* / **stonæ* is a well-known suffix, indicating place, e.g. MP, NP *-stān*. Final *-a* in D. is probably secondary, being an accretion from the semantically related *(-)don* / *(-)donæ*, see *Appendix*, A § 13.

fiw | few 'жир', 'сало' ('fat, grease')

< PIr. **piuab-*; LAv. *piuuah-* (n.) 'fat', Khot. *pi* '(solid) fat', NP *pi*, Bal. *piğ*, Skt. *pīvas-* 'fat', etc.

♦ The vocalism of this form is secondary, v. *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.3.iii.

fonz 'пять' ('five')

< PIr. **panča*; LAv. *panca*, Skt. *pāñca*, Khot. *pamjsa*, Sogd. (Bud.) *pnc*, Khz. *pnc*, MP, NP *panj*, Pš. *pinjá*, (Waz.) *pinzə*, Y. *pānš*, M. *ponž*, Kurd. *panj*, Bal. *panč*, etc.

fugæ | fogæ 'рододендрон' ('rhododendron, Rhododendron caucasicum')

Etymology unknown.

◆ Oss. *fugæ* can scarcely be of Iranian origin, as suggested by Abaev (**paçaka*-, Skt. (RV) *pāvaka*- (**pāvākā*-) 'pure, shining', NP *pāk* 'clean, pure'). We are perhaps dealing with a *Wanderwort*, cf. Khot. *phukā* 'red berry of pepper' (DKS: 262).

furd | ford 'большая река' ('great river, lake')

< **paruta*-; Av. *pauruta*- name of a certain country or water, "Sc." Πόρουτα (Hdt.) name of a river, Khz. *puṛd* (m.) 'sea', Russ. *Prut* 'the river Prut' (< "Sc.").

◆ On the vocalism see On **u*, **y*, § 6.4.

futæg | fotæg 'лебеда садовая' ('cultivated goose-foot')

< ? **paubaka*-; *Wanderwort* ?, cf. Skt. (late) *pūtika*- 'Soma-substitute', *potikā*- 'Basella lucida'.

fycyn : fyx(t) | ficun : funxt 'варить(ся)', 'кипятив', 'кипеть', 'печь(ся)' ('to, boil, be boiled, to bake, be baked')

< PIr. **paç-ia*-; Khot. *pach*- 'to be cooked, refined' (**paçā*-, SGS: 63), Khz. *ps*- 'to be cooked, become ripe' (Samadi: 160-161), Š. *pis*-: *pāxt*, Sq. *pas*-: *pext*, Yz. *paš*-: *paxw* 'to be boiled, ripen', Skt. *pac*-, pres. *pacyati* 'becomes ripe, ripens'.

◆ On the vocalism -y- / -i- of *fycyn* / *ficun* see On **u*, **y*, § 6.3.

fyd | fid 'мясо' ('meat')

< PIr. **pitū*-; LAv. *pitū*- (m.) 'meal with meat', Skt. *pitū*- (m.) '(solid) food, nourishment', Khot. *pa*- 'flesh' (< **pitā*- < **pitū*-, DKS: 196b), MP *pid* 'meat, flesh'.

fyd | fud 'душной'; 'злой'; 'бедный' ('bad, evil, misfortune')

< PIr. ppp. **pūta*-; Khz. *puṛd* 'stench', Khot. *puva*- 'rotted', cf. Av. *pū*-, Skt. *pū*-, ppp. *pūtā*- 'to rot', MP *pūdag* 'rotten', etc.

fyd | fidæ 'отец' ('father')

< PIr. **pitar*-, Nsg. **pitā*-, GAv. *ptar*-, LAv. *pitar*-, OP *pitar*-, Khot. *pāte* (**e* < **āh*, SGS: 343), *pātar*-, Sogd. (Bud.) *ptr*-, (Man.) *ptr*-, (Chr.) *pt'r*-, Khz. *pe* (obl. *per*-), MP, NP *pid*, *pidar*, Pš. *plār*, R. *pid*, Bal. *pit* 'father', Skt. *pitar*-.

◆ *Fyd* / *fidæ* has a peculiar plural formation: *fydæltæ* / *fidæltæ*. It is directly derived from Npl. **pitarah* (Skt. *pitarāh*, LAv. *pitarō*) and the common plural suff. -*tæ*. Although the plural of *fyd* / *fidæ* is normally *fydæltæ* / *fidæltæ*, there is also an alternative pl. formation of *fyd*, which can be encountered in South Iron: *fydtæ* 'fathers'. The "normal" plural *fydæltæ* has acquired the more solemn meaning of 'forefathers' in South Iron, cf. Engl. *brothers* vs. *brethren*.

fydæx | fudænæ 'немилость', 'нерасположение', 'вражда' ('disgrace, dislike, enmity')

< **pūta*- + -*æx* / -*ænæ*; cf. s.v. *fyd* / *fud*.

◆ The "suffix" -*æx* / -*ænæ* has probably been added by analogy with the antonym *xorçæx*, q.v.

fyn | fun 'сон', 'сновидение' ('sleep, dream')

< PIr. **hūafna*-; Av. *xūafna*- (m.), Khot. *hūna*- (Nsg. **ā*), Sogd. *xuβn*, MP *xwamn*, Y. *xūbun*, Par. *xōm*, Pš. *xūb* 'sleep, dream', Skt. *svāpna*- (m.), etc.

◆ The *f*- of *fyn* may be due to assimilation: **hūafna*- > **xūafna*- > **fafna*- (assimilation) (> **faun(a)*- ?) > *fyn* / *fun*. Differently Bielmeyer (1979: 244), who considered *fyn* as a loanword from Median, together with Oss. *farn* (q.v.). Although borrowing cannot be excluded, in this case it is less likely, since *fyn* belongs to the basic lexicon. As for *farn*, q.v.

fynddæs | finddæs 'пятнадцать' ('fifteen')

< **pančadasa*-, LAv. *pañca.dasa*, Sogd. *pncds*, MP, NP *pānçdah*, Pš. *pincālas*, Skt. *pāñcadaśa* 'fifteen', etc.

fynk | finkæ 'пена' ('foam')

< **fin(a)kæ*-; cf. Skt. *phēna*-, Sogd. *pyṃ'keh*, NP *finak* 'id.'.

◆ For more details on this *kæ*-formation see *Syncope*, § 2.2.1b.

fyr | fur 'очень', 'много' ('very; much, many')

< PIr. **paru*-; Av. *pauru*-, *pouru*- 'much, many, numerous', OP *paru*- (adj.) 'much, many', adv. *paruv* 'much, too much; very', NP *pur* 'much, many', Kurd. *pir* (adv.) 'very', (adj.) 'much, many, full of', Skt. *purā*- 'much, many, numerous', adv. 'very, often', etc.

◆ The Oss. form points to *u*-umlaut, see On **u*, **y*, § 6.2.

fyr | furt 'сын' ('son')

< PIr. **putra*-; GAv. *puθra*- (m.), OP *puça*- (m.), Khot. *pūra*-, MP, NP *pus*, Š. *pus*, Yz. *poç*, W. *ptr*, Y. M. *pūr*, Tat. *pura*, Skt. *putrā*- (m.) 'son, child'.

fys | fus 'овца', 'баран' ('sheep, ram')

< PIr. **pašu*-; GAv. *pašu*- (m.) 'cattle', Sogd. (Bud.) *psw*, Khot. *pasā* 'sheep', Khz. *ps*, *bs*, *ps*, MP *pah*, Š. *pīs*, B. *pös*, Yz. *pūs*, Sq. *pes*, R. *pos*, Pš. *psā* 'sheep', Bal. *par* 'id.', goat', Kurd. *peç* 'small cattle' (n.), 'sheep' (pl. n.), 'goats' (pl. f.), Zāz. *pes* 'small cattle' (Malmisani: 253a), Skt. *paśū*- (m.), *pāśu*- (n.) 'cattle, animal', etc.

◆ *Fys* has undergone *u*-umlaut, v. On **u*, **y*, § 6.2.

fysym | fusun 'хозяин в отношении гостя', 'лицо, оказывающее госте-принимство, принимающее гостя', 'hospes' ('host, person who shows hospitality or takes care of the guests')

< **ṣṣumant*-, Nsg. **ṣṣumāh* (A.L.); LAv. *ṣṣumant*- 'cattle breeder', Skt. (RV) *ṣṣumant*- 'possessing cattle' 'provided with cattle, rich in cattle'.

◆ The exact formal correspondence of Ossetic *fysym* / *fusun* can be found in Skt. *paśumant*-. However, this late Vedic formation is analysable and productive (*paśu-mant* < *paśū*- 'small cattle, sheep'), which implies that *paśumant*- is not necessarily old. *ṣṣumant*- 'possessing cattle', on the other hand, is clearly more archaic, having the Avestan correspondence *ṣṣumant*-. It is more likely that the Ossetic form reflects **ṣṣumant*-, rather than **paśumant*-. (A.L.). Alternatively, (early) influence from *fys* / *pus* 'sheep' might also account for the form *fysym* / *fusun*.

fyx | funx 'варенный', 'кипяченый', 'печеный' ('boiled', 'backed')

<(<) PIr. **paçña*- + **na*-, Khot. *paha*- 'id.', 'rotted', 'glowing', Arm. *pax* 'sodden, boiled' (< WIr.), Pš. *pōx*, pl. *pāxā*, f. *paxā*, pl. f. *paxē* 'ripe, cooked', Š. *pēx* 'ripe', Yz. *pāx* 'cooked', Sangl. *pux* 'boiled', Skt. *pakvā*- 'boiled, backed', 'ripe'.

◆ The addition of **na* is secondary, cf. Appendix, A § 4. *Fyx* also underwent *u*-umlaut, v. On **u*, **y*, § 6.2.

G

gæræn I. 'ограждение', 'забор' ('enclosure, fence')

< **ṣṣi-karāna*- lit. 'delimiting'; cf. Khot. *kara*- 'enclosure, fort, town', Oss. *kæron* 'border', s.v.

◆ According to Abaev, the corresponding D. form *goren* 'wall, fence' shows

contamination with an indigenous Caucasian form, cf. Georg. *gore* 'brick wall', Abkh. *a-gor* 'fence'. Initial *g-* of the Iron form is not explained by Abaev. The voiced nature of this velar indicates that *g-* used to be in intervocalic position, which can only imply the former presence of **i-* < pref. **i-*, cf. *Aphaeresis*, § 3.3.1.

gom | **igon** 'открытый', 'отверзтый', 'голый' ('open, naked')

< **i-kāma-*; cf. s.v. *kom* 'mouth'.

♦ The formation **i-kāma-* is similar to LAv. *vīzafāra-* 'with open mouth, beak'.

goyrin : **goyrd** | **igurun** : **igurd** 'рождаться', 'зарождаться' ('to be born, exist')

< ? **i-kur-*; cf. Sogd. *wk'ur* 'family', MP *kurrag* 'foal, colt', Kurd. *kur* 'son, boy', Skt. *kūla-* (n.) 'family, household'. Less certain is the connection with GAv. *hākurana-* (n.) 'support', Oss. *agurin* / *agorun* 'to seek, demand', *kurin* / *korun* 'to ask'.

♦ The Ossetic verb apparently has nominal Indo-Iranian correspondences only. A nominal derivative of *goyrin* is *goyrz* / *igurzæ* 'germ, embryo'.

goyxxæl | **konxwal** 'скромный в еде', 'мало едящий' ('modest in eating, eating little')

Etymology unknown.

♦ The Oss. dialect forms cannot possibly go back to a common preform. I. *g* cannot correspond to D. *k*, also the vocalism is strange. Cabolov (*apud* Abaev V: 15, nr. 533) suggests **kamna-xuāriā-* 'eating little', which is phonologically troublesome.

I

idæz 'вдовый, (f.) вдовая; вдова' ('widowed; widow')

< **iḍaṇa-ī* (ELO: 32; Morgenstierne (1962: 164); Christol (1989: 52); Hung. *özvegy* 'widow(ed)' (< Al), cf. LAv. *vidānuā-*, Skt. *vidhānā-* (f.), MP *wewag* 'widow', etc.

♦ The Hungarian borrowing preserves the labial which has disappeared in Ossetic.

On initial *i-* in both Iron and Digoron see *Aphaeresis*, § 3.3.1c, and on final *-z* see *Appendix*, A § 1.

izægnæ (D.) 'трус' ('timid')

< ? **i-ḡaganā-*, cf. (?) Sq. *ḡay* 'glowing charcoal', (?) Oss. *caḡdyn* : *caḡd* / *caḡdun* : *caḡd* 'to shake out; to strike (on a instrument, clock)', also expressive NP *čāk* 'crack', W. *čūk-* 'to beat', etc.

♦ According to Abaev, the corresponding I. form *yzyḡ* is the result of metathesis: **izægnæ* > **yzyḡn* > *yzyḡ*. In Iron, *-æ-* tends to become *-y-* in such a consonantal environment: e.g. *zyḡar* (D. *zəḡar*, *zəḡar*) 'with a white spot on the forehead', *zyrçyn* / *izærçyn* 'to relax'. The root is expressive, which has not only Iranian correspondences, but also Caucasian ones as well, cf. Lezg. (Kryz) *c'uk* 'spark', Andi (Tindi) *c'ak'a* 'spark' (Nikolayev-Starostin 1994: 373, s.v. **c'uk* / **kwō* 'brand, spark, brilliance').

On **-anā* see *Syncopé*, § 2.3.2a.

igær 'печень' ('liver')

< Plr. **iakar*, (obl.) **iaxna-*; LAv. *yākara* (n.) (with anaptyctic *-ə-*), MP *jaḡar*, NP *ḡar*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *ceḡ*, also (with suff.) Khot. *gyagarrā* (**iakar-na-*), Pš. *yina*, *yina* (**iaxna-*), Y. *yeyun* (**iaxna-*, IIFL II: 272), Bal. *jaḡar* (< NP), Skt. *yākert*, Gsg. *yaknāḥ* (n.) 'liver'.

ilivd (D.) 'жалкий', 'несчастный' ('pitiful, wretched')

< ppp. **i-ripta-*; Skt. *vi-lip-*, (ppp.) *vi-līpta-* 'to smear over or spread over, anoint', *rip-*, (ppp.) *līptā-* 'to smear, to stick on something, to cheat', *ripā-* n. 'dirt, stain'.

♦ According to Abaev, D. *ilivd* contains the same root as *fəlinyn* / *fəlevun* 'to deceive'. *Fəlinyn* may be analysed differently, see s.v.

ingæn 'могила' ('grave')

< **ham-kana-*; LAv. *han-kana-* (n.) 'underground place', cf. Oss. *nyḡanyn* 'to bury', Av. *nī-kan-* 'to dig in', Av. *kan-* 'to dig', Khz. *ken-*, Sogd. *ken-* 'id.', etc.

♦ On initial *i-* see *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.iv.

ingyn | **ingin** 'творю'; 'масса свернувшегося молока после введения сычужной закваски' ('curds')

Etymology uncertain.

♦ According to Abaev, *ingyn* is perhaps of Caucasian origin, cf. Megr. *ingiri* 'cold buttermilk'. Differently Bailey (1957: 51): **angaina-*?

innæ 'другой (из двух)' ('the other [of two]')

< Plr. **aniā-*; Av. *aniia*, *aniia-*, OP *aniya-*, Khot. *anā-*, Sogd. *'ny*, Khz. *'ny*, *ny*, MP *any*, Yaḡn. *ānē*, *āni*, Pth. *'ny*, Isk. *an*, Skt. (RV) *anyā-* 'other', etc.

ir | **iræ** 'осетины', 'осетинский народ' ('Ossetians, Ossetian people')

< Npl. **iṛāḥ*; Av. *iṛa-* 'man, warrior', "Scythian" *olōḡ* 'man' (Hdt., IV, 110), Sogd. *uṛ* 'man, husband', MP *wir* 'man, hero', Yaḡn. *wir*, Skt. *virā-* 'man, hero', etc.

♦ Bielmeier (1988: 103) derives *ir* from **iṛa-*, which is superior to all previous etymologies:

1. < **āriā-* (Miller OE II: 55; accepted by Hübschmann, Harmatta, Christol, et al.), which is phonologically impossible: only Oss. *allon* regularly continues this preform (q.v.);

2. < Caucasian (Abaev), cf. Chech., Ing. *hir* 'Ossetian', Avar *hiri* 'id.'. However, the borrowing might have taken place in opposite direction, as pointed out by Axvlediani (1963: 217).

Since the D. form has final *-æ*, *ir* probably reflects plural **iṛāḥ*.

ird 'светлый', 'ясный' ('bright, clear')

< Plr. **i-ḡidra-*; Skt. *vidhrā-* 'clean, clear', Y. *lōrōyo* 'clear sky' (v. *irdḡæ*).

irdḡ | **irdḡæ**, **ærdkæ** 'стужа', 'холодный утренний или вечерний ветер' ('cold', 'cold morning or evening wind')

< **idrakā-*; Y. *lōrōyo* 'clear sky' (**idrakā-*, IIFL II: 224), Oss. *ird* (q.v.).

♦ This *ka*-formation of *ird* has an exact Iranian correspondence, viz. Y. *lōrōyo*, which lost its initial vowel at an early date (l.c.: 63). D. *ærdkæ* may have undergone vowel assimilation, v. *Introduction*, § 0.7.5.8.

As for the semantics, coldness is often connected with a clear sky.

irḡævyn : **irḡævd** | **erḡævun** : **erḡævd** 'разнимать (дерущихся)', 'защищать' ('to separate the persons involved in a fight; to defend')

< ? **abi-grub-*; cf. Av. *grab-* 'to seize', Oss. *arḡævyn* 'to take up', etc.

irtasyn : **irtæst** | **ærtasun** : **ærtast** 'отделять', 'различать', 'отбирать', 'выбирать' ('to separate; to distinguish; to take away; to choose')

< ? **θrāsa-*; cf. Sogd. *ṣṣ*, *ḡr* 'to scatter', Khz. *ṣṣ* 'to spread (out)', Yaḡn. *čōṣ-* 'to spread, scatter, sow' (Samadi: 189).

♦ No etymology is provided by Abaev. Perhaps, *irtasyn* is of Iranian origin: I. *i-* needs an explanation though.

irvæzyn : **irvæzt** | **ervæzun** : **ervæzt** 'спасаться', 'избавляться', 'ускользнуть', 'вырваться' ('to be saved, delivered; to slip away, to escape')

< ? **abi-raz-*; cf. ? Av. *ruzah-* 'secret place', ? Skt. *rah-* 'to give up'.

i(s) | **es** pres. 3sg. 'есть' ('is')

< Plr. **asti*; Av. *asti*, OP *asty*, Al. -ετς (Tz.), Sogd. (Bud.) *ʾsty*, (Chr.) *sty*, Khot. (a)*itā*, Pth. *ʾst*, MP, NP *ast*, Skt. *asti* 'is', etc.

ittæg 'весьма', 'очень'; (D. also) 'даже' ('highly, very', [D.] 'even')

< ? **iθa*/**id* + **aθjaka-*; cf. Av. *aiti*, OP *ati*, Skt. *āti* 'over', etc., Av. *iθ* emph. pcl. and Av. *iθa*, *iθā* 'so', etc. See s.v. *ia*.

♦ The reconstruction of Miller (IF 21: 328), viz. **atja-ka-*, is improbable for a number of reasons. The main objection is that the sequence *tj* does not exist in Plr. Since *ittæg* is emphatic in meaning, it can be connected with several Iranian adverbial particles.

ivajyn : **ivad** | **ivajun** : **ivad** 'бледнеть', 'вянуть', 'рассветать' ('to pale, wither; to dawn')

< **vi-bāja-*; LAv. *vi-ā-nuant-* 'shining', Khot. *viu-* 'to shine' (**vi-(bi)-bā-*, SGS: 124), Skt. *vi-bhā-* 'to radiate', cf. Av. *bā-* 'to shine', Khz. *bβʾs-* 'to pale' (< **apa-bā-sa-*, Samadi: 13).

ivar 'запер', 'уற்பаф' ('punishment; prohibition')

< Plr. **vi-bāra-*; cf. Av. *v-bar-* 'to carry away, divide, scatter'.

♦ The reconstruction of Abaev, viz. **vi-ūāra-*, is phonologically impossible: medial **ū* is regularly preserved as *-w-* in Ossetic. Also his equation **ūāra-* = Oss. *bar* 'will' (s.v.) is best to be abandoned. I propose a connection with **bara-* 'to carry, bear', cf. Oss. *baryn* / *baryn* 'to contemplate; to bear, tolerate', *levar* 'gift' (s.vv.). The meaning may be derived from *'something which is carried away', which can reflect a certain punitive action.

ivazyn : **ivæzt** | **ivazun** : **ivæzt** 'тянуть', 'растягивать' ('to stretch, extend')

< **vi-bāzu-* (ELO: 65); Av. *vi-bāzu-* (m.) 'fathom', Sogd. *wβʾz*, Pš. *wāz*, NP *bāzū* 'id.'.

♦ The verb *ivazyn* has no further Indo-Iranian cognate forms and is probably denominative in origin, from **bāzu-* 'arm', cf. Szemerényi (1960: 65). The corresponding medio-passive verb is *ivæzyn*: *ivæzt* / *ivæzun*: *ivæzt* 'to be stretched, extended'.

ivgʷyjn | **evgʷjun** : **evgʷud** 'миновать', 'пройти' ('to pass, go by'; [ORNS II, s.v. 'vorübergehen; vergehen, meiden, fehlschiessen'])

< **abi-gu-*; cf. Oss. *qawyn* / *gawun* 'to need, desire', Khz. *yw-* 'to be necessary, miss; to commit an error, to err' (Samadi: 81), Sogd. *yw-* 'to want, lack, be wanting, be at fault', Bact. *γωηο* (pres. opt. 3sg.) '*mōge fehlen*' (Davary: 196), Pth. *gw'nyg* 'needed, desired', *nyg'w* 'diminution', Skt. (denom.) *gavyānt-* 'longing for cows'.

♦ The etymology of Abaev, who connects *ivgʷyjn* with Av. (impv.) *jauua* 'to hasten', cannot be upheld. The Avestan hapax *jauua* should be emended to *jasa* (< *gam-* 'to go'), on which see Hoffmann (1969: 19-20). On *iv-* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.6.2.

ivtong | **evtong** 'снаряженный', 'готовый к действию, в дорогу и т. п.' ('equipped, ready for action, under way, sim.')

< **abi-thaga-*; Oss. *ivtynzyn* / *evtynzun*, see below.

ivtynzyn : **ivtygd** | **evtynzun** : **evtygd** 'запрягать', 'заряжать (ружье)', 'заводить (часы и т. п.)' ('to yoke a horse', 'to load [a gun]', 'to wind up [a watch, vel sim.]')

< **abi-thanja-*; cf. Av. *thanjasa-* (inchoat.) 'to pull, draw', Khot. *thamj-* 'to pull', Sogd. (Man.) *pōdyne-* 'to pull', Khot. *pathamj-* 'to restrain', Pth. *pdhynj-* '*peser*', (?) Khz. *pθks-* (inchoat.) 'to seek shelter'.

♦ A nominal derivative of this verb is *ivtong* / *evtong* 'equipped, ready for action'.

On *iv-* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.6.2.

ivxærsyn : **ivxærst** | **evxærsun** : **evxærst** (evxast) 'переправлять (через реку, через опасное место)', 'проводить (от одного места до другого)', 'помочь в беде, в трудности, опасности', 'выручать', 'спасать', 'развлекать' ('to put across a river, dangerous place; to lead someone (from one place to another); to help someone who is in trouble, danger; to rescue, save; to entertain')

< **abi-xarša-*; cf. Oss. *xærsyn* / *xærsun* 'to bring; to cultivate, grow, breed', Av. *karš-* 'to draw', *apa-karš-* 'to drag forth', Khz. *xjy-* 'to drag, draw to oneself' (**xaršaja-*, Samadi: 243), Yağn. *xas-* 'to pull', Y. *xas-*, M. *xas-* 'to pull, draw', Sangl. *xas-*, W. *xāz-* 'to pull, draw', smoke', Skt. *kars-* 'to pull, draw, plough'.

♦ For medial *-x-* s.v. *xærsyn*. There is also a (common) metathesized variant *irxærsyn* / *erxærsun*.

For *iv-* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.6.2.

ivylyn : **ivyld** | **ivulun** : **ivuld** 'разливаться' ('to overflow [esp. of rivers], burst its banks')

Etymology unknown.

♦ A convincing etymology for *ivylyn* is lacking. Abaev envisages a connection with the 'wave' forms of some European languages, notably OCS *vlna*, Russ. *volna*, German *Welle*, etc. In order to account for Oss. *-l-*, he suggests two possible explanations: the Oss. verb either goes back to **ur-ia-* (~LAv. *vari-* 'bay, gulf', *varmi-* 'wave'), or reflects "influence" from adjacent non-Iranian Indo-European languages. These suggestions are hardly acceptable.

iw | **(j)ew** 'один' ('one')

< Plr. **aiya-*; Av. *aēnu-*, OP *aiva-* 'one, only, alone', Khz. *yw*, Sogd. *yw* 'one, a(n)', MP *ē(v)* 'id.', Š. *yī*, Yz. *wū*, Pš. *yaw*, *yau*, *yō* 'one' (m.: < **ēw* < **aiwāb*, EVP: 99), Y., M. *yw* 'id.', ? Skt. *evā* 'so, thus; really' (v. EW Asia I: 270).

♦ According to Miller (OĖ II: 159), there are two variants in Digoron: *(j)ew*, which is used with nouns, and *(j)ewæ*, which is used otherwise. The variant *(j)ewæ* has taken its *-æ* from *duw(w)æ* 'two', *artæ* 'three'.

iwændæz | **ewændæz** 'одиннадцать' ('eleven')

< Plr. **aiwandasa-*; Av. *aēuandasa-* (adj.) 'the eleventh', MP *ēvandas*, Pš. *yawūlas* 'eleven', etc.

iwñæg | **ewnæg** 'один' ('one, single')

< **aiwanaka-*; cf. Oss. *iw*, see above.

ix | **ex** 'лед', 'град' ('ice', 'hail')

< Plr. **aixa-*; LAv. *aēxa-* (n.), Khz. *yx* 'ice' (in *yx-myn* (f.) 'icy'), Sogd. (Bud.) *ywðxn* 'glacier' (from metathesized **ywðxn*, Gr.J. II: 201-202), W. *yix*, Par. *ix*, NP *yax* 'ice', ? Sq. *iθ* 'cold' (cf. IIFL II: 555).

izaznæ (D.) 'рычаг', 'лом' ('lever, crow-bar')

< **vi-zāzanā-*; cf. Oss. *izazun* : *izæzt* (D.) 'to lift up [with a handle]', Khot. *bi-ysamj-* 'to seize, take', Av. *zā-* 'to rise, stand up', pres. *zaz(ā)-* (cf. Hoffmann-Forssman: 205 f.), Š. *zāz-* : *zāzā-*, Yz. *zaz-* : *zēzā-* 'to take, obtain, adopt', Orm. *zōz-* 'id.', Iš. *zēz-* 'to lift up' (EVS: 109 f.).

♦ The stem-vowel of the verb *izazun* and the corresponding deverbal *izaznæ* is

secondary: the verb is apparently remodelled after the other transitive-causative verbs with stemvowel *-a-*.

izær 'вечер' ('evening')

< PIr. **uz-ajara-*; LAv. *uzaijara-* (n.) 'afternoon', cf. (prefixed) Y. *wuzjir*, M. *wuzjir* 'yesterday', Zāz. *uzjēr* (m.) 'id.' (Malmisanij: 377), Khot. *pašāra-*, *pašāra-* < **pari-uzajara-*, Išk. *užjir* 'evening' (< **pari-uzajara-* ?), NP *bāžērāb* 'night-watch' < **upa-uzajara-*, Pš. *brezar*, *barezar* 'early morning' < **upara-uzajara-*.

◆ On initial *i-* in both dialects see *Alphaeresis*, § 3.3.1c.

J

jæfs | **æfsæ** 'кобыла' ('mare')

< PIr. f. **asjā-*; Av. *aspā-* (f.), Khot. *asā-* (SVK III: 19), Pš. *āspa* (f.), Skt. *āśvā-* (f.) 'mare', etc.

◆ The masculine and generic term of 'horse' is *bæx* in Oss.

jæw 'посо' ('millet')

< PIr. **iaua-*; LAv. *iaua-* (m.) 'corn, grain', Sogd. *yw-*, MP, NP *jaw* 'barley' (borrowed in Bal. as *jaw*, *jō*), Yağn. *yau* 'barley', M., Y. *yau*, *yōw* (collect.), W. *šaw* 'grain' (f. < Npl. **iaūāh*), Skt. *yāva-* (m.) 'grain, corn, crop', etc. Suffixed with **-ja-*: Pš. *yawē* (pl. f.), *yawye* (Waz., sg. f.) 'plough, ploughing, pair of plough-oxen' (< **yawjā-* 'work relating to corn' = Skt. *yawjā-* 'a stock of barley or fruit', *EVP*: 101).

K

kalm 'змея', 'червь' ('snake; worm')

< PIr. **kirmi-*; Sogd. (Man.) *kirm-* 'snake', MP, NP *kirm* 'worm, serpent', Pth. *kirm* 'comet', M. *karm* 'worm', Yağn. *kirm* 'id.', ? Av. *kərama-* (in *star. kərama-* m. 'a shooting star'), Skt. *kīrmi-* 'worm, maggot', etc.

kalyñ : **kald** | **kalun** : **kald** 'лить', 'проливать', 'сыпать', 'бросать на землю', 'валить', 'рушить' ('to pour, spill; to throw on the ground, to throw down', 'to pull down')

< ? **kārja-* < (caus.) **kāraja-*; ? Av. *kāraia-* 'to sow', Sogd. *kyr* 'to sow', Khz. *k'ry-* 'to sow (in)' (< **kāraja-*, Samadi: 99), Khot. *ker-* 'to plant' (< **kāraja-*, *JGS*: 23).

◆ The liquid *-l-* of *kalyñ* may stem from its (medio-)passive correspondence *kalyñ* (q.v.).

kard 'нож', 'сабля', (epic) 'меч' ('knife; sabre; [epic] sword')

< PIr. **karta-*; LAv. *karata-* (m.) 'knife' (< **kartā-*), Sogd. *krt* 'knife', MP, NP *kārd*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *kēr* (f.) 'id.', Yz. *kōrt* (< NP ?), Khot. *kaḍara-* 'cutting weapon, sword' (**kartara-*, *DKS*: 58b), Khz. *krc* (f.) 'knife' (**kurtjā-*, Benzing: 360), Pš. *čara* (**kartjā*, *EVP*: 19), Š. *čād* (f.) 'id.' (**kartjā-*, *EVS*: 25a), Y. *keřo*, M. *keřa* (Zarubin: 149) 'id.' (**kartjā-*, *IIFL* II: 219b), Bal. *karč* 'id.' (Barker II: 489).

◆ The connection with Skt. *kartā-* (m.) 'hole' is false, cf. *EWAla* I: 317, 390.

kark 'курица' ('hen')

< **k(a)rka-*; LAv. *kahrka-* (in compounds), MP, NP *kark* 'chicken, hen', Skt. *kṛka* 'in *kṛka-vāku-* 'rooster', Khot. *kriga-* 'cock' (with sec. nasal), ? Khz. *kRk* 'fowl, hen', Išk. *kark* 'hen', Pš. *čirga* 'hen' (**karkjā-*, *EVP*: 19, or **karkjā*, *CLI*: 401), Š. *čux*, Yz. *čix* 'cock', Š. *čax*, Yz. *karj* (f.) 'fowl, hen', Y. *kirio*, M. *karjja* 'hen' (**kṛkijā*, *IIFL* II: 219).

◆ Voiceless final *-k* of *kark* is odd. The expected Ossetic reflex of *k(a)rka-* is *†karg*, cf.

marg 'poison' (s.v.). According to Abaev, this irregularity is due to the onomatopoeic character of *kark*.

kæf 'рыба' ('fish')

< **kapa-*; Khot. *kava-* (Nsg. **ā*), Khz. *kəb*, *kəb* (f.), Pš. *kab* (m.), Sogd. *kəp*(?), ? Y. *kəp*, ? M. *kəp* 'fish' (borrowing from W. *kūp* ?), Sc. Παντι-κάτης (lit. 'path of the fish') name of a river in Scythia (Hdt.).

◆ For voiceless final *-f* see *Introduction*, § 0.7.5.12.

kælæn 'колдовство', 'чары', 'чародейство' ('witchcraft, sorcery')

< **karijana-* lit. '(magic) deed, sorcery'; cf. Sogd. (Chr.) *qyn* 'scripture, reading, lesson', Oss. *kənyñ* / *kənun* 'to do, make', Av. *kar-*, OP *kar-*, pres. *kunau-*, Skt. *kṛ-* 'id.', *kṛtyā-* (f.) '(magical) deed, sorcery', etc.

◆ Next to the meaning 'to do, make', the root **kar-* can also mean 'to practise witchcraft, sorcery'. This particular semantic development of **kar-* is old, having parallels in other Indo-European languages as well: Lith. *kerėti* 'to conjure', OCS *čarъ* 'sorcery'.

kælm | **kælmæ** 'червивый' ('wormy, worm-')

< **karmia-* (*Apocope*, § 1.2.1f.v); cf. Oss. *kalm* (q.v.).

kælyn : **kald** | **kælun** : **kald** 'литься', 'сыпаться', 'рушиться', 'спотыкаться' ('to flow; to be pulled down; to stumble')

< **kar-ia-*; cf. Oss. *kalyñ* 'to pour', s.v.

kænt (hарах, I.) 'здание' ('building')

< **kanthā-*; Khot. *kanthā-*, Sogd. *knth* 'city', Pš. *kandai* 'ward, quarter of a town' (**kanthaka-*), NP *kand* 'a village' (borrowing from Sogd. ?).

◆ I. *kænt* is attested only once in a bible translation (Mark 13:1). The vowel *-æ-* of *kænt* points to the former presence of final *-a-*, which would be preserved in Digoron (†*kænta*): **a* > Oss. *o* / -NC#, *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.2.ii.

kæræf (I.) 'жадный', 'алчный', 'жадность' ('greedy, gluttony')

< LW (?), cf. Av. *karapan* 'false prophete', also Mlr. *karaf* '?', NP (Tadj.) *karapuk* 'dief', Išk. *kṛpuk* 'to gnaw'.

◆ According to Abaev, *kæræf* is connected with Av. *karapan-* / *karpan-*, either directly or indirectly, *via* an East Iranian language.

kærnae (D.) 'здание', 'заданная работа' ('task, assignment')

< PIr. **karana-*; Skt. *kāraṇa-* (n.) 'id.'.

◆ Final *-a* most likely reflects Npl. n. **-ā*, see *Apocope*, § 2.2.3, fn.

kæron 'конец', 'край' ('border, boundary; finish')

< (thematized) **karāna-*; Av. *karana-* m. 'id.' (cf. Humbach 1969: 121 f.), Khot. *karā* 'line, *simā*, boundary' (SVK II: 32-34), Khz. *kr'n* (f.) 'side, edge' (Benzing: 359), Sogd. *kyn* 'side, direction' (for *-y-*, see *GMS*: 14-15), NP *karān*, MP, NP *kanār* (metathesized) 'district, border'. Different formation: LKhot. *karāna-* 'enclosure, ward, quarter of a town' (**karāna-*, rather than **karāna-*, see *SVK* II, s.v. *karā*).

◆ The Khotanese form *karā* has apparently preserved the original nominative ending, while the other Iranian forms show thematization of an old *n*-stem (from *Asg.*), which can be inferred from the Avestan form.

kæt (D.) 'конюшня' ('stable')

< PIr. *kata-; LAv. kata- (m.) 'store-room, cellar', ? Khot. kata- 'covered place, house' (uncertain reading, v. SVK I: 31), W. kut, kūt 'roof', Yz. kūd (pl. kadāb) 'house', NP kad 'id', ? Pš. kalai 'village' (v. EVF: 32).

keğog (D.) 'усадьба' ('farmstead')

< ? *kaṭṭa-gauka- (Gershevitch 1951: 138), *kaṭṭa-gauka-; cf. Oss. D. kaṭ 'horse-stable' + Oss. qug / gog 'cow'.

♦ There are no further reflexes of *kaṭṭa-, *kaṭṭa- in Iranian. If we accept the reconstruction of Gershevitch, we may compare the development of vowel *e* in keğog to *je* < *pati- (e.g. fidar / fedar), i-Epenthesis, § 4.6.3.

kinæ, kenæ (D.) 'мечь', 'отмщение' ('revenge, vengeance')

< PIr. *kaṇā-; GAv. kaṇā- (f.) 'revenge, punishment', MP kēn 'hate, malice, revenge', Pth. kēn 'revenge', Sogd. (Bud.) kēn- (in kēnfr 'entertaining hatred'), Khz. kēn- (in Khz. kēn f. 'hate, revenge', kēn-kwz 'hating, seeking revenge', Benzing: 371), NP kin, kinab 'hate, revenge, malevolence', Bal. kenay 'revenge'.

♦ The variant kenæ is peculiar: a plausible explanation cannot be given.

kom 'рот', 'отверстие', 'пасть'; 2. 'ущелье'; 3. 'острие' ('mouth', opening, beak; 2. 'gorge'; 3. 'point')

< ? *kaḥman- (cf. Ab. V: 15, s.v. gom), ? *kāma- < *kaḥman- (Bielmeier 1979: 169); cf. NP kām 'palate, mouth'. Borrowed or inherited (?): Khz. k'm (m.), Kurd. kam, M. kām, Š. kām, W. kōm, Par. kām, Pš. kūmai). Possibly related to Skt. kas- 'to split, burst, break': Khot. kḥa- 'to open' (assim. var. < *kaḥ-), Sogd. k'kh, k'xk 'palate'.

♦ The reconstruction of kom remains difficult, despite some attractive connections: the morphological analysis is unclear. The Ossetic form is not borrowed from Persian, in view of the polysemy displayed by kom.

²kom 'desire' (in -dæddyn / dæddun 'to agree')

< PIr. *kāma-; Av. kama- (m.), OP kama- (m.) 'id.', Sogd. (Bud.) k'm 'want, desire', MP, NP kām 'will, desire, purpose', Skt. kāma- (m.) 'wish, desire', etc.

komyn : kōymd | komun : kund 'соглашаться (что-либо сделать)', 'подаваться' ('to agree (to do something), give in')

< denominative *kāmaja-; Sogd. (Bud.) k'm 'to want, like', Khz. k'my- 'to desire, wish', Skt. kām-, kāmāyati 'desires, loves', cf. Oss. ²kom (s.v.).

kurn : kōyrd | korun : kurd 'просить' ('to ask, request')

Etymology unknown.

♦ Abaev suggests that kurn 'to ask', agurn 'to seek' and gōyryn / igurn 'to come into being, be born' share the same root *kur-, which is doubtful. A root *kur- which unites both meanings ('to ask' and 'to be born'), is attested nowhere. It is better to separate gōyryn (s.v.) from kurn (and agurn). The origin of kurn needs further clarification.

kusart | kosart 'животное, заколотое для трапезы' ('animal slaughtered in honour of a guest')

< *kauśatṭra- (ELO: 37-38); cf. Av. kaos- 'to slaughter', MP kuśtan 1. 'to kill, slaughter'.

koyz | kuj 'собака' ('dog')

< (f.) *kutti- (Sims-Williams 1979: 344); Sogd. (Man., Bud.) 'kw-, (Man.) kw-, Š., R, B. kud (m.), kid (f.) 'dog', etc.

♦ The feminine form has apparently become the generic term. The formation *kutti- can

be morphologically compared with the synonymous formation *sūni-, Skt. sūni- (PIr. *śun-) and also *urkei-, Skt. urkei- 'she-wolf' (m. *urka-). The masculine-feminine pair *kuta-: *kutti- is preserved in the Pamir languages (EVS: 40a).

On final -z / -j see i-Epenthesis, § 4.2.1.

kōynæg | kunæg 'малый (по количеству)', 'мало', 'скудный', 'оскудевший' ('little (of amount), scarce, impoverished')

< *kabna-ka-; Sogd. (Bud., Man.) kṣny, (Chr.) qbnq '(a) little', Pš. kōnkai, cf. Av. kamna- 'little'.

kōyræt | kuræt 'бешмет' ('beshmet [a kind of garment]')

Wanderwort; cf. Sogd. (Chr.) qwrty, qwrty 'shirt, tunic', Khot. (Bud. Skt.) kuratu-, Khz. k'ḥ 'garment, jacket', NP kurti 'waistcoat for women'; soldier's jacket', Tk. kōrtō 'quilted woman's robe', kūrūt 'short skirt', Lezg. kurt 'short furcoat', Lak kurtu 'beshmet', Georg. k'warti, Avar gverde 'shirt', etc.

♦ For the development *ab before *n cf. fyn (q.v.).

kōyroj | kurojnæ 'мельница' ('mill')

< Germ. (Goth.) *kʷern- + instr. suff. -oj / -ojnæ; Yass. kurainu 'mill'.

♦ This form, which is also attested in Yassic, is isolated in (Indo-)Iranian. In appearance and meaning, the Ossetic form bears the closest resemblance to Germanic forms like Goth. qairnus 'mill', ON kvern 'handmill', which have an impeccable Indo-European etymology (*gʷerHn-, Skt. grāvan- 'stone for pressing soma', Lith. girnos 'handmill', etc.). This suggests that the Ossetic form is a borrowing from a Germanic language, probably from the (East) Goths, who had intensive contacts with the Alans. The Alanic-Ossetic vocalisation of the labial feature of Germanic *kʷ is also displayed in nægōyn / nægūn 'bare' (s.v.).

On -oj / -ojnæ see Appendix, A § 13.

K

kiz | kesæ 'жесткий', 'грубый' ('coarse [of wool]')

< ? *kaisa-; Sogd. (Bud.) kysn'k 'jungle, luxuriant, dense'

♦ It is scarcely possible to connect kiz with Skt. kēśa- 'hair [of head]', since all Iranian correspondences rather show the reflex *gaisa-, including Oss. qis, s.v. Besides, kiz is only used as modifier: kiz qōyn 'coarse wool'. The etymon is possibly connected with Sogd. (Bud.) kysn'k.

Final -z of the Iron form is strange: no explanation can be given.

kynz | kinzæ 'невестка', 'невеста', 'кукла' ('bride (to be)', 'doll')

< *kaniṭ-ā-; Sogd. knc, NP kaniz, cf. Av. kaini-, Skt. kanyā- 'girl', etc.

♦ Abaev derives kynz from *kanti-, envisaging W. kēnd, kēnd 'married woman, wife' (? *kān-tā- 'the beloved (woman)', Geiger, apud IIFL II: 526), M. kintika 'girl' (also kintāka, kinkika). The reconstruction is morphologically improbable. A more plausible preform was given by Morgenstierne (1962: 161 f.), who equated the Ossetic form to Sogd. knc and NP kaniz, whence *kaniṭ-ā-. The suffix -ā- frequently functions as a common feminine marker in East Iranian languages, cf. Oss. -z / -zæ (Appendix, A § 1, 15).

kyzg | kizgæ 'девушка', 'девушка', 'дочь' ('daughter; girl')

< *kiz-akā- (Thordarson 1986: 278; 1990: 26); < Tk. qiz 'girl'.

- ◆ On this *kā*-formation see *Syncope*, § 2.2.1b.

K

k'annæg (I.) 'маленький', 'малый' ('small, little')

< ? **kānīa-ka-*, cf. NP *kanig*, Skt. *kanyaka-* 'smallest', cf. Oss. *kynz* (q.v.), (comp.) *k'addar* 'smaller'.

- ◆ On *k'annæg* see *Epenthesis*, § 4.4.5.

L

lacamarz (D.) 'неряшливый', 'неряха', 'грязнуля' ('shabby, dirty (person)')

< ? **rāḡa-ā-* + **marza-*, cf. Sogd. *r'ḡc* 'travelling the way', (Chr.) *r'ḡc* 'tramp, vagabond' and **marza-*, Oss. *marzyn* / *marzun* 'to wipe', Av. *marz-*, Skt. *mṛj-*, etc.

◆ According to Abaev, *lacamarz* goes back to **frasa-marza-*, the first part *laca-* reflecting **frasa-* < **parsa-* (Khot. *pā'sa-* 'pig, swine', LAv. *parsa-*, Lat. *porcus*, etc.) and the second part **marza-* < Slav. (cf. Russ. *merzkej* 'vile'). The postulated development **frasa-* < **parsa-* is phonologically improbable: neither **-ar-* can be metathesized to *-ra-*, nor can **s* become Oss. *c*. The examples quoted for the affricativization of old **s* can be explained differently: *barc* / *barca* 'manes' rather reflects **br̥stī-* (s.v.) and *faccare* 'on the saddle' is the result of assimilation (from *fāsare*). Perhaps, the first part *laca-* (dissimilated from **raca-*) reflects **rāḡa-ā-*, cf. Sogd. *r'ḡc*, *r'ḡc*. As for the second part, it is not necessary to consider it as a loanword, it may well be related to Oss. *marzyn* / *marzun* 'to wipe'.

læbæz 'ягодица' ('buttock')

< ? **fra-barzī-*; cf. s.v. Oss. *barz*.

lægoun | **lægun** 'бесшерстный', 'безволосый', 'голый', 'облезлый', 'лишенный растительности' ('hairless, bald, naked')

< Germ. **nakōna-*; cf. OSwed. *nakinn*, OFr. *naken*, Norw. *naken*, Swed. *naken*, Danish *nagen* 'naked', etc.

◆ *Lægoun* has undergone dissimilation of nasals: **n ... N > l ... N*, cf. *lamarz* 'Islamic prayer' (< NP *namāz*, Tk. *namaž* 'id.'), *malusæg* (I.) 'snowdrop' (< Arm. *manušak* 'violet').

lægzær, **læzgær** 'каменистые осыпи в горах, по которым протоптаны тропинки' ('scree')

< **fra-gzara-*; cf. Skt. *pra-kṣar-* 'to stream forth, ooze', LAv. *γzār-* 'to flow', etc.

læk'ærdæ (D.) 'сырость', 'слякоть', 'грязь', 'грязный' ('moisture, mud(dy)')

< ? **fra-kardā-*; cf. Skt. *karda-*, *kardama-* 'mud, dirt'.

◆ Abaev tentatively derives *læk'ærdæ* from *fra-karda-*, comparing it to Skt. *karda-*, *kardama-* (no certain etymology). The glottalized *k'* is odd, since we expect voiced *-g-*, if the Skt. correspondence is accepted.

læsæg (D.) 'лосось' ('salmon' [not documented])

< "Sl." **lasas(i)-* + **aka-*, cf. Russ. *losos'*.

◆ Morgenstierne (1934: 120) was the first scholar to connect the Ossetic form *læsæg* with OHG *lahs*, Lith. *lašiša*, Russ. *losos'*, etc., which led Benveniste (ELO: 125) to the following conclusion: "Voici maintenant que le même mot apparaît dans oss. *læsæg* «saumon» dont la forme continue exactement un ancien **lašā-*, i.e. **lakso-*. Il n'y a aucune raison de croire qu'oss. *læsæg* provienne d'une autre langue; ou s'il a été

emprunté, ce doit être à une date si ancienne qu'il avait encore sa forme indo-européenne. C'est là, sur la frange du monde scythique, une dénomination de haute antiquité, conservée avec **l* en ossète, et qui élargit à une partie de l'iranien l'aire du **lakso-* indo-européen." This reasoning is criticized by Abaev, since we do not have any reliable (Indo-)Iranian cognate forms. Besides, initial *l-* cannot be genuinely Iranian. We can only conclude that we are dealing with an early borrowing, probably from a Slavic source, which would best account for the subsequent developments: **lasas(i)* + **aka-* > **lassag* (syncope) > *læsæg*.

læsk, **læsk'** | **læskæ**, **læsgæ** 'пастьба чужого скота за плату в виде определённого процента приплода' ('pasturage against payment of a fixed percentage of young')

< pre-Oss. **las(a)kā-*; < Germ., cf. OE *lās*, Gsg. *lasue* 'pasture' (< **lās-ya-*), Eng. *lease* (< Fr. < Germ.), Goth. *lētan*, OHG *lari* (in *gōz-lari* 'Goslar'), etc.

◆ Abaev considers *læsk* as a so-called "Scytho-European isogloss", deriving *læsk* from IE **lad-to-ko-*, from **lē-*, **léd-*, **lād-* 'to grant, let'. We can indeed think of borrowing from a European language, which is most likely Germanic for historical reasons, viz. East Gothic.

lævar 'дар', 'подарок', 'даровой', 'бесплатный', 'даром', 'бесплатно' ('gift, present; for free')

< **fra-bāra-*; Av. *frabar-* 'to offer', OP *frābara-* 'to bestow', cf. Oss. (suppletive) ppp. *lævard* / *lævard* (*dæddyn* / *dæddun* 'to give').

◆ Initial *l-* is the result of dissimilation: **r ... r > l ... r*.

lævaræn (D.) 'охапка сена, подаваемая в один прием тому, кто сооружает копну, а также при даче корма скотине' ('a handful of hay, either presented, in one go, to someone, who is building a stack, or used as fodder')

< **fra-bar-ana-*; cf. Sogd. *pr̥f̥r'n* 'gave, gift', Oss. *lævar*, see above.

◆ *Lævaræn* does not show the expected syncope of medial vowel, which probably reflects influence of the formation *lævar*, or the past participle *læverd* / *lævard*.

læxoræn (D.) 'водопад' ('waterfall')

Etymology unknown.

◆ Abaev analyses this form as *læ-xcoræn*, connecting *xcor-* with *ğzoryn*, *zğoryn* 'to run', which is phonologically difficult: *xc* cannot come from *ğz*.

ligdon | **legdonæ** 'убежище' ('shelter, safe haven')

< **raika-dānā-*; cf. Oss. *lizon*: *lygd* / *lezun*: *liḡd* 'to run away', Av. *raēk-* 'linquere', *raēkah-* (n.) 'abandonment, retreat from -', MP *wirēg-* 'escape', NP *gurēg* 'id.', etc. and Oss. *don* / *donæ*, s.v.

◆ Initial *l-* points to influence from the verb *lizon* (which, in turn, has its *l-* from the past participle).

lyjyn : **lyd** | **lijun** : **lid** 'caccare'

< **rija-*; Av. *ri-*, MP, NP *ridan*, Kurd. *ritan* 'caccare', Skt. *ri-* 'to flow'.

lymæn | **limæn**, **nimæl** 'друг', 'приятель', 'любownik', 'любовница' ('friend, lover')

< (mid. ptc.) **frijamna-*; "Sm." Φλιμανακος, Φλειμαγος, Λειμανος, Λιμνακος, cf. Av. *fri-* 'to enjoy', *friia-* 'friend(ly)', Skt. *prī-* 'to please', Khot. *briya-* 'beloved, dear, treasured', Sogd. (Bud.) *pry*, (Man.) *fry* 'id.', etc.

◆ Ossetic *lymæn* cannot be derived from a medio-passive participle **frijmana-* of **fri-* 'to

love', as suggested by Abaev (cf. Skt. *priyamāna* 'beloved'). The reconstruction is morphologically impossible: the expected Iranian outcome is either **friamna-* or **frinamna-* (LAv. *frinamna-*), with thematic **-mna-*. The alternative reconstruction proposed by Harmatta (1950: 302-303), viz. **friia-manab-* 'freundlichen Sinn habend, freundlich gesinnt', meets both semantic and morphological objections. According to Harmatta, the (bahuvrīhi) compound would be the antonym of **dušmanab-* 'having a bad, hostile mind', which is implausible: the antonym of **dušmanab-* (Av. *dušmanab-*, Skt. *duṣmānas-*, Gr. *δυσμενής*) is rather **hu-manab-* 'having a good mind' (LAv. *humanab-*, Skt. *humānas-*, Gr. *εὐμενής*). Secondly, the interpretation of **friia-manab-* would be either 'friend of mind', cf. Sogd. (Man., Chr.) *fry* 'fan, -phile' (e.g. *fryhrušn* 'friend of light'), or 'having a kind, pleasant mind' (cf. *priyātman-* 'having a pleasant character'), which does not easily develop to 'friend, lover'. A more straightforward etymology is to treat *hman* as a derivative of **fri-*, viz. the mid. ptc. **friamna-* 'beloved', to which apocope and syncope have applied: > **(f)liam-* (rise of vocalic **-p-*) > **(f)liaman-* (vocalization of **p-*) > **liaman* (syncope).

lysk' | lisk'æ 'яички вишей', 'гнида' ('nits')

< PIr. **riškā-*; Sogd. *ršk-*, Yağn. *rišk-*, Y. *riško*, Pš. *ričā* (**riškā-*, CLL: 405), Išk. *ršk-*, Kurd. *rišk-*, NP *rišk* 'nit', Skt. *liṣkā-* (f.) 'nit'.

M

mad | madæ 'мать' ('mother')

< PIr. **mātar-*, Nsg. **mātā-*, Av. *mātar-* (f.), OP *mātar-* (in *hamātar-* 'having the same mother'), Khot. *māta*, *mātar-*, Khz. *m'd* (f.), Sogd. (Bud.) *m'th*, (Man.) *m't*, MP *mād*, *mādar*, Pth. *m'd*, Pš. *mōr* (**mātr-*, EVP: 45), Š. *mōd*, R. *mod*, (pl. *modēry*), Sq. *mud* (**mātā-*, EVS: 43), NP *mādar*, Bal. *māt*, (EHB) *māθ*, Sang. *moy*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *ma-* (**mātā*) in designation of female animals (e.g. *maker* 'she-ass' vs. *ker* 'ass'), Skt. *mātār-* (f.), etc.

♦ The plural of *mad* / *madæ* is *maddelta* / *maddelta*. The sequence *-al* has also spread to other kinship terms, especially to D. *wosæ* 'woman, wife', pl. *wostelta* (but I. *us* / *wosæ*, pl. *ustylar*), but curiously enough also in *sast* 'wool', pl. *sastelta*, which is cited in OJaF: 388.

mağz 'мозг' ('brain, marrow')

< PIr. **mazga-*; Av. *mazga-* (m.), Sogd. *mγz-*, Khot. *mājsā* (Lsg.), MP *mazg*, NP *mağz*, Bal. *mağz* 'marrow, brain', Pš. *māyzā* (m.) 'marrow, kernel', Yz. *mūyz* 'marrow, brain', Kurd. (Kurm.) *mēj* (m.), *mējū* (f.) 'brain' (Omar: 401-402), Zāz. *māzu* (LW from Kurd., pace EVS: 46, s.v. *mōžg*), also *mēz* (m.) 'brain' (Malmisanij: 216b).

mard 'убитый', 'мертвый', 'мертвец', 'покойник', 'труп', 'смерть' ('killed, died; dead, deceased, corps; death')

< PIr. **mrta-*; Av. *marata-*, Skt. *mṛtā-*, Sogd. *mrt-*, MP *murdag* 'dead', etc.

marḡ 'ял' ('poison')

< PIr. **maraka-*; LAv. *mahrka-* (m.) 'destruction, death' (**mārka-*), GAv. *maraka-* 'id.', MP, NP *marḡ* 'death', Kurd. (Kurm.) *merḡ* 'death' (m.), 'dying', Bal. *marḡ* 'death', Skt. *markā-* (m.) 'destruction, death', *mārka-* (m.) name of a demon.

marḡ 'птица' ('bird')

< PIr. **mrga-*; LAv. *marḡu-* (m.n.), Khot. *mura-*, Khz. *'my*, *mγ* (m.f.), Sogd. *mry*, MP *murw*, NP *murḡ*, Pš. *marḡ* (m.) 'bird', W. *merḡ* 'female ibex', Skt. *mrgā-* (m.) 'wild animal'.

♦ The meaning of the word has been narrowed in Iranian. The originally broader meaning is preserved in Sanskrit: *mrgā-* (m.) means basically 'wild animal, game', while the meaning 'bird' is only attested in the descriptive expression *mrgā- ... patāru-* 'a kind of large bird', lit. 'a flying animal' (EWAsia II: 371).

max 'мы', 'нас', 'наш' ('we, us, our')

< **ahmāxa(m)*; Av. *ahmāka-*, OP *amāxam* (Gpl.) 'our', Sogd. *m'x*, MP *amā*, NP *mā*, Yağn. *mox*, Y. *māx* 'we', *amāx* (Gen.), M. *mox*, *māx*, *āmāx* (Gpl.) 'we, us', Sangl. *amāx*, *amāx*, Išk. *mux* 'we', Yz. *mox* 'we, us', Bal. *māx* 'we', Skt. *asmākam* (Gpl.) 'our', etc.

♦ On the loss of the initial vowel see *Alphaeresis*, § 3.2.1.

mæcyn | mæcun 'валиться в чем-либо жидком' ('to wallow in something watery')

(pass.) **maθja-* (Weber 1993: 105-106); Skt. *math-*, (pass.) *mathyāte* 'is stirred', cf. Oss. *γzmentyn* / (*α*)*zmentun* 'to mix, to stir'.

♦ Abaev derives *mæcyn* from an Iranian base **maxs-*, **mač-* 'to become moist, to wet', envisaging a connection with either Sl. *močiti* 'to wet, moisten', etc. (cf. Abaev, SEI: 16) or MP *mēzidan*, NP *māzidan* 'to suck'. These etymologies, which are fraught with phonological and semantic difficulties, can be obviated. Weber (ibid.) has convincingly shown that *mæcyn* is the old passive of **manθ-*, Oss. *γzmentyn*.

mæj | mæjæ 1. 'луна', 'месяц'; 2. 'месяц' (единица времени) ('moon; month [also as measure of time]')

< Lsg. **māhja-*, OP (Lsg.) *māhyā*, cf. GAv. *mā*, Skt. *mās-* (m.), Sogd. *m'x*, Yağn. *māb*, *māx* < **maha-ka-* (on the thematization v. Kuiper 1960: 162), etc.

♦ The shortening of **ā* before **ās* is a quite common, but irregular development in many (East) Iranian languages, e.g. Av. *vaiin-* 'wind' (Skt. *vāyā-*), Av. *asāiia-* 'without shadow', Sogd. *sy'eb* 'shadow' (NP *sāyah*, Skt. *chāyā-* 'id.').

The final *-æ* of the Digoron form is odd, probably reflecting the locative.

mæjdar (+ Gsg. *æxsævy*) I. 'темная, безлунная ночь' ('dark, moonless night')

< *mæj* + *tar* 'dark' (s.vv.).

♦ According to Emmerick (1989: 95-98; SVK III: 152), the Ossetic expression *mæjdar* has a Khotanese correspondence: (OKhot.) *ṣṣavāmāra-*, (LKhot.) *ṣamāra-* 'impenetrable darkness' < *ṣṣavā-* 'night' and **māba-tanθra-* 'moon darkness'.

mæłzyg | mulžug 'муравей' ('ant')

< **maruṣṭaka-*; Khot. *munjaka-* (with *-m-* < **-r-* before cons.), Sogd. *m'wrc*, Pš. *mēžay*, (Wap.) *mērža*, Š. *mūrjak* (and other Pam. languages), NP *mōrčab*, Bal. *marvōi*, Sivandi *muriy*, cf. LAv. *maoiri-*, Skt. *vamrā-* (m.), *vamrī-*, *vamraka-* 'ant', etc.

♦ For the vocalism see *On *u, *y*, § 6.2.3.

mælyn | mæłun 'умирать' ('to die')

< **marja-* < PIr. **mrja-*; Av. (pres.) *miria-*, Khz. *'my-*, Skt. (pres.) *mriyāte* 'dies', cf. Oss. *maryn* / *marun* (< caus. **māraja-*), Skt. (caus.) *mārāyati* 'kills', etc.

♦ Derived from this verb is *mælat* 'death' (< **marjaθa-*).

mæn Gsg. 1. 'меня'; 2. 'мой' (1. '(of) me'; 2. 'mine, meus')

< Gsg. **mana-*; LAv. (Gsg.) *mana*, OP *manā*, Sogd. *mn-*, Skt. *māma* (with sec. *-m-*), etc.

mænæ 'вот', 'вот здесь' ('over here, *voici*)

< Lsg. **imanā-*; cf. Av., OP *ima-*, Sogd. *'m-* 'this (here)', *m(r)ð*, Khot. *ma(ra)* 'here', etc.

♦ Abaev suggests a connection with Turkic: Uzb., Kirg., Uigur *mānā*, Karač., Kum.

muna, Balk. *muja* 'id.'. The similarity in form and meaning between the Ossetic and some Turkic forms is rather pure chance, as the most likely Turkic sources of borrowing either do not have such a correspondence (Nogay, Azeri) or show a form with a different vocalism (Kum., Balk.). The preform **imanā* is comparable to OP Isg. *avanā* (*ava-* 'that').

I. *manā* has final *-a*, which is also found in other adverbs, cf. *Ароскоп*, § 1.4.3.

mart (I.) 'мера сыпучих тел, преимущественно зерна' ('measure of dry substances, chiefly of grain')

< NApl. n. or f. sg. **hmar-thrā(-)* lit. 'counting marks (?)', μέτρον; LAv. *marθra-* (n.) 'mark, the keeping in mind', cf. Sogd. *pemr-*, Khot. *sumār-*, Khz. *'mr-* 'to count; consider' (**hišmara-*, Samadi: 111), MP *ōsmurdan* 'to count', NP *na-hmār* 'countless', Oss. *nymaz* 'number' (q.v.), etc.

♦ If the Ossetic form *mart* (I.) is related to the root **mā-* 'to measure', Skt., Av. *mā-*, as proposed by Benveniste (ELO: 37) and accepted by Abaev, we are then faced with the puzzling vowel *-e-*, which should go back to short **-a-*. The ablaut forms of the Ilr. root **mā-* 'to measure' can only be **māH-* and **mi-*, being derived from IE full grade **mēH₁-* (also lengthened grade **mēH₁-* ?) and zero grade **mH₁-* respectively. *Mart* may in fact contain the root **hmar-* 'to remember, keep in mind' (Av. *mar-*, Skt. *smar-*), which has developed the meaning 'to count, reckon' in many Iranian languages. Incidentally, the reflex of **mā-* is attested in Oss. *nymajyn* / *nimajyn* 'to count, to value, esteem', see s.v.

As pointed out by Benveniste (l.c.), I. *mart* implies POss. **martā*, which would be the expected D. form. As a rule, short **-a-* has become Oss. *-a-* before *-CC#*, see *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.ii. For the treatment of **-rθr-* see s.v. *wart* 'shield'.

matyx (I.) 'саранча', 'акиды' ('locust')

< LW, cf. Khz. *mθx* (ELO: 17-18, 145); ? Ματυκέται a Scythian tribe (Hecataeus), Av. *maḍaxā-*, Arm. *marax* (< Wlr. **maḍax*), NP *maig*, Bal. *madag*, etc.

♦ Ossetic *matyx* shows devoicing of intervocalic **d* > (East Iranian **δ* >) **θ*, which is not a regular development in Ossetic. In several East Iranian languages the development occasionally takes place, especially in Khz., e.g. *sb'θ* 'army' (< **spāda-*), *θ-* 'provided with' (< **hada-*).

mid- | **med-** [first element of compounds] 'в', 'внутри', 'внутренний' ('in, inside, internal')

< **madia-*; LAv. *maidūia-*, Skt. *mādhyā-* 'middle', Š. *mīḍ*, R. *mēḍ*, Sq. *meḍ* 'middle, waist', Yz. *məḍ* 'middle'. With suffix: Sogd. *myḍ'kēk*, *m'yḍ'kē* 'mediocre, insignificant', Khot. *myāna-*, MP *miyān* 'middle, centre; between', M. *malōn*, *molān* 'middle, waist', Š. *mīḍēn* 'in the middle of', Yz. *maḍēn* 'belt, loins' (< **-āna-*, EVS: 43b, s.v. *mīḍ*), (adj.) *maḍēn* 'middle'.

♦ A derivative of *mid-* / *med-* is *midæg* / *medæg(a)* 'in, within', which is employed as a postposition in Ossetic. For the vocalism see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.3.

miğ | **meğæ** 'облако', 'гуча', 'туман' ('[black] cloud; fog')

< **maiga-*; LAv. *maēya-* (m.) 'cloud', MP, NP *mēy* 'cloud; mist', Pth. *myg* 'cloud', Y. *mīy*, M. *mēy* 'id.' (< NP ?), ? Khot. *myo*, *myan* 'storm' (**miga-*, **mīgā-* or **mīgāya-*, DKS: 341a), Skt. *meghā-* (m.) 'cloud; misty weather', etc.

♦ For final *-a* in the D. form see *Ароскоп*, § 1.2.1e.iii.

Miğdaw (I.) 'божество, почитавшееся в особенности в Алагирском ущелье' ('divinity,

especially revered in the Alagir gorge')

< **maiga±dawā-*, cf. Oss. *miğ* (see above).

♦ According to Abaev, the compound *miğdaw* derives from **maiga-tayab-* 'cloud-strong', of which the second element is connected with *dawæg* 'divinity'. Since *dawæg* originally meant '(someone) who chases away' (q.v.), *miğdaw* may rather be interpreted as 'cloud chaser'. The compound might have been relatively transparent until recently, cf. *Syncope*, § 2.3.1c.

mil | **mel** 1. 'сажа, черное пятно'; 2. 'мишень' ('soot, black spot'; 'bull's eye')

< ? Gr. μέλας 'black, dark'.

♦ The etymology of *mil* is uncertain. The reconstruction, cautiously suggested by Abaev, viz. **marja-* (> **mailja-* > **mel*), Skt. *māla-* n. 'dirt, impurity', is phonologically unlikely (despite his own assertion that there are no formal and semantic obstacles). The semivowel **-jñ* position after **r* would have affected the liquid (> *ʃ*), but not the preceding vowel, cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.9. Also, we expect the appearance of final *-a* in D., see *Ароскоп*, § 1.2.1f.v. But, since there are no Iranian correspondences of Skt. *māla-*, Abaev wonders whether *mil* is a borrowing from Greek, dating back to the "Scythian" period. There is also the pl. *milta* / *melta* 'trimmed moustache of a young man'. Incidentally, Gr. μέλας is considered to be related to Skt. *māla-*, cf. *EW Aia* II: 332 f.

minavar 'лицо, уполномоченное вести переговоры между двумя сторонами, например на войне, при примирении кровников, при сватовстве и пр.', 'посол', 'посланец', 'посланник', 'посредник' ('person who is authorized to conduct negotiations with both sides, e.g. in wartime, reconciliation of family members involved in a feud, match-making and so on'; 'ambassador; messenger; mediator')

< **manā-bara-*; El-OP *Manyaparra* PN (Benveniste 1966: 87), Sogd. *myn'šr* 'authorized', cf. Av. *man-* 'to think', Skt. *māna-* (m.) 'opinion; pride, honour, respect', *mānya-* 'honourable', etc. and **bara-*, Av. *bar-*, Skt. *bhar-* 'to carry', etc.

♦ The assimilation of **-ni-* > **-ñ-* gave rise to both epenthesis (*i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.5) and secondary *-a-* (*Ароскоп*, § 1.2.2b.i).

mix | **mex** 'кол' ('stake')

< **maiñsa-*; OP *mayñsa* (m.) 'a peg-like object (doorknob ?)', Sogd. *mygkē*, NP *mēx*, Kurd. *mīx*, Pš. *mēx*, Š. *māx* 'peg, nail', (?) Y. *max*, M. *mōx* 'peg' (**maxa-*, IIFL II: 229a), Skt. *mayñkha-*, etc. Also borrowed in Tk. *mīx*, *mīh*, Lezg. *mīx* 'peg', and in Permian, Zyry. *majōg*, Udm. *majeg* 'stake', etc.

♦ For more details of *mix* / *mex* see *Syncope*, § 2.2.3.

mizg | **mezgæ** 'мочевой канал' ('urinary canal')

< **maizakā-*; Khot. *mīysa-*, Y. *mīzgo*, M. *mīzga* (**maizakā-*, IIFL II: 230a), W. *mīzg*, NP (Tadj.) *mēzak* (but MP *mēzag* ?), Bal. (EHB) *mēzag*, *mīzag* 'urine'.

♦ For more details on this *kā*-formation see *Syncope*, § 2.2.1b.

moj | **mojnæ** 'муж' ('husband')

< **dmanja-*; LAv. *nmānīta-* 'belonging, pertaining to the house' (*n-* from *d-*), OP *māniya-* 'household slave', MP *mānig* 'household member', cf. (semantically) Lat. *dominus* 'lord' (derived from *domus* 'house').

♦ The reconstruction provided by Abaev, viz. **manu-* (Skt. *mānu-* (m.) 'man, mankind', LAv. *manuš.āθra-* PN 'offspring of Manu'), is phonologically improbable, leaving the

vocalism unexplained, even if we assume the presence of an additional suffix **-ia*, cf. Bichelmeier (1979: 197). Furthermore, Abaev's etymology is unsatisfactory, as the Ossetic form *moj* exclusively means 'husband', while the reflexes of **manu-* usually mean 'man, human'²⁸. Therefore, I propose to connect *moj* with LAv. *nmānia-* 'belonging, pertaining to the house'. This rather evasive designation for 'husband' must be seen in the Caucasian context, where tradition prescribes that spouses cannot refer to each other by name, cf. (s.v.) *afsin* for 'wife'.

For the rise of *-j-* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.5.

morz (D.) 'короткий' ('short')

< **m(a)rzu-*; LAv. *marzu-jiti-* 'short living', Sogd. *murz, murzē* 'short', Khot. *mulysga-* 'id.' (< **mrzuka-*), Skt. *mūhur* (< **mṛhur*) 'on short notice, suddenly'.

♦ I. *murzæg* 'part of carcass' (Av. *marzu-* 'vertebra') is probably related to *morz*. On the vocalism see On **u, *y*, § 6.4.

mus | **mos** 'площадка для молотбы', 'ток' ('threshing floor')

< ?; cf. Abaza LW *maš₀* 'id.'.

♦ Except for the Abaza correspondence, there are no certain connections for *mus*. According to Abaev, the preform may be **mašy-*, with subsequent *u*-epenthesis *mauš-* (for *u*-epenthesis see On **u, *y*, § 6.4), which is speculative in absence of any correspondences (other than Abaza *maš₀*).

myd | **mud** 'мед' ('honey')

< **madu-*; LAv. *madu-* (n.) 'an alcoholic drink', Khot. *man* 'intoxicating drink', Sogd. *mōw, mūd*, Khz. *mō-* in *mōyū* 'weinfarben', MP, NP *may* 'wine', Skt. *mādhu-* (n.) 'sweet drink, sweetness, honey, Soma', milk', etc.

♦ *Myd* shows *u*-umlaut, v. On **u, *y*, § 6.2.1.

myst | **mistæ** 'мышь' ('mouse')

< **mūs*; Av. (f. ?) *mūs* a certain daēvic being, Sogd. *muš* 'mouse', Khz. (f.) *muf*, NP *mūš*, Skt. (m.f.) *mūś*, etc.

♦ The origin of final *-i* / *-ta* is uncertain: it possibly reflects the ubiquitous suffix **-ti-ā* (see *Appendix*, A § 1), with simplification of the consonant cluster **-st-*, cf. s.v. *is*. The presence of **-ti* might account for the Digoron vocalism, see On **u, *y*, § 6.3.

mysyn : **myst** | **imisun** : **mist** 1. 'придумывать', 'надумать', 'задумать', 'сочинять', 'измышлять', 'изобретать'; 2. 'вспоминать'; 3. 'думать о ком- или о чем-либо с тоской', 'тосковать, скучать по ком-либо' (1. 'to consider, bear in mind; to conceive, invent'; 2. 'to recall'; 3. 'to think about someone or something with nostalgia, to long for someone')

< **yi-mi-sa-* (Gershevitch 1952: 486); cf. Skt. *mi-* 'to fix, fasten; to judge, observe, perceive, know', (desid.) *mitsa-*, (with *vi-*) *vi-mi-* 'to fix, build, erect', MP *wmyb-* 'to fashion, shape, create', *wmys* 'fashioning, shaping'.

²⁸ In V: 19, Abaev suggests that the general meaning has been preserved in (D.) *mantia* (pl. of *mojna*) *zwar*, which is translated as 'patron saint of men' (referring to *Wazgergi* 'St. George'). This expression would be synonymous to the more commonly used (L.) *legty zwar*. His argument is not compelling, as both expressions *mantia zwar* and *legty zwar* are used euphemistically by women, who are not allowed to pronounce the name of the god *Wazgergi* due to a taboo.

♦ In Iron, we find the prefixed form *ar-ymysyn* (= D. *ar-imisun*). Abaev reconstructs for the Ossetic verb: (IE) **yi-mṛ-s-* > (IIr.) **yi-mas-* (cf. Khot. *vamas-* 'to experience') > (POss.) **imis-*. The latter development is phonologically improbable, however: **a* > POss. **i* (> Oss. *y* / *i*) is only possible in the proximity of *n*, cf. (s.vv.) *ingan* 'grave', *nyx* / *nix* 'nail', *tyngyn* / *itinyun* 'to spread'. We expect the (IIr.) preform **yi-mṛs-*, as reconstructed by Abaev, to yield Oss. *†masyun* / *†imasun*. Also, the suggestion of Morgenstierne (1942: 268) to connect *mysyn* with Skt. *vimṛs-* 'to touch (mentally), perceive' is phonologically impossible. If we accept the connection of Gershevitch (1952: 486) with the MP forms, to which we can add Skt. correspondences, the original meaning of *mysyn* was probably something like 'to create a mental picture'. The Iranian forms would therefore point to an old inchoative formation.

myzd | **mizd**²⁹ 'заработная плата', 'плата наемному работнику', 'вознаграждение за труда, за услугу' ('wages, wages for a hired worker', 'recompensation for labour, favour') < **mižda-*; GAv. *mižda-* (n.) 'wages, reward', Khot. *miždām, māždāna-* 'bounteous, bestowing rewards, wages', Sogd. (Anc.Lett.) *myzδ*, MP *mižd* 'reward, hire, pay', NP *mužd* 'id.', Kurd. *miž* (m.) 'tribute, levy' (also *mužd* 'reward' < NP), Skt. *mīdhā-* (n.) 'booty, spoils of war', etc.

N

Naf 'название божества и праздника' (name of a divinity and also a holiday)

< **nafab-*; LAv. *nāfab-* (n.) 'kinship, family', Sogd. *nʿf* 'people, nation', MP, NP *nāf* 'family', etc.

♦ The divinity *Naf* is considered to be the protector of the inhabitants of a settlement, cf. LAEM: 103a.

na(f)æ D. 'пупок' ('navel')

< **nāfā-*; LAv. *nāfa-* (m.) 'navel', 'family', MP *nāf* 'family', *nāfag* 'navel', Sogd. *nʿf*, Khot. **nāba-*, Gsg. *nebā* 'navel', Khz. *nʿf* 'town', *nʿfyk* 'umbilical cord; *Moschus-beutel*, Š. *nāf* 'navel', etc.

♦ The Sanskrit and other Indo-European correspondences of Iranian **nāfā-* are derived from the preforms **H₃nēbh-*, **H₃nōbh-*, with postvocalic **-bh-*. The Iranian forms rather point to a preform with **-f-*. Evidently, we are dealing with a specifically Iranian peculiarity. This feature is possibly the result of some sort of contamination, perhaps with the semantically related "nephew"-word and its derivative: **napāt-* 'grandson', **naftiia-* 'belonging to the offspring'. The relation with *naf* (s.v.) is apparent, but its exact nature is unclear.

naj | **inajæ** 'молотба' ('threshing')

< **yi-snāiā-*; cf. LAv. *snā-* 'to wash', Oss. *najyn* 'to bathe'.

♦ The preform given by Abaev, viz. **snāti-*, needs to be corrected, as it does not take into account initial *i-* of the D. form, which probably goes back to the preverb **yi-*. In addition, **-ti* would not have yielded Oss. *-j* / *-ja*, see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.1.

naræg 'тонкий', 'узкий', 'тесный', 'теснина', 'ущелье' ('thin, narrow; ravine, gorge').

²⁹ Earlier (OJaF: 390), Abaev mentioned *mižda*, which is possibly derived from pl. **miždā* (?).

< **nāraka*-. Khz. *n'ryk* 'thin, narrow', Pš. *narāi* 'slender, fine, narrow', cf. Sogd. *sn'r* 'short (of sleep)', Gershevitch (1970: 306).

naw | **nawæ** 'корабль' ('ship')

< **nāwā*-. < **nāw*-. OP *nāw*-, Skt. *nāw*-(f), Khot. *no*, Sogd. *n'w* 'ship', etc.

♦ *Naw* / *nawæ* has been thematized, see *Apocope*, § 1.3.1b.

næl 'самец', (rarely) 'мужчина' ('male, [rarely] man')

< **narja*-. LAv. *nairiia*-(adj.) 'male, virile', Sogd. *nyrk*, Skt. *nārya* 'id.', etc.

♦ The genuine D. form *nala*, which Abaev does not cite, was noted by Šegren (1844: 417) as *nale*. In modern Digoron, the form disappeared in favour of the more common *næl* (in plural and compounds). Final *-æ* in (obs.) D. *nala* is the result of paragoge, see *Apocope*, § 1.2.1f.v.

næw | **næwæ** 'молодая трава', 'мурава', 'дерн', 'целина' ('young grass, grass', 'turf', 'virgin soil')

< n. pl. **naŋā*; LAv. *naunia*-'new, fresh', Š. *naw*, R. *naw*, *nāw* 'new', Kurd. (Kurm.) *nū* 'new, fresh, young', Skt. *nāwa*-'new, fresh, young', etc.

♦ For final *-æ* in Digoron see *Apocope*, § 1.2.1f.v.

næwæz | **næwæzæ** 'девяносто' ('ninety')

< **naŋati*-. Av. *naunaiti*-, Khot. *nautā*, Sogd. *nw't*, Khz. *nw(y)c*, MP *navad* 'id.', Skt. *navatī*-, etc.

♦ For final sequence *-z* / *-zæ* see *Apocope*, § 1.2.2c.i.

nik'æd (D.) 'зарубка', 'нарезка', 'насечка' ('carve, cut')

< **ni-kata*-. cf. LAv. *ni-kan*-'to dig in', Š. *nikin* 'carve, incision'.

♦ Abaev derives *nik'æd* from an old ppp. **ni-kata*-, from **kan*-'to dig', cf. Š. *nikin*. In fact, the whole verb **ni-kan-* does exist in Ossetic: *nygany*: *nygæd* / *niḡanun*: *niḡæd*. The ejective velar is of Caucasian origin, but it can be found in some genuine Iranian forms as well, replacing Oss. voiceless *-k-*, see *Introduction*, § 0.7.5.11. The reason for the presence of the ejective in *nik'æd* is unclear, but according to Abaev, it is "expressive" in character, which is an unsatisfactory explanation.

niwyn : **niwd** | **newun** : **niwd** 'выть' ('to cry')

< **naŋi*-. MP *navidan* 'to complain', Sq. *niw*, *new*-. *niwd* 'to weep', W. *new*-. *niwd* 'id., to wail', Š. *nāw*-. *nind* 'to weep', Skt. *nāuti* 'to cry', Kurd. *new-new* 'mew'.

♦ For the vocalism of this verb see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.1.

niz | **nez** 'болезнь' ('disease')

< **naizā*-. LAv. *naizā*-(m.) name of a certain illness, Sogd. *ny'zky*n 'impotent', ? Kurd. *nēz* 'starvation, hunger'.

nom | **nom** 'имя', 'известность', 'слава' ('name; fame')

< NAsg. **nāma*; Av. *nāman*-(n.) 'name', OP *nāman*-, Skt. *nāman*-(n.), *nāma* (NAsg.), 'name, designation, sign, property', Khot. *nāma*, Sogd. *n'm*, MP, NP *nām*, Bact. *vaṃo*, Y. *nom* (< NP ?), Pš. *nūm* (m.), Š. *nužm*, R. *nom*, Sq. *num*, Yz. *nom*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *nav* (m.) 'name', etc.

nostæ (D.) 'невестка' ('daughter-in-law')

< (sec. ablaut) **snauš*-. Sogd. *šwnšb*, Bact. *ασνωουο*, Skt. *snusā*-'daughter-in-law'.

nudæz, **ænudæz** | **næwdæz** 'девятнадцать' ('nineteen')

< **naŋadasa*, Av. *naunadasa*, Khz. *nw'žyr*, *nw'žs*, MP *noždab*, Skt. *nāvadaśa* 'id.', etc.

♦ Initial *-æ-* in I. *ænudæz* is strange. Abaev suggests a connection with the so-called prothetic vowel of 'nine' in Gr. *ἐνα-κῆ-δεκάτη* '19', Arm. *inn*, Thrac. *ενεα* '9', which must be discarded. The "prothetic" vowel in the Greek, Armenian and Thracian forms goes back to an initial, pre-consonantal laryngeal, which would not be vocalized in Indo-Iranian, Ossetic included. It is more likely that the initial *-æ-* in *ænudæz* originated in the preceding numerals 16, 17 en 18: *æxsardæz*, *avddæz*, *æstdæz*, cf. MP, NP *bašt* '8', with *b-* from *haft* '7'.

For the result *-u-* in Iron see *Syncope*, § 2.3.1a.

nuk | **nokæ** 'желоб' ('gutter')

< **naŋ(a)kā*- or LW ?; cf. Bashkardi *nox*, *nüög*, *nawök* 'canal', (?) Kurd. *nāokhā* 'gutter' (Soane 1913: 198), M. *nawago*, Y. *nawogō* 'mill-race', Sangl. *nawök* 'id.', also Av. *nānuaiia*-'navigable', OP *nāviya*-'id.', NP *nāv* 'canal, aqueduct', Pš. *nāwā* 'gutter, tube' (< NP ?, v. EV/P: 54), Osm. *nāwa* 'valley', Par. *nāx* 'roof-gutter' (IIFL I: 277b).

♦ For the medial vowel see *Syncope*, § 2.2.1b.

Nuzal | **Nozalæ** (I.) 'название местности и селения в Алагирском ущелье', (D.) 'зеленый, свежий' ([I.] 'name of an Alagir settlement', 2. [D.] 'green, fresh')

< **naŋa-zāri-ā*-, Oss. *naw* (s.v.) and Av. *zāiri*-'yellow', Oss. D. *zaldæ* (q.v.).

nwar | **nawær** 'жила', 'сухожилие' ('sinew, tendon')

< **snānar*, LAv. *snāmar*-, Sogd. *sn'w* 'sinew', (different formation) Skt. *snāvan*-'sinew, tendon'.

♦ I. *-ma-* is contracted from **-amæ-*, v. *Introduction*, § 0.7.5.9.

nymajyn : **nymad** | **nimajun** : **nimad** 'считать (кого-, что-либо, а также кем-, чем-либо)', 'ценить', 'уважать', (sometimes) 'читать' ('to count, value, esteem; [sometimes] 'to read')

< **ni-māia*-. Sogd. *nm'y* 'to judge', MP *nimūdan*, pres. *nimay*-'to show, denote, indicate', Š. *nimōy*-. *nimēyd* 'to seem', et al., cf. Av. *mā*-'to measure', etc.

nymæc, **nymæz** | **nimæzæ** 'счет', 'число', 'численность', 'количество' ('calculation, number, quantity, amount')

< (?) **ni-māia-ā*-. + **-ā*-, cf. Oss. *nymajyn* / *nimajun*, see above.

♦ *Nymæc* cannot be separated from the above-mentioned verb *nymajyn*. Evidently, the short vowel *-æ-*, which cannot reflect a PIr. ablaut form (see s.v. *marf*), needs to be explained. Perhaps the vocalism *-æ-* is the result of two successive developments. In the first place, **ni-māiati*- could show shortening of **-ā-* before **-j-*, for which we can cite three clear instances: (s.vv.) *fajjaw*, *maj* / *māja*. Subsequently, the medial vowel became syncopated: **nimāia* > **nimāia* > **nimīa*-. For final *-z* / *-zæ* see *Appendix*, A § 1.

nymær | **(med)nimær** (+ *xi-* / *xe-*, as in *mæxi-nymær* / *mæxe-nimær*, etc.) 'про себя' ('for oneself')

< **ni(š)marā*-. (?) Š. (dial.) *niymār-t* 'to be obstinate' (EVS: 48b).

♦ *Nymær* is derived from an unattested verb **nymaryn* / **nimarun* < **ni(š)marā*-, containing the root **hmar*-, s.vv. I. *marf*, D. *fæsmarun* 'to know'. The medial **-j-* disappeared at an early stage, probably due to influence from the simplex.

nymæt | **nimæt** [I.] 1. 'войлок'; 2. 'бурка' ([I.] 1. 'felt'; 2. 'coat made of felt, burka')

< (borrowed ?) **namata*-. LAv. *namata*-, *nimata*-, Khot. *namta*-, (Tumš.) *nimata*-, *namade*, Sogd. *nmt*, Khz. *nmd*, MP *namad* 'felt'. Widely borrowed, e.g. in Skt. *namata*-, Arab. *namat*

(< Pers.), Vog. *nēmēt*, Osty. *nāmā*, Hung. *nemez* (< Al.).

◆ Voiceless final *-t* is strange, cf. *Introduction*, § 0.7.5.12. The vowel *-y-* / *-i-* in the first syllable from older **a* is due to the proximity of nasal *n*, cf. *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.iv.

nynd | **nindæ** 'диктуемая обычаем стыдливость, застенчивость, почтительное отношение' ('bashfulness, shyness, submissive attitude dictated by custom [e.g. of the young bride towards a male family-member of the husband]')

< **namatā(d)*; Khot. *nauda*, *nonda* 'homage' (Isg./Absg. **nam(f)ta(d)*, DKS: s.v. *namā*), cf. Av. *namah-*, Skt. *nāmas-* 'respect', etc.

◆ For the vocalism see *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.iv.

nyr | **nur** 'теперь', 'ныне' ('now, today')

< **nūram*; GAv. *nūrām*, LAv. *nūram* 'now, present', OP *nūram* 'now', Sogd. (Chr.) *nur* 'now', Khz. *nur* 'today', Sangl. *nēr*, Š. *nur*, Sq. *nir*, *nūr*, Yz. *nər* 'id.', MP, NP *nūn*, Pš. *nan*, Bal. *nūn* 'now', Skt. *nūnām* 'now, today'.

◆ Instead of assuming that Ir. **nūram* is a dissimilatory variant of **nūnam* (Skt. *nūnām*, Gr. *vūv*, etc.), as is done by Abaev, it is better to postulate the existence of two forms in Iranian: **nūram* and **nūnam*. Some languages have generalized **nūnam*, while others, like Ossetic, preferred the former. Both forms may be even of Ilr. origin, as we not only find **nūnam* in the Indic branch (exemplified by Skt. *nūnām*), but a reflex of **nūram* may be observed in the Dardic language Gawar-Bati as well: *nūri* 'now' (Turner 1966: 426-427, no. 7578).

nystwan | **nistawæn** 'поручение', 'наказ', 'завет', 'заповедь' ('task, regulation, last will; commandment')

< **ništāyan(a)*; cf. Av., OP *ni-štā-* 'to command', Aramaic *nštwān* 'decree' (< "Median" (< **ništāwana*, Hinz 1975: 176).

nyværzæn | **niværzæn** 'изголовье' ('head of the bed')

< **nibarzāna-*; cf. Av. *barzāš-* (n.) 'cushion', Khot. *nveysdya-* 'bow-case' (< **ni-balzādya-* < **ni-barz-*, DKS: 121), Y. *nirzani* (< **barzanaka-*), Skt. *upa-bārhaṇa-* 'pillow', *barhīṣ-* (n.) 'sacrificial straw'.

◆ The prefixation appears to be old, but the addition of *-æn* may be recent, cf. *Syncope*, § 2.3.4.

nyvond | **nivond** 'жертва' ('sacrifice')

< **nibandā-* lit. 'binding'; Sogd. *nš'nt* 'promise', Khz. *nyšndyk*, *nyšdyk* 'slave', Skt. *nibandha-* (m.) 'chain, fetter'.

¹nyx | **nix** 'ноготь', 'коготь' ('nail, claw')

< **naxa-*; Skt. *nakhā-* (m.n.) 'nail, fingernail'. Iranian cognate forms have an additional suffix, e.g. Khot. *nāhnye*, Sogd. (Bud.) *n'xn* 'nails', MP, NP *nāxun* '(finger)nail', Y. *anāxno* (**nāx-anā-*, IIFL II: 67, § 96) 'nail', Orm. *naxk*, *naxčī*, Pš. *nūk*, *nuk*, Sq. *nišawr*, *našawr*, W. *diger*, *djōr* 'id.', etc.

◆ For the vocalism see *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.iv.

²nyx | **nix** 'лоб', 'лицевая часть', 'выступ' ('forehead, part of the face')

< **nabxant* (cf. Bailey, DKS: 126a, s.v. *itāra-* 'forehead'); Š. *nāx*, R. *nōx*, B. *nūx*, Yz. *nox* 'sleeping-platform, plankbed' (EVS: 51a), cf. Skt. *nāsvant-* 'nosed'.

◆ The etymology of *nyx* < **anika-* (Av. *ainika-*, Skt. *anika-* 'face'), as proposed by Miller and accepted by Abaev, is troublesome, as we are faced with a serious phonological

problem. We expect the intervocalic velar **k* to become *g* in Oss. Admittedly, there are a few cases in which **k* could have resulted in Ossetic *x*, but this development took place under only certain specific conditions:

1. assimilation to a following sibilant, e.g. *xæfš* 'frog' (cf. Av. *kašīapa-* 'turtle') *xobxæ* (D.) 'pelt' (**xanda-kā-*), (?) *xox* / *xonx* 'mountain' (?) LAv. *fānku-* 'summit, top'), s.vv.;
2. alternation which had already existed at an earlier stage, e.g. see *max* 'we, us' (s.v.).

Since the fricative *x* of *nyx* cannot be explained along these lines, another etymology for *nyx* is preferable. In his dictionary, Bailey derived *nyx* from **nabxā-* (DKS: 125b-126a, s.v. *itāra-* 'forehead'), without mentioning any cognate forms. Actually, this preform can be supported by Skt. *nāsvant-* 'nosed'³⁰. For the secondary development of **a* > **i*, we can cite *nyx* / *nix* 'nail, claw' (< Plr. **naxa-*) as a parallel, cf. *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.iv.

nyxas | **nixas** 1. 'слово', 'речь'; 2. 'разговор', 'беседа'; 3. 'собрание мужчин аула для беседы, обсуждения текущих дел', 'место (площадь), где обычно собираются для беседы мужчины' (1. 'word, language', 2. 'conversation, debate', 3. gathering of men of the *aul* for a debate or discussion of current matters, *forum*, ἀγορά)

< (?) **ni-xāsa-*; cf. Sogd. (Bud.) *'x'ns*, (Man.) *'x's* 'fight, dispute', Bact. *αχασο*, NP *xāš* 'battle, fight', *par-xāš* 'quarrel' (**xāšja-* < **xāθja-*, Gershevitch 1965: 196), (?) Khz. *x'zy-* 'to fight' (derived by Schwartz (1969: 446a) from **xāz-* 'to devour', semantically implausible).

◆ According to Abaev, *nyxas* is connected to Skt. *kāś-* 'to see, appear' (LAv. *kas-*, etc.), which is semantically difficult. More importantly, this leaves the appearance of intervocalic *-x-* unexplained. Although there are indeed some Ossetic forms with variant *(-)x-*, instead of regular *(-)k-* or *-g-* (< Plr. **k*), these cases are special, see previous entry. Bailey has a semantically more suitable etymology for *nyxas*, connecting it with Khot. *nyas-* 'to abuse, feel disgust', from **ni-kaś-* 'to speak against' (DKS: 193), Khot. *kaś-* 'to sound'. Again, Ossetic *-x-* is unexplained; the preform **ni-gas-* would have yielded Oss. *†nygas-* / *†nigas-*.

I propose to connect Oss. *nyxas* to Sogd. *'x'(n)s*, etc. Prefixed with **ni-* 'de-', *nyxas* probably originally meant 'place, occasion for settling a dispute'. The meaning 'word(s), conversation' would have secondarily developed from the latter. Further (I)Ir. and IE connections are uncertain.

O

on | **onæ**, **ionæ** 'лопатка (анатом.)' ('shoulder blade')

< ? du. **anbā*; Skt. *āmsa-* (m.) 'shoulder'.

◆ The vocalism is odd, if we accept the reconstruction **anba-* (**amha-*) of Abaev. Moreover, the pl. form *wentæ* (also *ontæ*) cannot possibly derive from **anba-* (or **amha-*) regularly. The vocalism possibly shows influence of semantically similar forms *ong*, *weng* / *iwong* 'bodypart', cf. Skt. *vyāmsa-* 'having, characterized by diverging shoulders'. The

³⁰ Reflexes in Iranian are El-OP **nakkūn* in *Ašbanakkuš* PN ('qui est à la tête des cheveux', Benveniste 1966: 78), Arm. *nax* 'en avant, en tête' (< WIr.), MP *naxūt*, NP *nuxūt* 'first', Y. *nax* 'floor', *nax-darn* 'roof-beam' (?) LW: Š. *nāx*, R. *nōx*, B. *nūx*, Yz. *nox* 'sleeping-platform, plankbed', EVS: 51a).

presence of final *-æ* in Digoron perhaps points to an old dual **-ā*.

long, wəŋg | iwəŋg 'член тела', 'конечность'; 'член (организации, партии, группы)' ('part of the body, extremity; member of an organisation, party or group')

< **wi-uanka-*; Sogd. *ywn'ke* 'joint'.

♦ I. *wəŋg* points to influence of the pl. *wəŋgla*, cf. (s.v.) *wəŋyg*.

otæ (wotæ) D. 'так' ('so')

< **aṇaṭhā*; OP *anaṭhā* 'so', Av. *anuathā* 'so, thus', Kurd. (Kurm.) *wehe*, (Sor. ?) *nuha* 'so, thus', MP *oh* 'id.', ? Khz. (?) *wh* 'there'.

♦ For more details on *otæ* see *Apocope*, § 1.4.3, and *Syncope*, § 2.2.1.

P

padcax 'царь', 'шах', 'король' ('tsar, shah, king')

< NP *pādīśāh* (through an intermediary source). Widely borrowed: Kab. *pādīśāh* (source of Oss. *padcax* ?), Avar *pačāh*, Agul. *pačāh*, Chech. *pačāh*, Tk. *pādīśāh*, etc.

piryn : pyrd I. 'чесать шерсть' ('to comb wool')

< (?) NP *pērā* 'one who shaves, clips, trims, or plucks up superfluous hairs' (Steingass: 264).

♦ Since old **p-* has regularly become Oss. *f-*, it can be a priori concluded that Oss. forms with initial *p-* cannot be but borrowings from neighbouring languages. Hence, the connection with Khot. *pīr-* 'to write, paint' proposed by Bailey (1958: 539) must be declined.³¹ Abaev suggests a connection with Kartvelian, e.g. Svan *ptir* 'hackle', Georg. *ptil* 'hackled wool, ready for spinning'.

Q

qal | iǵal 'бодствующий' ('awake')

< **qi-gāra-*, Nsg. m. **qi-gārah*; Sogd. (Chr.) *γ'ry* 'watcher, guardian' (**gāra-ka-*), Khz. *γ'ryk* 'wachend, wach' (Benzing: 285), cf. Av. *gar-*, Skt. *gar-* 'to awake', Khot. *brāta-* 'awake, clear' (**wi-grāta-*, DKJ: 313a), etc.

♦ For final *-l* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.2, *Apocope*, § 1.2.3b.

qarm | ǵar(m) 'теплый' ('warm')

< **garma-*; Av. *garama-* 'heat, glow', OP *garma-* (in *Garmapada-* name of the 4th. month in the OP calendar), Sogd. *γrm*, Khot. *grāma-*, (in comp.) *garma-* 'hot', Khz. *γrm* (f.) 'fever', MP, NP *garm* 'warm, hot', Skt. *gharmā-* (m.) 'glow, heat, warmth', etc.

¹qæd | ǵædæ 1. 'дерево (как материал)', 'ствол', 'стебель', 'древко', 'де-ревянная часть орудий', 2. 'бревню', 3. 'лес' (1. 'wood (as material); trunk, stem; staff; shaft', 2. 'log', 3. 'forest, woods')

< **gadā-*; LAv. *gadā-* (f.) 'club, mace', Khot. *gge'ha* (Gsg.) 'wood', MP *gad* 'club, mace' (Nyberg II: 79a), Skt. *gadā-* (f.) 'club, stick'.

²qæd | ǵædæ 'качество' ('quality')

< ppp. **gatā(-)*; Av. *gata-*, Skt. *gatā-* 'gone', etc.

♦ According to Abaev, ²*qad* possibly goes back to the past participle **gata-*, which has

developed a large variety of meanings, cf. Oss. *ivǵad* (q.v.). The Ossetic meaning may have started from the Npl. ntr. **(things) passed, gone*', which developed into **'ways' > *'manners, customs' > *'qualitas'*.

qæjyn : qad | qæjun : qad 'to have sexual intercourse' [not in *Dict.*]

< **gāja-*; Khz. *γy-* (Samadi: 83), W. *ǵy-* : *ǵoyd-*, ? Pš. *yō* 'copulation', *yōwul* 'to copulate' (contamination with **jab-*, Skt. *yabb-* ?), NP *gādan*, *gāyidan*, Kurd. *gayin*.

♦ The Ossetic form is not treated by Abaev. The Digoron correspondence with initial *q-* (instead of expected *ǵ-*) is strange, pointing to borrowing from Iron. The verb *qæjyn* probably goes back to an old causative, with stem vowel **-ā-*, which is most clearly attested in the West Iranian correspondences. Oss. *-æ-* appears to be the result of shortening before **j*, which is often found in other East Iranian languages as well (hence Khz. *γy-*, W. *ǵy-*).

According to Bielmeier (1993: 19), Tz. *καίτζ* is an abstract *ti*-formation of the verb *καί* = *qæjyn*.

qærmust I. 'чуть теплый', 'тепловатый' ('scarcely warm, lukewarm')

< POss. **ǵarma-usma-*; see s.vv. Oss. *qarm* and *uysm* 'period, (brief) moment'.

♦ According to Abaev, the second element of this compound reflects the past participle **usta-* of a verb **aus-* or **aut-* 'to cool', which is unattested in Indo-Iranian, however. Even in Indo-European comparative perspectives we can only cite Baltic verbal forms, Lith. *aušti* 'to become cold', *aušyti*, Latv. *aušit* 'to cool down', which are possibly denominative in origin. Since compounds with *qarm* / *ǵarma* are quite recent and (relatively) transparent, consisting of forms attested in Ossetic, the second element of *qærmust* may also be present in Oss. The second *-ust* may be the dissimilated variant of *uysm* / *usma-*, thus *qærmust* would originally mean **(being) briefly warm*'.

qæstæ | iǵæstæ 1. 'осквернение чем-либо заразным или ядовитым', 'оскверненный'; 2. 'принятие чего-либо в крошечной доле', 'чуть попробовавший что-либо', 'чуть затронутый чем-либо' (1. 'desacration by something contagious or poisonous; desacrated'; 2. 'the receiving of something in minuscule portion, hardly having attempted something, hardly touched something')

1. < ppp. (?) Lsg. **wi-gastai*; cf. D. *iǵændun* : *iǵæst* 'to smell', OP *gasta-* 'evil', etc.

2. < pl. *qast*, *qazt* / *ǵast*, *ǵazt* / *d* 'play, dance'; cf. Oss. *qazyn* : *qazt* / *ǵazyn* : *ǵazt* 'to dance, play', Khz. *γ'z-* 'to walk, run'.

♦ The first meaning ('desacration, ec.'), which Abaev deduces on the basis of three passages – the meaning is unattested in the standard language –, is incompatible with the second meaning. This suggests that we are dealing with two homonymous words. For *qæstæ* 'desacration', we can uphold the etymology cited by Abaev: ppp. **wi-gasta-*, D. *iǵændun* : *iǵæst* 'to smell', OP *gasta-* 'evil'. Final *-æ* in both dialect forms is odd: does *qæstæ* reflect old Lsg. **wi-gastai* 'in the stench'?

Regarding the second meaning, the nuances cited by Abaev suggest that the original meaning is related to some kind of light-hearted, superficial act or deed. A connection with *qazyn* / *ǵazyn* comes to mind. *Qæstæ* is probably the older plural of the independently used participle *qazt* 'dance, play' (the spelling *-zt-* or *-st-* is solely graphic). Apparently, *qæstæ* has been replaced by the more transparent form *qæzɣtæ*, with connecting vowel *-y-*, cf. *artist-y-tæ* 'artists'.

³¹ Most recently, Sims-Williams (*SVK* III: 93-94) argued that Khot. *pīr-* is a loanword from Middle Chinese *pī* > *pīr*, which has been borrowed in Turkic and Mongolic languages, too.

qævdyn (L.) 'щенок' ('puppy')

< *gadua-; cf. LAv. gadša- 'dog', Sogd. (Man.) γδβε 'bitch', Y. γalb, γalu, M. γolv 'dog'.

♦ The cluster -vd- is the result of metathesis from *-δβ- (*μ> *β, due to preceding fricative), see *Introduction*, § 0.7.4.2.i.

qæw | **ǵæw** 'селение', 'поселение', 'аул' ('village, settlement, aul')

< *gaia-; LAv. gaia- 'region [where the Sogdians live]' (Vd 1.4., Yt 10.44), (?) classical sources Γάβαι (Strabo), Γαβαίτοι (Ptol.) a district of Achaemenian Persis (? Isphahan), Khot. āwī (*āgū) 'village'.

♦ Further connections are uncertain (cf. Gershevitch 1951: 138, fn. 3), although the following forms have been cited: Skt. ghōṣa- 'village', Germ. Goth. gawi 'χωρα', OHG gawi 'county' (etc.), Toch. B kṛaso, kṛsa- 'village', Arm. gavar 'region', ǵewl 'village'. Abaev considers qaw as a derivative of *gaw- 'cow', hence qaw would mean originally 'cowshed', for which there is no evidence in (I)Ir. The Germanic forms are, according to Abaev, loans from "Scythian", which is questionable. The Germanic forms are usually considered as derivatives of *ahna- 'water', with collective prefix *ga- (cf. German Gebirge, from Berg 'mountain'), since they most often refer to wetlands.³² The Skt. form is polysemic: not only does it denote a certain location, like 'village; station of herdsmen', but also sound ('noise, rumour, tumult, confused cries of a multitude'), which seems to be the primary meaning of ghōṣa-: the meaning 'village; station of herdsmen' has probably evolved from 'a noisy place'. The etymology of ghōṣa- is based on the meaning of sound, cf. EWAsia I: 518, s.v. ghōṣ. The Tocharian form is possibly connected with Germanic *hūsa- 'house', but further connections are uncertain, see Adams (1999: 234-235). Also, the etymology of the Armenian forms is uncertain (Gershevitch, ibid.): < Iranian or IE?

qæwyn : **qoyd** | **ǵæwun** : **ǵud** 'быть нужным, недовоевать' ('to be in need of something, to lack')

< *gaia-; Sogd. γw- to want, lack, be wanting, be at fault', Bact. γαοηιο (pres. opt. 3sg.) 'möge fehlen' (Davary: 196), Khz. γw- 'nötig sein, fehlen, begehen (einen Fehler), verfehlen (einen Weg)' (Samadi: 81), Pth. gw'nyg 'needed, desired', Skt. (denom.) gavyānt- 'longing for cows', gavyānti- (f.) 'desire, battle'.

qæz | **qæzæ** 'тростник', 'камыш' ('reed, cane')

< *gaz-a-; Khot. gaza- 'reed', MP, NP gaz 'tamarisk', ? Bal. gaz 'reed', also ǵaz 'tamarisk (tree)' (Barker II: 460), W. ǵaz 'firewood' (> Sangl. γδζ 'id.'), ? Pš. γδζ 'cocoons; small box; lump', Sq. ǵaz (LW ?) 'firewood', ? R. γaz 'small wooden spade for stirring porridge', etc.

qis | **ǵesæ** 'грубая шерсть', 'щетина', 'конский волос', 'струна' ('rough wool', 'bristle', 'horsethair', 'string')

< *gaisā(h)-; LAv. gaisa- (m.) 'curly hair', MP, NP ǵes 'curls, locks', Khot. ǵǵisaa- 'grass', Khz. ǵys'n 'camel hair', etc.

♦ For final -æ see *Апрокс*, § 1.2.1e.iii.

qiw | **ǵew** [pl.] 'жила', 'сухожиле' ('veins')

Etymology unknown.

♦ Abaev connects qiw with Skt. jīā-, LAv. jīā- 'bowstring' (etc.), which is phonologically implausible. Further, he ignores the fact that the meaning 'veins' is found in the plural only. In the singular, qiw means 'sacrum'.

qug | **ǵog** 'корова' ('cow')

< *gauka-; Khz. f. γwke 'cow', Tal. gug, NP ǵog 'calf', Bal. ǵōke 'cow', cf. Av. gauu-, Skt. gō-, etc.

♦ On the reconstruction see *Syncope*, § 2.2.3.

The plural is unusual: quicyta / ǵocite. The origin of the voiceless (geminated) palatal has not been explained.

qus | **ǵos** 'ухо', 'молчание' ('ear', 'silence')

< *gausa-; GAv. gūsa-, LAv. gausa- (m.), OP gausa-, Khot. ggūsa-, Sogd. γwš, Khz. γwš (f.), MP, NP ǵōš, Pš. γwš, Š. γūš, Y. γū, W. γūš, Kurd. ǵūh, ǵoh, Yağn. γūš, Par. ǵū 'ear', Skt. ghōṣa- (m.) 'noise'.

qwaz, **qæwaz** | **ǵæwanz** 'самка оленя', 'лань' ('doe'³³)

< *gaazna-; LAv. gaunasna- (m.) 'deer', Khot. ggūysna- 'stag, deer', Sogd. (Bud.) γwzn, (Man., context unclear) γwzn, Khz. γwzn, γwzn, MP, NP gawazn 'deer'.

qoyu | **ǵun** 'волос', 'шерсть', 'шерсть с одной овцы' ('hair, wool, wool of a single sheep')

< *gauna-; LAv. gauna- (n.) 1. 'hair', 2. 'colour of the hair', 3. 'manner', Khot. ggūna- 'hair', MP ǵōn 'colour, complexion', Khz. γwn (m.) 'colour', Pš. γūnā- (f.) 'hair; complexion; pore', Par. ǵinā 'hair' (*gaunā-, cf. IIFL I: 31 ff.), etc.

qyg | **ǵigæ** 'скорбь', 'печаль', 'скука' ('sadness, sorrow; boredom')

< Tk. (Turkm., Azeri) qajyi 'sadness'.

qoysyn : **qoyst** | **iǵusun** : **iǵust** 'слышаться', 'доноситься' ('to be heard, to reach one's ears')

< *ǵi-ǵuš-ia-; Khz. byws- 'to be silent' (< *apa-ǵuš-ia-, vs. caus. bywy- 'to put to silence' < *apa-ǵauš-ia-), cf. Av. ǵuša- 'to hear', etc.

♦ The verb qoysyn is the (medio-)passive to qusyn / iǵosun 'to hear' (< *ǵi-ǵauš-ia-). This procedure of forming the medio-passive (ia-suffix, zero-grade stem) from (originally causative) active verbs is well-known in Ossetic.

R

rajyn : **rad** | **irajun** : **irad** 1. 'радоваться', 'быть довольным'; 2. [D.] 'кипеть' ('to enjoy, be satisfied'; 2. [D.] 'to boil')

< ? *ri-rāja-; cf. Sogd. r'y 'to cry', Kurd. reyin 'to bark', Pš. rayal 'to bray', Skt. rā-, pres. rāya- 'to bark'.

♦ Abaev's connection (following Miller) with *ran-, Skt. ran- 'to experience great joy, to

³² Recently, it has been argued that the Germanic forms derive from IE *ǵh₂u-, Arm. gavar 'region', Gr. χώρα 'space, land' (Kluge 1995²³: 301b, s.v. Gau).

³³ It is strange that qwaz refers specifically to the female deer, while sag refers to the male. They may originally have referred to two different species of deer: the familiar Ir. *gaazna-, and the recent (Caucasian ?) one, the sag 'Cervus elaphus', which has been coined from *iāka- lit. 'branched' (MP iāg 'branch'). This type is more impressively built and has larger antlers, which, subsequently, has been interpreted as the male version of qwaz, and finally used as the generic term for deer.

enjoy', Sogd. *ptr'n* 'luck', fails to account for the absence of a nasal in the root. Oss. *rajyn* is perhaps derived from **rāja-* 'to cry', the Ossetic form may have developed the meaning 'to cry out of joy or excitement'. The D. meaning 'to boil' possibly refers to the sound of boiling.

rast 'прямой', 'правый', 'правильный', 'праведный', 'честный', 'прямо' ('right, true, honest; straightly')

< ppp. **rāsta-*; LAv. *rāsta-* (ppp.), OP *rāsta-* 'right', Khot. (ppp.) *raṣṭa-* 'directed, right, straight', Sogd. *ršt-*, Khz. *ršt* 'true, right', MP *rāst* 'true, straight, direct'.

ravg | **ravgæ** 'удобный случай', 'возможность' ('convenient occasion; possibility', also [not mentioned by Ab.] 'mood')

< (?) **rāba-kā-*; Skt. *lābha-* 'acquiring [of dharma-]', s.v. Oss. *ravg* 'ready, prepared'.

♦ Two etymologies have been proposed for this word, viz. a connection with Av. *rapaka-* 'providing support for, being in service of' (Abaev), or with Skt. *rābhas-* 'ardor, enthusiasm, violence' (ELO: 12; for the etymology v. EW*Aia* II: 435). Both etymologies are problematic, however. The latter connection is both semantically and phonologically difficult. The Skt. form refers to violent, raging behaviour and vowel *-a-* in *ravg* reflects long **-ā-*. The vowel *-a-* is also the obstacle in the connection with Av. *rapaka-*. I would suggest that *ravg* is related to *ravgz* (q.v.).

For *-g* / *-ga* see *Syncope*, § 2.2.1b.

raxiz (raxis) | raxes (raxez) 'правый', 'dexter' ('right, dexter')

< **fra-xaiṣa-*; Khz. *rxṣz* 'to occur, originate; to approach someone'

♦ *Raxiz* is apparently derived from the verb **xizyn* 'to pass over' (q.v.).

raz 1. 'перед', 2. 'период' (1. 'front', 2. [postp.] 'before')

< Nsg. **frānš*; cf. Av. Nsg. m. *frāš*, Sogd. (Bud.) *βr'š* (in *βr'š kyr'n* 'south'), MP (adv., adj.) *frāz* 'forward' (< Isg. ?), Skt. *prāñc-* 'tilting to, going straight to, faced to'.

♦ According to Abaev, *raz* goes back to **frāč-*, historically being a variant of *rag* 'early', cf. Sogd. (Bud.) *βr'k*, (Man.) *fr'k* 'early morning'. Oss. *raz* and *rag* no doubt belonged to the same paradigm of **frāñč-*. The form *raz* probably reflects the nominative ending **frāñš*, with early loss of the nasal. The voicing of final **-š* > **-ž* (> Oss. *-ž*) is perhaps regular, since it is also found in *axsæz* / *axsæz* 'six' < **xšmaš*, LAv. *xšmaš*.

razəngard 'скалонный', 'охотно делающий что-либо' ('disposed, inclined to something')

< *raz* + **ham-kerta-*; cf. Sogd. (Chr.) *šyr-ng'ry* 'pious', Khot. *ššār-amggāra-* 'doer of good' (DKS: 400b, s.v. *ššāra-* 'good').

radaw 'щедрый' ('generous')

< **fra-dā-uant-*, Nsg. m. **fra-dā-ūab-*; cf. Skt. *pra-dā-* 'to give away, bestow', **dāvant-* 'giving'.

♦ Abaev proposes to derive *radaw* from **rātā-uant-*, cf. Av. *rātā-*, *rāti-* 'gift', Sogd. (Man.) *p'r't* 'reward', MP, NP *rād* 'generous, bountiful', Skt. *rāti-* 'gift', etc. However, the reconstruction does not account for short *-a-*, which he considers as a case of weakening (no motivation is given). For the same reason the suggestion of Miller (OÈ II: 88) to connect *radaw* with Av. *rādab-* 'gift' cannot be upheld. Also his later proposal (IF 21: 330), viz. a relation with Skt. *vratavant-* 'fulfilling a religious vow', is (semantically) troublesome. The solution is to derive *radaw* from **fra-dā-* 'to bestow'. Abaev objects to this etymology, because it separates *radaw* from Ir. **rātā-*, but this is not compelling.

¹rædæŋ 'стройный', 'гладкоствольный' ('well-built, with smooth shaft [of tress]')

< ? f. **fratanukā-*; cf. Skt. *pra-tanu-ka-* 'very thin, fine', MP, NP *tanuk* 'thin, shallow'.

♦ According to Abaev, *¹rædæŋ* goes back to **fra-tanu-ka-*, cf. Oss. *ten(aŋ)* 'thin (tablet)', Skt. *tanū-* 'thin'. However, **fra-tanu-ka-* would rather yield Oss. *¹ræ(d)nyg* / *¹ra(d)nyg*, with syncope of the middle vowel **a*. *Rædæŋ* seems to be exclusively Iron (the expected D. form is **rædæŋa*). Since *rædæŋ* usually refer to trees ending in *-æ* (< f. **-ā*), e.g. *bælas* / *bælasæ* 'tree', *bærz* / *bærzæ* 'birch', *rædæŋ* points to feminine **fratanukā-*, rather than masculine **fratanuka-*.

²rædæŋ 'налитый кровью (о лице)', 'полный', 'упитанный' ('redfaced, plump; well-fed')

See above.

♦ Abaev has unjustifiably split *rædæŋ* in two separate entries, which were treated under one heading in ORNS II: 994-995. The reason for the split is that in the opinion of Abaev, it is difficult to reconcile the meaning 'redfaced, etc' with 'well-built, etc'. The primary meaning of *rædæŋ* seems to be 'full, smooth', which has probably developed in more metaphorical, secondary meanings as well: > 'red, full (of face)', etc.

raft | **raftæ** 'полдень' ('noon')

< **rapithuā-*; LAv. *rapithša-* (f.) 'noon', MP *rabih*, Sogd. (Bud.) *rypθš* 'noon', Khot. *raṣya-*³⁴ 'southern'.

♦ The Iron form is attested in compounds only, e.g. *bonraṣty* 'during the day', *ṣasraṣtya* 'afternoon', *raṣtyad* 'lunch'.

ragafæn D. [+*kænnn*] 'задирать', 'язвить', 'вызывать на ссору', 'провоцировать' ('to pick on, sting; to provoke (quarrel)')

< **fra-kāfa-na-*; cf. **kap* / *b/f*, Sogd. (Bud.) *kēṣ* '(to) split', Khz. (caus.) *kēṣ-* 'to split, cut up', Pth. *kēṣ* 'split', NP *kāṣtan*, *kāvidan* 'to split, dig' (borrowed in Pamir languages: Sq. *kew-d*, EVS: 41b).

♦ Medial labial consonant, especially in verbal roots, was liable to paradigmatic levelling in many Iranian languages. Assimilation to a voiceless consonant (of e.g. ppp. **-ta*) might explain the rise of voiceless **-f-*, which could have spread through the whole paradigm. In Ossetic, we can cite another clear instance: *wafyn* 'to weave' (**uab-*, Av. *ubdaēna-* 'made of woven fabric', Skt. **vābhi-* 'weaver [said of spider]').

raġaw | **ærgaw** 'табун', 'стадо' ('herd, flock')

< **fra-gāua-*; Sogd. (Bud.) *šry'w* 'possession, riches', *pry'w* 'wealth', Khz. *šy'wcyk* 'profit' (**fra-gāua-*, Henning 1971: 47a), Pth. *frg'w* 'treasure' (Av. *gauu-* 'to bestow').

♦ The D. form has a slightly different appearance. According to Benveniste (ELO: 97), *æ-* reflects a different prefix **ar(a)*, "même si aucun préverbe de cette form n'est attestée en iranien ancien". Leaving aside the question whether there is evidence for such a prefix in Iranian (cf. also Bailey 1958: 535-536), it is a priori unlikely that the two

³⁴ Prof. Emmerick (p.c.) has explained the phonology of this Khotanese form as follows. Since intervoc. **-p-* became *w* {*v*} in Khotanese, we can assume that PIr. **rapithuā-* yielded **raṣithā-*, with labial dissimilation. Normally, intervocalic **-θ-* becomes Khotanese *h*, but there are exceptions. There can be no doubt, for instance, that *hamāh-* 'to change' is from **fra-māθ-*, but the 3 plural present is *hamāyāre* < **fra-mīθārai*. Here we have a similar phonetic context: intervocalic **-θ-* following a syllable containing unstressed *i*. If this line of reasoning is accepted, then pre-Khot. **raṣithā-* could become *raṣiā-*, which is what we have in Khotanese.

Ossetic dialects would show different prefixation in an otherwise unanalysable formation, without any semantic modification, especially, since *ra-* and *ar-* do not belong to the category of productive Ossetic prefixes. The D. form must have secondary *ar-* < *ra-*, which is apparently the result of metathesis. The reason for this metathesis must be sought in the fact that *argaw* is usually found as second element of compounds, cf. *baxargaw* 'herd of horses', D. *karkargaw* 'flock of chickens'. Cf. s.v. Oss. *andarg*.

rægæd 'спелый', 'зрелый' ('ripe, mature')

< (ppp.) **fragata-*; Av. *fra-gam-* 'to come to, reach', Khz. *fr'y'mk* 'adult', Skt. *pra-gam-* 'to go forward, reach, attain', (ppp.) *pra-gatā-* 'gone forward, started'.

ræmon D. 'сдержанный', 'спокойный' ('prudent, calm')

< pres. mid. ptc. **ramāna-*; cf. s.v. Oss. D. *ræmun*.

♦ In view of vowel *-o-* the reconstruction of Abaev, viz. **ramana-*, must be corrected to **ramāna-*, which is the expected present middle participle of **ram-* 'to rest'.

Ræmon (bon) I. праздник в честь Уацилла, бога урожая (holiday in honour of Wacilla, the god of thunder and harvest)

< ? **ramāna-*, on which see above.

♦ Abaev derives *Ræmon* from **framanah-*, Av. *framanah-* (adj.) 'cheerful', Skt. *pra-mānas-* 'caring, cherishing, provident', which is both phonologically and semantically troublesome. This reconstruction would rather yield Oss. *†ræman*. Also, the profane meaning 'cheerful' does not accord well with the religious content of *Ræmon*. The holiday *Ræmon bon* is held in the autumn, before the sowing of winter plants, and is accompanied by the sacrifice of a fat ram and some magical rituals, cf. LAËM: 114, 180. *Ræmon bon* is also known as *Xor-xor* 'corn! corn!', which is the standard answer yelled to the question: "What do you ask for?". There is no convincing etymology that would take into account the agricultural and/or religious aspects of *Ræmon*. It might be a euphemistic appellative of Wacilla: 'the Calm One' (see above).

ræmuzyn : **ræmygd** | **ræmozyn** : **ræmygd** 'отрывать', 'разрывать', 'вырывать', 'выдергивать' ('to tear apart, rip out')

< (caus.) **fra-manāja-*; Av. *framuxti-* 'release, untying (of shoes)', Sogd. (Bud.) *βr'mc-* 'to undress', Pth. *fr'mwc-* : *fr'muxt* 'to take off'.

ræmun : **ræd** D. 'стоять', 'держаться на месте' ('to stand, stay in place')

< **rama-*; LAv. *ram-* 'to rest', Skt. *ram-*, mid. pres. *rāmate* 'to come to rest, dwell', see also s.v. Oss. *uromyn*.

♦ D. *Ræmun* is an old middle pres., corresponding to originally causative *uromyn* / *oramun* 'restrain, etc.', cf. Skt. *rāmate* : *ramāyati* (ELO: 82).

ræsug | **ræsog** 'прозрачный' ('transparent')

< **fra-sauka-*; El-OP *pīr-ra-sa-u-ga-* PN (Gershevitch 1969: 219), LAv. (caus.) *frasaocaita-* 'to quench', cf. Khot. *buzū* 'fuel' (< **abi-sauka-*, DKS: 301), s.v. Oss. *sug* 'firewood'.

rætæn 'толстая веревка, сплетенная из ремней или из скрученных прутьев' ('thick rope from braided straps or intertwined twigs')

< (<) ? **rasana-*; cf. MP, NP *rasan*, NP *rās* 'bridle', Skt. *raśan-* 'cord, rope, bridle', *raśmī-* 'string, bridle, whip, beam', *raśmān-* 'bridle'.

♦ Because of medial *t*, which normally reflects **θ* (cf. s.v. *fæten* 'wide' < **paθana-*),

Abaev considers *ratan* as a "Scythian" borrowing from unattested OP **raθana-*, which would be the cognate form of Skt. *raśan-*. Oddly enough, no trace of this OP form can be found in later Persian, which only has *rasan*: the expected NP outcome of OP **raθana-* should be *†rahn*, cf. *pahn* 'broad, wide' < **paθana-*, LAv. *paθana-*. Further, languages which are known to have borrowed from Alano-Ossetic exclusively show forms with *-s-*: e.g. Vog. *rāsn*, *roāsn* 'string', Svan *arsān* 'rope'. Since *rætæn* is particularly used to tie the plough to the yoke, Benveniste (ELO: 107-108) thought of a connection with LAv. *rāθ-*, pf. *irirīθ-* 'to cling to'. However, we can raise several objections to this connection. In the first place, Av. *rāθ-* is isolated within Iranian, having no Sanskrit correspondence as well. In addition, *rāθ-* appears with either long *-ā-* or *-i-* (betraying the presence of a laryngeal): Av. pres. 3 sg. *rāsti*, pf. *irirīθ-*, ppp. *irista-*, adj. deriv. *rāθama-*, *rāθman-* 'belonging to'. It is semantically difficult to separate the Ossetic form from *rasan*, etc.

rævæjnæ D. 'длинная толстая конопляная веревка' ('long, thick hemp-rope')

Etymology unknown.

♦ We are faced with phonological difficulties, if *rævæjnæ* is indeed a borrowing from Germanic, as thought by Abaev. The preform that can be reconstructed for the Oss. form is something like **raśan(a)ja-*, while the Germanic forms point to Germ. **raipa-* (> Finn. *raippa*): Goth. *raip* (in *skauda-raip* 'thong, ἰμῶς'), OIc. *reip*, OE *rāp* 'rope', MLG *rēp* 'sling', OHG *reif* 'rope'. The vocalism of the Germanic forms can hardly agree with Oss. *-æ-*, unless we resort to ad hoc vowel metathesis (**ai ... a > *a ... ai*) or contamination with *rætæn*.³⁵ Also it remains unclear how the postvocalic consonant *-p-* becomes voiced fricative in Ossetic, which implicates problems in the relative chronology as well. Lastly, the morphology needs clarification, too.

rævz | **rævzæ** 'готовый', 'исправный', 'снаряженный', 'снабженный всем необходимым' ('ready; in order; equipped, provided with all the necessary', also [not mentioned by Ab.] 'lively, handy; maintained, comfortable, accomplished, successful')

< **raba-āzā-*; cf. Skt. *rabb-*, *labh-* 'to take, seize, obtain; to succeed in')

♦ Abaev derives *rævz* from **rab(a)ti-*, which would contain the root **rab-*, MP, NP *raftan* : *rav-* 'to go', Kurd. *revin* 'to run', ? Š. *virāfc-* : *rūd*, Sq. *warfj-* : *warūd* 'to rise, stand up' (and other Pamir languages). The connection with the (W)Ir. forms is semantically not evident, while the Pamir forms may have a different etymology as well, v. EVS: 91a. I rather suggest a connection with Skt. *rabb-*, *labh-* 'to take, seize, obtain; to succeed in'. The final *-z* / *-zæ* cannot reflect **-ti*, see *Epenthesis*, 4.3.1a, *Appendix*, A § 1.

ræwagæ D. 'повод', 'предлог', 'причина', 'praetextus' ('[on the] occasion [of], pretence, cause')

< **fra-yaḥā-kā(-)* (cf. Gershevitch 1952: 483-484); cf. NP *babānah* 'pretext', Av. *ʒyah-* 'to clothe, wear', middle ptc. pres. *vanhāna-*.

♦ The proposal of Miller (Gr.: 35, § 41) to connect *ræwagæ* with Av. *frauḥāka-* 'speech, announcement' is declined by Ab. The etymology of *ræwagæ* can hardly be separated from that of *ræwaga*, in view of the practically identical meaning and similar structure, as

³⁵ Another possibility is to assume that Ossetic and Germanic independently borrowed from a certain "substrate" language, which had an ablaut *ai ~ a*, cf. Schrijver (1997: 306 f.).

pointed out by Abaev. Two alternative etymologies have been proposed. According to Abaev, *raewage* is connected to *ran* / *rawen* 'place, position' (< **raṇana*, MP *rōn* 'side, direction', LAv. *raunah*- 'free space'). *Raewage* and *raewonæ* would then contain the element **raṇ*- 'place', cf. *satk'ij* *raewage* 'due to [= in the place of] an apple-tree', *ixwærsti* *raewagi* 'like [= in the place of] a servant'. A more appealing etymology is that of Gershevitch (ibid.), who derived *raewage* and *raewonæ* from the root **raḥ*- 'to dress, put on' (Av. *raḥ*-, middle ptc. pres. *raḥāna*-). He based his etymology by comparing *raewonæ* to NP form *bahānah*, which Hübschmann (*PSI*: 32) derived from **raḥāna*-. Semantic parallels for the developments leading to 'pretext' are, for instance, It. *costume*, Lat. *habitus*.

On final D. -æ see below.

raewonæ D. 'повад', 'предлог', 'вид' ('pretext, view')

< Isg. (middle ptc. pres. ? deverb. instr. noun ?) **fraṇahānā*; see s.v. *raewage*.

raexsnæg 'стройный', 'прямой', 'без сучьев'; 'стройный и тонкий' ('well-built, straight', [of trees, branches] 'without knots'; 'well-built and fine')

Etymology unknown.

♦ According to Abaev, *raexsnæg* goes back to **raḥs-na-ka*-, containing Ir. **raḥ*-, **raḥs*- < IE **reg*-, **reg-s*- 'to direct, be right'. The reconstruction is phonologically impossible: IE **reg-s*- can only yield Ir. **raś*-. The Oss. verb *raexyn* contains the root **raḥ*-. However, the postulated derived root **raḥs*- of **raḥ*- cannot be shown to have existed in Iranian: the reflex cited by Abaev, viz. *anexyn* 'to agree, correspond to; to be able to' has another etymology (cf. Benveniste 1945: 71; *DKS*: 233b, s.v. *pārṣsa*- 'antidote'): **raḥs*- 'to protect', Sogd. (Bud.) *r'x*- 'to rely on, take refuge to', NP *raḥsāndah* 'protecting', Skt. *raks*- 'to protect', etc.

raexyn : **raet** | **iræxyn** : **iræzt** 'расти', 'прибавлять росту', 'увеличиваться', 'развиваться', 'нати успешно', 'устраиваться' ('to grow, gain in length, increase, develop, to be arranged')

< **ui-raza*-; Khot. *birays*- 'to extend, spread', caus. *birāś*- 'to spread, proclaim' (*JGS*: 98), Pth. *nyr*- 'to arrange' (Ghilain: 70), MP *wirāstan* 'to arrange, prepare, cultivate, restore' (MacKenzie 1971: 91), R. *wirēz* : *wiroxā*, B. *wirōz* : *wirōxā* 'to make, build' (*EVS*: 92b), Zāz. *wirāz*- 'to prepare'.

rivæť, rivæd I. 'полуденный отдых скота летом' ('siesta of the cattle in summer')

< (?) **fraja-pada*-; cf. Av. *frī*-, Skt. *pri*- 'to enjoy, refresh' and **pada*-, s.v. Oss. *fæd*.

♦ According to Abaev, *rivæť* / *d* goes back to epenthesis **raipithuā*-, cf. s.v. Oss. *raftæ*. His suggestion cannot be upheld, since it is hardly conceivable that one (unanalysable) preform could have resulted in two totally different reflexes, viz. *rivæd* and *raftæ* respectively. In addition, even the postulated epenthesis preform could not explain the vowel in second syllable. The (exclusively) I. form *rivæť* / *d* must therefore have another etymology. We can mechanically reconstruct **raifad(a)*-, which could be the result of syncopated **raiafād(a)*-. I propose a connection with Ir. **frī*-, Skt. *pri*-. **raiafād(a)*- possibly goes back to the compound **fraja-pada*-, cf. OP *garma-pada*- '[month of] place of warmth'.

rong (obs.) 'хмельной напиток, приготовляемый из меда' ('intoxicating drink, made of honey')

< **raḥā-anga*-, **raḥā-han-ga*-, cf. Skt. *rāsa*- 'plant juice', *raś*- 'moisture', LAv. *raḥā*- a

mythical river.

♦ The reconstruction of Abaev, **frān(a)ka*- (Av. *frāna*-, Skt. *prānā*- 'force of life', Sogd. (Bud.) *βr'n* 'breath'), is scarcely possible. Not only is the semantic shift from *'spirit' to *'spirituous (drink)' not attested in Indo-Iranian, but the morphologically most probable reconstruction **frāna-ka*- would yield Oss. *frōnæg*. Another etymology was proposed by Bailey (*DKS*: 356b, s.v. *ragai*), who linked *rong* to Khot. *ragai*, which is a kind of fermented liquor, probably fermented mare's milk (a typical nomad's drink). According to Bailey, the Khotanese form is an *aka*-formation of **raba*-, Skt. *rāsa*-. However, intervocalic -k- of the suffix **-aka*- has regularly disappeared, already in Old Khotanese. In fact, the expected outcome of **rabaka*- is reflected by Khot. *rraa*- 'vein' (Parth. *rbē*, Sogd. *r'ē*), which was pointed out by Bailey himself in the entry. Since there is no indication that *rong* originally referred to fermented mare's milk, it is perhaps best to discard the Khotanese connection, especially if we consider the phonological difficulties. Connecting Oss. *rong* with Skt. *rāsa*- 'plant juice' is appealing, although a convincing preform for *rong* cannot be given.

rox | **ironx** 'забытый', [D.] 'забывший' ('forgotten', [D.] 'forgetting')

Etymology unknown.

♦ Abaev cautiously derives *rox* from **ui-ran(a)ka*-, which would be structurally comparable to Skt. *ni-smar*- 'to forget' (*smar*- 'to think, remember'). For the derivation he postulates a root **rā*-, which corresponds to Lat. *reor* 'to consider, count'. The root **rā*- has no further (Indo-)Iranian reflexes, however. Abaev also cites the alternative etymology, viz. a connection with Slavic, Russ. *ronjat*', Ukr. *roniti* 'to drop; to loose', which is even more problematic.

roxsnæg D. 'нежнорозовый', 'румяный' ('soft pink, with a blush')

< **rauxsna-ka*-, s.v. Oss. *ruux* 'light'.

rud | **rod** 'толстая кишка', 'колбаса' ('large intestine', 'sausage').

< **rauta*-; Khot. *rrūta*- 'intestines', Yağn. *rūta*, Bal. *rōt*, (EHB) *rōθ* 'id.'. With suffix: Khz. *rudē* (m.), MP *rōdīg* 'intestines, gut', Išk. *rēikē* 'belly', etc.

ruzyng | **rozingæ** 1. [I.] 'окно', 2. [D.] 'культовый хлеб', 'калач' (1. [I.] 'window', 2. [D.] 'sacrificial bread; a kind of pastry')

< **raučanakā*-, cf. LAv. *raucana*- 1. '(the) light, shining; window', MP *rōzan* 'window', Sogd. *ruč'yn* 'light' (Ab.), Kurd. (Kurm.) *rojen* 'roof-window', Š. *raz*, R. *ruč*, Sq. *rezn*, Yz. *ryj(on)* 'smoke-hole', W. *ruen*, Išk. *rečen* 'id., window' (*EVS*: 71b), Skt. *rocana*- 'shining', (n.) 'light', etc.

♦ The D. meaning is associated with a pagan solar cult, involving some offerings of bread. For -y- / -i- before -n see *Introduction*, 0.7.2.1.iv, and for final -g / -ga see *Syncope*, § 2.3.2b, § 2.3.4.

ruvas, rubas | **robas** 'лиса' ('fox')

< **raupāsa*-, El-OP **raupāḥa*- (Gershevitch, *apud* Hinz 1973: 89), Khot. *rrūvāsa*- 'jackal' (Nsg. 'ā'), Skt. (RV) *lopāśā*- (m.) 'jackal, fox'. Also with unexplained short -a-, e.g. Sogd. (Bud.) *rupsh* 'fox', Khz. *ruvs* (f.) 'fox', MP, NP *rōbāh* 'fox', Bal. *rōba* (Rossi 1982: 179, nr. 156), Kurd. *roni*, Orm. *rawas*, M. *rāuso* 'fox'.

♦ The Iron variant *ruvas* is puzzling: a convincing explanation is wanting.

ruuxs | **roxss** 'свет', 'светлый' ('light (subst.); light, bright')

< **rauxsina-*; LAv. *rauxsina-* 'shining, light', Sogd. *raxsān* 'light, bright', MP *rōšan*, NP *rausan* 'light; bright, light', Pš. *rīn*, (f.) *rīnā-* 'bright', Orm. *rīn* 'fire', etc.

S

sabat 'суббота' ('Saturday')

< Hebr. *šabbat* (evidently through intermediary sources). Borrowed in Gr. οὐρανός > Arm. *šabat*, Georg. *šabati*, etc.

sabyr 'тихий', 'смирный', 'кроткий', 'спокойный', 'безмолвный' ('calm, gentle, quiet, tacit')

< Arab.-Pers. *šabūr* 'patient, enduring'.

safyn : **sæft** | **isafun** : **isavd** (**isaft**) 1. 'терять'; 2. 'губить', 'уничтожать', 'сводить на нет', 'засылать куда-нибудь (в виде наказания)', 'портить', 'пачкать' (1. 'to loose', 2. 'to ruin; to destroy; nullify; to expel', 'to spoil, pollute')

< caus. **ni-šapa(ia)-*; cf. Av. *hap-*, *haf-* 'to safeguard', Skt. *sap-* 'to sustain, harbour'.

♦ Abaev derives *safyn* from **ni-šapa-*, comparing it to Skt. *ksap-*, late caus. *ksāpayati* 'exercises abstinence, chastises' (Ab.: 'to ruin, destroy, to bring to naught'). The connection with Skt. *ksap-* can safely be discarded, however: the root *ksap-* is rather a late back-formation of caus. *ksāpayati* 'burns, sets fire to' (*ksā-* 'to burn'), cf. EW/Aia I: 423. Rather, we must connect *safyn* with a different Sanskrit root, viz. *sap-* (A.L.). *Safyn*, with "negative" **ni-* originally meant something like 'not to sustain' (similar to Skt. prefixed *niśap-*), which better accounts for the Ossetic meanings. Less appealing is the etymology of Gershevitch (1970: 306), who connected *safyn* to Sogd. *š'f'k* 'roving, herumstreichend' (< **siāfa-*), LAv. *sæf-*, pres. *aifš.sifa-* 'über – hin streichen'. Semantically, the connection is cumbersome, since we have to assume several, unnatural shifts in meaning: *'to stray, [medio-pass.] be astray' > *'to loose the way, to be lost' > 'to loose, be lost, etc.'. Also, we would expect the past participle to be (zero grade) †*synd* / †*synd*.

For voiceless *f-* see (D.) *ragasæn*.

sagoj | **sagojnæ** 'вила́' ('hay-fork')

< **sag* + *-oj* / *-ojnæ*, Khot. *śājsano* 'fork', cf. Oss. *sag* 'deer' (< **šāka-* lit. 'forked, having branches'), Sogd. (Man.) *š'yb* 'branch'.

♦ The formation is recent, being formed with the relatively productive, instrumental suffix *-oj* / *-ojnæ* (v. Appendix, A § 13). The form **sag* 'fork' is also found in the formations *sag-gom* 'the space between the fingers or toes' and *sagil* / *sagela* 'split'.

sagæš 'а́ума', 'раздуме́' ('thought, contemplation')

< Tk. *sayış* 'thought; care'.

sasm | **sans** 'кле́й' ('glue')

< **sraisma-*, NAsg. n. **sraisma*; Skt. *śrāśman-*, Khz. *šryš*, NP *sirišm* 'glue', Khot. *našaima* 'attachment' (with pref. **ni-*).

♦ There is no trace of old **i-* in the Ossetic form. In *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.6.2, we saw that the palatal consonant **š* prevented *i*-epenthesis, apparently by absorbing palatal transmission from the (following) **i*, **j*. In the case of *sasm*, **š* presumably "absorbs" the preceding **i-* (actually **i-*, since it is part of a diphthong).

saw 'черный', 'смуглый' ('black, dark-complexioned')

< **siāna-*; LAv. *siānuu-* 'black', Sogd. *š'w* 'id.', Khot. *šāna-* 'copper', (adj.) 'copper-coloured, red', Khz. *š'w* 'black', MP *šyā*, Pth. *šy'w*, NP *šiyāh*, (?) W. *šm*, (?) Sangl. *šm* 'id.', Skt. *śyāva-* (m.) 'brown, dark-brown', etc.

sædæ 'сто', 'сотня' ('hundred, a hundred')

< **satā*; Av. *sata-*, OP *θata-* (in *θata-gu-* m. 'Sattagydia'), Sogd. (Bud.) *st-*, (Man.) *st'*, (Chr.) *st'w*, Khot. *sata-*, Khz. *sd*, *syd*, MP, NP *sad*, Pš. *sal*, Par. *sō*, Orm. *sō*, Yağn. *sat* 'hundred', Skt. *śatā-* (n.), etc.

♦ For final *-æ* see *Apocope*, § 1.4.4.

sæfyn : **sæft** | **isæfun** : **isavd** (**isaft**) 'пропадать', 'исчезать', 'гибнуть' ('to be lost, disappear, to perish')

< **ni-šapa-*; s.v. Oss. *safyn*.

♦ *Safyn* is the intransitive correspondence of *safyn* (q.v.).

sæjrag 'главный', 'верховный' ('head-, upper-')

< *sar* + *rag*; s.v. Oss. *sar* 'head, etc.'.

♦ The preform reconstructed by Abaev, **sarāka-*, does not account for the appearance of *j-*. *Sæjrag* is actually suffixed with *rag*, which forms adjectives or nouns indicating origin, belonging or relation, see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.7.3.

sæmæn 'ось' ('axis')

< **samja-na-*; cf. Av. *sami-* 'peg, pin', M. *sām* 'id.', NP *sim* 'yoke-pin', Xufi *sim*, Š. *sim-dörg*, Skt. *śamyā-* 'peg for fastening yoke to bullock's neck'.

sænykk (L) 'ко́зленок' ('kid')

< **śānika-* (Ab.); cf. Av. *scaēni-*, var. *sacaēni-*, *sacini-* (v. Hoffmann 1967: 29-38), Bal. *šanikh*, *šinik*, Sangl. *škanok*, Y. *šonak*, Pš. *hanik* 'id.'.

♦ Geminated *-kk* is puzzling: no explanation is given by Abaev.

sær 'голова', 'верх', 'верхняя часть', 'крышка', 'начало', 'причина', 'личность', (as postposition) 'на', 'над', 'поверху', 'через' ('head, top; upper part; cover', 'beginning', 'cause', 'personality', 'on, upon, over, through')

♦ **sarab-*; LAv. *sarab-* (n.) 'head', Sogd. *sr-* 'head', MP, NP *sar* 'head, top; end; beginning', Par. *sōr* 'head', ? Pš. *sar* (< NP ?) 'head', Skt. *śiras-* (n.) 'head, top'.

særd | **særdæ** 'ле́то', 'летом' ('summer, in summer')

< **sardā-*; LAv. *sarad-* (f.), OP *θard-* (f.), Sogd. *srōd*, Khot. *sala*, *salā*, Khz. *srō* (m.) 'year', MP, NP *sāl*, W. *serd* (in compounds, e.g. *wuserd* 'this year'), Pš. *psarlai* 'spring', Skt. *śarād-* (f.) 'autumn, year'.

♦ Final *-æ* is the result of thematization, v. *Apocope*, § 1.3.1b.

særdyn : **særst** / **isærdun** : **isærst** 'to smear, grease'

< **ni-sarda-*; cf. Khot. **ā-sal-*, **pa-sal-* 'to besmear' (**sard-*, SGS: 12, 78), *avasalakā-* 'mark by smearing' (< **aya-sard*, DKS: 380a).

særdyn : **særst** / **især(d)un** : **isard** (**isærst**) 'to harden; to weld'

< **ni-sar(d)a-*; Pth. *wys'r-* (**ni-sāraja-*), Sogd. (Man.) **pyr-* 'to cool (off)'.

♦ The common prefixed derivative of *særdyn* is *ba-šær(d)yn*. The optional dental *d* possibly points to influence of the past participle.

særvæt 'пастби́ще, выгон, находящийся в общем пользовании аула' ('pasture, meadow, meant for communal use')

< ?; cf. Russ. *seber* 'shareholder', *šaber* 'neighbour, comrade, shareholder', Finn. *seura*

'community'.

særyn (særdyn) : særst | isærun (isærdun) : isard (isarst) 'закаливать', 'делать стальным', 'наваривать сталь' ('to harden, steel; to weld')

< **yi-sar(d)a-*; cf. Av. *sar-* 'to unite', Khz. *bs'ry-* 'to stir' (< **apa-sāraja-*, Samadi: 24), and Pth. *wys'r-* (**yi-sāraja-*), Sogd. *psyr-* (*psyr'mudy(y)*) 'cooling', Khz. *s'rj-*, *ps'rj-* 'to cool (off)' (*sāraja-*, **apa-*, Samadi: 161, 178), MP *afsār-* 'to cool, freeze', W. *wāsēr-* 'to cool, become cold' (IIFL II: 549).

♦ The optional dental *-d* is strange: it is perhaps imported from the past participle. Oss. *sær(d)yn* has two possible connections, either with Av. *sar-* 'to unite' or with Pth. *wys'r-* 'to cool off' (etc.), both of which refer to the process of producing (hardened) steel.

sævn | isævnæ 'ширина' ([of clothes] 'width')

< ? **yi-strab-*; cf. NHG *straff*, *stramm*, Dutch *straf* 'stiff'.

♦ According to Abaev, *sævn* is a so-called "Scytho-Germanic" isogloss.

sizær | sezær 'сирота' ('orphan')

< **saju-čara-*; cf. LAv. *sae* (< **saju-*) 'being an orphan, orphan', Sogd. *s'ywk*, Khot. *syūta-* (with graphic *-t-*), MP (Turf.) *sywg*, Kurd. *sēwī*, Skt. *śayū-* 'orphan', etc. and **čara-*, Oss. *cæryn* / *cærun* 'to live', Av. *car-* 'to go'.

♦ If we follow the analysis of Miller (IF 21: 332), *sizær* can be interpreted as a compound with the meaning 'living as an orphan'. The second part *-zær* is a derivative of the Ossetic verb *cæryn* / *cærun* 'to live' (Av. *car-* 'to go').

sigæc | segæc 'точильный камень' ('whetstone')

Etymology uncertain.

♦ According to Abaev, *sigæc* goes back to **saikati-*, a derivative of Ir. **sika-*, OP *θikā-* 'grind', etc. Several difficulties arise with this reconstruction and etymology. In the first place, a full grade derivative **saikati-* has no further (Indo-)Iranian correspondences, while final **-ti* would normally become Oss. *-z* / *-j*. It is further not quite evident, how and why the meaning of 'stone, grind' has shifted to 'a stone for whetting'. A different etymology is more likely. *Si-* / *se-* is perhaps related to the verb *ysyn* / *insun* 'to sharpen', from which *ysson* / *insojnæ* 'whetstone' is derived. Final *-c* in both dialects suggests **-θi*.

simyn : simd | semun : sind 'исполнять старинный хороводный танец' ('to perform an ancient round dance')

< **sam-ia-* ?; related to either Skt. *śim-*, (pres.) *śimyati* 'prepares the victim for the sacrifice', *śimī-* (f.) 'sacrificial service', Skt. *śam-* 'to exert oneself', *śamī-* (f.) 'ritual or sacrificial service' or Georg. *samaja*, *sama* 'a certain kind of round dance', NP *samā* 'mystical music-session, dance of the derwishes' (< Arab. *samā* 'hearing').

♦ The etymology of *simyn* is controversial. According to Abaev, who rejects Miller's connection of the Oss. verb with Skt. *śim-yati*, etc., *simyn* goes ultimately back from Arab.-Persian *samā*, via Georg. *samaja*. The problem, however, how to account for the Oss. vocalism. It is difficult to imagine that the Oss. form is derived from Georg. *samaja*, as suggested by Ab. If it were indeed borrowed from *samaja*, this would have occurred quite recently and the expected Ossetic form should be †*sajmyn* (cf. *Majram* < Hebr. *Maryam* 'Mary', *adajmag* 'person' < *adam* + *-lag* 'people'). Perhaps the borrowing has taken place through another (Sufi-moslem?) intermediary. Bielmeyer (1979: 213), on the other hand, fully accepted Miller's etymology.

sin | sujnæ 'бедро' ('hip')

< **srauni-* + **-ā*; LAv. *sraoni-* (f.), Khot. *ssūñi* (pl.) 'loins', Sogd. *šwn* 'hips', Khz. *šunc*, Bal *srēn*, Skt. (m., f.) *śrōṇi-* 'hip', etc.

♦ Final *-æ* of the D. form points to (early) thematization, see *Apocope*, § 1.3.1b. *Sin* also shows epenthesis, cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.5.

soj | sojnæ 'жир топленый, жидкий', 'сало топленое', 'сок' ('melted, liquid fat; juice')

< ? **srān-ia-*; cf. Skt. *srāna-* 'boiled, roasted'.

♦ Miller (Gr.: 31, § 33.5) connected *soj* with Skt. *sphāy-* 'to become fat' (? Oss. *afsadyn* 'to saturate'). No trace of the labial can be noticed in the Oss. *soj* though. In order to explain the loss of **-p-* in Ossetic, Miller cited, apart from *soj*, two cases: *ysst* / *sista* 'louse' (Av. *spiš-*), *yz* / *sizæ* 'behind, backside' (Skt. du. tant. *sphijan*). The reason for the disappearance of **-f-* in *soj* would be analogy, which he apparently implied by mentioning the Skt. ppp. *sphita-* of *sphāy-*. Since we also have the verb *afsadyn*, the analogy is rather implausible. Another etymology is preferable. Perhaps, *soj* is related to Skt. *śrā-* 'to boil, roast', cf. *sojy fyx* 'baked in fat', *sojgyn bas* / *songun base* 'greasy soup, bouillon'.

The other designation for fat, viz. *fiw* / *few* (q.v.), refers to cattle, game: *fiw* is seen as a property of the fattened animal (*soj* as a substance).

!som | ison 'завтра' ('tomorrow')

< Oss. **i-sawæm*; cf. Oss. cf. Oss. *sæw-* 'morning', Khot. *svi*, Skt. *śvās* 'tomorrow'.

♦ Abaev derives *som* from **i-sawæm*. Although the contraction of *-awæ-* to *-(w)o-* is not uncommon in Iron, e.g. *n(w)og* 'new' (D. *næwæg*), *r(w)og* 'lung' (D., [also I.] *ræwæg*), this kind of contraction does not apply to D. Perhaps the vocalism reflects the influence of *bon* 'day' (as in *sombon* '(day of) tomorrow, future').

son 'враг', 'беда', 'несчастье' ('enemy; misery')

< **sina-*; LAv. (hapax) *sānam* 'enemy' (?), Khot. *sāna-* (m.), Sogd. *s'n* 'enemy', also borrowed in Toch. B *sām*.

stadv | (æ)stadv 'толстый', 'крупный' ('thick; large')

< **stafta-* (ppp.); MP *staft* 'hard, firm; harsh, tyrannous; very', Yz. *stānd* 'thick, dense (clouds)', Skt. *stabdha-* 'firm, stiff, rigid' (orig. ppp.).

stur | (æ)stor 'корова', 'бык', *Rind* ('cow, bull, bovine')

< **staūra-*; LAv. *staūra-* (m.) 'large cattle [i.d. camel, horse, cow and ass]', Khot. *stūra* 'large cattle, horse', Sogd. *st'ur* 'domesticated animal', Khz. *st'ur*, *scur*, *sur*, Pth. *st'ur* 'horse', MP *stōr* 'id, mount; large cattle, NP *stōr* 'horse, ass, mule, ox', Kurd. (Kurm.) *bestir* (m.) 'mule', M. *satir* 'horned cattle', Zāz. *stor*, *estor* (m.) 'horse', Š. *stūr* 'big, horned cattle', ? Orm. *stur-* 'horse' in *sturgá* 'stable' (IIFL I: 407a).

styn : stad | istun : istad 1. D. 'стоять'; 2. 'вставать', 'подыматься' ('to stand; to get up, rise')

< **hi-šta-*; Av. *stā-*, pres. *hištati* 'he stands', OP *stā-*, impf. *a-i-šta-tā* 'he took position, stood', Khot. *st-* 'to stand, be' (< **hišta-*, SGS: 128-129), Pth. *ist-* 'id.'.

styr | (æ)stur, (i)stur, (u)stur 'большой', 'великий' ('big, great')

< **stūra-*; Av. *stura-*, *stūra-* in PN (e.g. *Bačata-stura-*), Khot. *stura* 'thick, large', Kurd. (Kurm.) *stir* 'thick, strong', Pš. (Waz.) *star*, Orm. *stur*, Y. *ustur*, M. *satur*, Bal. *istur*, Skt. *sthūrā-* 'big, strong, thick'.

st'aly | (æ)st'alu 'звезда' ('star')

< ? *stār-; cf. Av. *star-* (m.), Sogd. (Bud.) 'st'r'k, (Man.) 'stry, Khot. *stāraa-*, Bact. *σταϱ-*, Khz. *st'ryk*, MP *stārag*, NP *stārah*, Pš. *stōrai*, Š. *stārij* (f.), R. *stirij* (f.), Sq. *stūrij* (*stāra-ka/ā-, EVS: 103b), Yz. *stārij*, *stārag* (< *stārāka-, EVS: 119b), Skt. *stār*, etc.

♦ Two phonetic features of *st'aly* are rather odd, viz. glottal *t'* and final *-y* / *-u*. The glottal pronunciation of stops can be found occasionally in inherited forms, e.g. s.vv. *st'elny* / *st'elun* 'to die' (< *st'rija-, x_oy_{sk}' / *xusk'ə* 'dry' (< *buška-), see Introduction, § 0.7.5.11. As for final *-y* / *-u*, there are two similar cases, viz. *avzaly* / *avzalu* 'coal', *zaly* / *izzaly* 'silk, of silk; silk scarf' (q.v.). Bielmeier (1979: 216) cautiously proposed the reconstruction *staru-ia-, which is troublesome.

st'ælyn | st'æld I. 'гибнуть', 'пропадать', 'околевать' ('to die, starve')

< *star-ia- < *str-ia-; Av. *star-* 'struerē', (pass). *auua-ā-strīa-* 'to lie on the ground', Khz. *stry-* 'to lie down' (< *st(a)rija-, Samadi: 187), Skt. *star-* 'to thrust down, subdue'.

♦ The postulation of a so-called "Scytho-European" isogloss by Abaev (cf. ORuss. *stirna*, Russ. *sterna* 'cadaver', NHG *sterben*, Eng. *to starve*, etc.) is unnecessary for *st'ælyn*.

suzin | sozijañæ, suzijañæ 'игла' ('needle')

< *saučijañæ; Khot. *sumjsiñā-*, *saujsañā-*, MP, NP *sōzan*, Bal. *sučīn*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *sājin*, M. *šijna*, Y. *šinjō*, Yağn. *sančīn*, *sinčīn* 'id.', Pš. *stōn* 'id., pillar' (contaminated with *stūna-?).

♦ Abaev proposes two proto-forms for Oss. *suzin*: either *saučīna- or *saučaina-. Both reconstructions are phonologically improbable, since we would expect *†suzyn* / *sozin* in Ossetic. In fact, the MP, NP and especially the Khotanese correspondences point to a preform *saučijañæ-. The sequence *anija- has regularly become MP, NP *'an* (cf. any 'other' < *anija-, *kanig* 'girl' < *kanja-ka-).

sug | sog 'арова', 'полено' ('firewood; log')

< *sauka-; LAv. *saoka-* in *ātra.saoka-* (m.) 'Feuerbrand(?)' = Sogd. (Chr.) *'tr-swg* 'fuel', MP *sōg* 'burning, combustion', Pth. *swg* in Pth. *swgb'ryg* 'sad', Khz. *swk* 'mourning' (< NP?, cf. Bal. *sug* 'mourning' < NP), NP *sōg* 'grief, sorrow; affliction, mourning', Khot. *busū* 'fuel' (*abi-sauka-, DKS: 301), Skt. *śokā-* 'glowing', *śōka-* (m.) 'sorrow, affliction, anguish, pain, trouble, etc.'.

susæg | sosæg 'тайный', 'скрытый', 'секретный' ('secret, closed')

< *sauša- + suff. -æg; cf. Oss. *sus* / *sos* 'silence', LKhot. *pasus-* 'to become hoarse, speechless'.

♦ Further connections in Iranian are uncertain. Perhaps, the Ossetic and Khotanese forms are borrowings from a Turkic language, cf. Azeri *sus* 'stillness'.

swadon | sawædon(æ) 'источник', 'родник', 'ключ', 'ручей' ('spring, well, creek')

< *sijānā- + *dānu-ā-; cf. s.vv. Oss. *saw* and *don*.

♦ Miller (OĖ I: 121) assumed that *sawdon* was to be analysed as *saw-don* 'black water', which is apparently supported by the expression *saw swadattæ* 'black wells'. Also in Turkic, there is a similar expression for 'well': *qara su*, lit. 'black water'. Nevertheless, Abaev declines the analysis of Miller on several grounds. Although *saw* 'black' is employed in many compounds, it never appears as *swa-* / *sawæ-*, e.g. D. *swabon* (= I.) 'black day, misfortune', *sawæst* / *sawæstæ* 'black eyes', *sawdur* / *sawdur* 'black stone', et al. Further, *swadon* cannot be separated from the near-synonym *swar* / *sawær*, which, according to Abaev, cannot be a compound with *saw-*. Abaev therefore considers *sawdon*

(and *sawær*) as a "Scytho-European" isogloss. Consequently, he derives *swadon* from *s(i)rañā-, with *s(i)rañā- being borrowed from a European language: Russ. *struja* 'stream', Lith. *sravā* 'flow', German *Strom*, etc.

The objections raised by Abaev are unconvincing, however. The appearance of final *-æ* in *sawæ* (I. *swa-* < *sawæ-, v. Introduction, § 0.7.5.9) is also found in a comparable compound (I.) *qarmædon* 'hot mineral spring' (cf. *qarm* 'warm', q.v.). This suggests that *-æ-* in these compounds apparently reflects a specific grammatical feature, old plural or feminine **-ā*, depending on the interpretation of the second part. The second element *'don* can be identified as either *don* 'water' or, semantically less likely, the "container"-suffix *-don* / *-donæ*, cf. Appendix, A § 7. It probably reflects the plural of *don* 'water', the original meaning of *swadon* is something like 'black waters', cf. Russ. *Mineral'nye Vody* a North Caucasian spa resort (lit. 'mineral waters'). We can thus uphold the assumption of Miller, with a slight change in the reconstruction. *Swadon* would go back to *sijānā- + *dānu-ā (and *qarmædon* < *qarmā + *dānu-ā). The D. form with final *-æ* would be the regular outcome, while the form without *-æ* is secondary, being influenced by the simplex *don* 'water'. Also *swar* / *sawær* can be analysed as a compound with *saw* 'black': < *sijānā-*vara-*, see below.

swar | sawær 1. 'минеральный источник', 'минеральная вода', 2. (dial.) 'рассол' (1. 'mineral well, water', 2. [dial.] 'pickle')

< *sijānā-*vara-*; cf. s.v. Oss. *saw* and **vara-*, LAv. *vari-* 'lake', MP *var* 'lake' (< Av. ?), Kurd. *birke* 'pool', s.v. Oss. *warm* 'hole-pit'.

♦ The reconstruction *sijānā-*ra-* and accompanying etymology, proposed by Abaev, is unconvincing, see s.v. *swadon*. *Swar* probably does reflect a compound with *sijānā-. The second part can be identified as **vara-*. The developments would be: *sijānā-*vara-* > (apocope, syncope) *sijānār > (simplification of **ij-* and **-u-*) POss. **sawær*.

sy | siwæ 'por' ('horn')

< *sruwā-; LAv. *sruwā-* (f.) '(finger-, toe-)nail', MP *srū* 'horn, nail, prong', Khz. *šw*, Khot. *s(i)u-* 'horn', etc.

♦ For D. *i* < **ū* see On **u*, **ū*, § 6.3.

syd | sud (only in GLsg. *sydej* / *sudej*) 'голод' ('hunger')

< *šud-; LAv. *šud(a)-* (m.), Khot. *ksū*, MP *šuy*, Bal. *šud* 'hunger', Skt. *ksūdh-* (f.) 'hunger'.

♦ *Sydej* / *sudej* 'from, of hunger' is especially found in combination with *mælyn* 'to die'. The D. form *suda* cited by Abaev is not attested. In his opinion, the form *zuda*, found in *SOPam*. (p. 169), should be emended to *suda*, apparently for stylistic reasons: the translation given for *Æ zuda mard, æ donug sast!* is (from Russian) 'Let his greediness be killed, let his thirst be quenched!'. The emendation is not compelling, however.

sy3 | si3æ 'зад', 'задняя часть', 'зadница' ('backside, rear, anus')

< *spijā (or ? *spijā); Skt. *spijā-* f. (du. tant.) 'hip; backside'.

♦ Like the Skt. correspondence, the Ossetic forms probably go back to an old dual.

syfc | sufcaæ, sifcaæ in *syfcaj lasyn*, *asyfca keanyn* / *sufcaj lasun* 'тащить волоком' ('to take in tow')

< Isg. **suf(i)jā* (or **suf(i)jā*); LAv. *supti-* (f.), Khot. *suti-*, MP, NP *suft*, Š. *sivd*, Skt. *śūpti-* (f.) 'shoulder', etc.

♦ The reconstruction **suf(i)jā* proposed by Abaev does not account for voiceless *-f-*: a

fricative followed by a dental should have been sonorized (which is a common East Iranian development). Final *-æ* in the D. forms would not be explained, too. These two features are resolved, if *syf* reflects Isg. **suf(i)jā* (or **sufθijā*). This preform also explains the idiomatic expression, which originally means **to carry, drag over the shoulder*.

syg | **sug** 1. 'слеза'; 2. 'струя' ('tear', 'stream')

< **asruka-*; Khot. *āṣka-* 'tears' (**asruka-*, DKS: 27a), Khz. *ʾšwē* (m.), Š. *yāšē*, R. *yōšē*, Sq. *yīl āxc(ē)*, Yz. *yāšē*, Y. *yāšē*, *yāšē*, M. *yōšē*, Sangl. *āšik*, W. *yāšē*, Orm. *bēncōi* 'tears'.

♦ On the loss of initial vowel see *Aphaeresis*, § 3.2.5.

sygyt | **sigit** 'земля' ('earth(-matter)')

< *Wanderwort*? **sikita-*; cf. OP *θikā-* 'rubble, broken stone', Sogd. *syketh*, Khot. *siyata-* (f.), M. *sāya-* 'sand', (?) Kurd. *sigi* 'earth', Skt. *sikātā-* 'sand, gravel'.

♦ Although very similar forms are found for 'sand, rubble, earth, vel sim.' in IIr., they cannot go back to one proto-form, be it Plr. or PIr.

sygd | **suḡd** 'горелый', 'обгорелый', 'обожженный', 'сожженный'; 2. 'пожар' ('burnt (over, in)'; 2. 'fire')

< ppp. **suxta-*; Av. **suxta-*, Sogd. (Anc.Lett.) *swyt-*, Skt. *suktā-* 'id.', etc.

sygzærin (syzgzærin) | **suḡzærinæ** 'золото', 'золотой' ('gold, golden')

< (s.vv.) *syx* / *surx* 'red' + *zærin* / *zærinæ* 'gold(en)'.

♦ The compound must have been transparent until recently.

syl | **silæ** 1. 'самка', 2. 'женщина' ('female (animal); woman')

< (<)**stri-(iā-)*; Av. *stri-*, Khot. *striyā-*, W. *strej*, Š. *s(i)tir*, M. *šiya*, Y. *šyo* 'id.', etc.

♦ The liquid *l* of *yl* / *silæ* is peculiar, it is unlikely that it reflects a regular development: from **stri-(iā-)* > (palataliz.) **stli-(iā)* we would expect simplification of the initial consonant cluster (> **s(s)i-(iā)*), rather than a complicated metathesis of such a cluster. Perhaps it has been transferred from the antonym *næl* 'male' (q.v.), as suggested by Ab.

s(y)max | **sumax** 'вы', 'вас', 'ваш' ('you, your [pl.]')

< poss. pron. **(iū)smāxa-*; GAv. *xsmāka-*, LAv. *yūsmāka-* 'your(s)', Sogd. (Man.) *ʾsm'x*, (Bud.) *sm'xw* 'you', Khot. *uma*, MP *asmā*, NP *smā* 'id.', Skt. *yusmāka-* 'your(s)'.

♦ The precise reconstruction is uncertain. Initial **i-* is found in LAv. only: there is no further evidence within Iranian. It is therefore possible that *y-* in the LAv. form is secondary, taken over from the nominative (Av. *yūšm*). On the other hand, also the Skt. form. has *y-*, which might be secondary as well. The GAv. *xsmāka-*, with prothetic *x-*, goes back to (unaccented) **sm* < **uim*, cf. Hoffmann-Forssman (1996: 72-73, § 41.c.). The "aphaerited" form is attested in many Iranian languages. In the Proto-Iranian period a form with **iū* and one with aphaeresis may have co-existed side by side.

An anaptyctic vowel has arisen in the cluster **sm-*. For final *-x* cf. (s.v.) *max*.

synk | **sunk** 'чирей', 'веред', 'прыщ', 'фурункул' ('pimple, carbuncle')

< **sinakā-*; Pš. *šinai*, Skt. *śinā-* 'swollen'.

♦ For more details on this *kā*-formation see *Syncopé*, § 2.2.1b.

syx | **surx** 1. 'красный', 'алый', (of horses) 'гнедой' ('red', 'bay')

< **suxra-*; Av. *suxra-* 'red [of fire]', OP *buuxra-* (m.) PN, MP *suxr* 'red', NP *surx* 'id.', Pš. *sūr*, (f.) *s(ə)rā*, Orm. *šūš*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *sōr*, Bal. *suhr*, *so(h)r* 'id.', Skt. *sukrā-* 'bright, pure, whitish, white', etc.

syst | **sistæ** 'вошь', 'Pediculus' ('louse')

< **spiš-*; Av. *spiš-*, Sogd. (Bud.) *špiš*, Khz. *sb'h*, *sp'h* (= **spāh*), MP *spiš*, Kurd. *sipi*, etc.

sysyn : **syst** | **isusun** : **isust** 'испаряться', 'высыхать', 'иссякать' ('to evaporate, dry')

< **mi-suš(i)a-*; Skt. *vi-sūya-* 'to dry up', cf. Av. *huš-*, Khot. *huš-* 'to become dry', etc.

syvar | **suvar** 'материнское чрево', 'матка', 'uterus' ('uterus')

< **sū-bara-*; cf. Skt. *śūna-* 'swollen'.

♦ Although compounds with **bara-* 'carrying' as second member are well attested in (I)Ir., e.g. LAv. *gadašbara-* 'someone carrying a club', OP *ršti-bara-* 'someone carrying a spear', this is the only example of such a compound in Ossetic.³⁶

T

ta encl. pcl. 1. (I.) 'а', 'же', '-то', 2. (I. D.) 'опять' (I. [I.] 'and, then', 2. [I. D.] 'again')

< ? **iθā* x **uta*; Av. *iθā* 'so, in this way', Skt. *iθā* 'so' (etc.) and LAv. *uta*, OP *utā*, Skt. *utā* 'and (also)', etc.

♦ According to Abaev (following Miller), the emphatic particle *ta*, which is mainly used in Iron (Dig.: *ba*), is a contaminated form of **iθā* (lege: **iθā*) and **uta*.

tazīn | **tazijnæ** 'тесло' ('adze')

< ? **tācānā-* lit. 'cutter's (tool)' cf. Russ. *tačat'* 'to cut'.

♦ According to Abaev, *tazīn* goes back to **tācšīna-* (**tācšāna-*), which is phonologically impossible for two reasons. In the first place, the assumption of Gershevitch (1955: 479), whom Ab. follows, that Oss. *c* "sporadically" represents OIr. **xʃ* cannot be upheld, v. Benveniste (ELO: 137; Weber 1993: 103-105). Secondly, **ina-* should become *†yn* / *†in*. The formation is reminiscent of the designation of another tool: *suzīn* / *sozijnæ* 'needle'. Since *tazīn* is a typical carpenter's tool, an etymological connection with Av. *taš-* 'to create', Skt. *takṣ-* 'to fashion, cut, carpenter' is tempting, but Oss. *-z-* needs an explanation. Some kind of contamination has possibly taken place with *suzīn* (?).

tagd 'быстрый', 'быстро', 'скорый' ('quick, quickly, fast')

< **taxta-* (ppp.); W. *tajd*, Išk. *tōjd* (pret.) 'he went, walked', Skt. *taktā-* 'quick'.

talm I. 'ильм', 'Ulmus' ('elm')

< ? OP *θarmi-* '(Lebanese) cypress', MP, NP *sarv* 'id.'.

♦ According to Abaev, *talm* is derived from OP *θarmi-* '(Lebanese) cypress', MP, NP *sarv* 'id.'. Since *talm* clearly refers to a different tree, explaining *talm* as a borrowing from OP remains somewhat uncertain. Note also the European forms for 'elm', Lat. *ulmus*, ON *almr*, OHG. *elmo*, *ilme*, OE *elm*, etc., which might also be the source of I. *talm*. The initial dental of *talm* would then be secondary, perhaps from *tulz* 'oak' (q.v.).

tar 'мрачный', 'сумрачный', 'темный', 'дремучий', 'мрак', 'темнота' ('dark, gloomy; darkness', 'dense [of forests]')

< (?) **tāra-*; Khot. *tāra-* 'dark', MP, NP *tār* 'darkness', Sogd. *t'ryy* (**aka-*) 'id.', Khz. *t're* (f.) 'dark', Y. *tīro*, M. *tīra*, *tūro* 'darkness', Š. *tēr* 'black', Kurd. (Kurm.) *tar* 'dark, obscure', Sangl. *turki* 'darkness' (**i* < NP), W. *tīrič* 'dark' (**iā-čī* ?), Bal. *tarink* 'dark', Yağn. *tōra* 'dark(ness)', LAv. *taθra-* (pl. n.) 'darkness', Skt. (RV) *tāmisrā-* (f.) 'dark night'.

³⁶ There are two Oss. examples of **bāra-* (with IE *o*-grade) used in compounds, viz. *kevar* 'gift, present' (**fra-bāra-*) and *minavar* 'mediator' (**manja-bāra-*).

◆ The Iranian proto-form for 'dark(ness)' is conventionally reconstructed as **tanθra-* or **taθra-*, cf. Bailey (DKS: 126a), Benveniste (ELO: 20), Biellmeier (1979: 221), Morgenstierne (1942: 266), et al., evidently on the basis of LAv. *taθra-* (pl. n.) 'darkness'. It is strange though that we cannot find a single trace of the consonant cluster **-nθr-* (< from older **-mθr-*?, cf. KEWA I: 479) in any another Iranian language. Perhaps, we have to separate the Avestan form from the other Iranian forms for 'dark', which presuppose the preform **tāra-*, cf. Skt. (with analogical *-m-*) *tāmra-* 'dark red, coppery' (PIE **t^hmHro-*).

tar | **itaræ** 'грудь', 'пазуха', 'отворот шубы на груди' ('breast, bosom, flap of fur on breast')

< ? **tārā-*; cf. Khot. *ttāra-*, Sogd. *t'r* 'forehead', NP *tār* 'top'.

◆ According to Abaev, initial *i-* of the Digoron form is either the prefix **i-*, which would not account for voiceless *-t-*, or the definite article, which is rather ad hoc.

tawyn : **tyd** | **itawun** : **itud** 1. 'сеять', 'рассыпать', 'разбрасывать'; 2. 'расстилать', 'развешивать' (1. 'to sow; to strew, scatter'; 2. 'to spread')

Etymology uncertain.

◆ Several etymologies for *tawyn* have been proposed, but none of them is satisfactory:

1. < caus. **i-tāuaja-* 'to strengthen', Skt. *tawiti* (Miller, Gr.: 29, 65);
2. from root **taw-* 'to sow' + preverb **i-*, cf. Pth. *wt'wuy* 'bowshot' (Bailey 1956: 32);
3. connection with Š. *tēw-d* 'to stir (soup, etc.)', *pit(t)āw-d* (**pati-tāuaja-*, EVS: 63) 'to throw' (Karamsoev, *apud* Abaev);
4. **i-tāu-*, with analogical loss of **-r-*, cf. ? LAv. *θraunūt* 'er haifte auf (?)' (Abaev).

Several nouns derive from *tawyn*, viz. *tawag* / *itawag* 'sower', *tawinag* / *itawinag* 'semen, seed', *xur-tawun* / *xor-itawun* 'grain scattered under the sun in order to dry'.

tælæn (D.) 'стремление', 'порыв', 'мечта' ('striving; gust, crack; (day-)dream')

< ? **tariāna-*; cf. Oss. *tæryn* 'to drive (forth)', *tyrynyn* / *turnun* 'to strive for; to go bust, cracked', Av. *tar-* 'to overcome, go over', OP *tar-* 'to cross over', Skt. *tar-* 'to cross over, pass over', etc.

◆ According to Abaev, *tælæn* goes back to **tariāna-*. It appears to be connected with the Oss. verbs *tæryn* 'to drive (forth)'. There are other forms with *tæl-*: *tælat* 'confiscation, driving away of cattle by force', *tæltæg* 'expansive; light-headed'. *Tæl-* would reflect a (medio-)passive stem **t(a)rija-*, cf. Skt. pass. *prā-tiryate*.

tælaet 'угон скота', 'угнанный скот', 'добыча' ('cattle raid, cattle stolen [in raid]; spoils')

< Tk. *tala-* 'to plunder, loot', *talān* 'pillage, plunder; raid'.

◆ Final *-t* of the Ossetic form is either analogical or reflects the abstract *at*-suffix (Abaev).

tærsag | **tærsagæ** 'пугливый', 'боязливый', 'трусливый' ('fearful, fearing, cowardly')

< **tr̥s(y)āka-*; Sogd. *tr̥s'g*, (Chr.) *tr̥s'k* 'Christian [lit. 'fearing (of God)']' (< MP ?, cf. GMS: 150, § 990), Khz. *tr̥s'k* 'Christian' (< MP ?), MP *tarsāg*, NP *tarsā* 'id., fearing', cf. LAv. *tarsa-*, OP *tarsa-* 'to fear', Oss. *tærsyn* / *tærsun* 'to fear'.

◆ On final *-ag* / *-agæ* see Appendix, A § 2.

tærxon 'суждение', 'обсуждение', 'решение', 'судебное решение', 'суд', 'judicium' ('judgment, sentence, decision, judiciary decision, judiciary process, judicium')

< Tk. *tarxān* a high officer of the court.

◆ Abaev believes that Oss. *tærxon* is derived from Aryan **tṛkāna-*, **tarkāna-*, apparently on the basis of Skt. (class.) *tarkana-* 'conjecturing, reasoning', from *tark-* 'to reason, conjecture'. The meaning of these late Skt. forms is secondary, the root *tark-* originally meant 'to move to and fro, to spin around', Lat. *torquere* 'to wind, spin', Hitt. *tarku-* 'to wind, dance', cf. KEWA I: 484-485; EWAla I: 633. The IE connections of Aryan **tṛkāna-*, etc., cited by Abaev, are very doubtful: OCS *tlbьkь* 'interpreter, translator', Russ. *tolk* (> Dutch *tolk*), Thrac. *talke* (meaning ?) in *Roeme-talces*, *Sitalces* PN, Hitt. *tark-* 'to interpret ?'. Other connections are even more fanciful, which Abaev admits ("Of course, we have to consider the possibility of convergence"): Lycian *ταρκων* PN, Etruscan *Tarchon* (> Lat. *Tarquinius*), Georg. family name *Tarxnišvili*. *Tærxon* cannot be shown to be of Indo-Iranian origin. On the other hand, *tarxān* is amply attested in Old Turkic sources. According to Doerfer (II: 460 ff.), the *Tarxān* referred to the bey standing left of the throne of the Khan, which is a sign of an outstanding position. The Turkic form has been widely borrowed, cf.

- Khot. *ttarkana*, *ttarkana-* (cited by Bailey 1939: 91);

- Sogd. *py' trx'n* name of a king, prince in Samarkand (Frye, *apud* Doerfer II: 473);

- Arm. *Corban tarxan* name of a Khazar leader, *t'arxan* 'exempted from tax', also Hunnic title (Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*: 266, 516);

- NP *tarxān* 'free, exempted from tribute or taxes, not amenable to punishment; ... a certain tribe of Turks' (Steingass: 293b);

- Gr. *ταρκάνας* a Turkic rank (VIth cent. BCE, Menander), etc.

The precise source of *tarxān* is uncertain, cf. Doerfer II: 471.

It is theoretically possible that *tærxān* has entered Ossetic through "Scythian". However, since the meaning of 'judge(ment)' can be derived from Persian or Turkic meanings, but scarcely the other way round, we are rather dealing with a recent borrowing.

tæryn, **tyryn**, **tyr** | **tærna** 'мальчик', 'отрок', 'юноша' ('young man, youth')

< ? **tar-*; cf. Av. *tauruna-* 'young', (m.) 'lad', Skt. *tārūna-* 'young, fresh, tender'.

◆ Since the I. and D. forms deviate from each other so greatly, it is hardly possible to reconstruct a common preform.

tæssond 'непрочный', 'шаткий', 'ломкий' ('unsteady, shaky, fragile')

Etymology unknown.

◆ According to Abaev, *tæssond* is the old present participle of *tasyn* 'to be bend, curved', which is improbable for formal and semantic reasons. The expected present participle of *tasyn* should have been *†tasond*. Also, the semantic connection between 'unsteady, etc.' and 'to be bend' is not evident.

tævd | **tævdæ** 'горячий', 'жар', 'зной' ('hot, (intense) heat')

< **taftā-*; LAv. *tafta-* 'feverish' (with *f* from *tafnu-* n. ('heat of) fever', cf. ppp. *ham.tafta-* 'heiss geworden, heiss'), Khot. *ttauda-* 'heated, hot', (abstr.) *ttaudā* 'heat', Pth. *ftt* 'warm, hot', NP *taft* 'warm, hot', Pš. *tōd*, (f.) *tavdā* 'hot, warm', Skt. *taptā-* 'heated, hot, glowing', etc.

tiğ | **teğæ** 'ребень (горы)', '(острый) выступ, угол', '(острый) край', 'бугор', 'грань' ('mountain chain', 'sharp protrusion, corner', 'sharp edge', 'hillock', 'border')

< **taiga-*; LAv. *taiga-* 'sharp', (m.) 'sharpness', Khz. *cy* (m.) 'blade', MP *tēx*, NP *tēğ* 'sharp edge, ridge, ray, sword', (Tadj.) *tēğa* '(mountain-)range', Yağn. *tiy*, *tey* 'sharpness'.

tomar D. + *kænun* 'устрепляться' ('to swoop down, on')

< ? **taumāra*; ? Skt. *tomāra*- (m., n.) 'short spear'. Borrowed in (?) ORuss. *tomara* 'arrow', Russ. (dial., Sib.) *tomar* 'arrow', Osty. *tamār* 'a kind of arrow used for hunting' (Fasmer IV: 75), Toch. A (pl.) *tomāri* 'spear' (< Iranian?).

◆ Abaev derives *tomar* from **taumara*-, connecting it with Skt. *tomara*-. According to Mayrhofer (KEWA I: 527), the late Skt. form is not satisfactorily explained. This is repeated again in EWAla III: 254. The structure of **taumāra*- (with long **-ā*- in second syllable) suggests that it may have been borrowed from an Indo-Iranian substrate language (A.L.). The Sanskrit form may be an Iranian borrowing.

tug | **tog** 'кровь' ('blood')

< **tauka*-; M. *tūga* 'button, bud' (pace Morgenstierne IIFL II: 254a), Skt. *tokā*- 'offspring, children'.

tulz | **tolzæ** 'дуб', 'Quercus' ('oak')

Etymology uncertain.

◆ The etymology of *tulz* remains a mystery: only the connection with Hung. *tölgy* 'oak' is beyond any doubt. Further connections are uncertain. Several etymologies have been proposed. Connections with Skt. *dāru*- 'wood' (Joki: 330, nr. 178), Gr. *δρῦς* 'tree, esp. oak', etc. and Skt. *tarī*- 'tree' (Miller, IF 21: 331) confront us with unsurmountable phonological difficulties. The vocalism is strange: the result of metathesis in the sequence *-*aru*- > *-*aur*-, cf. On **u*, **u*, § 6.4. In the case of *dāru*-, etc., we need to explain Oss., Hung. *t*- vs. IE **d*- as well. Abaev wants to consider *tulz* as one of "the derivatives" of the IE root **teu*- 'strength, power' (v. Pokorny: 1080 f., s.v. *tēu*- 'schwellen'), for which he cites OIc. *thollr* 'tree, pole', Swed. *tull* 'treetop', NHG *Dolle* 'thole', etc. Hence, *tulz* is a "Scytho-European isogloss"?

◆ For final -*z* / -*gæ* see Appendix, A § 1.

тымуг | **tumuğ** 1. I. 'метель', 'пурга', 'вьюга', 'буран'; 2. D. 'масса', 'скопище', 'разгар' (1. [I.] 'snowstorm, blizzard', 2. [D.] 'mass, crowd', 'summit')

Etymology uncertain.

◆ The reconstruction **tamu-ga*- proposed by Abaev is troublesome. A suffix *-*ga* is rare in (I)Ir., in Oss. almost non-existent (*biræğ*?, q.v.). Whether the etymology (Sogd. *tmw* 'hell', Av. *tamah*-, Skt. *tāmas*- 'darkness') is tenable, is a matter of taste. The meanings in I. and D. are divergent and it is almost impossible to discover how they have developed from each other. According to Abaev, the Iron meaning has developed from *'bad sight' < *'darkness', which seems to be rather farfetched. The D. form would reflect the metaphorical, expressive use of '(snow-)storm' for 'enormous'.

The morphological structure of *тымуг* is curious. It is more typical for a Turkic form, with final -*ğ* (cf. *biræğ*) and homophonic vowels.

Abaev also mentions that the meaning 'mass', as documented in Digoron, appears in Hung. *tömeg* ('Convergence?') as well, but the Hungarian form is an artificial creation, cf. Benkő: 1540b.

тынзун : **tyğd** | **itinzun** : **itiğd** 'расстилать', 'распростирать', 'распирать', 'растягивать', 'широко раскрывать' ('to spread out, stretch out; to open widely')

< **yi-ṭanja*-; cf. Oss. *iwinzyn* 'to harness a horse', Av. *ṭanj*-, Khot. *ṭamj*- 'to pull', etc.

тыссяг I. (said of wine-sacks, bags, and the like) 'тощий', 'утративший выпуклость,

полноты' ('meagre, without fullness')

< **tusjaka*-; Khot. *tuśśaa*-, Pth. *twyjk*-, MP *tuhig*-, Orm. *tusk* 'hollow', NP *tih* 'empty', Skt. *tuchyā*- 'empty, vain', etc.

◆ The reconstruction of Abaev, viz. **tuśjaka*-, is improbable since it does not account for the MP correspondence *tuhig*, cf. Nyberg (1931: 214 ff.), Hoffmann (*Aufsätze* II: 637, fn. 25).

On Oss. -*ss*- cf. Cheung 2000: 69 ff.

U

ud | **od** 'аух', 'ауша', 'spiritus' ('spirit, soul')

Etymology uncertain.

◆ Several etymologies have been proposed for *ud*. According to Abaev, *ud* is etymologically related to **uāta*-, Oss. *wad* 'wind', which would contain the root **ut*-, **uat*- 'spiral', 'inspire', ? Khot. *uṣṭana*- 'faculty, state', Av. *uṣṭana*- 'breath, soul, [= MP gloss *jan*]' (cf. DKŠ: 41b). In fact, the root of **uāta*- (< IE **H₂ueH₁to*-) is rather **uā*- 'to blow' (< IE. **H₂ueH₁*-, Gr. *ἄησι* 'it is windy', etc.). Petersson (1920: 66) suggested a connection with Arm. *od* 'air' (borrowing?). A connection with Lat. *odor*, Arm. *hot* 'smell', which Ab. previously accepted (OJaF: 174), is rejected in his dictionary. His teacher Miller (OÉ II: 105) suggested a connection with Av. *aota*- 'cold(ness)', which semantically does not agree with Oss. *ud* 'spirit'. Finally, Morgenstierne (EVP: 9) compared *ud* to Pš. *ūda* 'breath'. In addition, we can also mention Khz. *ūd* 'divine trust', Sogd. *ūt* 'religious faith' (cf. Benzing: 105), which contain the root **uat*-, LAv. *aot*- 'to understand', Av. *vat*- 'gnarum esse, fieri': *ud* < **auta*- 'thinking force'?

uj | **oj** (Nsg., Gsg. [D. only Gsg.]) 1. [I.] pers. and dem. pron. 'on', 'ot'; 2. [in Gsg.] 'ero', 'oro' (1. 'he, she, it; this'; 2. 'of him, her, it; of this')

< Gsg. **uajā*-, LAv. *auuajhbe*, OP *avahyā* 'id.', etc.

◆ On *uj* see also Syncope, § 2.2.3.

ulæn | **olæn** 1. 'волна'; 2. 'вал сена при уборке' (1. 'wave'; 2. 'hayloft during the harvest')

< East Sl. **volŭna*-; cf. Ukr. *volna*, Russ. *volna* 'wave', etc.

◆ Abaev derives *ulæn* from **uālana*-, which cannot be separated from Slavic, OSl. *valb*, *valna*- 'wave', etc. The reconstruction needs to be corrected: **uālana*- would rather yield Oss. *ṭwalæn*. The Oss. forms regularly go back **olæn*-, which agree best with the East Slavic forms. Final -*æn* either reflects secondary, vocalic **u*-, which arose after apocope (**olna*- > **olh*), or the replacement of **na*- by (productive) -*æn*.

uromyn : **uræd** | **oramun** : **oræd** 1. 'сдерживать', 'задерживать', 'останавливать'; 2. 'переносить', 'терпеть'; 3. 'ставить, нанимать на какуюлибо работу' (1. 'restrain, detain; to leave behind'; 2. 'to bear, tolerate'; 3. 'to keep, put on some work')

< caus. **uāra-rāma(ia)*-; Sogd. (inch.) *urms*- 'to become quiet, still', cf. LAv. *ram*-, caus. *rāmaia*- 'to bring to rest', forms with diff. preverbs, e.g. Khot. *narām*- 'to go out' (**nišram*-, SJS: 49), Khz. *ur'my*- 'to wait for' (< **uī-rāmaia*-, MacKenzie 1975: 395), etc., Skt. *ram*-, caus. *rāmāyati*, cf. s.v.v. D. *ramun*, *ramon*.

◆ The vocalism -*a*- of the D. form is apparently the result of labial dissimilation, since the medial vowel is followed and preceded by a labial vowel.

urs | **ors** 'белый' ('white')

< **aruša*-, Av. *auruša*- 'white', Sm. Ἀουσοί, Ἀλανογοσοί (Ptol., Strabo) name of a Sarmatian tribe (lit. 'the White Alans'), MP *arus* 'white', Skt. *aruṣā*- 'reddish'.

♦ On the vocalism see Он **u*, **y*, § 6.4.

us | **wosæ** 1. 'женщина после замужества'; 2. 'жена' (1. 'woman after marriage'; 2. 'wife') < **iaušā*-, Skt. (RV) *yōṣā*- 'young woman; wife'.

♦ The plural of *us* / *wosæ* is *ustylæ*, *ustæltæ* / *wostitæ*, *wostæltæ*. The plural forms have been often cited to plead for a particular reconstruction and accompanying etymology. According to Abaev (following Miller, IF 21: 332), *us* would go back to **iaušā*-, cf. Skt. (RV) *yōṣā*-, while *usty-tæ* would rather correspond to Skt. *yōṣit*- 'young woman; wife' (*ust-ælt-tæ*, with *-ælt-* from *arvad-ælt-tæ* 'brothers', *mad-ælt-tæ* 'mothers', etc.). Bieltmeier (1979: 233-234), on the other hand, derived *us* from Plr. **uasti*- < **uadti*-, "mit ungewöhnlicher Dissimilation" (cf. LAv. *padū*- 'woman, wife'), which is phonologically improbable, as we would expect the outcome †*wis(t)* / †*(w)es(t)*, cf. *is* / *es* 'is' (< **asti*, cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.3.3). The objection raised by Bieltmeier against Miller's suggestion chiefly concerned Miller's rule: Aryan **i*- > Oss. *w* before **u*. Although we must decline Miller's rule indeed, his etymology can still be maintained, except for pl. *ustylæ*, on which see below. Initial **i*- has simply disappeared before **-au* ³⁷, as observed by Gershevitch (1952: 487, fn. 2) and Abaev.

An entirely different etymology is proposed by Christol (1989: 56-57), who argues for a (Hurro-)Caucasian origin, cf. Abkh. *a-ph* 'woman', Czech. *stě* 'wife, female', Bats *ps̥t'u* 'wife', Hurrian *as̥te* 'woman'. His semantic and formal objections against the etymology of Miller are not compelling. The suggested reconstruction **astw* confront us with unsurmountable phonological problems. On the behaviour of final **u*, **y* see chapter 6. Again, much relevance is given to the plural forms. In fact, there is no need to consider the plural formations archaic. The formations are most likely modelled after the plural of *fajnust* / *nostæ* 'daughter-in-law, νύος' (q.v.): **nustylæ* / *nostitæ*, *nostæltæ*. In addition, it is also conceivable that the peculiar vocalism of *fajnust* / *nostæ* may have originated from *us* / *wosæ*, due to this semantic closeness.

usong | **osongæ** 'шалаш', 'шатер', 'хижина' ('hut, tent, shack')

< **aušāna-kā*-, Arm. *atroušan* 'fire-temple' (< WIr. **atar*-, **āθr*- 'fire' + **aušāna*- 'fireplace', Benveniste 1964: 57), cf. Khot. *byuvāre* (pres. 3pl.) 'they catch light', Brah. *huṣṇī* 'to burn' (< Bal.), Skt. *as*- 'to burn', etc.

♦ The root **auš*- 'to burn' is not widely attested in Iranian. The preform **aušāna-kā*-, reconstructed by Abaev, must be slightly corrected to **auš-āna-kā*-. The suffix *-āna*- indicates the place where a certain activity is involved (*Ai. Gr.* II/2: 185, § 82.a).

The original meaning of this etymon is probably *'a kind of provisory fire-place, fire-shed'.

***utæ** | **otæ** (**wotæ**) 'так' ('so')

< **amaθā*-, OP *avathā* 'so', LAv. *amūθa* 'so, thus', Kurd. (Kurmanji) *webe*, (Sor.) *wuḥa* 'so, thus', MP *ōb* 'id.'

♦ Iron **utæ* is hypothetical, which Abaev deduces from earlier *autæ* (with demonstrative

a-), cf. Šegren (1844: s.v.) *ante*, *avte*, *afte*. Rather, *afte* is the result of contamination with *afid* / *afed* 'only, in vain'. *Afid* is possibly derived from the verb D. *afun* : *af* 'to reach the necessary level; to suit, fit', hence *afte* < Lsg. adv. **āftai* 'fittingly'?

uxæm | **wæxæn** 'такой' ('so, such')

< **ama-ka-ma*-; cf. Av. *amūa*-, Oss. *u*- / *o*-, *axæt* / *wæxæn* 'such', etc.

♦ Abaev derives *uxæt* from **ama-ka-ma*-, a derivative of the demonstrative **ama*- (Av. *amūa*-, Oss. *u*- / *o*-, etc.). The medial *-x-* is unexplained.

uzælyn : **uzæld** I. 'ухаживать', 'обхаживать', 'холить', 'оказывать всяческое внимание', 'делать приятное (заботой, лаской, угощением)', 'ублажать (иногда притворно)', 'потчевать' 'to nurse, tend; to coax; to show attention; to do something nice (by care, caressing, being a good host); to regale'

< **ama-ṣar-ia*-, cf. Skt. *har*-, pres. *haryati* 'loves'.

W

wa 'столь', 'настолько' ('so, such; thus')

< NAsg. n. **amāt* (Sims-Williams 1997: 318 ff.); LAv. *amūant*- 'so (great, much)', OP NAsg. n. *avā* 'so much, as much as' (in *avākaram* 'in such way'), Sogd. *w*- 'so very'.

♦ The Oss. particle *wa* correlates to *ca* 'how?', which has precise Iranian parallels: Av. *cunāt* ... *amāt*, Sogd. *c*' ... *w*'. The IE origin of the Iranian forms was recently treated by Sims-Williams (l.c.).

On the loss of the initial vowel see *Aphaeresis*, § 3.2.1. ff.

wac | **wac**, **wacæ** 1. 'весть', 2. 'божество', 'божественный, святой' (1. 'message, news', 2. 'deity, divine, holy')

< 1. Npl. n. **uāčā*, 2. sg. m. **uāčā*-, Skt. (pass.) *vacyāte* 'is spoken, said, announced'.

♦ Starting from a base **uāč*-, Abaev suggests three possible formations for Oss. *wac*: **uāčab*-, **uāč-ia*-, **uāčā*-. The preforms **uāčab*- and **uāčā*- are improbable. The latter reconstruction (proposed by Gershevitch 1955: 486 ff.) is impossible, as **x* has become regularly *xs* in Ossetic, cf. Benveniste (ELO: 137, fn. 1) and, especially, Weber (1993: 103-105). The former reconstruction is both formally and semantically difficult. We need to account for voiceless *c*, since intervocalic **i* would have given voiced *z* in Ossetic, cf. Abaev (*apud* Gershevitch, *ibid.*: 479). Besides, the morphological structure is impossible: (simplex) neuter *ab*-stems normally have full grade **-a*- (cf. Av. *vacab*-).³⁸ Voiceless *-c*- rather presupposes **-č*-. Consequently, if we accept the reconstruction **uāč-ia*-, as proposed by Dumézil (1960: 46), we are now able to account for the rather diverse meanings of *wac*. The formation **uāč-ia* is denominative in origin. The *ia*-formation (of **uāč*- 'word') **uāč-ia*- 'related, belonging to the word', can mean either in substantival sense 'which has the word' (> 'message, news') or in adjectival sense 'worthy of the word, *orandus*, *fandus*' (said of a divinity). Alternatively, **uāč-ia* can also be identified as a gerundive: the meaning meaning 'god, divine' reflects the singular masculine of a gerundive, which has become an epithet: '(*deus*) *invocandus*', cf. Skt. *prāṇācyā*- 'praiseworthy, worth being proclaimed' (said of Indra's prowess). *Wac* with the meaning

³⁷ Two impeccable examples can be cited: *uzyu* / *ozu* 'to swing, rock' (< **iauzā*-, LAv. *yaorč*- 'to set into motion, incite'), *udyu* / *odun* 'to exert, put effort' (**iauda*-, LAv. *yaod*- 'to fight').

³⁸ In fact, a form **uāčV*- is continued by the petrified Oss. form (Dsg.) *wazæn* 'proverb' (in the expressions *wazæn afte akanyyn*, *wazæn ṣaḡda* 'as the saying goes') and by certain compounds (e.g. *wazavard*, q.v.).

'news, message' is the object of saying, thus reflecting plural neuter **uāčā*. Assigning the meaning of 'spirit' to *wac*, as deduced by Gershevitch (ibid.: 131) on the basis of the names *Wacilla* and *Wastyry* (male gods), is superfluous, cf. *Aphaeresis*, § 3.3.2b. Incidentally, the meaning 'word' does not exist.³⁹

Wacamongæ, Acamongæ | Waciamongæ название чудесной чаши (ковша) в героическом нартовском эпосе осетин (name of a divine cup in the Nart epic of the Ossetians)

< **uāčā-āmānaka*- (Ab.); cf. Oss. *wac* / *wacæ* and *amonyn* / *amonun* 'to show, teach, admonish', Khz. 'm'ny- 'to guide, lead'.

♦ This compound is transparent, consisting of *wac* / *wacæ* and the gerund of *amonyn* / *amonun*.

wad | wad(æ) 'ветер', 'буря' ('wind; storm')

< **uāta*-; Av. *vāta*- (m.), Khot. *bāta*- (m.), Sogd. (Bud.) *w't*, Khz. *w'd* (m.), MP *wād*, NP *bād*, Bal. *gwāt*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *ba*, Zāz. *va*, Y. *wij*, M. *wij*, Pš. *wō*, Skt. *vāta*- (m.) 'wind', etc.

wadynz | rarely wadinzæ 'свирель' ('reed-pipe [instrument]')

< **uāta*- + *ynz* / *-inzæ* ?; cf. Oss. *wad* (see above).

♦ The etymology of *wadynz* is somewhat uncertain. Abaev derives it from **uādanitī*-, containing **uad*- 'to play on an instrument; sing', Skt. *vad*- 'to speak; raise voice, sing', *vāditra*- (n.) 'a musical instrument', *vadin*- 'speaking, speaker; musician'. The Skt. forms have no certain etymology, however, cf. KEWA III: 184. The formation *wadynz* looks rather like a derivative of *wad* 'wind', with diminutive *-ynz* / *-inzæ*, see Appendix, A § 15.

wazavard 'остолбенелый', 'онемелый' ('astonished, stunned')

< ? **uāčā* / *parta*-.

♦ Abaev derives *wazavard* from **uāč-āparta*- lit. 'whose speech, voice has left'. For the first part **uāč*- see s.v. *wac*, the second part is connected by Abaev with *æveryn*: *ævard* / *ævarun*: *ævard* 'to place, put down'. The verb has etymologically short *æ*- (in D. also *i*-), which could reflect **apa-bara*- 'to carry off' (> syncope **aβ-βara*- > simplif. *æveryn* / *ævarun*). However, other etymologies for *(*a*)*vard* are also conceivable, e.g. reflecting **apa*-(H)*pta*- 'moved off, away', 'stuck, fixed' or **ā-ppta*- 'filled', 'crossed over, transferred', cf. Bartholomae (AiW.: s.vv. ¹*ar*- 'to set in motion', ³*ar*- 'to stick', ²*par*- 'to fill', ⁴*par*- 'to cross over, go through').

wazyg | æwazyg 'упавший в обморок', 'обморок' ('falling unconscious; unconscious')

< **uāč-uka*- lit. 'being under a spell'.

♦ On the etymology and initial *æ*- of the Digoron form see *Aphaeresis*, § 3.3.2b.

wafs 'подошва обуви' ('sole of shoe')

< Kab. *waps'a* 'felt'.

wal | bal 1. 'пока', 'сперва'; 2. 'более' (1. 'for the time being, at first'; 2. 'more')

< I. **uāwari*, D. **uāwari*; cf. Av. *auuara* 'down below', *aorā* 'down(wards)', Skt. *avāb* 'downwards' and LAv. *uāwari* 'up, above', OP *uāwari*, Skt. *uāwari* 'up, above, over', etc.

♦ In the interpretation of Abaev, who follows Miller (Gr.: 46-47, § I.) and Hübschmann

(Oss.: 230), both the I. and D. forms reflect old **uāwari*- ('with secondary *vr̥ddhi*'), in spite of the different initial labial. Already Salemann (1901: 319) objected to this assumption. His objection was repeatedly endorsed by Benveniste (ELO: 32) and Bieltmeier (1979: 230). *Bal* is the sole regular outcome of **uāwari*-, while *wæl*- presupposes **uāwari*, which could have been formed on the basis of **uāwari(a)*-, Av. *auuara*, *aorā*. See s.v. *wæl*-. The lengthened grade forms *wal*, *bal* of *wæl*-, *bæl*-(q.v.) are peculiar, as they are not known elsewhere⁴⁰. Abaev considers the *vr̥ddhi* form expressive.

On initial (I.) *w*- < **uāw*- and (D.) *b*- < **uāw*- see *Aphaeresis*, § 3.2.1. ff.

wart 'щит' ('shield')

< **uāwara*-; LAv. *warōra*- (in *aiō.warōra*- 'iron-shielded'), Khot. *bat̥a*- 'cuirass', also *be'sa*- 'shield' (< **uāw-s-a*-, DKS: 305), Pš. *bāro* 'shield', Ašk. *bada* 'id.' (LW ?), Hung. *vert* 'mail' (< AL).

lwaryn : wærst | iwarun : iurst 'делать', 'распределять', 'раздавать'; 2. 'делиться', 'производить раздел имущества' (1. 'to divide, distribute'; 2. 'to be divided, to divide up possessions')

< **uāwāra*-; Sogd. *yw'r* 'separation', cf. Av. *war*- 'to choose, select', etc.

wat 1. 'комната', 2. 'постель'; 3. (as second member of compounds) 'место', 'емкость', also 'руины' (1. 'room', 2. 'bed', 3. 'place', capacity, size', 'ruins').

< **uāwāra*-; Sogd. (Man.) *w'ō*, Khz. *wc* (f.) 'place', Skt. *vasathā*- 'place' (e.g. *ā-vasathā*- 'residence').

wazæg | iwazæg 'гость' ('guest')

< **uāwāzaka*- (Ab.); cf. Av. *vaz*- 'to ride, drive', Skt. *vi-vah*- 'to carry away, remove', *vivahā*- (m.) 'carrying off, taking of a wife', *vab*- 'to ride, drive', *vābaka*- 'rider, driver', etc.

♦ If we accept the etymology of Abaev, the semantic development was probably as follows: *'driving' > *'traveller' > 'guest'. Abaev cites as parallel Av. *asti*- 'guest', Skt. *ātithi*- (m.) 'traveller, guest' from **at*- 'to go', Skt. *at*-, which is disputable, however: an etymological connection between *ātithi*- and *at*- is far from certain, cf. EWAia: 56, 57 f.

lwæd 'тогда' ('then')

< **uāwada*; LAv. *auuāda*, OP *avādā* 'there', Sogd. *wō*, *wō y*, Yağ. *wat*-, *wad* 'id.' etc.

♦ *Wæd* is generally used in expressions like *ke y ... wæd* 'when ..., then', *kead ... wæd* 'if ..., then'.

For the deletion of initial **a*- see *Aphaeresis*, § 3.2.1.

wædært(t) | wædærtæ 'массивное деревянное кольцо, надеваемое на веретено для придания ему тяжести и вращательной инерции', 'прясло' ('solid wooden ring, put on a spindle, for stability and inertia, spindle whorl')

< **uāwārtā(-)*; cf. Yağ. *watna* 'hand-spindle', Khz. *wtr*, Skt. *vartula*- 'circular; spindle'.

♦ The feminine instrumental suffix that is used in *wædært* is rarely attested in Iranian, e.g. LAv. *āstrā*- 'whip' (= Skt. *āstrā*-), *simōitbrā*- (possibly) 'yoke', *zaoθrā*- 'libation'.

Wæjyg | Wæjug 'ваюг'; излюбленный персонаж осетинской народной демонологии

³⁹ This meaning was introduced by Abaev in *OJaF*: 185 and, subsequently, cited by Gershevitch (ibid.). In his *Dictionary*, Abaev has tacitly dropped the meaning 'word'.

⁴⁰ According to Humbach-Ichaporina (1998: 71), Avestan *uāwari* is due to popular etymology: *uāwari* *saēna*- continues **uāwari* *saēna*-, from *pari* *uāwari* *saēna*-, which is attested in the Babylonian version of the OP Behistun inscription (*par-ū-pa-ra-e-sa-an-na*). The name *pari* *uāwari* *saēna* is identified as Gr. Παροπατισμός, i.e. the Hindukush mountain range.

(‘a Wayug’, favorite character of the Ossetian popular demonology)

Etymology uncertain.

♦ The identity of Oss. *wæjyg*, pl. *wæjyŋæ* is somewhat fluid. In fairy tales the *wæjyg* frequently refers to an evil spirit, being either identical or related to *xæjŋæg* ‘devil’. On the other hand, he is usually depicted as a powerful, awesome giant, possessing one eye, seven or even hundred heads, cf. *LAEM*: 153 f. The nominal meaning of *wæjyg* is ‘giant, gigantic’ (so used by K’osta). Similar to the confrontation of Ulysses with the Cyclops, the *wæjyŋæ* constantly struggle with the Nartic heroes, who usually defeat them by wit and cunning tricks.

As for the etymology, Abaev now accepts the connection with **uāju-* ‘wind’ (LAv. *vaiiu-* ‘air, wind (also as divinity)’, Skt. *vāyu-* (m.) ‘wind’), Sogdian *w’ywk*, Parth. *w’ywk*, MP *wāyng* ‘hunter’, cf. *GMS*: § 878. The semantical aspect of *wæjyg* would be puzzling, however. For there is no clear trace of the meaning ‘wind or hunter’, as remarked by Dumézil (1959: 172). Alternatively, an etymology which would better account for the meaning was mentioned by Bailey (*DKS*: 387, s.v. *vīyāstū* ‘youthful’), who connected *wæjyg* / *wæjug* with Skt. *vīyas-* ‘youth’ (cf. deriv. *vīyasvant-* ‘possessed of power, vigour, mighty, vigorous’). Bailey also cited a dyadic phrase *wæjyŋæ amæ wængyŋæ* (pl. of *wænyg* ‘bull calf’), which would suggest that the morphology of *wæjyg* is modelled after *wænyg*.

wæl-, wæŋæ ‘на’, ‘над’, ‘наверху’, ‘super’ (‘on, above, over, super’)

<(<) **aŋari*, Lsg. **aŋari(ŋ)ai*; see s.v. Oss. *wal*.

♦ *Wæl-* is employed as prefix, while *wæŋæ* functions as preposition and adverb. For the derivation of *wæŋæ* and the origin of final *-æ* see *Apocope*, § 1.4.3. Abaev derives *wæl-* from **upari*, which has been repeatedly rejected by Salemann (1901: 319), Benveniste (*ELO*: 31–32), Bielmeier (1979: 230), et al.: **upari* has yielded Oss. *baŋ-*. Benveniste suggested a connection with Av. *auuara-* ‘down(wards)’: *wæl-* < **aŋari*. The connection is semantically troublesome, however. He therefore assumes a semantic shift, which was triggered by the antonym **adari* (> LAv. *adairi* ‘under’, s.v. Oss. *dæl-*): “On peut imaginer que l’ancien *aŋar(a)-* (Av. *auuara-*, *aora-*), marquant le mouvement de haut en bas, ait été en scythique associé à *adar(a)-* «inférieur» en un couple polaire.” The ensuing polarization would have accounted for the shift. Alternatively, we can think in terms of deixis. As a derivative of demonstrative **aŋa-* ‘that’, *wæl-* could refer to a place yonder in vertical direction⁴¹, which subsequently developed to an antonym of *dæl-*. The shift to specifically ‘up (there)’ is perhaps recent, see *wælbæden*.

On the loss of initial **a-* see *Aphaeresis*, § 3.2.1.

wælbæden ‘лобковая область’, ‘область над половым органом’ (‘groin, area above the private parts’)

< *wæl-* + Arab.-Pers. *badan* ‘body’ lit. ‘lower body’?

♦ Abaev derives the second part *bæden* from **mæden*, cf. Skt. *madana-* ‘passion, (sexual) love’, which is improbable, both phonologically and semantically. The classical Skt. compounds cited by Abaev, *madana-anikuśa-* ‘penis’ (lit. ‘love-hook’), *madana-ātapatra-*

‘vulva’ (lit. ‘love-umbrella’), are merely florid qualifications. For the development *bæden* from **madana-* Abaev (I: 243, s.v. *bædajŋæg* ‘brave; bravo!’) cites as parallel *bæŋæg* ‘naked’ from *maŋna-*, which can be explained differently, s.v. *bæŋæg*. The etymology quoted for *bædajŋæg* (declined by Ab.), viz. borrowing from Arab.-Pers. *badan*, seems also suitable for *wælbæden*.

wældaj ‘лишний’, ‘излишек’, ‘избыток’, ‘остаток’, ‘особенный’, ‘сверх (того)’, ‘отличающийся’ (‘superfluous; surplus, abundance; remnant; special; in addition; characterized by’)

< *wæl-* + **dāja(h)-*; cf. Skt. *dāyā-* m. ‘share, portion’ (Miller, *IF* 21: 332, 65).

wældon I. ‘избыток’ (‘abundance’)

< *wæl-* + **dāna-*; cf. Skt. *dāna-* n. ‘cutting off; part, share’.

wælinzæ D. ‘крыша’ (‘roof’)

< *wæl-* + **antV* + **-i-ā-*?; cf. Sogd. (Man.) *pdynd* (> NP *palandin*?, Henning (1939: 100), differently in *EVS*: 55), Š. *pidind*, B. *paḍing* (etc.) ‘threshold’ (< **pada-antiā-*, *EVS*: 54–55), LAv. *qithiā-* f. ‘door-post’, Skt. *ātā-* f. ‘frame of a door’.

♦ Ab. derives *wælinzæ* from **upari-antiā-*, which is phonologically improbable. Final *-zæ* cannot reflect **θia* (*-tia* is not Ir., rather *Ilr.*), which must have yielded Oss. D. *†-æ* (cf. *Appendix*, A § 6). The sequence *-zæ*, with voiced *-z-*, presupposes **-i-ā-* or **-i-ā-*. Perhaps, it can be identified as the diminutive-feminine suffix *-z* / *-zæ*, cf. *Appendix*, A § 1.

wællag ‘верхний’ (‘upper, utmost’)

< **aŋariāka-*; svv. *wæl-*, *dallag*.

wæŋqæd | **wæŋgædæ**, **wæŋgædæj** ‘стоя’, ‘стоймя’ (‘standing upright’)

< *wæl-* + *²qæd* / *ḡdæ* ‘qualitas’ lit. ‘being above, up’.

♦ Abaev denies any connection with (s.v.) *¹qæd* / *ḡdæ* ‘wood, log’. The literal meaning of *wæŋqæd* would be ‘on the wood’, which is not probable, in his opinion. He therefore proposes the reconstruction **gātu-* ‘place’ (Av. *gātu-*, etc.) for the second part, which cannot be upheld. In the first place, we cannot explain the vocalism (**-ā-* > Oss. *-a-*). Secondly, *q-* of the I. form reflects older *ḡ-* (= D.) in initial position, which indicates the recent date of the compound. The second part may rather reflect *²qæd* / *ḡdæ*, from which the following compounds are formed as well: *laḡyqæd* ‘bravoury’ (lit. ‘behaving like a man’), *xæŋyqæd* ‘being good’.

wænyg | **iwonug**, **iwonæg** ‘бычок’, ‘iuvenus’ (‘bull calf, iuvenus’)

< **iŋuānam* + **-ka-*; LAv. Nsg. *yauua*, Asg. *yūuānam* ‘young man’, Khz. *ju’nyk* ‘young (man)’, Khot. *jvā* ‘young’, Arm. *yavanak*, *yovanak* ‘young animal’ (< WIr.), NP *javānak* ‘young man’, *javān*, *juvān* ‘young’.

♦ Abaev suggests three possible preforms **iaŋanuka-*, **iaŋanuka-*, **iaŋanuka-*, which are all implausible. There is no evidence for full grade preforms with **ia-* in Ir. (or IE). The Late Avestan form Nsg. *yauua* ‘young man’ may well be secondary for **yūuā* (= Skt. *yūvā*).⁴² Finally, **iŋuānaka-* does not account for the vocalism of the Iron and Digoron forms.

The different medial vowel in I. and D. is odd. This can be explained if we take

⁴¹ A similar case can be found in an Old Persian passage: DNā *hya imām bimim adā hya avam asmānam adā* [Ahura Mazda] who created this earth (and) who created yonder sky’. The expression *avam asmānam* is comparable to Oss. *wælarw* ‘in heaven’ (arw ‘sky, heaven’).

⁴² The (LAv.) spelling *yauu* for *yuu* is also found in Gdu. *yauuākem* ‘of you both’ (= Skt. *yuvāku*). The spelling possibly betrays West Iranian (Parthian?) influence (cf. Arm. *yavanak*, NP *javān*).

into account the plural forms: *wəngɔtə* / *iwongutə*. Apparently, paradigmatic levelling has taken place in the system: sg. **wonyg*, pl. *wəngɔtə* / sg. *iwonug*, pl. **iwəngutə*. On the vowel alternance in singular and plural see *Accent*, § 5.5. On the loss of *i*- in Iron and reconstruction see *Aphaeresis*, § 3.3.1a. The suffix *-æg* is very productive, which explains the replacement of *-ug* in D. *iwonæg*.

As for the formation, Oss. *wənyg* / *iwonug* 'calve, *iuvenus*' is probably formed on the basis of the Asg. **juānam*, to which suffix **-ka* is added. Final **-am*, as found in the Asg., became **-u* at a certain Pre-*Ossetic* stage, cf. *On* **u*, **u*, § 6.2.3. Usually, the (improductive) suffix *-yg* / *-ug* resulted from the addition of **-ka* to (both original and secondarily arisen) *u*-stems, e.g. *zənyg* / *zonug* 'knee' (< **zānu-ka*, Av. *zānu*).

wəraz, woraz документируется только как личное имя (only documented as personal name)

< **warāza-*; LAv. *varāza-* 'boar' (also PN), OP *Varāza-* PN (< "Median"), MP *warāz* 'boar', NP *gurāz* 'id.', Kurd. (Kurm.) *berāz* 'swine, pig', Skt. *varāhā-* (m.) 'boar'.

wəraz | urux 'широкий', 'просторный' ('wide, spacious')

< **warahant-*, Nsg. **warahāh*, cf. Skt. *varas-* 'width, space'.

♦ On the reconstruction see *On* **u*, **u*, § 6.2.1.

wərdæx 'скупенный прут, используемый как веревка' ('twisted twig, used as rope')

< **wartahant-*, Nsg. **wartahāh*, cf. LAv. *varat-* 'vertere', Khz. *wrđ-* 'to become, turn into', Pth. *wrt-* 'to turn, go', Oss. *wərdyn* / *wərdun* 'to roll', etc., also Balk. *bardux*, *urdux* 'twisted twig', Kab. *wārdāxw* 'fellow of a wheel' (< Oss.).

♦ The preform **wartaka-*, proposed by Abaev, does not account for final *-x*. Since the structure of *wərdæx* is rather similar to *wəraz*, I suggest that *wərdæx* is an old **nant*-formation, formed on the basis of neuter *ab*-stem **wartah-*, which has no known Iranian reflexes though. The expected D. reflex **urdux* has been preserved in Balkar, while the Kabardian borrowing reflects the POss. form.

wərdon | wərdun 'apōa' ('two-wheeled chariot')

< **wartā-* + suff. (I) *-on*, (D.) *-gun*; cf. LAv. *vāša-* 'chariot' (< **vārta-*), Sogd. *wrtn* 'chariot', MP *warden* 'wheel; war-chariot', NP *gardūn* 'chariot', Skt. *vantani-* f. 'fellow of a wheel', etc.

♦ The different vocalism in the second syllable in the I. and D. form is odd, but it has a parallel, viz. *lak'on* / *lak'un* 'murky' (< NP *lakka*, Tk. *laka* 'stain'). Several explanations have been given. According to Abaev, *wərdun* reflects either a tendency in D. to raise the vowel before a nasal, or a "need" to avoid convergence with *wərdon* 'sheep stable'. These assertions are hardly compelling: there are no other Ossetic examples for the raising of *o* > *u* before *-N* (only **a* > *i*), except *lak'on* / *lak'un*. The "need" to avoid convergence is no valid argument. Earlier, Miller-Stackelberg (p. 69) suggests borrowing from MP ("West Iranian", according to Bielmeyer 1979: 309), but only rarely have MP forms entered the Ossetic lexicon, cf. *wacajrag* 'slave, servant' (**wacar* 'market' < Georg., Arm. < MP). Gershevitch (apud KEWA III: 155, s.v. *vantanih*) proposes two different preforms: I. *wərdon* goes back to **wartāu(a)n-*, but D. *wərdun* < **wartau(a)n-*. This would not explain the recent borrowing *lak'on* / *lak'un*, however. Actually, Abaev gives a clue for the origin of *-on* / *-un*, s.v. *lak'un* (II: 27), suggesting *lak'un* from *lak-gun* 'with stains'. I therefore suggest that Oss. *wərdon* / *wərdun* goes back to a POss. simplex form **ward(a)* 'rotating, rotation', to which relational suffixes, *-on* and *-gun* respectively, have

been added (D. **ward-gun* > *wərdun*, with simplification of cluster **-rdg-*).

wərm | wərmæ 'яма', 'пореб' ('hole-pit', 'cellar')

< **warmā(-)*; Khot. *bārmāna-* 'reservoir', MP *warm* 'pool, reservoir', Bal. *gwarm* 'pool at the bank of a river', (P) Skt. *varman-* 'armour', 'fence'.

♦ It is semantically not immediately evident that the Iranian forms are related to Skt. *varman-*, as proposed by Bailey (*Asica*: 28) and accepted by Abaev. The Skt. form refers to an enclosure, while the Iranian forms rather point to a certain kind of subterranean cavity. Skt. offers a parallel: *ūrvā-* 'dungeon', 'reservoir, sea (?)', ocean (?)'.
wərtæ 'вон (там)' ('over there')

<(<) **wābtrā-*; LAv. *auuabtra* 'there', Sogd. *wrō* 'there', Khot. *vara*, Y. *hurō*, *burō*, M. *wūra*, *ūra*, *wūra*, Pš. *war* (adv.) pron. 3sg. 'to him, etc.' (**wābtrā*, EVP: 88), Kurd. (Kurm.) *wir*, *wira* 'over there'.

♦ On the deletion of initial **a-* see *Aphaeresis*, § 3.2.1. For more details on final *-æ* see *Apocope*, § 1.4.3.

wəx D. 'теленко' ('calf')

< **wasa-*; Yz. *wis* 'calf'. Forms with additional suffixes are Khot. *basuka-*, Khz. *wysk* (m.), Yağn. *wāsa*, Isk. *wūsuk*, W. *wusk*, Par. *yasō*, Bal. *gwask* id., MP *wahig* 'kid', *wačag* 'child, baby, cub', NP *bačāh* 'id.', Skt. *vatsā-* (m.) 'calf, young of an animal', child', etc.

wəxsk | usqæ, wəsqæ 'плечо' ('shoulder')

< **waxśaka-*; cf. Khot. *vatsa* 'breast' (possibly borrowed from Skt. ?, DKS: 373), Pš. *ōža* 'shoulder' (EVP: 13, nr. 18: connected with Av. *aša-* 'armpit'), Skt. *vaksas-* 'chest, breast'.

♦ In Digoron, we have two variants for 'shoulder'. The variant *wəsqæ* is employed in compounds, while the form *usqæ* is the regular simplex form⁴³. Bailey (1960: 32) and Thordarson (1986: 502) consider them as ablaut-variants, deriving *usqæ* from zero grade **uxśa-ka-* and (originally compositional variant) *wəxsk* / *wəsqæ* from full grade **waxśa-ka-*, respectively. It is unlikely that one dialect would have two different ablaut-forms, however, especially when there is no clear evidence for the zero grade variant in Indo-Iranian. We might postulate a kind of contraction of *wə* > *u* instead, but only one other form supports this kind of contraction, viz. D. *wəxt* 'skewer for shashlyk' (I. *wəxtst*), whose etymology is unclear. Whatever the explanation might be, we must consider D. *usqæ* a recent form.

wəz | wəzæ 'вес', 'тяжесть' ('weight, load')

< **wazja-*; LAv. *vazja-* (n.) 'load', Khot. *baśā* 'id.', Š. *wīz*, R. *wēz*, Sq. *wej*, *wēz*, Yz. *wāz* 'burden', Skt. *vahyā-* (n.) 'litter, palanquin'.

♦ For final *-æ* in Digoron see *Apocope*, § 1.2.1e.iii.

wəzzaw 'тяжелый', 'трудный', 'медлительный'; 2. 'беременная' ('heavy, difficult, sluggish'; 2. 'pregnant')

< **wazjānant-*, **wazjānah*; s.v. Oss. *wəz* / *wəzæ*.

♦ *Wəzzaw* is a *nant*-formation of *wəz*, cf. *Apocope*, § 1.3.2b.

⁴³ In addition, the D. form also possesses a petrified dual *usqæ*, next to the regular pl. *usqitæ*: *a duwwa usqebæl* 'on his two shoulders' (*SOPam.*: 65). This dual ending undoubtedly goes back to the NA du. f. ending (*-st*) **-ai*, LAv. *-e*, Skt. *-e*.

widaʒ, idaʒ | jidaʒæ 'повод', 'поводья', 'habena' ('rein, *habena*)

< **ḡaitā-ā-*; cf. LAv. *vaēti-* (f), Khot. *bī*, MP *wēd*, NP *bēd*, Š. *wēd* (f), Kurd. *bī* 'willow'.

♦ On the reconstruction and etymology see *widon* (q.v.).

widaǵ | wedaǵæ, jedagaǵ 'корень' ('root')

< **ḡaitāka-*; Sogd. *wyt'k*, Yağn. *wita* 'cord', see s.v. Oss. *widaʒ*.

widon, idon | jidonæ 'узда', 'frenum' ('bridle, *frenum*)

<< **abi-dāna-*; LAv. *aifšidāna-* (in *zaranitō.aifšidāna-* 'with golden bridle'), Sogd. (Bud.) *βd''nb*, Khot. *byāna*, Khz. *βz'n*, MP *ēwān*, Pš. *mlāna*, (Wan.) *awlān*, Sq. *viḡun*, Yz. *avden*, Y., M. *avlān* 'bridle'.

♦ The preform suggested by Benveniste (ELO: 13) and accepted by Abaev for *widon* can hardly be correct, since all (evident) reflexes of Ir. **ḡidāna-* do not mean 'bridle' at all, cf. Pth. *wān*, MP *wiyan*, NP *gyān*, Bal. *gidan* 'tent'. The forms with the meaning 'bridle', on the other hand, are generally derived from the formation with prefix **abi-*: LAv. **aifšidāna-*, Sogd. *βyō'n*, Sq. *viḡun*, Yz. *avden*, Y., M. *avlān*. The other Iranian correspondences can go back to this preform, too: Khot. *byāna*, Khz. *βz'n*, Pš. *mlāna*. It is therefore tempting to adopt Miller's suggestion, viz. **abi-dāna-*, which was dismissed by Benveniste (l.c.). Benveniste was right to point out that **abi-* did not normally yield (*w*)- / *j*- in Ossetic: "Un **abi-dāna-* eût produit oss. **avdon*, **yevdon*". Of course, his objection to the preform **abi-dāna-* is correct, but initial *wi-* of *widon* was most probably influenced by *widaʒ* / *jidaʒæ* 'rein': in view of the similar meanings, mutual influence is only to be expected. As for the latter form, the reconstruction, viz. **ḡi-tāā-*, proposed by Benveniste (l.c.), can be disputed, since all attested Iranian reflexes of **ḡi-tāā-* (e.g. Sogd. *wyt'x*, MP *widaxtan*) have the meaning 'to melt' (lit. 'to flow away', cf. Oss. simplex *tazyn*: *tağd* 'to drip; to flow'). Another etymology is preferable. The correspondence between the Iron and Digoron form is irregular, which strongly suggests that we are dealing with an internal Ossetic borrowing. When we consider the Iron form *widaʒ*, we have to derive the vowel *i* from older **ai*. As a rein is usually a kind of rope, a connection with Sogd. *wyt'k* 'string' comes to mind (A.L.): I. *widaʒ* may then reflect **ḡaitā-ā* (+ f. **-ā* ?), which is the feminine *ā*-variant of the masculine *ka*-formation, cf. Sogd. *wyt'k*. The corresponding D. form *jidaʒæ*, with *j*- rather than regular (*f*)*e*-, is to be treated as a borrowing from Iron. Other derivative formations of **ḡaiti-* (LAv. *vaēti-* (f), MP *bēd* 'willow', etc.) in Ossetic are *widaǵ* / *jedagaǵ* 'root' and *widyǵ* / *jedug* 'spoon'.

wilyn : wyld | welun : wild, jelun : jild 'взбрасывать (при игре в альчики, орлянку)' ('to throw (in game of knucklebones, pitch-and-toss)')

<< ? **ḡaida-*; Š. *wēd-d*, Yağn. *wid-*: *wista*, Y. *wul-um*: *wustum*, Pš. *wulam*: *wiṣtel* 'to throw, shoot'.

♦ The preform suggested by Abaev, viz. **ḡar-ia-* (cf. Av. *var-* 'vertere'), leaves the vocalism unexplained. In *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.9, we saw that (old) *i*-epenthesis did not affect vowels followed by *-l-*. Perhaps, *wilyn* is in someway connected with the root **ḡaida-*. The Ossetic form with *-l-* either points to borrowing or reflects contamination (with *qul* / *golæ* 'knucklebone' ?).

¹wis | wes, jes 'хворостина', 'прут', 'трость', 'лоза', 'розра' ('branch, twig, rod')

Wanderwort ?; cf. Swed. *vese* (m.) 'bundle, twisted knot', OHG *wisc*, NHG *Wisch*, Latv. *vists*

'bundle', Finn. *vesa* 'young sprout; twig', etc.

♦ According to Abaev, the Oss. form cannot be separated from OSL *věcha*, Russ. *vesca* 'pole, beacon, twig used as signpost', which apparently implies borrowing (there are no Indo-Iranian correspondences). Slavic *x* can scarcely yield Oss. *s* (and vice versa), however. It is possibly a loanword from another European source.

²wis | wes 'полоса скошенной травы', 'прокос', 'пласт скошенной травы' ('patch with mowed grass (at sickle height), bed of mowed grass')

< Germanic, cf. OE *wise* 'sprout, stem', OHG *wisa*, NHG *Wiese* 'pasture'.

♦ Abaev derives *wis* from **ḡastria-* (s.v. Oss. *xos* / *xwase* 'hay'), which is phonologically impossible: even if we assume *i*-epenthesis (for argument's sake), the expected outcome would be something like *†wajis(t)* / *†wajistæ* (cf. *is* / *es* 'is' < **asti*, *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.3.3), with final *-æ* in D. (cf. *Apocope*, § 1.2.1e.iii). We are rather dealing with a borrowing, most likely from a Germanic source.

(w)ogæn D. 'скрытое место, где прячут запасы' ('secret hiding place for stocks')

< **aya-kan-*; cf. OP *avā-kanam* (impf.) 'I placed', Khot. *kan-* 'to throw', Khz. *bken-* 'to fill, load', etc.

♦ The vowel of the second syllable has been lost, see *Syncope*, § 2.3.1a. ff.

(w)otæ D. 'так' ('so')

<(<) **ayathā*, LAv. *ayathā*, OP *avathā* 'so, in this manner', MP *ōh* 'so, thus, perhaps'.

wydam | udarnæ 'подставка', 'чурбан, на котором рубят, колют дрова' ('support, chopping-block')

< ? (POss.) **urld-arm*; cf. cf. OP *upadarma*-PN (lit. 'upholder'), Av. *vi-dar-* 1. 'to divide', 2. 'maintain', *ayua-dar-* 'adhibere', Khz. *wdry-* 'to be supported', Skt. *dhar-man-* (n.) 'support, hold, order', 'law', *dharman-* (m.) 'bearing, supporting', *vi-dhr-* 'to distribute, apportion'.

♦ The preforms proposed by both Abaev (PIIr. (!) **ḡi-dharman-*) and Miller (**ayua-dharman-*, OĒ III: 144) do not account for Oss. initial *wy-* / *u-*, which regularly reflects POss. **u-*. Perhaps, *wydam* goes back to a compound with **rdya-* (> POss. **urd-*) as first element (cf. *wyrdyǵ*, q.v.): **urld-arm* > **udarm* (with simplification of consonant cluster). Final *-æ* of the Digoron form is clearly paragogic, having arisen very recently, at least after POss. **-m#* > D. *-n*.

wydisn(y), disny | uzēsna, užestæ, ižestæ 'мера длины – расстояние между концами большого пальца и мизинца растянутой руки', 'четверть' (measure of length – the distance between the tips of the thumb and the little finger of the stretched hand (ca. 22-25 cm), 'span').

< **uitasti*; Av. *uitasti-* (f), MP *widest*, NP *bidast* 'id.', Skt. *uitasti-* (f.) 'span', etc.

♦ *Wydisn(y)* shows several variants and peculiarities, which Abaev does not adequately explain. The D. variants with *-ʒ-* are probably due to strong palatalization before *-e-*, while the D. forms with *-t-* have probably arisen by assimilation. The forms with initial *wy* / *u* can be attributed to *wylyng* / *ulink'a* 'a certain measure of length, ca. 18 cm', see *Aphaeresis*, § 3.3.1. Final *-y* of the Iron forms seems to be the GLsg. ending: after the qualifying numerals the qualified noun appears in this case. Final vowel *-æ* of the D. forms, on the other hand, is probably the result of thematization, see *Apocope*, § 1.3.2. In addition, the Oss. forms have undergone epenthesis as well, see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.3.3. The

forms with *-n-* are probably due to dissimilation (Ab.).

wygarđ, ugard I. 'зарубка', 'засечка', 'надрез' ('carve, incision')

< **aua-karta* ?; cf. Av. *karat*, Skt. *kart* 'to cut', etc.

♦ The Digoron form is not attested, which makes it difficult to reconstruct the POss. preform. The reconstruction of Abaev (**ni-karta*) is improbable, however, cf. *Aphaeresis*, § 3.3.1.

wyn | un (wun) 'быть' ('to be')

< **baua*; Av. *bauna*, Sogd. *βw*, Khot. *vā*, MP, NP *būdan*, Skt. *bhū*, pres. *bhāvati* 'is', etc.

♦ In Digoron, the present continuous tense of **bu-* is attested next to stative (*den*, *dā*, etc.): 1sg. *un* 'I become, grow, *byvajū*', 2sg. *wis*, 3sg. *wi*. The plural forms 1pl. *won*, 2pl. *wota*, 3pl. *wonca*, cited by Šegren, are no longer in use, cf. Miller (OĖ II: 193).

The Ossetic verb *wyn* appears to have undergone labial assimilation: **b* ... *u* > **u* ... *u*.

wyngæg | ungæg 'узкий', 'тесный', 'стесненный', 'сдавненный' ('narrow, oppressed, surpressed')

< (?) Germ., probably Goth. *aggwus* 'narrow' + Oss. *-æg*.

♦ Abaev derives *wyngæg* from **anga-ka*, with **a* > *u*, which cannot be supported by further examples, and connects it with European forms for 'narrow', cf. Goth. *angwuns*, OHG. *ang*, NHG *eng*, Lat. *angustus*, Irish *cum-ung*. *Wyngæg* can thus be considered a "Scytho-European isogloss". In fact, we can be even more precise: the most probable source of borrowing is Gothic (or a dialect close to Gothic). S.vv. *kegyrj* / *kurojne* and *lægyrj* / *lægun*, it is suggested that the Germanic labialized velar **kʷ* accounts for Ossetic **ku-*, **gu-*. Also in the case of *wyngæg* / *ungæg*, the initial labial vowel may be attributed to *-gw-*, as found in the Gothic form.

wyrd | urdæ 'выдра', 'Lutra' ('otter')

< f. (?) **udrā*; LAv. *udra* (m.) 'otter', MP *udrag* 'id.' (< Av. ?), Skt. *udrā* (m.) 'a kind of water-animal'.

♦ For final *-a* in D. see *Aposcope*, § 1.2.1e.iii.

wyrdyg | urdug 1. 'отвесный', 'прямо стоящий', 'вертикальный', 2. 'крутой спуск (дороги)', 'крутой склон (горы)', 'покатость' ('1. 'standing up; perpendicular', 2. 'steep (of road), sloping (of mountain); slope')

< **rdya-ka*; Khz. 'rdŕk, LAv. *ardŕa*, Khot. *ulā*, MP *ul*, Kurd. *bil*, *bal*, Auramani *bur*, *bar* 'up', Skt. *ūrdhvā* 'erected, high'.

♦ For more details on the vocalism see *On *u, *y*, § 6.2.3.

wyrg | urg 'почка', 'Ren' ('kidney')

< **urðka*; LAv. *urðka* (m., only du.), Khot. *bilga* (hapax, du.), Y. *wulŕá*, M. *wilga* (< du. **urðka*, IIFL II: 261b), Yz. *wiðgað* (pl. tant.), Sangl. *wolk*, W. *wyltk*, Pš. *warga*, Skt. *urkēka* (< PIA **urka-*) 'kidneys' (m., only du.), etc. Also borrowed in Finno-Ugric: Zyry. *vörk*, Cherem. *šäryä*.

♦ On the vocalism see *On *u, *y*, § 6.2.3.

wymyn I. 'верить', 'credere' ('to believe')

< pres. **urna*; Av. *var*, pres. *varnaui*, OP *var*, pres. *urŕava* (act.) 'to choose, wish', (mid.) 'to believe', Sogd. *urn* 'to believe', Skt. *var*, pres. *urñitē* 'chooses', etc.

♦ The Ossetic verb is only used in impersonal constructions of the type "methinks": *man, dæw wymy* 'it is believing to me, you' => 'I, you believe'.

wyrs | urs 'жеребец' ('stallion')

< **uršna*, **urša(n)*, Av. *varašna* 'male', *varšni* 'ram', Khz. *uršn* 'stallion' (Benzing: 111), Š. *urš* / *m* 'breeding-ram' ("but why *-n* > *-m* ?"), EVS: 92), Skt. *uršan* 'male', (m.) 'virile man; male animal (especially bull, stallion)', etc.

♦ The Alano-Ossetic form has been borrowed into Germanic: Engl. *horse*, German *Ross*, Dutch *ros*. We can also add Permian forms, which have not been recognized as loanwords: Cherem. *ožə, ožə*, Voty., Zyry. *už* 'stallion' (cf. Rédei: 607-608).

wyrys | urus 'русские', 'русский народ', 'Россия' ('the Russians, Russian people, Russia')

< Tk. *urus* 'Russian'.

wyryz | urz 'конец пальца', (more precisely) 'мякоть на крайних фалангах пальцев' ('fingertip; the soft part at the end of the phalanges of the fingers')

< **ryzu*; LAv. *arzu* 'finger'.

♦ For more details on the vocalism see *On *u, *y*, § 6.2.3.

wysm | usmæ 'отрезок времени', 'период', 'момент', 'мгновение' ('time lag, period, moment, instant')

< ? **iusta-mā* lit. 'measure of motion' ?; cf. Oss. *uzyr* : *uzyt* / *ozun* : *užt* 'to rock, swing', Av. *yaoz* 'to set in motion, agitate', Khot. ppp. *ajostā*, Sogd. 'y'wšt. 'disturbed' and **mā*, Av. *mā* f. 'measure'.

♦ The reconstruction of Abaev, viz. **išman*, is phonologically improbable, as we would rather expect (monosyllabic) *tysm* / *tism*, cf. *Aphaeresis*, § 3.3.1. Also the etymology is problematic: the connection with Skt. *viṣti-* has little to recommend itself. The meaning of the Skt. form is 'service, work' (the meanings 'changing; turn, time' are rather elusive, being declined in *EW/Aia* II: 565-566). Perhaps, *wysm* reflects a compound the elements of which are attested in Ossetic. The first element, **iusta*, would be the old past participle of Oss. *uzyr*, while the second element is perhaps **mā* 'measure': the compound **iusta-mā* lost the medial vowel, after which the newly arisen consonant cluster was simplified.

wyryn | uzun 'еж', 'Erinaceus' ('hedgehog, *Erinaceus*)

< Arm. *worzi* 'id.' ?

♦ Abaev links *wyryn* with Arm. *worzi* 'id.', which most closely resembles the Ossetic form. Forms for 'hedgehog' are amply attested in especially European languages, cf. Gr. *ἐχίνοσ*, OCS *ježь*, Lith. *ežys*, German *Igel*, etc. The Ossetic form would also belong to these forms, but in order to explain the appearance *uzyr* (instead of expected *†azrin*) Abaev cautiously suggests "tabooistic deformation". Not mentioned by Abaev are the Iranian forms: LAv. *dužaka*, MP *zūrag*, NP *zūzah*, Bal. *ŕajuk*, *dužux*.

X

xalyn : xæld | ixalun : ixald 1. 'портить', 'разрушать', 'расстраивать', 'нарушать'; 2. 'развязывать', 'распутывать' (1. 'to spoil, ruin, disarrange, disturb', 2. 'to untangle')

< ? caus. **mi-xara(ia)* 'to go, pass separately'; cf. Sogd. (Bud.) *x'yr* 'to go, pass', Khz. *x'r* 'to pass by, cross over', ? Pth. *wy-xr* 'to be wounded' (Ghilain: 81)

♦ Abaev derives *xalyn* from **mi-kāraia*, connecting the verb with *kalyr* 'to pour, spill', but he does not give any explanation for the puzzling *x-*. Although there are instances with initial *x* instead of Ir. **k* (see s.vv. *xaf*, *xassyn*), they are rather special, being the

result of some kind of fricative assimilation, with parallels in other Iranian languages as well. In our case, no special development can be invoked. The Ossetic form is possibly connected with a root **xar-* 'to go, pass', which is attested in two EIr. languages (also Pth. ?). The liquid *-l-* would be influenced by the intransitive correspondence *xəlyn* / *ixəlyn* 'to be spoiled, ruined, perish' (**xəljā-*).

xəcyn : **xəst** (**xəcyd**) | **xwəcun** : **xwəst** 1. 'держать', 'держаться', 2. [pre-fixed] 'хватать', 'подымать', 'тянуть', 'толкать' ('to hold, be hold; to seize; to raise; to draw; to push')

< ? **huxajā-*; cf. Sogd. *huxunē*, *huxunē*, *huxunē* 'to embrace', Skt. *svāja-* 'to embrace, clasp'.

♦ Miller (Gr.: 26, § 24.5) compared *xəcyn* to Skt. *svāja-*, without considering the past participle (cf. Skt. *svaketa-*). Gershevitch (1955: 480 f.) slightly revises the comparison: he postulated an inchoative formation **huxāc(a)-*, **huxācā-*. However, the development *c* < (Oss.) *x* (< Ir. **xs* or **xš*), which Bailey (1936: 101) suggested earlier, is untenable, cf. Benveniste (ELO: 137, fn. 1), Weber (1993: 103-105). Perhaps, *xəcyn* shows some kind of contamination with other semantically related forms, which Abaev suggests, viz. contamination with **xas-*, Sogd. (Bud.) *xš* 'fight, dispute' (s.v. *nyxas*). When independently used, the participle *xəst* / *xwəst* also means 'war, struggle, fight'.

Voiceless *-c-* of *xəcyn* is perhaps due to **j*, which came into contact with **j* after syncope of the intermediate vowel, cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.6, fn.

xəf | **xəfə** 'гной', 'pus' ('pus')

< **kafā-*, **xafā-*; LAv. *kafa-* (m.) 'foam, saliva', Khot. *kəvā* 'foam', MP, NP *kef* 'foam, slime', Y. *xof*, *xōf*, M. *xaf* 'scum, foam', Sangl. *xōf* 'foam', W. *xōf*, *xuf*, (?) *xep* 'id., froth', Š. *šaf* 'saliva, slaver' (**xafā*, EVS: 77b), Yağn. *xaf*, *xafa* 'foam, scum', Kurd. (Kurm.) *kef* 'foam', Bal. *kap*, Zāz. *kew* 'foam', Skt. *kapha-* (m.) 'slime, phlegm'.

♦ Further connections outside Indo-Iranian are uncertain. We are probably dealing with a loanword. A Finno-Ugric origin was suggested by Burrow (1973: 26 ff.), which is improbable.⁴⁴ Striking are the Turkic forms for 'foam', e.g. TTK. *köpük* 'foam', which are apparently derived from a verbal root *kō-* 'to swell'.

Forms with initial *x-* are found in East Iranian languages only. Initial *x-* is possibly to be attributed to assimilation: **k ... f* > **x ... f*.

xəfs | **xəfsə** 'лягушка', 'Rana' ('frog, Rana')

< **kasiāpā-*; Av. *kasiāpā-*, Khz. *kəb*, Sogd. *kyīph* f. 'tortoise', (?) Khot. *kəyūsa-* 'frog, tortoise', Skt. *kasiyāpā-* 'tortoise', etc.

♦ Abaev derives *xəfs* from **kasiāpā-*, with the following intermediary stages: > **kāšāpā-* > **kaīpā* > *xəfsə*. However, initial *x-* is unexpected: the result of fricative assimilation or influence of *xəf* (q.v.) ? The loss of medial vowel presupposes a feminine form in **-ā* (> D. *-ə*), cf. *Syncope*, § 2.2.3. The feminine variant of **kasiāpā-* is assured by Sogd. *kyīph*.

The Khotanese form *kəyūsa-* is odd. Although we may imagine vowel *-u-* to be the result of some kind of syncope (followed by metathesis of the newly arisen consonant cluster), consonant *-y-* [-z-] cannot possibly be derived from **j* (> Khot. *š*, *ś*).

xəjræg 'черт', 'дьявол', 'бес', (metaph.) 'хитрец', 'пройдоха' ('devil', [metaph.] 'cunning,

cunning old fox')

< ? **xarajāka-*; cf. Oss. *xərə* 'grey', Khot. *khiraa-* 'depressed, sad', NP *xīr* 'darkness in the eye', *xīrah* 'malevolent, malignant, moody ... dark, cloudy, etc.' (Steingass: 491b).

♦ The etymologies proposed thus far are unconvincing. Miller (OĖ II: 73) envisaged a connection with either LAv. *h^oāiri* (sic) 'reprimand', Skt. *svar*, *svarati* 'to torture' or with *svar*, *svānāti* (sic) 'to wound'. The former connection is illusory: neither Av. *h^oāiri* nor Skt. *svar-* 'to torture' are existent. As for the latter connection, the verb *svr-* 'to wound' is late (*-v-* seems to be a non-etymological accretion). Also the etymology proposed by Abaev is hardly an improvement. The connection with Av. *ayra-* 'evil' explains neither Oss. ('prothetic') *x-*, nor medial *j-*. Unambiguous cases of *x*-prothesis are rather meagre, being mirrored by other Iranian cognate forms:

- Oss. *xom* 'raw', cf. NP *xām*, Sogd. *x'm*, Khot. *bāma-*, etc., but Skt. *āmā-*, etc.;

- Oss. *xγz* / *xīzə* '(fish-)net; veil', cf. Khot. *bāysa-* 'skin, hide', Bal. *biž* 'leather churn'.

The rise of medial *j-* is not acknowledged by Abaev as etymologically relevant, cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.7. ff.

Perhaps, *xəjræg* is related to *xərə* 'grey', hence *xəjræg* < **xarajāka-* ?

xəlaf 'штаны' ('trousers')

Migratory word; cf. Gypsy *xolov*, *xolluf*, Ukr. *xoljova*, Polish *cholewa* 'id.', etc.

xələg I. 'зависть', 'завистливый' ('envy, envious')

< ? **hvarajāka-*; cf. ? LAv. *x^oara-* 'wound'.

♦ Miller (OĖ III: 150) proposed to connect *xələg* with Av. *h^oāiri* (sic) 'reprimand', which does not exist (s.v. *xəjræg*). Abaev derives *xələg* from **hvarajāka-*, Av. *x^oara-*, which is possible ('envy' < '(mental) wound'). On the other hand, he does not wish to exclude a connection with OSL. *ahkati* 'to wish strongly', Lith. *álkanas* 'hungry' either (*x-* would be 'prothetic', s.v. *xəjræg*), for which, however, there is no indication.

xəlc(c)on | **xəlc(c)onə** 'яйцо без скорлупы', 'мошонка', 'scrotum' ('egg without scale, scrotum')

Etymology unknown.

♦ The reconstruction suggested by Abaev, viz. **kərtjāna-*, is not supported by any (I)Ir. evidence. His connection with Lat. *cortex*, *scortum*, *scrotum* is based on a superficial similarity in meaning and form.

xəlmag | **xwəlmag** 'струп', 'crusta ulceris' ('scab')

< ? **hvarimāka-* (Abaev); cf. LAv. *x^oara-* 'wound', Pš. *xvar* (m.) 'skin, bark, peel, scurf', Š. *xīr* : *xīrd*, R. *xīrt* 'to itch, scratch', Sangl. *xūr*, NP *xaridan* 'id.', Kurd. *beriš* 'wounded, injured', *beršandin* 'to scratch'.

♦ Even if we accept a connection between *xəlmag* and LAv. *x^oara-*, etc., as put forward by Abaev, the exact interpretation of the whole form still remains obscure.

xəssyn : **xəst** | **xəssun**, **xərsun** : **xərst**, **xəst** 1. 'нести', 2. 'выкармливать', 'воспитывать', 'растить', 3. 'длиться', 'держаться' (1. 'to carry', 2. 'to breed, raise; to cultivate, plant', 3. 'to last, endure')

< **xarša-* < < ? **karša-* < **xarāba-*; Av. *karš-* 'to draw', Khz. *xšy-* 'to drag, draw to oneself' (**xaršāja-*, Samadi: 243), Yağn. *xaf-* 'to pull', Y. *xaf-*, M. *xaf-* 'to pull, draw', Sangl. *xāf-*, W. *xāz-* 'to pull, draw', smoke, Skt. *karṣ-* 'to pull, draw, plough', etc.

♦ According to Gershevitch 1970: 287, initial *x-* of *xəssyn* (and other Iranian

⁴⁴The forms cited, viz. Hung. *hab* 'foam, wave', Veps *kobe* 'wave, foam', Samoyedic *kōwū* 'foam' can be explained differently, cf. Joki: 179; Rédei: 676; Benkő: 504.

correspondences) is the result of fricative assimilation, i.e. *k ... f > *x ... f. A different explanation may also be envisaged though. The root *karf- appears to have a rare variant *xrah-, which is attested in Khwarezmian: m|xry- 'to draw' (caus. *xrahāja-, with EIr. shortening of *-āha- > *-ā- > -a- /-i-). The variant is the result of *Schwebeablaut*, comparable to *přs- / *fřs- 'to ask, demand'. Precisely this variant may have asserted its influence in several languages.

xæs | **ixæs** 'долг', 'обязанность' ('debt; obligation')

< ? **xi-xarša*; cf. Oss. *xæsn* / *xæsna* 'id.', *xæssyn* / *xæssun*, *xærsun*.

♦ Abaev considers *xæs* / *ixæs* as a younger form of Oss. *xæsn* / *xæsna* < *(*xi*)*karšna*-, Oss. *xæssyn* / *xæssun*, but it is more likely that they represent different formations. While *xæsn* may be derived from **xaršna*-, or rather **xaršna*(-), *xæs* / *ixæs* reflects **xi-xarša*-. The presumed loss of *r* in both dialect forms is problematic though.

Initial *x*- is possibly the result of fricative assimilation, s.v. *xæf*.

xi | **xe**, obl. **xic-** | **xec-** 1. 'себя' ('himself, etc.')

< **hūa*-, **hūathia*-; GAv. *xəa*-, **xəathia*- 'own, personal', *xəae* 'only' in deriv. 'suus, proprius', NP *xīš* 'own; family-member', *š. xu*, Sq. *xī*, *xə*, Yz. *xad* 'self, own' (< **hūatah*, EVS: 96), Skt. *svā* 'own'.

♦ Pronominal *xī* is in the genitive-accusative ending and refers to the subject (cf. Lat. *suus*). No doubt, it reflects the old Gsg. ending **hūathia*- > (apocope) **xūai* > *xi* / *xe*.

¹xid | **xed** 'мост', 'pons' ('bridge')

< **hūitu*-, Av. *hūitu*- (m.) 'dam', Khot. *hi* 'bridge, causeway', Sogd. *ytkw*, Yağn. *ētk*, Y. *yeyu* (m.), Š. *yed*, Skt. *setu*- (m.), Hung. *bíd* 'bridge' (< Al.).

♦ The development **h* > *x*- before *-*ai* is odd, which is not supported by other examples. Usually, Ir. **h*- in initial position has disappeared without any trace in Ossetic, except before **u*, **ū* (> *x*-). Oss. *xid* is not connected with Georg. *xid-i*, Old Georg. *qid-i* 'bridge', as generally assumed (also by Ab.), on which see Thordarson (1999: 282 f.).

²xid | **xed** 'пот', 'sudor' ('sweat')

< **hūaida*-, LAv. *xəaida*- (m./n.), Khot. *hvi*, Khz. *xyd*, (pl.) *xyd*, MP *xwey*, *xwēy*, NP *xəay*, Pš. *xwālā*, *xwēlā*, Y. *xūl*, *xul*, M. *xalā*, Yz. *šwid* 'sweat', Š. *šed*, B. *xid*, Sq. *šaid* 'dirt' (EVS: 96), Kurd. (Kurmanji) *xweh*, *xoh* 'sweat', Bal. *hed* (> Brah. *hed*, v. Rossi 1981: 176, no. 75), Skt. *svēda*- (m.), etc.

xizyn | **xezun**: in *naxizyn* 'to come down, out, across', *axizyn* 'to go out, to step over, cross over', *haxizyn* 'to cross over, get over'.

< **xaiza*-, Sogd. *xyž* 'to rise, stand up', Khot. *hijw* 'to rise, reach', Khz. *xyž* 'to occur, originate; to approach', MP *axistan* : *axēž* 'to rise, stand up' (LW).

xo | **xwæræ** 'сестра' ('sister')

< (I.) **hūahā*-, (D.) **hūahrā*-, Av. *xəahā*-, *xəahar*-, Sogd. *xw'r*, Khot. *hvar*, Khz. *ʿx* (**uxxa* < **xūahā*), MP *xwāh*, *xwāhar*, NP *xəah*, *xəahar*, *xəāhar*, Kurd. *xōh*, *xwe*, *xoar*, (Kurmanji) *xweh*, Bal. *gw(h)ar*, Tatī *xwāka*, Orm. *xwār*, Pš. *xōr* (**xūahar*-), Š. *yax* (metathesized: < **hūahā*), Y. *ixō*, M. *yixu* (also metathesized), W. *xiū*, Yağn. *xwōr*, *xōr* 'sister', Skt. *svāsā*, obl. *svāsr*-, etc.

♦ According to Biemeier (1979: 40, 253), the Iron form is derived from the old nominative **hūahā*, while D. *xwæræ* is taken from the oblique case **hūahar*-. This explanation raises severe chronological problems. Already in the POss. period, the old declensional system with ablaut alternations has completely disappeared. There is no

declensional system with ablaut alternations has completely disappeared. There is no reason to assume that the modern dialects would show different generalizations of a particular ending: *xo* / *xwæræ* would be the only example. Further, *xwæræ* cannot reflect **hūabar* (> D. *ʔxwar*), rather Gsg. **hūahrah*, on which see below. In fact, the appearance of *xwæræ* in D. is more likely connected with the compound *xarəfjrt* / *xwərifjrt* 'nephew, sister's son', which is relatively transparent. As for the origin of *xæræ* / *xwæræ*, the short stem vowel and its occurrence as first part of a compound point to old Gsg. The genitive ending is often the source for a new derivational formation, cf. *allon* (q.v.). In the case of 'sister', a new formation could have arisen on the basis of genitive **hūahrah* => **hūahra*- 'sisterly'. The new adjectival formation is found in the compound *xarəfjrt* / *xwərifjrt*. The Digoron form, too, goes back to adjectival (f.) **hūahrā*-, replacing the old noun *ʔxwa* (= I. *xo*). The replacement was no doubt facilitated by another development which occurred in Ossetic, viz. the loss of formally distinctive features between nouns and adjectives, cf. *Apocope*, § 1.2.1f. Incidentally, I. *xo* is also employed in the designation for 'husband's sister': *xodygd* (q.v.).

xodygd I. 'зюловка' ('husband's sister')

< Oss. *xo* + **dugdā*, obl. **dugdar*-, GAv. *dugadar*-, Sogd. *ḍwyt*-, MP, NP *duxet*, *duxtar*, Kurd. *dot*, Skt. *dubhitār*-, etc.

♦ The GAv. form *dugadar* with -*gd*- (*g* is epenthetic) is one of the few cases where the operation of Bartholomae's Law is noticeable in Iranian: (IE **gH₂d*) > IIr. **g^(h)it* > Ir. **gd*. The Iranian forms which have *-*xt*- probably point to analogical influence of the other kinship terms in *-*tar*: **gd*- >> **kt*- > *-*xt*-.

xojrag I. 'пища', 'еда' ('food')

< **hūarajāka*- or *xor* + *-lag*, see s.v. Oss. *xor* / *xwar* 'grain'.

♦ On the structure of *xojrag* see *Syncope*, § 2.3.1b, and *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.7.3.

xollag | **xwallag** 1. 'корм (для скота)', 'провиант', 2. (D.) 'пища', 'провизия'; (D. + *toppi*, *xatah*) 'попox' (1. 'fodder for the cattle; provisions', 2. [D.] 'food; provision'; [+*toppi* 'gun'] 'gunpowder')

< **hūarjāka*-, Khz. *xw'ry'k* 'provisions for a voyage', cf. s.v. *xor* / *xwar*.

xoly | **xwali** 'падаль', 'мертвечина', 'дохлятина', 'труп животного' ('corps, cadaver, carrion')

< **hūār-ñā*-, cf. Khz. *xw'r* (m.) 'meat'.

♦ According to Bailey (*Asica*: 8; accepted by Thordarson, *CLI*: 459 and Abaev), *xoly* reflects **hūārjā*-. This preform would have rather yielded *ʔxol* / *ʔxwale* (cf. s.v. *neš*). See also s.v. *dasny*.

xonyn : **xoynd** | **xonun** : **xund** 1. 'называть'; 2. 'приглашать'; 3. 'вести', 'приводить в жены' (1. 'to call'; 2. 'to invite'; 3. 'to lead, to take as a wife')

< **hūāna*-, Sogd. (Chr.) *xwn*- 'to call, cry', MP *xwāndan* 'to call', Skt. *śvan*- 'to sound', etc. Nasal present: LAv. pres. 3pl. *apa-x^oanuainti* 'they sound away' (cf. Narten 1970: 75 ff.), Sogd. (Man.) *wxw'n* 'to shout, call', Khot. *hwañ*- (mid-pass.) 'to be called', Khz. *ʔxw'ny*- 'to incite, call forth'.

xor | **xwar** 'хлеб в зерне', (I. also) 'ячмень', 'Hordeum vulgare' ('grain; [I. also] barley, *Hordeum vulgare*)

< **hūāra*-, Khot. *hūāra*- 'food; eating', Sogd. (Bud.) *xw'r* 'drink', Khz. *xw'r* (m.) 'meat',

- MP *xwār* 'food', Par. *xār* 'hay' (< **hyarja-*, IIFL I: 300)
- xoræx** | **xwarænxæ** 'милость', 'благоволение', 'награда' ('favour, benevolence')
 < **hyaræx* + *-æx* / *-ænxæ*; cf. Oss. *xoræ* / *xwaræ* 'good', Av. (superlative) *xʷaræṣṭa-* 'sweetest', MP, NP *xwās* 'pleasant, sweet, nice', Kurd. *xwēs* 'good, pleasant, nice', etc.
- ♦ Abaev connects the second part *-æx* / *-ænxæ* with LAv. *aḥnuā-* (GAv. *abuā-*) 'energy, vitality', which is uncertain. For more details see *Appendix*, A § 5.
- xos** | **xwasæ** 'сено', 'лекарство', 'средство, возможность' ('hay; medicine; a means, esp. to resolve a difficult situation; possibility')
 < **hnuāstrā-*, Av. *xʷāstrā-* adj. 'having good pastures, grasslands', *xʷāstrā-* f. name of a river, Khot. *hwā(s)sa* (Nsg. *-ā*) 'grass'.
- ♦ Final *-æ* in D. reflects old NApl., see *Apocope*, § 1.2.1f.v.
- xosgærst** | **xwasgæræ** 'покос' ('mowing')
 < *xos* / *xwas* 'grass' + ? **karšta-* / **karšti-*, cf. Oss. *kærdyn: karst* / *kærdun: karst* 'to cut', LAv. *karst-* 'to cut', etc.
- ♦ Final **st* / **æ* is strange: different formations ?, assimilation (*s(t) ... c > s ... ts*) ? According to Abaev, the second part of the I. form goes back to (ppp.) **karšta-*, while the D. form reflects **karšti-*.
- xotxæ** D. 'кожина', 'отрубн', 'труха' ('peel, fleece, chaff')
 < **kantaka-*, **kaṇṭaka-* (Ab.), **xaut-xa-* (Bielmeier 1979: 119), **xanda-xā-*, **xaut-xā-* (cf. Bailey 1958: 541); cf. Av. *xaoda-*, OP *xaud-* (f.) 'cap', Khot. *khoca* 'leather, skin'.
- ♦ The origin of D. *xotxæ* is uncertain. The form is connected by Abaev with Oss. *artxutæg* / *artxotæg* 'ashes', and derived from **kaṇṭaka-* (cf. Bielmeier 1979: 119; Bailey 1958: 540), which is not supported by any clear evidence in (I)Ir. Bielmeier (ibid.) linked it with Iranian **xanda-* (> s.v. Oss. *xud* / *xodæ* 'hat'), which would require a different dental enlargement. Are both initial *x-* and medial *-x-* in *xotxæ* due to fricative assimilation ?
- xud** | **xodæ** 'шапка', 'палаха' ('hat, *papakha* [= a tall Caucasian hat made of sheep-skin])
 < **xandā-*; LAv. *xaoda-* 'cap', OP *xaudā-* (f.) 'cap, helmet', Sogd., Khz. *xwō* 'helmet', NP *xōy* 'id.', Kurd. (Kurm.) *xūde* (m.) 'helmet', Pš. *xōl* (m.), *xōlāi* 'id., hat', Y. *xūlo*, M. *xūla* 'embroidered cap', Sq. *xaūd*, *xēūd* 'skull-cap' (EVS: 96a), Yağn. *xud*, *xut* 'skull, cap'.
- xur** | **xor** 1. 'солнце', 'солнечный'; 2. 'счастье' (1. 'sun, sunny'; 2. 'luck')
 < **hyarant-*, **hyarānāb*, Skt. *svārant-* 'provided with glow, glory, luck, vel. sim.'.
- ♦ On the reconstruction see *On *n, *ṇ*, § 6.4.
- xwiny:n** : **xwynd** | **xunnun** : **xund** 'называться, именоваться' ('to be called')
 < **hyan-ja-*; Khot. *hvañ-* (< **hyan-ja-*, SGS: 156), Sogd. (Bud.) *xwiny-* 'id.', s.v. Oss. *xonyn*.
- xwyzdær** | **xwæzdær** 'лучше', 'лучший' (better)
 comparative of *xoræ* / *xwaræ* 'good'.
- ♦ The vocalism of the Iron form is odd: it may reflect influence of the antonym *fydder* 'worse'.
- xōy** | **xu** 'свинья', 'кабан' ('pig, boar')
 < **bū-*; LAv. *bū-* in *bū.kəhrp-* 'having the body of a pig', Khot. *bva-* in *bva.kəḥmādalaja* 'of boar's tusk', MP *xūg*, Bal. *buk*, NP *xūg* 'pig' (borrowed in W. *xəg*, Š. *xug*, Pš. *xūg*, etc.), Skt. *sū-* in *sūkara-* (m.) 'pig, boar'.
- xyl** | **xilæ** 'ссора', 'свора', 'раздор', 'распря', 'драка' ('quarrel, discord, strife, fight')

- < ? Arab.-Pers. *hila(t)* 'Machination, strategem.; trick, plot; fraud, deceit, deception' (Steingass, s.v.).
- ♦ Abaev assumes that *xyl* goes back to the epenthesized form **hyairi-* (NP *xʷār* 'light, mean, despicable', *xʷārī* 'despicable act, offense'), which is improbable, as we would rather expect *†xil* / *†xela*, even if *i*-epenthesis were to take place, but see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.2. ff. We may rather think of a borrowing, probably from Arabic, through an intermediary language, obviously.
- xōylyz** | **xuluj** 'мокрый' ('wet')
 < Etymology unknown.
- ♦ The form *xōylyz* is etymologically unknown: Possible sources for *xōylyz* are: Russ. (dial.) *xohy* 'mud flat', NP *xul*, *xulla* 'snot'. Final *-z* / *-j* presupposes Ir. **-ti*, cf. *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.1.
- xōymællæg** | **xumællæg** 'хмелъ', 'Humulus lupulus' ('hop plant, Humulus lupulus')
Wandervort ?; similar forms in many languages, in Slavic, e.g. ORuss. *xəmelb*, Russ. *xmel*, Bulg. *xmel*, Polish *chmiel*, Germanic MHG *homele*, OE *hymele*, also borrowed in OFr. *homlon*, *humlon*, in Finno-Ugric, Finn. *humala*, Hung. *komlo*, in Turkic *xumallag* (< Oss.), Bašk. *komalak*, in Caucasian, Avar *xomeleg*, etc.
- ♦ According to Abaev, *xōymællæg* is of Iranian origin, going back to **bauma-ariaka-* lit. 'Aryan Haoma', cf. Av. *haoma-* (m.) 'Haoma plant, drink, god', MP *bōm* 'Haoma plant', Skt. *sōma-* (m.) 'Soma plant or juice; the god Soma', etc. All other similar forms can ultimately go back to Alano-Ossetic. However, the wide distribution of the forms for 'hop' calls for caution, especially if we consider the fact that the Ossetic names for 'beer' (*æluton* and *bəgəny*), for which hop is added, are borrowings. In addition, deriving the second part from **ariaka-* is troublesome, as we rather expect *†ælæg*, with single *-l-*, see Cheung 2000: 69 ff.
- xōyrx** | **xurxæ** 'кислая сыворожка' ('sour whey')
 < **hur(a)kē-*; cf. Av. *hurā-* 'koumiss (?)', MP *hur* 'alcoholic drink, (?) koumiss' (< Av., v. Nyberg II: 103), Skt. *surā-* 'alcohol'.
- ♦ Final *-x* / *-æ* seems to be the result of fricative assimilation, s.v. (D.) *xotxæ*.
- xōysk** | **xusk** (æ) 'сухой', 'засохший', 'высохший' ('dry, dried up')
 < **huška-*; Av. *huška-* 'dry, dried up', OP *uška-* (n.) 'the main-land', Khot. *huška-* 'dry', MP *hušk*, NP *xušk*, Y. *ušk*, M. *ušk*, W. *wask* (with unexplained *s-*, v. IIFL II: 470, § 73), Pš. *wušk*, Bal. (h) *ušk*, Kurd. (Kurm.) *hišk*, Orm. *wōkə*, *wyūk*, Par. *hišku*, *huškō*, (?) *ōškār* 'dry', etc., Skt. *śuška-* 'dry, arid, dried up (assimilated from **śuška-*)'.
- ♦ Final *-æ* in the D. form is paragoric, cf. *Apocope*, § 1.2.1f.v.
- xyzyn** | **xizin** 'сума', 'котомка' ('bag, knapsack')
 < ? Oss. *xyz* / *xizæ* 'net, veil' + *-yn* / *-in*.
- ♦ According to Abaev, *xyzyn* reflects **izaina-*, Av. *izaina-* 'leather-'. Initial *x-* would be prothetic. *Xyzyn* may rather have another etymology, being derived from *xyz* / *xizæ* '(fish-)net; veil' with material suff. **-aina*, Av. *-aena*, OP *-aina*, etc. For more details on so-called "prothetic" *x-* see s.v. *xəjraŋ*.

Y

- (y)ssar | **ænsaræ** 'куча', 'масса', 'свалка', 'хлам' ('heap, mass, dump, rubbish')

< **ham-sārā-*; cf. Av. *sairi-* (m.) 'fragment', *a-sarata-* 'unbroken', *sāiri* 'downfall', Skt. *samsarā-* 'breaking'.

♦ The form is rare in Iron.

yssæz | *insæj* 'АВАЦАТЬ' ('twenty')

< **yinsati-*; Av. *nisaiti*, Khot. *bistā*, MP *wist*, Khz. *'wyc*, *'wsc*, NP *bist*, Bal. *gīst*, Pš. *šil*, *šal*, Sq. *wist*, Yz. *wast*, Y. *wistō*, Sangl. *wist*, W. *wist*, Skt. *vimśati-* (f.), etc.

♦ The nasal encountered in the Oss. form is strange, although it is also found in Skt. On final **ti* see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.2.1.

yssyn : yssad | *insun* : *insad* 1. 'ТОЧИТЬ'; 2. 'МОЛОТЬ' ('1. 'to whet'; 2. 'thresh')

< **ham-saj-*, Sogd. *'nsy-* 'to rub', Skt. *śay-*, pres. *śyāti* 'sharpens'.

yzmælyn : yzmæld | (æ)zmælyn : (æ)zmæld 'АВИГАТЬСЯ, ШЕВЕЛИТЬСЯ' ('to be moved')

< **ham-ṣar-ja-*; s.v. Oss. *uzælyn*.

♦ Oss. *yzmælyn* has undergone metathesis: **-mz-* > *-zm-*. Another example of this development is *æzmilyñ* / *æzmelun* 'to spin (into threads) in special, soft way' (*zilyñ* / *zelun* 'to wind, turn (around)').

yzmæntyn : yzmæst | (æ)zmæntun : (æ)zmæst 'мешать', 'размешать', 'месить', 'мутить', 'поднимать мятеж', 'бунтовать' ('to stir (up), mix; to blur; to stir up mutiny, revolt')

< **uz-manṭa-*; Khot. *manṭh-*, Sogd. (Bud.) *mnd-* 'to agitate, churn', Khz. *ḍmnd-* 'to tan', R. *ḍemān-* 'to rub' (**ni-manṭna-*, EVS: 31b), Skt. *math-*, pres. *mānṭhati* 'stirs'.

yzmis | (æ)zme(n)sæ 'песок' ('sand')

Etymology unknown.

♦ While Abaev considers *yzmis* to be derived from **mais-*, **mias-* 'to mingle, mix' (cf. Skt. *mikṣ-*), Bailey rather connects *yzmis* with Khot. *yismā* 'earth, soil, clay' (DKS: 39b), from **uzmā-*, OP *uzmayā* 'in the earth' (but see Brandenstein-Mayrhofer, *HLAp.*: 150). Bailey treats final *'is* / *'e(n)sæ* as a kind of suffix, which is not supported by any clear evidence. His examples, viz. *k'æris* / *k'æres* 'bread crumb' and *k'ajris* / *k'ures* 'sheaf', are etymologically obscure. The etymology of Abaev is also not free of problems, as it does not account for the appearance of the nasal in D. An infix stem **m(a)insa-* is not attested in (I)Ir. Semantically, it is not evident that 'mixed up, a mixing' would develop to 'sand': to my knowledge, a similar development in other (I)Ir. languages is unknown.

Z

zad 'рожденный' ('born')

< ppp. **zāta-*; LAv. *zāta-*, Khot. *ysātā* 'born', Sogd. *z'ī* 'born', Khz. *z'd* (m.) 'new-born child', Bact. *ζαδο* 'born', MP, NP *zād* 'birth; age; son', Zāz. *za* (m.) 'son, boy', Kurd. *za* (f.) 'birth', *zade* 'born', (m.) 'child, son, offspring', Skt. *jātā-* 'born', (m.) 'someone who is born, son, living being', (n.) 'birth, origin', etc.,

♦ The corresponding verb is preserved in Oss. ¹*zajyn* / *zajun* 'to give birth', ²*zajyn* / *zajun* 'to be born, grow'.

³*zajyn* : *zad* | *izajun* : *izad* 'оставаться' ('to remain')

< **zi-zāia-*; ? LAv. *vi-zāia-* 'to let go, to separate oneself' (hapax, Y 53.8), Sogd. (Chr.) *wz'y* (in *pyš wz'y* 'heirloom'), Y. *uu-zā(y)-* 'to be tired; to be left behind', Par. *ūzēb-*, *ūza-* 'to remain'.

zalm in *zalmi syf* / *zalmi sife* 'АНСТ ЗААМА, ЛОПЫХ', *arctium lappa* / *tomentosa* (a leaf of *zalm*, burdock)

< **zarmi-*?; cf. LAv. *zar(a)maia-* 'spring (season)'?

♦ The form *zalm* would regularly go back to **zarmi-*. Abaev considers *zalm* as a derivative of Ir. **zar-* 'grass, vegetation', which does not exist, however. The forms which he assumes to contain such a root, such as D. *zælda* 'young grass', *zæreston* 'waste land', *zæridaw* / *zæredaw(a)* 'pasture', *mæzæraw* 'a kind of edible grass', just reflect a natural, Ossetic semantic shift of Ir. **zar-* 'yellow' to 'grassy, vegetational', parallel to Sogd. (Bud.) *zrywn* 'plant, vegetable' (cf. Av. *zairi-gaona-* 'of (green-)yellowish colour'). His connection with LAv. *zar(a)maia-* is uncertain, especially in view of the obscure origin of the Avestan form.

zaz 'тис', *Taxus baccata* ('yew-tree, *Taxus baccata*)

Wanderwort?; cf. Khot. *ysāysa-* 'herb, grass', MP *zāz* 'weed, useless plant', NP *zāz* 'a kind of plant not growing from seed, e.g. camel's thistle', wormwood, artichoke, etc.', ? Š. *zāz* (m.), R. *zōz*, B. *zōz*, Sq. *zēz* 'firewood' (EVS: 111). Similar forms are also widely found in Caucasian languages, e.g. Georg. *zēzvi*, Avar. Agul. *zaz*, Lezg. *saz* 'blackthorn', Georg. *zazuna* 'hawthorn', Chech. *zēz* 'larch', etc.

♦ The assumed correspondences of *zaz* refer to different plants or herbs, often with thorns. Abaev suggests massive borrowing from Persian *zāz*, which he derives from Ir. **zāzā-* and further from IE **ǵʰers-*.⁴⁵ This etymology is highly uncertain, though. In the first place, old Ir. **-r-* rather becomes MP, NP voiceless *-s-*, cf. *kašidan* 'to draw' (Av. *karš-*). Moreover, why are there no traces of the liquid in the Iranian (and Caucasian) forms at all? Another etymology can be found in DKS: 349, s.v. *ysāysa-*. Assuming that the Iranian and Caucasian forms refer to the thorny, stingy feature of the plant, Bailey derived the Iranian forms from IE *ǵegʰ-*, *ǵegʰ(b)-* 'prick, sting'. His proposal is a wild guess, which cannot be substantiated by IE evidence. For the time being, we can be pretty sure that *zaz* is a borrowing, but the source still remains a mystery.

zæd | *izæd* 'божество'; (Chr.) 'ангел' (divinity; [Chr.] angel)

< **iazata-* (Pers. LW ?); GAv. *yazata-* (m.) 'honourable being', LAv. *yazata-* (m.) 'god, divine being', Khot. *gyasta-* (NSg. **ā*) 'worshipful being; royal person', Sm. (Olb.) *Ιαζαδαγος*, *Ιεζδαγος* PN, Bact. *ιαζαδο*, Pth. *yzd* 'god', MP, NP *yazd* 'God', NP *izid*, *ezid*, (Dari) *izad* 'God; angel', Skt. *yajata-* 'worthy of the sacrifice, honour, veneration'.

♦ The morphological and semantic similarity between the Ossetic and Persian forms prompted Hübschmann (Oss.: 125) to consider borrowing, which was subsequently accepted by Benveniste (*ÉLO*: 132). Abaev points out, however, that the Sarmatian personal names ensure the ancient origin of the Ossetic form (assuming that the interpretation of the names is correct). This is hardly a convincing argument, on which see *Aphaeresis*, § 3.3.1c.

zælda D. 'МОЛОДАЯ ТРАВА', 'мырва', 'АЕРН' ('young grass, grass; turf')

< **zanita-*; Av. *zanita-*, MP, NP *zard*, Pš. *zēr*, *zīyar*, Sangl. *zāz*, Š. *zind*, Yz. *zard*, Y., M. *zīt* 'yellow', Hung. *zöld* 'green' (< Al.). With suffix: Khot. *ysidaa-*, Yagn. *zērtā*, Par. *zītō*

⁴⁵ Abaev suggests this reconstruction on the basis of the entries *ǵʰers-* ("in Unkrautbezeichnungen?"), *ǵʰers-* ('Stacheltier') in Pokorny's dictionary (445).

'yellow', Skt. *hārīta*- 'yellowish'.

♦ On final *-æ* see *Apocope*, § 1.2.1f.v.

zæly | **izælu** 'шелк', 'шелковый', 'шелковый платок' ('silk, of silk; silk scarf')

Etymology unknown.

♦ According to Abaev, the initial *i*- of the D. form is the definite article. The etymology is unclear. The connection with Pš. *sālu* 'silk veil' meets with considerable phonological difficulties.

zælyn : **zæld** I. 'звучать' ('to sound')

< **zār-ia*- or **uz-zār-ia*-; cf. Oss. *zaryn* 'to sing' (caus. **zār-ia*-), Khot. *ysār*- 'to sing', Khz. *zry*- 'to announce, reveal, speak about (sorrow)' (< caus. **zār-ia*-, Samadi: 264), MP *zarig* 'sorrow, grief', NP *zāridan* 'to weep, moan', *zīrānidan* 'to cause to sigh' (< NWIr.), Skt. *jārate* (mid.) 'sings'.

♦ Derived from *zælyn* are *zæl* 'sound' and D. *uzæl* 'noise', which go back to **uz-zārī*-. The D. form implies the former presence of the verb **uzælun* or **uzælun* (with dial. *z*, v. *Introduction*, § 0.6.2). Abaev prefers to reconstruct with preverb **ui*-, which is less probable, as it would have given *i*- in D.

zæng | **zængæ** 'голень'; (also) 'стебель' ('shin; stalk')

< **zāngā*-; LAv. *zāngā*- (m.) 'ankle', MP *zang* 'ankle, shank', Skt. *jāṅghā*- (f.) 'lower part of the leg, shin'.

zængo | **zængojnæ** 'наговица' ('leather stockings')

< *zæng* / *zængæ* + *-oj* / *-ojnæ*, s.v. Oss. *zæng* / *zængæ*.

♦ For the instrumental suffix *-oj* / *-ojnæ* see *Appendix*, A § 13.

zæppaz, **zæppaz** | **zæppazæ** 'надземный или полуподземный каменный могильный склеп' ('elevated or submerged grave-chamber of stone')

Etymology unknown.

♦ The etymology of *zæppaz* is unclear. The preform given by Abaev, viz. **zæppati*-, is possible for the Iron forms (similar to *æppæt* 'all' < **am-kæt*, D. *ænk(k)æt*), but does not account for the forms in Digoron, which normally resists assimilation in similar consonant groups. The connection with NP *sabad*, Arm. *sap'at* 'basket' (< Mlr.) is gratuitous.

zæx | **zæx(w)æ** 'старость' ('old age')

< **zār-ian*-, **zār-ia*-, LAv. *zauriuan*- (m.), Sogd. (Bud.) *zrwb*, (Man.) *zrw*, (Chr.) *zrw*, MP *zār-ian* 'old age'. Av. *zauriuan*- (together with *zruuan*- 'life-time') is recently treated by Lubotsky (1998b: 83).

♦ On final *-æ* in the Digoron form see *Apocope*, § 1.3.1a.

zærdæ 'сердце' ('heart')

< **zrdaia*-; LAv. *zærdaiia*- (n.), Sogd. (Bud.) *δρυ*, (Man.) *δρj(y)* (metath. from **zrδy*), Skt. *hṛdaya*- (n.) 'heart', etc.

zærin | **zærijnæ** 'золото', 'золотой', 'золотистый' ('gold; of gold, golden')

< **zaranja*-; Av. *zaraniiia*- (n.), OP *daraniya*- (n.), "Alanic" *ζῆρην* 'golden', Sogd. *zyn*, MP *zarr*, etc., Skt. *hiranya*- (n.) 'gold, precious metal'.

♦ For the vocalism *i*- / *-ij*- see *i-Epenthesis*, § 4.4.5, and the appearance of D. final *-æ* see *Apocope*, § 1.2.1e.iii.

zæron 'старый', 'старик' ('old, old man')

< **zāranta*-; Sm. *Zarandōs* PN (lit. 'the Old one'), Skt. *jārant*- 'old'.

♦ The Ossetic form reflects thematization on the basis of full grade **-ant*-, on which see *Apocope*, § 1.3.2b.

zærvatykk | **zærbatug**, **zærbatukkæ** 'ласточка', '*Hirundo*' ('swallow, *Hirundo*')

< **zara*- + ?; cf. **zara*- 'yellow (bird)', Khot. *ysara*-, NP *zari* 'partridge', etc.

♦ The first part of the compound *zærvatykk* is probably the adjective **zara*-, but the second part, which Abaev derives from **pat*-, **pāθ*- 'to fly' is troublesome.

zæxx | **zænxæ** 'земля', 'земная поверхность' ('earth, earth-surface')

< (?) **zama-xā*-; Y. *zaxmā*, M. *zāxmō* 'field' (IIFL II: 276).

♦ On the suffix *-x* / *-xæ* see *Syncopé*, § 2.2.1b.

znōn | **æzinæ** 'вчера' ('yesterday')

< **zina*-; NP *dina*, Tal. *zina* 'yesterday', Skt. *hyār* 'yesterday', etc.

♦ For more details on D. initial *æ*- see *Aphaeresis*, § 3.3.2. f. The I. form is modelled after *dyson* 'yesterday night'.

zonyn : **zynd** | **zonun** : **zund** 'знать', 'уметь' ('to know (how), to be able')

< pres. **zāna*-; LAv. pres. 3pl. **zānanti*, OP *dāna*-, Khot. *ysān*-, Pth. *z'n*- 'to know', etc.

zyng | **zing** 'горящий, раскаленный уголь', 'огонь' ('burning, glowing hot coal; fire')

< NP *zang* 'hot, burning; rust'. Borrowed in Balk. *zing*, *zing* 'glowing coal', Karač. *šing-art* 'big open-fire', Arm. *žang*, Georg. *jang*, Kurd. *zeng* 'rust', Zāz. *zengi* 'rust', Tk. *ženk* 'a certain mildew disease' (cf. Blasing 1995: 31-34).

♦ The Persian form *zang* has been borrowed on a large scale, in most cases as 'rust'. In view of the form and meaning, Oss. *zyng* is more likely to be a borrowing from Persian, rather than an inherited form, which Abaev assumes. He connects it with Skt. *āṅgāra*- 'coal', NP *angišt*, Russ. *ugol*-, etc., deriving *zyng* from **uz-anga*-, presumably with (unexplained) deletion of **u*-. Also phonologically implausible is the etymology of Bielseimer (1979: 160-161), who signalled a connection with the Kartv. root *(*m*)*z*- 'to glow, beam', Georg. *mze* 'sun'.

zynyn : **zynd** | **zinnun** : **zind** 'ви́днеться', 'казаться' ('to be seen, to appear')

< **zan-(i)a*-; cf. Khot. *ysān*- (middle) 'to appear, be conspicuous, honour, be bright'.

♦ *Zynyn* is the middle-passive to (s.v.) *zonyn* / *zonun* 'to know'. The vocalism is either the result of epenthesis, which is not supported by the Iron form, or reflects the development **a* > Oss. *y*, *i* / *i* in the proximity of a nasal, see *Introduction*, § 0.7.2.1.iv. Geminate *-nn*- in D. strongly suggests an original *ia*-formation, cf. (s.v.) *xwinyyn*. The semantic shift from 'to be known' to 'to be recognizable, shine, appear' is unusual, but we can mention a Middle Breton parallel: *gnou* 'manifeste, évident'.

zyrxyn | **izærxun** (isærxun) : **izæxt** (isæxt) 'развлекать(ся)', 'забавлять(ся)', 'ласкать' ('to entertain, to be entertained, to amuse, to be amused', 'to caress')

< ? Mong. *zirya* 'to be joyful, rejoice, enjoy, be happy'.

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References are to the pages: bold numbers after Ossetic entries refer to the *Etymological Index*. Latin alphabetical order is followed, except for Greek and Bactrian. In general, simple letters usually precede the modified ones: *a* before *ā* and *ā*, *b* before *β*, *e* before *z*, *s* before *š*, etc. For Ossetic, the alphabetical order is as applied in the *Etymological Index*.

The main order of the languages is as follows: Iranian, Sanskrit, other Indo-European languages, Caucasian, Uralic, Altaic and the rest. Within Iranian, the order is the same as in *CLI*, with the exception of Ossetic and pre-Ossetic ("Scythian", "Sarmatian", "Alanic") forms: they are placed directly after the reconstructions. Also Yaghnobi is placed slightly differently, viz. before Parachi-Ormuri. Old Persian forms in Elamite or Aramaic writings can be found under Elamite and Aramaic respectively. Within each language family, the languages or language groups are arranged alphabetically.

IRANIAN LANGUAGES

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