EDITOR'S PREFACE

This translation of V. I. Abaev A Grammatical Sketch of Ossetic is actu-
ally a composite of the two versions in which the original was published: that
of 1952, as a supplement (pp. 441-539) to A. M. Kasaev, Ossetic-Russian Dic-
tionary (Moscow, 1952), and the version of 1959 published separately in Ordj-
onikidze. The latter is a revised and augmented edition of that of 1952, though
in some instances, the earlier edition has more material. We have attempted
to include all examples from both sketches in order to present as full a picture
of Ossetic as possible. Occasionally the mark ['52] will indicate the particu-
lar source for a point in the text. Only the '59 edition, for example, has the
paragraph numbering system.

The current Cyrillic orthography of Ossetic was retained without translit-
eration or transcription, though occasionally there are differences in spelling
of some words in the two versions of Abaev's grammar. As far as can be de-
termined, this translation marks the first publication of a full-length grammar
of Ossetic to be published in a Western European language since that of W. Mil-
ler in the Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie (1903).

Abaev's Ossetic sketch is the last in a series of four translations of Rus-
sian grammars of Iranian languages. They were made possible by a research
contract (SAE-8888) between the U.S. Office of Education and the Department
of Near Eastern Studies of The University of Michigan under the terms of the
National Defense Education Act of 1958.

The translation was originally begun and carried out by Mr. Gabor Horvath
working in close collaboration with the editor. It was then thoroughly checked
and revised by Mr. Steven P. Hill. We owe a special debt to Miss Jannat Sirous
and to Mrs. Wendi Headdy who admirably performed the difficult task of typing
this manuscript with the Ossetic Cyrillic in the proper places. For final proof-
reading, the editor alone is responsible.

To the publication staff at Patton House is due a special word of gratitude
for the accuracy, promptness, and celerity which characterize its work. But
for the existence of this publication facility at Indiana University under the di-
rection of Professor Thomas A. Sebeok none of these translations would have
appeared. To him and to his co-workers, the undersigned wishes to record his
thanks.

There is one caution that must be expressed. Readers familiar with Osset-
ic may possibly note translation errors where cited Ossetic forms are glossed.
Here we were working primarily from the Russian glosses rather than from the
Ossetic. Nevertheless, we hope that Iranists, Indo-Europeanists, and linguists,
in general, will find this presentation of Ossetic useful.

Ann Arbor, Michigan   Herbert H. Paper
August, 1964

FOREWORD

The present Sketch represents a revised and expanded version of the grammatical sketch of Ossetic appended to my Russian-Ossetic Dictionary (1950), and then to the Ossetic-Russian Dictionary edited by A. M. Kasaev (1952).

The structure of the sketch remains as before. Contrastive elements with Russian are also retained. Such contrasts, if one takes into account the widespread bilingualism in Ossetia, have definite methodological significance.

Grammatical norms are best revealed and assimilated when they are presented "in action" — i. e., in speech, in context, and not when they are given in the form of abstract definitions and rules. Taking account of this, the compiler, in the revision and expansion of the sketch, allotted special attention to increasing the number of examples which illustrate the meaning and use of one or another grammatical form.

For this purpose a selection of appropriate citations from works of Ossetic literature and folklore was made. The compiler most gladly gleaned examples from the linguistically-unsurpassed works of the national poet, Kosta Xetagurov.

There is appended a list of sources used in this sketch.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

А   —   Коцойты Арсен, Радзырты æмбырдгонд [Collected Tales]. Ordjonikidze, 1934.

Аргъ.   —   Ирон аргъæуттæ [Iron Tales]. Ordjonikidze, 1954.

Æфх. Хæс. —   Æфхæрдты Хæсанæ [National Epic, adapted by A. Kubalov.].

Бр.   —   Брытъиаты Елбыздыхъо, Уацмыстæ [Works]. Ordjonikidze, 1947.

ДС   —   Дигорские сказания по записям дигорцев И. Т. Собиева, К. С. Гарданова и С. А. Туккаева [Digor Legends in the transcriptions of the Digors I. T. Sobiev, K. S. Gardanov, and S. A. Tukkaev] with translation and commentary by Vsevolod Miller, Moscow, 1902.

Ев.   —   Евангелие [New Testament].

К   —   Коста, Полное собрание сочинений [Complete Works]. Vol. I. Moscow-Leningrad, 1939.

М   —   Малити Геуæргм, Ирæф. Ordjonikidze, 1935.

МД   —   Мах дуг [Our Time]. (Magazine, Ordjonikidze).

MST   —   Fünf ossetische Erzählungen in digorischem Dialekt, herausgegeben von W. Miller und R. von Stackelberg. St. Petersburg, 1891.

Н   —   Нигер, Æмдзæвгæтæ [Poems]. Ordjonikidze, 1936.

НС   —   Нартские сказания [Nart Legends]. Ordjonikidze, 1946.

ОТ   —   Осетинские тексты [Ossetic Texts]. Collected by Dan. Čonkadze and Vas. Tsoraev. Published by Academician A. Šifner. St. Petersburg, 1868.

ОЭ   —   Осетинские этюды [Ossetic Studies], by Vsevolod Miller.
Part I. Texts. Moscow, 1881.

ОЭп.   —   В. И. Абаев, Из осетинского эпоса [From the Ossetic
Epic]. Moscow-Leningrad, 1939.

С   —   Гӕдиаты Секъа, Уацмысты ӕмбырдгонд [Collected Works].
Ordjonikidze, 1947.

СОПам.   —   Памятники народного творчества (северных) осетин
[Monuments of the National Creativity of the (Northern) Os-
setes], II-IV. Ordjonikidze, 1927-1929.

Ф   —   Фидиуӕг. [Herald]. (Magazine, Stalinir).

X. Кадӕг —   Плиты Харитон, Уалахизы кадӕг [Song of Victory]. Ord-
jonikidze, 1950.

Ц   —   Гӕдиаты Цомахъх, Ӕвзӕрст уацмыстӕ [Selected Works].
Ordjonikidze, 1951.

Ч   —   Чермен, Мӕсгуытӕ дзурынц. Новеллӕтӕ [Short Stories].
Stalinir, 1935.

ЮОПам. —   Памятники народного творчества южных осетин [Monu-
ments of the National Creativity of the Southern Ossetes],
I-III. Stalinir, 1929-1930.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Ossetic is the spoken and literary language of the Ossetes, a people living in the central part of the Caucasus and constituting the basic population of the North-Ossetic ASSR, which belongs to the Russian Federation, and of the South-Ossetic Autonomous Oblast [Region] which belongs to the Georgian Republic.

Ossetic is genetically related to the Iranian group of the Indo-European family of languages. From deep antiquity (since the 7th-8th centuries B. C.), the languages of the Iranian group were distributed in a vast territory including present-day Iran (Persia), Central Asia, and Southern Russia. Ossetic is the sole survivor of the northeastern branch of Iranian languages known as Scythian. The Scythian group included numerous tribes in Central Asia and Southern Russia, known in ancient sources as Scythians, Massageti, Sakas, Sarmatians, Alans, Roksolans, etc. In close relationship with these tribes were the Khorezmians and the Sogdians. At the beginning of our era, one of the Scytho-Sarmatian tribes, the Alans, advanced to the Northern Caucasian Mountains and mixed with the local Caucasian elements, thus giving rise to the Ossetic nationality. In the course of centuries-long propinquity to and intercourse with Caucasian languages, Ossetic became similar to them in some features, particularly in phonetics and lexicon. However, it retained its grammatical structure and basic lexical stock; its relationship with the Iranian family, despite considerable individual traits, does not arouse any doubt.

Among the languages of the Soviet Union belonging to the Iranian family are also Tajik, Kurdish, Tat, Talysh, Yagnobi, and Shugni. Among those beyond the border are Persian, Pashto, Balochi, and others.

Ossetic is divided into two main dialects: the eastern, called Iron, and the Western, called Digor. The overwhelming majority of Ossetes speak the Iron dialect, and the literary language is based on it. The creator of the Ossetic literary language is the national poet Kosta Xetagurov (1859-1906).

PHONETICS

§ 1.   The total number of phonemes in the Ossetic literary language is defined as 35. Of these, 7 are vowels, 2 are semi-vowels, and 26 are consonants.

Vowels

§ 2.   The vowels are differentiated by tongue position (front, back, and central), tongue height (low, mid, and high), lip-involvement (labialized and unlabialized), width of mouth and lip opening (open and close), and by duration or quantity (short and long).

§ 3.   The system of vowels in Ossetic can be presented in the following diagram (based on V. S. Sokolova):

['59 ed.]   ['52 ed.]

и   ы   y   и   ы   y
  e   o   e   æ   o
    æ   a
      a
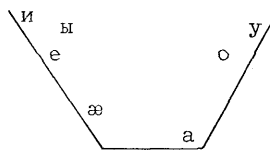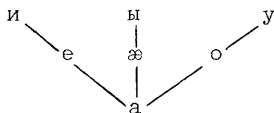
We have, then, two front vowels e и, three central a æ ы, and two back o y. The last two are characterized in addition by lip-rounding and are labialized.

The vowels are distinguished according to the amount of openness; they differ as follows: a is open, æ (midway between a and e) is closer, e ы o are still more close, and finally come и y.

§ 4.   The following can be said regarding individual vowels:

a is a low central vowel; close to Russian a under stress, but somewhat more backed: арт 'fire', мад 'mother', хъама 'dagger'.

æ is a low mid central vowel, but considerably more fronted than a; it does not have an exact equivalent in Russian and only in certain cases can be likened to Russian unstressed a, remaining, however, more fronted, longer, and more qualitatively distinct: æнæ 'without', дæс 'ten'; the Ossetic æ in фалæ 'to that side' is somewhat like the second a in the Russian word па́ра.

e is a narrow mid vowel, more close than Russian e: тел 'wire'.

о is a narrow mid vowel, more close and more labialized than Russian о: бон 'day', ном 'name', хос 'hay', зокъо 'mushroom'.

и is a narrow high vowel, close to Russian и: ивын 'to change', их 'ice', мигъ 'cloud', хид 'bridge'.

у is a narrow labialized high vowel, close to Russian у: уд 'soul', суг 'firewood', æрду 'hair'.

ы is not identical with Russian ы; it is an indefinitely colored vowel, pronounced with the lips and tongue passive; formation-wise, it, like æ, belongs to the central vowels, but is more close; in phonetic transcription it is designated by the sign ə. A similar vowel is sometimes heard in Russian between consonants at the end of a word: Днепр [dnepər], министр [ministər]: фыд 'father', уынын 'to see', фырт 'son', мыд 'honey', дза-быр 'Ossetic footwear resembling a legging or moccasin'.

§ 5. Quantitative distinctions between vowels in modern Ossetic do not have phonemic significance. But formerly these distinctions were very essential and as the result of this past status, the modern vowels may be divided into two groups:

strong:	а е и о у
weak:	æ ы

The former group can be traced back, as a rule, to the old long vowels or diphthongs; the latter, to the old short vowels. Even today the strong vowels remain somewhat longer. The difference between strong and weak vowels has interest that is not only historical. The two groups behave differently in the modern language. The weak vowels tend more easily to reduction, contraction, and disappearance.

æзнаг > ызнаг > знаг	'enemy'
быру > бру	'barrier'
нæуæг > ног	'new'
дæлæйæ > дæле	'from below', etc.

The weak vowels æ and ы are used as prothetic vowels before consonant clusters, since Ossetic is reluctant to begin words with more than one consonant:

æхсар	'valor'	(historically хсар)
ыстын	'get up'	(historically стын)

In initial position the vowels æ ы prove to be particularly weak, unclear, and unstable, a fact that leads to orthographic fluctuation. For example, the following are pronounced and written: æвæрын, ывæрын, вæрын 'to put, place'.

When a strong vowel stands next to a weak one, the latter is often absorbed within the former:

мæ адæм > м'адæм	'my nation'
ма æрбацу > ма'рбацу	'do not approach', etc.

The position of strong and weak vowels in words and constructions has decisive significance for the placement of stress (see below).

Finally, the distribution of strong and weak vowels is important for prosody, and determines to an important degree the rhythmical accuracy of the verse.

§ 6.   The strong vowels a o alternate with the weak vowel æ in the following cases:

In the formation of the plural of substantives: бæлас — бæлæстæ 'tree — trees'; хох — хæхтæ 'mountain — mountains'.

In some substantives the vowel of the nominative case weakens into æ in oblique cases: раст 'truth' — рæстæй, рæстыл; маст 'woe, wrath' — мæстæй ; тас 'fear' — тæссæй .

In the present and past stems of verbs: æмбарын 'to understand', æмбæрста 'he understood'; хæрын 'to eat', хордта 'he ate'; кæсын 'to look', касти 'he looked', etc.

With the addition of a suffix: фарс 'side, land', фæрссаг 'strange, foreign'; авд 'seven', æвдæм 'seventh'.

In compounds: арм 'arm, hand', æрмхуд 'mitten, gauntlet' (literally 'arm-hat'); цыппар 'four', цыппæрдæс 'fourteen'.

In the present and past stems of verbs, the strong vowels и у alternate with the weak vowel ы: ризын 'to tremble', рызти 'he trembled'; судзын 'to burn', сыгъта 'he burned' (see § 94.0).

§ 7.   When the vowels æ and и, æ and ы, æ and æ stand next to each other, they often merge into the single vowel е: кæ-имæ ⟩ чемæ 'with whom', фæ-ирвæзын ⟩ фервæзын 'to survive', нæ ызмæлы ⟩ не'змæлы 'doesn't move', мæ æрвад ⟩ ме'рвад 'my relative'.

This is to be observed when the first element of the combination is one of the short possessive pronouns мæ, дæ, йæ, нæ, уæ, сæ, the preverb фæ or the negative нæ. In other cases, the initial weak vowel of the second element disappears: æртæ æмбалы ⟩ æртæ'мбалы 'three friends', æнæ æнцой ⟩ æнæнцой 'tirelessly, untiringly', ны + æвæрын ⟩ нывæрын 'to lay, put (down), place', etc.

§ 8.   When a preverb ending in a is added to an initial и, the latter can weaken to й: байсын 'to take, take away' from ба-исын, райвазын 'to pull' from ра-ивазын.

On the other hand, an initial и which was once lost can be restored in the shape of й or ы when a preverb is added: ба-й-дзаг кæнын 'to fill' (from дзаг, historically идзаг), ба-й-тауын 'to strew, scatter' (from тауын, historically итауын), æр-ы-мысын 'to think up, invent' (from мысын, historically имисун).

The group æуæ can contract to о, the group æйæ to е: рæуæг ⟩ рог 'light (in weight)', фалæйæ ⟩ фале 'to that side (over there)'.

The vowel ы and the semi-vowel й often merge to и: быдираг 'steppe-' ⟨ быдыйраг from быдыр 'steppe', хæринаг 'food' ⟨хæрыйнаг from хæрын 'to eat', and others.

Semi-Vowels

§ 9.   There are two semi-vowels: the front й and the back у. They can both precede and follow vowels: йæхæдæг 'he himself', мæй 'month', уад 'storm', сау 'black'.

Consonants

§ 10.   The following table represents the consonant system of Ossetic:

| CONSONANTS | Stop | | | | | | Fricative | | | |
| | Plain | | | Affricate | | | | | | |
	Voiceless	Voiced	Glottalized	Voiceless	Voiced	Glottalized	Voiceless	Voiced	Nasal	Liquid
Bilabial	п	б	пъ				ф	в	м	
Dental	т	д	тъ	ц	дз	цъ			н	
Prepalatal							с	з		л р
Mediopalatal				ч	дж	чъ				
Postpalatal	к	г	къ							
Velar	хъ						х	гъ		

§ 11.   The voiceless stops п т к are distinguished from the corresponding Russian consonants by weaker articulation and aspiration: пирын 'to comb wool', тайын 'to melt', цыт 'honor', карк 'hen'.

§ 12.   In the position after с х ф and when geminate, the voiceless stops lose their aspiration in Ossetic: хæстæг 'near', кастæн 'I looked', хæскард[1] 'scissors', лæппу 'boy', кæттаг 'linen, canvas', аккаг 'deserving, adequate'.   Consonants of this type cannot be considered independent phonemes; they are variants of the corresponding aspirated or voiced stops.

§ 13.   Voiced б д г are close to the corresponding Russian hard consonants: баз 'pillow', дон 'river', цад 'lake', гал 'bull', хъуг 'cow'.

§ 14.   The same can be said of the affricates ц ч, the fricatives
ф в, the nasals м н, and the liquid р: цыргъ 'sharp', арц 'lance', чындз
'daughter-in-law', чи 'who', фат 'arrow', арфӕ 'blessing', кӕф 'fish',
авг 'glass', рувас 'fox', арв 'sky, heaven', мах 'we', домын 'to calm
down', ком 'mouth; gorge, ravine', нӕ 'not', нау 'ship', кӕнын 'to do',
гӕн 'hemp'.

§ 15.   The glottalized stops пъ тъ къ цъ чъ   are alien to Russian,
but they exist in all the Caucasian languages. In pronouncing them, the
larynx is momentarily closed off and an explosion is produced with the
supply of air that was in the supraglottal region: пъа 'a kiss', тъӕпп 'a
blow, thrust', стъалы 'star', къус 'basin', скъӕт 'cow shed', тӕкъуыл
'shock [of grain]', сыкъа 'horn', цъай 'well [for water]', цъиу 'little bird',
гуцъа 'bird's craw', съиу 'tar, pitch', уачъи 'neck'.

§ 16.   The affricates дз and дж, nonexistent in the Russian liter-
ary language, are the voiced counterparts of the voiceless ц and ч:
дзурын 'to say', уадзын 'to leave', рудзынг 'window', къӕдз 'crooked',
джир 'wild boar', ноджы 'still, yet'.

§ 17.   The consonants с and з are among those sounds of Ossetic
where there exists great dialect diversity of pronunciation, and for the
present it is difficult to speak of an orthoepic norm. The range of varia-
tion is from dental с з (identical with Russian с з) to palatal ш ж (close
to the corresponding Russian sibilants). In districts adjacent to the city of
Ordjonikidze the pronunciation ш ж is beginning to predominate. In the
mountain areas most widespread is the prepalatal type с́ (midway between
с and ш) and з́ (midway between з and ж): с́ау 'black', фӕрс́ын 'to in-
quire', хъус́ 'ear'; з́ӕрдӕ 'heart', уаз́ӕг 'guest', баз́ 'pillow'.

§ 18.   The Ossetic х is further back than the Russian х; The Ossetic
гъ is close to the Tajik ғ: худ 'cap', тых 'strength', рӕгъӕд 'ripe', аргъ
'price'.
     The consonant хъ does not have an equivalent in Russian but is wide-
spread in the Caucasian and Turkic languages; in the old Ossetic writing
system of Šegren-Miller, it was rendered by the letter q. According to
place of articulation it is close to х, being its corresponding stop: хъарм
'warm', хъаз 'goose', цухъхъа 'Circassian coat', арахъхъ 'vodka'.

§ 19.   The Ossetic л before и е is close to the Russian palatalized
л. In other positions, it is considerably softer than the Russian hard л:
лидзын 'to run away', бӕлон 'pigeon', нӕл 'male'.

§ 20.   In contrast to Russian, word-final voiced consonants are hard-
ly devoiced, if at all; e.g., арв 'sky, heaven' and арф 'deep', баз 'pillow'
and бас 'soup', фад 'foot' and фат 'arrow' are clearly distinguished in pro-
nunciation.

§ 21.   The Ossetic consonant system shows some characteristic alter-
nations and combinatory phenomena.

The consonants ч дж чъ arose from к г къ before the vowels ы и е.
This irregularity is also strongly retained in the modern language — the
consonants к_ г къ before ы и е become respectively ч дж чъ : каркъ
'hen', карчы 'hen's (genitive)'; чемæ 'with whom' from кемæ, кæимæ;
хъуг 'cow', хъуджимæ 'with the cow'; тæскъ 'basket', тæсчъимæ 'with
the basket', etc.

The labialization of the consonants к г къ (indicated in writing by
means of the combinations ку гу къу) protects them from becoming
ч дж чъ; we have therefore куыст 'work', гуырын 'to be born', къуым
'corner' (but not чыст, джырын, чъым) .

§ 22.   Word-medially after vowels and also after voiced consonants,
the voiceless consonants become voiced:

т $>$ д: тых 'strength, force', æмдых 'of equal strength'; тас 'danger',
æдас 'safe'.

к $>$ г: кад 'honor, glory', æгад 'ignominious, inglorious'; кæрон
'edge, end'; хъæдгæрон 'border of a forest'.

ц $>$ дз: цæрын 'to live', æмдзæрин 'roommate'; царм 'skin, hide',
сагдзарм 'deerskin'.

ф $>$ в: фæндаг 'road, way', дæлвæндаг 'downgrade side of a road';
фæлтæрд 'experienced', æвæлтæрд 'inexperienced'.

On the other hand, voiced consonants may lose their voicing before
voiceless consonants:

в $>$ ф: æлхъивын 'to crush', æлхъыфта 'he crushed'.

з $>$ с: хъазын 'to play', хъаст 'game'.

гъ $>$ х: зæгъын 'to tell', захта 'he told'.

§ 23.   The phenomenon of full assimilation also occurs widely:

мн $>$ нн : æнном 'namesake' from æм-ном
нм $>$ мм : мæммæ 'to me' from мæн-мæ
нт $>$ тт : дæттæ 'rivers' from дæнттæ from дон 'river'
мв $>$ вв : æввахс 'near' from æм-фахс $>$ æм-вахс
рл $>$ лл : æллидзын 'to come running' from æр-лидзын
йз $>$ зз : баззайын 'to remain' from байзайын
сц $>$ сс : ыссæуын 'to ascend' from ыс-цæуын.

§ 24.   The following alternations occur sporadically:

з $>$ дз : зæхх 'earth', дæлдзæх 'underground-'
з $>$ р : æхсæрдæс 'sixteen' from æхсæз-дæс
н $>$ л : фонтан $>$ фантъал 'fountain', маймуни $>$ маймули 'monkey'
ц $>$ т (after с): исты 'anything' from ис-цы
н $>$ д : хъæзныг 'rich' together with хъæздыг
р $>$ л : уæлыгæс 'shepherd' from уæр 'lamb', хæлц 'subsistence' from
хæрц, хæрын 'to eat'.

§ 25.   The liquids are particularly subject to dissimilation. If there are two р's in a word, then the first one often becomes л: фылдæр 'more' from фыр-дæр ; булæмæргъ 'nightingale' from буръ-маргъ; уæлдзарм 'lambskin' from уæр-дзарм, etc.

The dissimilative voicing of voiceless consonants is observed in some loanwords: булкъон 'colonel' from Russian полковник; битъна 'mint' from Georgian пъитъна, etc.

§ 26.   In Ossetic, consonant gemination is widespread. The follow- ing examples are fairly typical:

.1   With the addition of the suffixes -аг -он, the final stem con- ¸ sonant is very often doubled: фарс 'land, side', фæрссаг 'strange, foreign'; хъæд 'woods, forest', хъæддаг 'forest- (adj.)'; балц 'journey', бæлццон 'traveller', etc.

Once in a while this phenomenon is also observed before a case ending: тых 'strength', тыххæй 'with effort': тыххæй ма фервæзмæн 'with diffi- culty I escaped'; тас 'fear', тæссæй 'from fear': Мæргъионы устытæ нæ ауагътой семæ Зазайы тæссæй 'the women didn't let Margion away from them, from fear of Zaza' (Ч 85).

.2   The initial consonant of the verb is geminated if the preverb ны- is prefixed: калын 'to spill, pour', ныккалын 'to spill'; цæвын 'to beat', ныццæвын 'to strike', etc.

.3   The nominal plural marker is geminated if the word ends in a liquid (р л), a nasal (н м), or a semivowel (й у), and if vowel-weak- ening occurs in the plural form: æмбал 'comrade, companion', æмбæлттæ 'comrades'; ком 'gorge, ravine', кæмттæ 'gorges'; хай 'part, portion', хæйттæ 'parts, portions', etc.

.4   In the past tense of verbs, both indicative and subjunctive, the final stem consonant of the past tense, д , often appears in geminated form: калддон 'I spilled', калддаин 'I would have spilled'.[2] Historically it is possible that assimilation has taken place here.

.5   There is a tendency toward gemination of stops in word-final position: сæныкк 'kid, young goat', уæрыкк 'lamb', цъыкк 'blow, thrust', цырыхъхъ 'boot', арахъхъ 'vodka', гæххæтт 'paper', æхситт 'whistle', къопп 'can, (wooden) mug, box', цъупп 'top', and many others. This type of gemination is not always noted in writing.

When the voiced stops are geminated, they lose part or all of their voiced quality; and the aspirated stops lose part or all of their aspiration.

§ 27.   The loss and insertion of consonants and semivowels are to be noted as follows:

Loss of р: хуыздæр 'better' from хуæрз-дæр, натхор 'maize' from нарт-хор ('Nart grain').

Loss of м: æрхуд 'mitten' from æрмхуд, цæрхафæн 'sheepskin scrap- er' from цæрмхафæн, куадзæн 'a meal ending a fast' from комуадзæн.

Loss of the semivowel у: идон 'bridle' together with уидон, Ацырухс (a woman's name) together with Уацырухс, хъӕмӕ 'home (-ward)' from хъӕумӕ; etc.

Among epenthetic sounds we find the semivowel й and the consonant ц. The former is inserted between noun stems and case endings, if the nouns stem ends in a vowel and the case ending begins with a vowel: зӕрдӕ-й-ӕн 'heart (dat.)' from зӕрдӕ-ӕн; between a preverb and a verb — once again in order to avoid the hiatus of two vowels: ны-йй-арын 'to give birth' from ны-арын.

The insertion of ц is observed between the preverbs а-, ба-, ӕр-, ӕрба-, ра-, фӕ-, ны-, and words beginning with а: а-ц-агурын, ба-ц-агурын, ӕр-ц-агурын, ра-ц-агурын, фӕ-ц-агурын 'to look for' from а-агурын, ба-агурын, etc.

The consonant ц is also inserted between these preverbs and some forms of the verb уын 'to be': ба-ц-ис, фӕ-ц-ис 'he became', ба-ц-адаин, фӕ-ц-адаин 'would become' from ба-ис, фӕ-ис, etc.

§ 28.   We can mention as examples of metathesis of consonants: ирхӕфсын 'to entertain' along with ифхӕрсын, авдакат 'lawyer' from адвокат, хъӕбатыр 'brave' from бӕхъатыр, etc.

§ 29.   Phonetic peculiarities alien to Ossetic itself can be observed in words borrowed from Russian in the years of Soviet power. Among these can be included, first of all, the presence in loan-words of a group of phonemes lacking in Ossetic: э ш щ ы and the soft consonants (эскалатор, шанс, энтузиазм, вымпел, жанр, стиль, etc.).

A certain "autonomy" of Russian loans has even been permitted in the spelling rules: they are written just as in Russian. A basic exception is constituted by the endings of some words which on Ossetic soil undergo certain transformations (конференци, бригад, редакци, практикӕ, антилопӕ, etc. [=Russ. конференция, бригада, редакция, практика, антилопа].

Stress

§ 30.   In Ossetic, the stress is expiratory (intensive).

In the flow of speech, it is not the stress of the individual word, as in Russian, which is crucial, but rather the phrase stress. Word groups that are syntactically connected in some way, are joined together by a single stress. Thus, a substantial number of words appear without independent stress.

The following appear under a single stress:

A modifier with the word modified: сырх тырыса 'red flag'; a postposition with the governed word: бӕласы бын 'under the tree'; a compound verb: рох кӕнын 'to forget'.

Besides these, there exist a multitude of particles, enclitics, and pro-
clitics which do not have independent stress and are joined in accentual re-
lationship to the preceding or to the following word: зӕгъ͡ ма͡ мын 'just
tell me'; нӕ͡ зонын 'I don't know'.

§ 31.   The occurrence of stress, both in separate words and in ac-
centual groups, is subject to the following regularities:
.1   The stress falls only on the first or second syllable of the word
or word-group.   In words adopted from Russian in very recent times, this
rule is violated — namely, the stress occurs as in Russian: коммунист,
тракторист, революци, etc.
.2   If there is a strong vowel in the first syllable, then the stress
falls (with rare exceptions) on the first syllable: судзаг 'burning', ма͡ тӕрс
'do not be afraid!'
.3   If there is a weak vowel in the first syllable, then the stress
falls on the second syllable: сӕнӕфсир 'grapes', мӕ͡ чиныг 'my book'.
In substantives stressed on the second syllable, the stress is trans-
ferred to the first syllable if a <u>definite</u> object is involved; in other words,
the shift of stress to the first syllable replaces, so to speak, the definite
article: бӕлас 'a tree', бӕлас 'the tree'.

§ 32.   The following excerpt from a folk tale, where words joined
under a single stress are connected by the sign   ⌢ , can give some notion
of the rhythmic structure of Ossetic speech.
Нартӕ сфӕнд͡ кодтой, не͡'взӕрты ныццӕгъдӕм,͡ зӕгъгӕ.   Уӕд
се͡'гасӕй ӕвзӕрдӕр͡ чи͡ уыд, уый иннӕты͡ разӕй йӕ͡ кардыл фӕхӕцыд
ӕмӕ͡ йӕ͡ цыргъ͡ кӕнын байдыдта.   Фӕрсынц͡ ӕй:
« Цы͡ ми͡ кӕныс? »
« Не͡'взӕрты͡ цӕгъдынмӕ мӕ͡ кард   цыргъ͡ кӕнын. »
Translation:
'The Narts planned, saying, "We shall destroy the worst among us."
Then the one who was the worst of all of them seized his sword before the
others and began to sharpen it.   They asked him:
"What are you doing?"
"For the destruction of the worst among us, I am sharpening my sword."

Notes

1.   Written хӕсгард   in standard orthography.

2.   Written калдтон, калдтаин in the official orthography.

MORPHOLOGY[1]

Parts of Speech

§ 33. On the morphological level of Ossetic, we only distinguish three parts of speech: substantive, verb, uninflected words. Some peculiarities in the declension of pronouns permit us to put them under a special subheading in the substantive section. As far as adjectives and numerals are concerned, the Ossetic language gives no basis for dividing them into separate morphological categories. Nor can adverbs and postpositions be distinguished from substantives on the basis of morphology.

The Substantive

§ 34. Ossetic does not show a distinction of grammatical class or gender in the substantive.

Nouns, Adjectives, and Numerals

Definiteness and Indefiniteness

§ 35. The contrast between definiteness and indefiniteness is only possible for substantives and accentual groups having the stress on the second syllable; that is, if a definite object is involved, the stress shifts to the first syllable: фæрǽт '(an) ax', фǽрæт '(the) ax'; цыргъ фæрǽт '(a) sharp ax', цы́ргъ фǽрæт '(the) sharp ax'; (see § 31.3 on stress). This phenomenon is historically connected with the past existence of a definite article и which is preserved in Digor up to the present day.

The contrast of definiteness and indefiniteness cannot be expressed in the case of substantives that have the stress on the first syllable.

Number

§ 36. In Ossetic there are two numbers: singular and plural. The form of the singular in the nominative case is the same as that of the stem.

§ 37. The plural is formed by adding the element т (nominative -тæ) either immediately to the stem (дур, дуртæ 'stone', кардо, кардотæ 'pear') or together with the insertion of the vowel ы.

The latter occurs in the following situations:

.1 If the word ends in a consonant cluster:

| цæст | цæстытæ | 'eye' |
| куыст | куыстытæ | 'work' |

цыхт	цыхтытæ	'cheese'
цырт	цыртытæ	'monument, memorial'
кæрт	кæртытæ	'courtyard'
карк	кæрчытæ	'hen'
сынк	сынчытæ	'seam, stitch'
сынкъ	сынчъытæ	'pimple'
цалх	цæлхытæ	'wheel'
æрх	æрхытæ	'ravine'
сырх	сырхытæ	'red'
пырх	пырхытæ	'sparse, scattered'
бæрц	бæрцытæ	'measure'
кæрц	кæрцытæ	'fur coat'
уæрцц	уæрццытæ	'quail'
арц	æрцытæ	'spear'
арс	æрсытæ	'bear'
тæрс	тæрсытæ	'beech'
уырс	уырсытæ	'stallion'
урс	урсытæ	'white'
тæрф	тæрфытæ	'cavity'
арф	æрфытæ	'depth'
хуылф	хуылфытæ	'interior'
бындз	бындзытæ	'fly'
рындз	рындзытæ	'animal track'
сындз	сындзытæ	'thorn'
чындз	чындзытæ	'daughter-in-law'
чызг	чызджытæ	'girl'
зынг	зынджытæ	'fire'
зæхх	зæххытæ	'earth'
гæпп	гæппытæ	'jump'
уæрыкк	уæрыччытæ	'lamb'

A number of words ending in -ргъ -лгъ -рг -рд -рм -лм -рв -рс -рз -рдз -рт -нд -нт -нк -нг -вг -ндз and -хс are exceptions:

аргъ	æргътæ	'price'
саргъ	сæргътæ	'saddle'
маргъ	мæргътæ	'bird'
даргъ	дæргътæ	'long'

(but compare this with дæргъытæ 'striped, дæргъытæ хъуымац 'striped material, cloth', from the same stem.)

| дыргъ | дыргътæ | 'fruit' |

(but compare дзæргъ дзæргъытæ 'sow [pig]', мæнæргъ мæнæргъытæ 'raspberry'.)

алгъ	æлгътæ	'tip [the very end]'
марг	мæргтæ	'poison'
уырг	уыргтæ	'kidney'
кард	кæрдтæ	'knife'
ард	æрдтæ	'oath'

нард	нӕрдтӕ	'fat'
уырд	уырдтӕ	'otter'
сырд	сырдтӕ	'beast'
царм	цӕрмттӕ	'skin, hide'
арм	ӕрмттӕ	'hand'

(but уӕрм уӕрмытӕ 'pit, hole')

ӕндзалм	ӕндзӕлмттӕ	'perch, pole'

(but кӕлм кӕлмытӕ 'snake', тӕлм тӕлмытӕ 'stripe').

царв	цӕрвтӕ	'butter'

(but фӕрв фӕрвытӕ 'alder')

фарс	фӕрстӕ	'side'

(but compare above ӕрсытӕ, уырсытӕ, тӕрсытӕ, урсытӕ)

карз	кӕрзтӕ	'strong (of a drink)'
уырз	уырзтӕ	'fingertip'

(but кӕрз кӕрзытӕ 'ash tree')

хардз	хӕрдзтӕ	'expense'
фырт	фырттӕ	'son'

(but цырт цыртытӕ 'memorial',   кӕрт кӕртытӕ 'courtyard')

зонд	зӕндтӕ	'mind'
бӕрзонд	бӕрзӕндтӕ	'high'
зӕронд	зӕрӕдтӕ	'old'
ӕмбисонд	ӕмбисӕндтӕ	'fable'
фӕнд	фӕндтӕ	'intention'
фыранк	фырӕнктӕ	'snow-leopard'
уӕнг	уӕнгтӕ	'body part'
уынг	уынгтӕ	'street'
фынг	фынгтӕ	'table'
талынг	талынгтӕ	'dark'
арынг	арынгтӕ	'trough'
уырынг	уырынгтӕ	'chipped or cut place'
зӕнг	зӕнгтӕ	'shin'
цонг	цӕнгтӕ	'hand'

(but зынг зынджытӕ 'fire', рудзынг рудзгуытӕ 'window')

авг	ӕвгтӕ	'glass'
фындз	фындзтӕ	'nose'
ӕрцындз	ӕрцындзтӕ	'three-edged needle'
уадындз	уадындзтӕ	'(reed-) pipe'
хъӕдындз	хъӕдындзтӕ	'onion'
ӕфсондз	ӕфсӕндзтӕ	'yoke'

(but compare above бындзытӕ, сындзытӕ, рындзытӕ, чындзытӕ)

фахс	фӕхстӕ	'side'
фӕлахс	фӕлӕхстӕ	'emaciated'

(but пыхс пыхсытӕ 'brush, thicket',   рухс рухсытӕ 'light [opposite of dark]').

.2 In bi- and polysyllabic words ending in -æг and -ыг, the vowels æ ы are lost in the plural, but as a result, an ы is inserted before the plural-marker; in this connection in words ending in -æг, the consonant г before ы regularly turns into дж, while in words ending in -ыг, the consonant г is labialized (гу):

барæг	барджытæ	'rider'
нарæг	нарджытæ	'ravine'
уасæг	уасджытæ	'rooster'
кадæг	кадджытæ	'story'
зарæг	зарджытæ	'song'
кусæг	кусджытæ	'worker'
фыссæг	фысджытæ	'writer'
стæг	стджытæ	'bone'
цæвæг	цæвджытæ	'scythe'
хæрæг	хæрджытæ	'donkey'
дидинæг	дидинджытæ	'flower'
æхсинæг	æхсинджытæ	'pigeon', etc.

As an exception, this type of plural is also formed by the following words:

уæраг	уæрджытæ	'knee'
голлаг	голджытæ	'sack'

(instead of the expected *уæрæгтæ and *голлæгтæ; see § 39.)

мæсыг	мæсгуытæ	'tower'
фæрдыг	фæрдгуытæ	'bead'
уæныг	уæнгуытæ	'bull calf'
расыг	расгуытæ	'drunk'
нæмыг	нæмгуытæ	'grain'
уæйыг	уæйгуытæ	'giant', etc.

The word рудзынг рудзнуытæ 'window' also follows this type (see above).

.3 A number of words ending in -æг and -ыг do not lose their stem vowel in the plural, but nevertheless form the plural with the insertion of ы:

кæрдæг	кæрдæджытæ	'grass'
фæйнæг	фæйнæджытæ	'board'
къæрмæг	къæрмæджытæ	'cork, plug'
хæстæг	хæстæджытæ	'near'
æрнæг	æрнæджытæ	'wild'
сынтæг	сынтæджытæ	'bedstead'
рæстæг	рæстæджытæ	'time'
хъæздыг	хъæздыджытæ	'rich', etc.

.4 The past participles ending in -д permit two types of plural formation: simple addition of -т(æ) or gemination of -д and addition of -ы -тæ: мард 'dead' ~ мæрдтæ and мæрддытæ, калд 'spilled' ~ кæлдтæ and кæлддытæ, сыгъд 'burned' ~ сыгъдтæ and сыгъддытæ, etc.

§ 38. Some kinship terms form the plural in an unusual way — by addition of -æлтæ:

мад	'mother'	мадæлтæ	'mothers'
фыд	'father'	фыдæлтæ	'fathers'
æрвад	'relative'	æрвадæлтæ	'relatives'

The word ус 'woman' has the plural form устытæ and not *устæ, as if the stem were *уст rather than ус .

From хъуг 'cow', the plural is not *хъугтæ, but хъуццытæ; from фыр 'ram', it is not *фыртæ, but фырытæ ; from куыдз 'dog', it is not *куыдзтæ, but куйтæ (куыйтæ) .

§ 39. The strong vowels a and o in the last syllable of substantive stems change in the plural to the weak vowel æ (see § 36. on vowels):

фæндаг	фæндæгтæ	'way'
кæсаг	кæсæгтæ	'fish'
æфсад	æфсæдтæ	'army'
къабаз	къабæзтæ	'extremity'
æртах	æртæхтæ	'drop [liquid]'
æндах	æндæхтæ	'thread'
фарс	фæрстæ	'side'
хъаст	хъæстытæ	'play', etc.

If, furthermore, the substantive stem ends in a liquid (р л) , a nasal (н м), or a semivowel (й у), then the plural-marker т is geminated (see § 26.3 on geminated consonants):

хæдзар	хæдзæрттæ	'house'
æмбал	æмбæлттæ	'comrade'
дон	дæттæ	'river'
ком	кæмттæ	'ravine'
куырой	куырæйттæ	'mill'
æгъдау	æгъдæуттæ	'custom', etc.

In words which end in a vowel, the stem vowel is not weakened in the plural:

кæрдо	кæрдотæ	'pear'
сыкъа	сыкъатæ	'horn', etc.

(However, from дзаума 'thing', both дзауматæ and дзаумæттæ are used.)

§ 40. In bi- and polysyllabic words that do not end in a vowel, the rule of a and o weakening to æ has hardly any exception (as an exception we can cite the word æвзар æвзартæ 'shoot [of a plant]').

But in monosyllabic words, lack of consistency can be observed:
хъуаг хъуæгтæ 'shortage' (but саг сагтæ 'deer', аг агтæ 'pot');
раз рæзтæ 'front' (but баз базтæ 'pillow', хъаз хъазтæ 'goose');
дон дæттæ 'river', рон рæттæ 'belt' (but бон бонтæ 'day');
ном нæмттæ 'name', ком кæмттæ 'gorge [mouth or ravine]' (but ком сомтæ 'ruble', хъом хъомтæ 'livestock', хом хомтæ 'damp');

мой мӕйттӕ 'husband' (but сой сойтӕ 'lard'; compare also сау
саутӕ 'black', кау каутӕ 'fence', фау фаутӕ 'blame').

Declension

§ 41.   Declension is agglutinative with a regular plural marker   т
and the same case endings for both singular and plural.   There is no dif-
ference at all in the declension of nouns, adjectives, and numerals.

Adjectives and numerals are declined only when they are used inde-
pendently (substantivally).   But if they occur with a noun as its modifier,
they are not inflected either for case or for number.

Cases

§ 42.   There are nine cases in Ossetic: nominative (именительный),
genitive (родительный),   dative (дательный),   allative (направите-
льный),   ablative (отложительный),   inessive (местный внутренний),
adessive (местный внешний),   equative (уподобительный),   and comi-
tative (совместный).

Depending on whether the cases express solely grammatical (subject;
object, direct or indirect; attribute) or spatial relations (location some-
where, movement from or to somewhere), the cases in Ossetic can be di-
vided into two groups: grammatical and locatival.   Included under the for-
mer are: nominative, genitive, dative, partly adessive, allative, ablative,
and comitative.   Under the latter: inessive, adessive, allative, ablative,
and comitative.   The equative — the case of adverbial usage — stands
apart.

§ 43.   The nominative case does not have a marker (zero marker) in
the singular; in the plural it has the affix   ӕ   joined to the plural marker
т.   The nominative answers the questions 'who?, what?, and whom?'.   Its
sphere of usage is considerably wider than that of the nominative in Rus-
sian, and it would be more correct to call it the "basic" or "absolute" case.
It serves as the case for:

.1 Subject: мит тайы 'the snow is melting'.

.2 Direct object (for indefinite or impersonal things): суг ӕрсӕтт
'chop firewood'.

.3 Predicate nominative: ахуыргонд ысси '(he) became learned';
уӕлыгӕс фӕцыдтӕн 'I used to go as a herdsboy'.

.4 Vocative: фесӕф, нӕуӕндаг ! 'get lost, coward!'.[2]

.5 Modifier, regardless of what case the modifier is in: урс ӕхсы-
рӕй '(by means of) white milk'; here group-inflection takes place: the case
is expressed only in the modified.

.6 Time adverb (sometimes): сӕрд дын ма 'мбийӕд, зымӕг дын
ма сӕлӕд 'may there be no rotting at your place (in) summer, no freezing
at your place (in) winter'.

§ 44. <u>Genitive</u> case: affix - ы; answers the questions '<u>of whom</u>?, <u>of what</u>?, <u>whose</u>?'. It serves as the case for:

.1 Determinatives and possessives: хӕдзары дзаума 'household things'; мады рӕвдыд 'motherly caress'.

.2 As the usual case for postpositional government: йӕ мады цур 'beside one's mother'.

.3 Direct object (for definite and personal beings): мӕ мады рагӕй нал федтон 'I haven't seen my mother for a long time'.

§ 45. <u>Dative</u> case: affix -ӕн ; answers the questions '<u>to whom</u>?, <u>to what</u>?, <u>for whom</u>?, <u>for what</u>?'.

.1 Indicates indirect object: бӕхӕн холлаг радт 'give the horse fodder'; аргъ нал уыд мӕ куыстӕн 'there was no longer a price to my work' (К 59).

.2 Indicates purpose or destination: нӕ бӕззын чызгӕн 'I do not fit in the role of a girl' (К 52); ӕрхаста дыккаг усӕн иу Тылиаг чызджы 'as a second wife he brought a girl from Tli' (Ч 77);   худӕн ыл уыди лалымы къуым 'part of his wineskin served him as a cap'; фиййауӕн нӕ хъӕуыс 'you are not needed by us as a shepherd' (МД 56 VII 49).

.3 Indicates goal, purpose: Садуллӕ царды фӕрӕзӕн цуан кӕнын ӕрымысыд 'Sadullah, for (earning) the means to live, decided to engage in hunting' (С 77).

.4 Serves as the case of the attribute in special phrases with possessive pronouns: Уӕрхӕгӕн йӕ фырттӕ 'sons of Warxag' (lit. 'to Warxag, his sons').

.5 Sometimes expresses locative relationships: ӕфцӕгӕн фӕфалӕ 'he crossed the pass' ('showed up on the other side of the pass') (Ч 87); cf. фынгӕн йӕ разы къӕй авӕрдта '(he) laid a stone slab before the table (С 77).

.6 Used in comparisons, where the name of the quality, on the basis of which the comparison is made, is put in the dative: Доссанӕйы рӕсугъдӕн чызг зын ссарӕн уыд 'it was very hard to find a girl equal to Dossana in beauty' (МД 1940 III 50).

.7 Appears as the distributive case: хӕдзарӕн лӕгӕй '[at the rate of] one man from (each) house'.

§ 46. <u>Allative</u> case: affix -мӕ, -ӕм (in the plural); answers the questions '<u>to where</u>?, to whom?, to what?, <u>at whom</u>?, at what?, <u>for, after whom</u>?, <u>for, after what</u>?'.

.1 Indicates the direction of motion in space: Дыгурмӕ ахызт 'he got over to Digoria' (К 50);   фӕткъуы зӕхмӕ'рхауд 'the apple fell to the ground'.

.2 Indicates direction in time: ӕхсӕвӕй бонмӕ 'from night to day'.

.3 Indicates goal, purpose: чындз донмӕ ацыд 'the daughter-in-law went for (after) water'; даумӕ ӕнхъӕлмӕ кӕсын 'I am waiting for you'.

.4 Serves as the objective case: мӕ бӕх Иналмӕ баззадис 'my horse was left at Inal's'; if, instead of the allative, the dative were to be used: мӕ бӕх Иналӕн баззадис, it would mean 'my horse was left to Inal (as his property)'.

§ 47.   Ablative case: affix -ӕй, -йӕ (after vowels); answers the questions 'from where?, from whom?, from what?, as whom?, as what?'. Serves as the case for:

.1 Point of departure in space or time, or source: арвӕй зӕхмӕ 'from heaven to earth'; изӕрӕй райсоммӕ 'from evening to morning'; дзыллӕтӕй иу лӕг 'one man from the mass' (К 47).

.2 Instrument, material, or cause: фӕрӕтӕй амайын 'to trim with an ax'; дурӕй мӕсыг самадта 'he erected a tower of stone'; бирӕгъӕй фӕртарсти '(he) became frightened of the wolf'; ризӕгӕй рынчын 'ill with malaria'.

.3 Predicative: авд азы хъӕдгӕсӕй фӕкуыста 'seven years (he) worked as a forester'.

.4 Adverbial: дзӕбӕхӕй фӕцӕр 'live well'.

.5 Used with the comparative degree: дӕуӕй хуыздӕр 'better than you'.

§ 48.   Inessive case: affix -ы; answers the questions 'where?, in whom?, in what?'; e.g., кӕсаг доны хъазыд 'the fish played in the water'.

§ 49.   Adessive case: affix -ыл, -уыл; answers the questions 'on whom?, on what?, about whom?, about what?'. Serves as the case:

.1 Indicating the exterior or surface of an object: бӕхыл абадти '(he) sat on the horse'.

.2 The cause of an action: цӕуыл худыс 'what are you laughing at?'.

§ 50.   Equative case: affix -ау; answers the questions 'how?, like whom?, like what?'; e.g., фатау атахти '(he) flew like an arrow'; чызгӕн йӕ цӕсгом хурау рухс уыди 'the girl's face shone like the sun' (А 76).

§ 51.   Comitative case: affix -имӕ; answers the questions 'with whom?, with what?'; e.g., ӕрсимӕ хъӕбысӕй хӕцы '(he) is wrestling with a bear'.

§ 52.   Declension Pattern.

	Singular		Plural
Nominative	сӕр	'head'	сӕртӕ
Genitive	сӕры		сӕрты
Dative	сӕрӕн		сӕртӕн

Allative	сӕрмӕ	сӕртӕм
Ablative	сӕрӕй	сӕртӕй
Inessive	сӕры	сӕрты
Adessive	сӕрыл	сӕртыл
Equative	сӕрау	сӕртау
Comitative	сӕримӕ	сӕртимӕ

§ 53. If the stem ends in a vowel and the case-affix begins with a vowel, then й is inserted between the two:

Declension Pattern, Vowel-Stem

Nominative	зӕрдӕ	'heart'
Genitive	зӕрдӕйы, also зӕрды	
Dative	зӕрдӕйӕн	
Allative	зӕрдӕмӕ	
Ablative	зӕрдӕйӕ	
Inessive	зӕрдӕйы, also зӕрды	
Adessive	зӕрдӕйыл, also зӕрдыл[3]	
Equative	зӕрдӕйау	
Comitative	зӕрдӕимӕ	

§ 54. Adjectives cannot be sharply distinguished from nouns either by formal markers or by usage. Thus, сырх means not only 'red' but also 'redness', and, in addition, 'erysipelas' Сыгъзӕрин signifies both 'golden' and 'gold'; ирон, both 'Ossetic' and 'Ossete'; зӕронд, both 'old' and 'old man'. Урс means 'white', but in the expression айчы урс 'egg white', it is really used as a noun. On the other hand, the nouns   лӕппу 'youth' and чызг 'girl', in the expressions лӕппу лӕг 'young man' ('boy-man'), чызг ус 'young woman' ('girl-woman') are used as adjectives.

§ 55. The existence of degrees of comparison cannot serve as identification for adjectives either, since in Ossetic the degrees of comparison can also be formed from nouns — лӕг 'man', лӕгдӕр 'more man(ly)': нӕ лӕгдӕртӕ Уӕлладжырмӕ сӕ уд хъарынц ӕмхуызонӕй 'the most manly among us as one man rushed to Alagir canyon' (X 20).

The comparative degree is formed by adding the suffix -дӕр : сырхдӕр 'redder', урсдӕр 'whiter', etc.

The superlative degree is expressed periphrastically by the addition of the words ӕппӕты, иууыл 'most': ӕппӕты бӕрзонддӕр or иууыл бӕрзонд 'highest'.

§ 56. Cardinal numbers from 1 to 20:

иу	'one'	ӕхсӕз	'six'
дыууӕ	'two'	авд	'seven'
ӕртӕ	'three'	аст	'eight'
цыппар	'four'	фараст	'nine'
фондз	'five'	дӕс	'ten'

иуæндæс	'eleven'	æхсæрдæс	'sixteen'
дыууадæс	'twelve'	æвддæс	'seventeen'
æртындæс	'thirteen'	æстдæс	'eighteen'
цыппæрдæс	'fourteen'	нудæс	'nineteen'
фынддæс	'fifteen'	ссæдз	'twenty'

There are two ways of counting numbers over 'twenty': decimal and vigesimal. In the first, counting is done by tens, as in Russian; the tens are followed by the units:

ссæдз иу	'twenty-one'	нæуæдз	'ninety'
ссæдз дыууæ	'twenty-two', etc.	сæдæ	'one hundred'
æртын	'thirty'	дыууæ сæдæ	'two hundred'
цыппор	'forty'	æртæ сæдæ	'three hundred', etc.
фæндзай	'fifty'	мин	'one thousand'
æхсай	'sixty'	дыууæ мины	'two thousand'
æвдай	'seventy'	æртæ мины	'three thousand', etc.
æстай	'eighty'		

In the vigesimal system, the count is done by twenties; the units stand before the twenties to which they are joined with the conjunction æмæ :

иу æмæ ссæдз	'twenty-one' (lit., 'one and twenty')
дыууæ'мæ ссæдз	'twenty-two'
фынддæс æмæ ссæдз	'thirty-five' (lit.,'fifteen and twenty'), etc.
дыууиссæдзы	'forty' (lit., 'two twenties')
иу æмæ дыууиссæдзы	'forty-one', etc.
æртиссæдзы	'sixty' (lit., 'three twenties')
цыппарыссæдзы	'eighty' (lit., 'four twenties')
фондзыссæдзы	'one hundred' (lit., 'five twenties')
æхсæзыссæдзы	'one hundred twenty' (lit., 'six twenties')
авдыссæдзы	'one hundred forty' (lit., 'seven twenties')
астыссæдзы	'one hundred sixty' (lit., 'eight twenties')
фарастыссæдзы	'one hundred eighty' (lit., 'nine twenties')

'Two hundred' can be expressed in two ways: either дæсыссæдзы ('ten twenties'), or, more often, дыууæ фондзыссæдзы ('two times five twenties'). 'Two hundred twenty' can be иуæндæсыссæдзы ('eleven twenties'), etc.

The decimal count predominates in learned practice and in literary style; the vigesimal is common in everyday usage.

§ 57. The ordinal numbers are formed by the addition of the suffix -æм to the cardinals. Only 'first', 'second', and 'third' have the ending -аг.

фыццаг	'first'	æвдæм	'seventh'
дыккаг	'second'	æстæм	'eighth'
æртыккаг	'third'	фарæстæм	'ninth'
цыппæрæм	'fourth'	дæсæм	'tenth'
фæндзæм	'fifth'	иуæндæсæм	'eleventh', etc.
æхсæзæм	'sixth'		

The suffix -ӕймаг for ordinals, which is characteristic of the Digor dialect, is sometimes also used in the literary language: цыппӕрӕймаг, фӕндзӕймаг, ӕхсӕзӕймаг, etc.

For 'second' and 'third', parallel with дыккаг, ӕртыккаг, the forms дыккӕгӕм, ӕртыккӕгӕм are also encountered.

Ordinals over twenty, in the decimal way of counting, are formed thus:

ссӕдз иуӕм	'twenty-first'
ссӕдз дыккаг (or дыккӕгӕм)	'twenty-second', etc.
сӕдӕймаг	'hundredth'

in the vigesimal:

иу ӕмӕ ссӕдзӕм	'twenty-first'
дыууӕ'мӕ ссӕдзӕм	'twenty-second', etc.
дыууиссӕдзӕм	'fortieth'
ӕртӕс сӕдзӕм	'sixtieth', etc.

§ 58. The distributive (partitive) numbers are formed with the help of the suffix -гай: иугай 'one by one'; дыгай 'two by two'; ӕртыгай 'by threes'; цыппӕргай 'by fours'; фӕндзгай 'by fives'; дӕсгай 'by tens'; сӕдӕгай 'by hundreds', etc.

§ 59. Fractions are expressed by combining the ordinal with the word хай 'part': фӕндзӕм хай '1/5', дӕсӕм хай '1/10', etc.

§ 60. The numerals stand before the noun to which they refer, and require it to be in the genitive singular — except the numeral иу 'one', which is combined with the nominative:

иу бон	'one day'
дыууӕ боны	'two days'
дӕс боны	'ten days'[4]

§ 61. In combinations of numeral (either cardinal or ordinal) plus noun, only the noun shows case declension: дӕс бонӕн, дӕс бонмӕ, дӕс бонӕй, etc.

If the number is used by itself (without a noun), it is declined like any other substantive: дӕсы, дӕсӕн, дӕсмӕ, дӕсӕй, etc.

Pronouns

§ 62. The personal pronouns occur in three forms: 1) full, 2) short (enclitic), and 3) reflexive-personal.

§ 63. The (full) pronoun of the first person singular in the nominative has the stem ӕз, in all other cases, мӕн-.

Declension of the First Singular Personal Pronoun

Nominative	ӕз	Inessive	——
Genitive	мӕн	Adessive	мӕныл

Dative	мӕнӕн	Equative	мӕнау
Allative	мӕнмӕ, мӕммӕ	Comitative	мемӕ (from мӕнимӕ)
Ablative	мӕнӕй		

§ 64. The second singular (full) personal pronoun has the nominative stem ды, and in the other cases, the stem дӕу-.

Declension of the Second Sing. Personal Pronoun

Nominative	ды	Inessive	——
Genitive	дӕу	Adessive	дӕуыл
Dative	дӕуӕн	Equative	дӕуау
Allative	дӕумӕ	Comitative	демӕ (from дӕуимӕ)
Ablative	дӕуӕй		

§ 65. The third singular (full) personal pronoun is characterized by the stem у-. It is identical with the demonstrative pronoun for distant objects. We give its declension below, under demonstrative pronouns (§ 71.).

§ 66. The (full) personal pronouns of the first and second persons plural have one and the same form for nominative and genitive. This form serves as the stem for the other cases.

Declension of the First and Second Plural Personal Pronouns:

	'we'	'you'	
Nominative	мах	сымах	[смах]
Genitive	мах	сымах	[смах]
Dative	махӕн	сымахӕн	[смахӕн]
Allative	махмӕ	сымахмӕ	[смахмӕ]
Ablative	махӕй	сымахӕй	[смахӕй]
Inessive	——	——	
Adessive	махыл	сымахыл	[смахыл]
Equative	махау	сымахау	[смахау]
Comitative	махимӕ	сымахимӕ	[смахимӕ]

§ 67. The short or enclitic forms of the personal pronouns function only as direct and indirect objects with predicates, but their genitive case also occurs in possessive function. Therefore they lack a nominative case form.

Declension of Personal Pronoun Enclitic Forms
Singular

	1st person	2d person	3d person
Genitive	мӕ	дӕ	йӕ, ӕй
Dative	мын	дын	йын, ын
Allative	мӕм	дӕм	йӕм, ӕм
Ablative	мӕ	дӕ	дзы
Inessive	мӕ	дӕ	дзы
Adessive	мыл	дыл	йыл, ыл[5]
Equative	——	——	——
Comitative	мемӕ	демӕ	йемӕ

	Plural		
	1st person	2d person	3d person
Genitive	нӕ	уӕ	сӕ
Dative	нын	уын	сын
Allative	нӕм	уӕм	сӕм
Ablative	нӕ	уӕ	сӕ, дзы
Inessive	нӕ	уӕ	сӕ, дзы
Adessive	ныл	уыл	сыл
Equative	——	——	——
Comitative	немӕ	уемӕ	семӕ[6]

§ 68.   The reflexive-personal form of the personal pronouns is formed by joining the short form used in the genitive to the reflexive pronoun хӕдӕг (in the nominative), хи(ц)- (in the oblique cases).

Declension of the Reflexive-Personal Forms of the Personal Pronouns:

Singular

	1st person	2d person	3d person
Nominative	мӕхӕдӕг	дӕхӕдӕг	йӕхӕдӕг
Genitive	мӕхи	дӕхи	йӕхи
Dative	мӕхицӕн	дӕхицӕн	йӕхицӕн
Allative	мӕхимӕ	дӕхимӕ	йӕхимӕ
Ablative	мӕхицӕй	дӕхицӕй	йӕхицӕй
Inessive	——	——	——
Adessive	мӕхиуыл	дӕхиуыл	йӕхиуыл
Equative	мӕхийау	дӕхийау	йӕхийау
Comitative	мӕхиимӕ	дӕхиимӕ	йӕхиимӕ

Plural

	1st person	2d person	3d person
Nominative	нӕхӕдӕг	уӕхӕдӕг	сӕхӕдӕг
Genitive	нӕхи	уӕхи	сӕхи
Dative	нӕхицӕн	уӕхицӕн	сӕхицӕн
Allative	нӕхимӕ	уӕхимӕ	сӕхимӕ
Ablative	нӕхицӕй	уӕхицӕй	сӕхицӕй
Inessive	——	——	——
Adessive	нӕхиуыл	уӕхиуыл	сӕхиуыл
Equative	нӕхийау	уӕхийау	сӕхийау
Comitative	нӕхиимӕ	уӕхиимӕ	сӕхиимӕ

The personal pronouns of this type are translated into Russian as я сам 'I myself', ты сам 'you yourself', он сам 'he himself', etc.

The reflexive-personal forms of the personal pronouns can be used alone, but can also be reinforced by the full forms of the personal pronouns:

ӕз мӕхӕдӕг	'I myself'	мах нӕхӕдӕг	'we ourselves'
ды дӕхӕдӕг	'you yourself'	сымах уӕхӕдӕг	'you yourselves'
уый йӕхӕдӕг	'he himself'	уыдон сӕхӕдӕг	'they themselves'

In the nominative plural, parallel with the forms нӕхӕдӕг, уӕхӕдӕг, сӕхӕдӕг, the forms нӕхуыдтӕг, уӕхуыдтӕг, сӕхуыдтӕг are also used.

The form хи 'oneself', 'one's own' is used as a reflexive pronoun; хӕдӕг 'self' is not used alone.

§ 69. The <u>reciprocal</u> pronoun кӕрӕдзи means 'each other'; it is declined as a vowel-stem substantive:

Genitive	кӕрӕдзи (йы)	Inessive	кӕрӕдзийы
Dative	кӕрӕдзийӕн	Adessive	кӕрӕдзийыл
Allative	кӕрӕдзимӕ	Equative	кӕрӕдзийау
Ablative	кӕрӕдзийӕ	Comitative	кӕрӕдзиимӕ

§ 70. The <u>possessive</u> pronouns occur in five forms: 1) short, 2) full, 3) reflexive-possessive, 4) full substantival, and 5) reflexive-possessive substantival.

The <u>short</u> form is identical with the genitive of the short (enclitic) personal pronouns:

мӕ	'my'	нӕ	'our'
дӕ	'your'	уӕ	'your'
йӕ	'his'	сӕ	'their'

The <u>full</u> form is identical with the genitive of the full personal pronouns:

мӕн	'my'	мах	'our'
дӕу	'your'	сымах	'your'
уый	'his'	уыдон	'their'

The forms мӕн and дӕу, common in Digor, function in the literary language only predicatively, while attributively they are replaced by short forms; thus, мӕ чиныг 'my book' occurs, and not *мӕн чиныг; but this book is mine' has to be said ацы чиныг мӕн у.

The <u>reflexive-possessive</u> form of the possessive pronouns is identical with the genitive reflexive-personal form of the personal pronouns:

мӕхи	нӕхи
дӕхи	уӕхи
йӕхи	сӕхи

These forms are translated into Russian as мой собственный' 'my own', твой собственный 'your own', etc.

The <u>full substantival</u> forms are built from the second (full) forms of the possessive pronouns by adding the suffix -он:

[·52]

мӕнон		мӕхон	
дӕууон	[дӕуон]	сымахон	[смахон]
уыйон	[уйон]	уыдоныон	[удонон]

The <u>reflexive-possessive substantival</u> forms are built from the third (reflexive-possessive) forms by the addition of the suffix -он:

мӕхион	нӕхион
дӕхион	уӕхион
йӕхион	сӕхион

The first (short) form functions only attributively, and consequently does not inflect for case: мӕ бӕх 'my horse', мӕ бӕхы 'my horse's', etc.

The second and third forms function attributively and predicatively, and do not inflect for case either:

мах бӕх	'our horse'
ацы бӕх мах у	'this horse is ours'
нӕхи бӕх	'our own horse'
ацы бӕх нӕхи у	'this horse is our own'

The fourth and fifth forms function substantivally and are declined like substantives.

Singular

Nominative	мӕнон		мӕхион
Genitive	мӕноны, etc.		мӕхионы, etc.

Plural

Nominative	мӕнуӕттӕ or мӕнонтӕ	мӕхиуӕттӕ or мӕхионтӕ
Genitive	мӕнуӕтты or манонты, etc.	мӕхиуӕтты or мӕхионты, etc.

Insofar as the possessive pronouns are not formally detached from the personals, coinciding with the genitive case of the latter, a question may arise concerning the advisability of putting them into a special category. If possessiveness were the sole function of the genitive case of pronouns, then separation of possessive from personal pronouns would hardly be justified.

However, insofar as the genitive case of pronouns bears still another important function — the direct object (see § 44.), it is necessary to treat the possessive function of this case separately.

In the use of the possessive pronouns of Ossetic in comparison with those of Russian, there is one peculiarity: some categories of substantives must always be preceded by a possessive pronoun. Such are the names of body-parts and kinship terms.

One cannot say in Ossetic 'I hurt an arm': *къух ныццавтон; one must say 'I hurt <u>my</u> arm': мӕ къух ныццавтон.   One cannot say 'he lives with father and mother': *фыд ӕмӕ мадимӕ цӕры; one must say 'he lives with <u>his</u> father and <u>his</u> mother': йӕ фыд ӕмӕ йӕ мадимӕ цӕры.

§ 71.   There are two <u>demonstrative pronouns</u>: а, ай 'this', уй (уый) 'that'; the latter also serves as the third person personal pronoun.

Morphology

Declension of Demonstrative Pronouns

Singular

	'this'		'that, he'	
Nominative	а, ай		уый	[уй]*
Genitive	ай		уый	[уй]
Dative	амæн		уымæн	[умæн]
Allative	амæ		уымæ	[умæ]
Ablative	амæй		уымæй	[умæй]
Inessive	ам	('here')	уым	[ум] ('there')
Adessive	ауыл		уууыл	
Equative	айау		уыйау	[уйау]
Comitative	аимæ		уыимæ	[уимæ]

Plural

	'these', etc.	'those, they', etc.	
Nominative	адон	уыдон	[удон]
Genitive	адон, адоны	уыдон, уыдоны	[удон, удоны]
Dative	адонæн	уыдонæн	[удонæн]
Allative	адонмæ	уыдонмæ	[удонмæ]
Ablative	адонæй	уыдонæй	[удонæй]
Inessive	адоны	уыдоны	[удоны]
Adessive	адоныл	уыдоныл	[удоныл]
Equative	адонау	уыдонау	[удонау]
Comitative	адонимæ	уыдонимæ	[удонимæ]

The forms of the inessive singular ам, уым [ум], have taken on, as we see, the meanings of the adverbs 'here', 'there'. From them, special agglutinative forms of the inessive plural can be formed: амыты 'in these places', уымыты 'in those places' (see § 83.). Besides, similar forms of the plural sometimes are built with other case forms of the singular, with the adessive case ауылты 'along these places', уууылты 'along those places'; уымæты 'till that, to such limits': хъуыддаг уымæты æрцыди æмæ ... сыл адæм худтысты 'the matter went so far that the people were laughing at them' (Ч 165); иу æмæ дыууæ хатты не'рбахызтæн ауылты 'not one time and not two did I cross over this place' (Ф 1958, I, 39).

In the plural, together with the forms адон, уыдон [удон], the forms адæттæ, уыдæттæ [удæттæ] are used with the meaning 'these and their like'.

If the demonstrative pronouns occur with a substantive, as modifiers, they are strengthened by the particle -цы: ацы 'this', уыцы [уцы] 'that'. In this case, as with every modifier, they do not inflect for case and number.

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*Bracketed forms from '52 version.

| ацы бон | 'this day' | уыцы [уцы] бон | 'that day' |
| ацы бонтæ | 'these days' | ацы бонты | 'in these days', etc. |

The pronoun a, in some fixed combinations, is used as a modifier without the particle -цы; e.g., a лæппу 'this youth', a уалдзæг '(during) this spring', etc. (instead of ацы лæппу, ацы уалдзæг).

§ 72.   Interrogative-relative pronouns. For the class of personal, definite beings: чи 'who'; for the class of indefinite beings and things: цы 'what'.

Declension of Interrogative-Relative Pronouns
Singular

	'who'	'what'
Nominative	чи	цы
Genitive	кæй	цæй
Dative	кæмæн	цæмæн
Allative	кæмæ	цæмæ
Ablative	кæмæй	цæмæй
Inessive	кæм ('where')	цæм
Adessive	кæуыл	цæуыл
Equative	кæйау	цæйау
Comitative	кæимæ, чемæ	цæимæ, цемæ

The inessive case form кæм (from чи) has come to have the meaning of the adverb 'where'; cf. above, ам 'here' and уым 'there'.

The genitive form кæй also has the possessive meaning 'whose'.

The plural forms of the pronouns чи, цы are constructed in an unusual way: by joining the plural marker -тæ   -ты to the corresponding case form of the singular.

Plural

Nominative	читæ	цытæ
Genitive	кæйты	цæйты
Dative	кæмæнты	цæмæнты
Allative	кæмæты	цæмæты
Ablative	кæмæйты	цæмæйты
Inessive	кæмыты	цæмыты
Adessive	кæуылты	цæуылты
Equative	——	——
Comitative	кæимæты	цæимæты

If there is no modified element used with the interrogative-relative pronoun кæцы 'which, what', it is declined like any vowel-final substantive.

The interrogative pronoun цæвæр 'which, what kind' is generally used as an adjective and is not inflected for case.

See under "Correlative Pronouns" (§ 76.) for the pronoun цал, цас 'how much'.

   § 73. Indefinite pronouns. Pronouns that correspond to Russian кто-нибудь, что-нибудь, какой-нибудь ['anybody', 'anything', 'any kind of'] are formed by prefixing the element ис- to the interrogative pronouns чи, цы, кӕцы; but the pronouns 'somebody', 'something', 'some kind of' (кто-то, что-то, какой-то) are formed by suffixing the element -дӕр to them:

исчи	'anybody'
исты (from исцы)	'anything'
искӕцы	'any'
чидӕр	'somebody'
цыдӕр	'something'
кӕцыдӕр	'some'

The pronouns исчи, исты, искӕцы are declined like чи, цы, кӕцы.
   The pronouns чидӕр, цыдӕр in the singular add the element -дӕр to the corresponding case form, but in the plural they insert it between the case form and the plural marker тӕ, ты:

Singular

	'somebody'	'something'
Nominative	чидӕр	цыдӕр
Genitive	кӕйдӕр	цӕйдӕр
Dative	кӕмӕндӕр	цӕмӕндӕр, etc.

Plural

	'some people'	'some things'
Nominative	чидӕртӕ	цыдӕртӕ
Genitive	кӕйдӕрты	цӕйдӕрты
Dative	кӕмӕндӕрты	цӕмӕндӕрты, etc.

The pronoun кӕцыдӕр 'some' is declined like any substantive.
   цалдӕр, цасдӕр 'some, several' (несколько, сколько-то) serve as quantitative indefinite pronouns.
   The addition of the element -иддӕр to indefinite pronouns gives the meaning of '-ever', etc.

чидӕриддӕр	'whoever'
цыдӕриддӕр	'whatever'
кӕцыдӕриддӕр	'whatever kind of'
цалдӕриддӕр }	
цасдӕриддӕр }	'however much, many'

   The Russian pronoun 'certain, some' (некоторый) has in Ossetic the equivalents иуӕй-иу, иуӕй-иутӕ, гӕзӕмӕ, гӕзӕмӕтӕ.

§ 74. <u>Determinative pronouns</u>. <u>Substantival pronouns</u>: алчи 'each'
(of a person), алцы 'every' (of things); алкæцы 'any, every' (can also be
used as an adjective).

These are declined like чи, цы, кæцы.

<u>Adjectival pronouns</u>: æлы 'every, any', æгас 'all, entire'. The pro-
noun æппæт 'all, everything' can be either substantival or adjectival. As
the former, it is inflected, but not as the latter.

The pronouns æгас, æппæт, in combination with the short forms of
the personal pronouns, result in:

не'гас	не'ппæт	'we all'
уе'гас	уе'ппæт	'you all'
се'гас	се'ппæт	'they all'

These pronouns are declined like ordinary substantives.

Ossetic has two pronouns in the meaning of 'other, another': иннæ
'another of two, a definite other one', æндæр 'some other, an indefinite
other one'. They are declined only when they are used independently, as
substantives.

The pronoun иннæ is declined according to the pronominal manner,
i.e., with the addition of the consonant м in some of the cases (like ай
'this', уый 'that', чи 'who', цы 'what').

Nominative	иннæ	Inessive	иннæйы
Genitive	иннæйы	Adessive	иннæуыл
Dative	иннæмæн	Equative	иннæйау
Allative	иннæмæ	Comitative	иннæимæ
Ablative	иннæмæй		

The pronoun æндæр is declined like an ordinary substantive.

§ 75. <u>Negative pronouns</u> are formed, as in Russian, by prefixing the
particle ни- to interrogative pronouns:

ничи	'nobody'
ницы	'nothing'
никæцы	'none (at all)'

With verbs in imperative or subjunctive forms, the particle ни- is re-
placed by the particle ма-: мачи, мацы, макæцы.

The negative pronouns are declined like чи, цы, кæцы.

§ 76. The <u>correlative pronouns</u> are:

цæхæм ... ахæм ...	'such ... as ...'
цыхуызæн ... айхуызæн / уыйхуызæн } ...	'such ... as ...'
цал ... уал ...	'as many ... so many ...'
цас ... айас / уыйас }	'as much ... so much ...'

цæйбæрц ... $\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{айбæрц}\\\text{уыйбæрц}\end{array}\right\}$ ...   'as much as ... so much as ...'

When used alone (without a noun), these pronouns are declined like or-
dinary substantives.

Derivatives of цал, уал, цас:

цалæм	'which (by count)'
уалæм	'the __th (by count)'
цалгай $\left.\right\}$	
цасгай $\left.\right\}$	'at how much'
уалгай	'at so much'

Adverbs

§ 77.   Adjectives can serve as adverbs without any additional markers;
thus хорз means not only 'good' but also 'well'; æвхæр , not only 'bad'
but also 'badly'; раст , not only 'direct' but also 'directly', etc.

Furthermore, nouns and adjectives in oblique case forms may appear
as adverbs, particularly in the ablative in -æй and the equative in -ау :

хорзæй	'in a good manner'
сæрдæй , зымæгæй	'in summer and winter'
æхсæвæй , бонæй	'night and day'
æфсымæрау	'like brothers, fraternally'
иронау	'in Ossetic'

Adverbial meaning can also be imparted to substantives by certain suf-
fixes, such as the distributive suffix -гай: бонгай 'by the day', радыгай
'in turn', чысылгай 'little by little', сабыргай 'quietly', etc.

Adverbs proper are divided into those of place, time, quality, quantity,
cause, and purpose.

§ 78.   Adverbs of Place.

кæм	'where'	ам	'here'	уым	'there'
кæдæм	'whither'	ардæм	'hither'	урдæм	'thither'
кæцæй	'from here'	ардыгæй	'from here'	урдыгæй	'from there'
		мæнæ	'right here'	уæртæ	'right there'
уæлæ (уæле)'above'		дæлæ (дæле)'below'			
разæй	'in front'	фæсте	'behind'		
мидæг (æй)	'inside'	æддæ, æдде	'on the outside'		
бынæй	'below'				
фалæ (фале)'across'					

The interrogative adverbs кæм 'where', кæдæм 'whither', кæцæй
'from where' have corresponding <u>negatives</u>, which begin with the particle
ни- ,   and <u>indefinites</u>, formed by prefixation of the element ис- or by suf-
fixation of the elements -дæр or -дæриддæр:

никуы, никæм 'nowhere'; искæм (искуы) 'anywhere'; кæмдæр 'somewhere'; кæмдæриддæр 'wherever'; никуыдæм, никæдæм 'to nowhere'; искуыдæм, искæдæм 'to anywhere'; кæдæмдæр 'to somewhere'; кæдæмдæриддæр 'to wherever'; никуыцæй, никæцæй 'from nowhere'; искуыцæй, искæцæй 'from anywhere'; кæцæйдæр 'from somewhere'; кæцæйдæриддæр 'from wherever'.

The negative adverbs have the particle ма- instead of ни- in the imperative and subjunctive moods: макуы, макуыдæм, макуыцæй.

§ 79.   Adverbs of Time.

кæд	'when'	ныр	'now'	уæд	'then'
кæдмæ	'until when'	нырмæ	'until now, hitherto'	уæдмæ	'until then'
кæдæй	'since when'	нырæй	'from now on, henceforth'	уæдæй	'since then'

ныртæккæ	'(right) now'
уайтагъд	'(right) then'
уалынмæ	'meanwhile'
раджы	'long ago', æрæджы 'not long ago'
рæхджы	'soon', etc.

абон 'today', [ы]знон 'yesterday', дысон 'yesterday evening', æндæрæбон 'day before yesterday', райсом 'tomorrow', иннæбон 'day after tomorrow', фарон 'last year', æндæраз 'year before last', фтдæнмæ 'next year'.

The negative adverb 'never' occurs as никуы, макуы, никæд, макæд.

Indefinites: искæд, искуы 'anytime, ever', кæддæр 'sometime', кæддæриддæр 'whenever, always'.

§ 80.   Adverbs of Quality.

куыд	'as, how'	афтæ, афтæмæй	'so, thus'
тынг	'very'	иттæг	'very'

Negatives: никуыд, макуыд 'in no way, nohow'.

Indefinites: искуыд 'anyhow', куыддæр 'somehow', куыддæриддæр 'however'.

§ 81.   Adverbs of Quantity.

бирæ	'much'	цъус	'little'
æгæр	'too [much]'	æгъгъæд	'enough'

иууыл, иууылдæр 'wholly, altogether, constantly, etc.

§ 82.   Adverbs of Cause and Purpose.

цæмæн 'why, what for', уымæн 'therefore, for that reason', etc.

§ 83.   It is easy to be convinced that in Ossetic even "adverbs proper" cannot be sharply distinguished from substantives. This becomes clear just from the fact that the majority of them can be declined like substantives.

Thus, from the adverbs ныр 'now', уæд 'then', the following case forms are used:

Genitive	ныры	'present-day'	уæды	'the then-'
Allative	нырмæ	'till now'	уæдмæ	'till then'
Ablative	нырæй	'from now on'	уæдæй	'since then'
Equative	нырау	'as now'	уæдау	'as then'

From уæлæ 'above', дæлæ 'below', фалæ 'over', фæстæ 'behind', мидæг 'inside', æддæ 'outside', we have the ablative forms уæле (from уæлæйæ) 'above, from above', дæле (from дæлæйæ) 'below, from below', фале, фæсте, мидæгæй, æдде; and the equative forms уæлиау 'high', дæлиау 'below, low', фалиау 'far over', фæстиау 'far behind', мидæгау 'deep inside', æддиау 'far outside, away'.

The adverbs абон 'today', [ы]знон 'yesterday', фарон 'last year', райсом 'tomorrow', etc., can occur in any case form.

In Ossetic, adverbs can usually form plurals; for example, from куыд 'how' — куыдтæ: куыдтæ цæрут? 'how are you?'; from куыддæр 'somehow' — куыддæртæ: куыддæртæй ма аирвæзтæн 'I escaped somehow'; from афтæ 'so, thus' — афтæтæ: афтæтæ сын бакодта 'he behaved thus with them'.

Plural inessives of adverbs of place are especially common: кæмыты, амыты, уымыты, кæдæмыты, ардæмыты, уырдæмыты, уæлæты, дæлæты, фæстæты, фалеты, бынты, кæмдæрты: кæмдæрты æнæсæронæй мæ уалдзæг æрвыстон фыдбонтæй 'here and there, helplessly, I spent my springtime in sufferings' (К 31). These forms impart a more indefinite character to adverbs: амыты 'in these places', кæмдæрты 'in some places or other', etc. They can also indicate movement in space: уæлæты 'across, on the top', дæлæты 'across, along the ground', etc.

Postpositions

§ 84. The various relations of place, time, cause, purpose, etc., which cannot be rendered by case forms, are expressed in Ossetic by means of postpositions — which correspond to the Russian prepositions. On the morphological level, postpositions cannot be separated from substantives, and their inclusion in a special category is justified only from the syntactical-functional point of view.

§ 85. For the most part, postpositions are substantives that take on the function of postpositions under particular conditions. In this connection, a substantive functioning as a postposition either has no case form at all, or occurs in some oblique case. Thus, substantives can serve as postpositions: сæр 'head, top', with the meaning 'on, upon'; бын 'bottom, ground', with the meaning 'under'; астæу 'middle, waist', with the meaning 'among, between'; фарс 'side', with the meaning 'around', etc.

чырыны сӕр	'on the box, chest'
бӕласы бын	'under the tree'
дыуӕ доны астӕу	'between two rivers'
мӕ фарсмӕ	'beside me'

§ 86.   Postpositions such as the following are of substantival origin: тыхӕй, тыххӕй 'because of, for the sake of, concerning' (from тых 'strength'), раз, размӕ 'before' (from раз 'front, front side'), хуылфы 'inside' (from хуылф 'interior'), фӕдыл 'behind, after' (from фӕд 'track, trace'), бӕсты 'instead of' (from бӕстӕ 'region'), комкоммӕ 'opposite' (from ком 'mouth'). The postposition ӕхсӕн 'between, among' in the form ӕхсӕны turns out to be an adjective, meaning 'general'.

The postposition-substantive can inflect for case: чырыны сӕрмӕ 'on the chest', бӕласы бынӕй 'from under the tree', etc.

§ 87.   Adverbs also can function as postpositions: мидӕг 'inside, in', уӕлӕ 'above, over', дӕле 'below, under', фӕстӕ 'behind, after', фале 'across, over', etc.

§ 88.   Postpositions of verbal origin also occur; thus, the postposition гӕсгӕ 'judging from, according to' is the gerund from кӕсын 'to look': алкӕмӕн йӕ куыстмӕ гӕсгӕ 'to each according to his work'.

§ 89.   Postpositions proper, i.e., words which would be used only as postpositions, are very few; e.g.:

цур	'near, by, about'
онг	'to, up to'
уӕлхъус	'by, near' (lit. 'over the ear')
фӕрсы	'thanks to, owing to'
руаджы	'for the sake of' (but in Digor there is also a substantive рӕуагӕ 'cause, occasion').

§ 90.   Nearly all Ossetic postpositions govern the genitive case. This circumstance, in connection with the substantival character of postpositions, makes it evident that postpositional constructions are essentially attributive, where the "postposition" is the modified element, while the governed word is the modifier in the genitive case: thus, бӕласы бын 'under the tree' really means 'at the tree's base'; мӕ фарсмӕ 'near me' means 'at my side'; дӕ сӕрмӕ 'above you' means 'over your head', etc.

The construction "postposition and governed word" behaves just like a modified and its modifier — can be inflected for case, can be used in the plural: бӕласы бынӕй рацыд '(he) came out from under the tree', бӕласы бынмӕ бабырыд '(he) crawled in under the tree'; мӕ цурты фӕцӕйуад

'(he) ran past me'; мигътæ ... зилынц мæ сæрты, мæ рæзты æртыхсынц 'clouds whirl above me, envelop me from the front' (H 132).

Only in rare instances do postpositions govern a case other than the genitive — dative, allative, ablative; for example:

донæн фале	'beyond the river'
хъæумæ’ввахс	'near the village'
уымæй уæлдау	'above that, besides'

§ 91.   In Ossetic there are only two <u>prepositions</u>: æд 'with' and æнæ 'without'; e.g., æд уæрдон 'with a cart', æнæ уæрдон 'without a cart'. Constructions with æд and æнæ are often so lexicalized that they have to be regarded as compound words rather than as prepositional constructions:

æдгæрзтæ 'armed', lit. 'with arms'; æнамонд 'unlucky', lit. 'without luck'; бæхтæ рауагъта æдидæттæ æмæ æдсæргътæ уыгæрдæнты 'he released the horses with bridles and saddles among the meadows' (ДС 2).

The Verb

Stems

§ 92.   Stems of the <u>monosyllabic</u>, closed-syllable type (more rarely open-syllable) were the typical kind of verbal stem in Ossetic in the past. Bisyllabic stems, which are found in the contemporary language in considerable number, were formed as the result of the union of preverbs (verbal prefixes) with old monosyllabic stems.

§ 93.   An essential feature of the Ossetic verb system is the alternation of two types of stems: <u>present</u> and <u>past</u>.

From present tense stems are formed the infinitive, the present and future tenses, the present and future participles, and the gerund.

From the past stem are formed the past tenses.

The past stem is identical with the past participle.

The general mark of the past stem, in contrast to the present stem, is the addition of the element   т   (after voiceless consonants and also after з) or   д   (after vowels, resonants, and voiced consonants).

§ 94.   In the simplest instances, the past stem is formed from the present stem by addition of   т   or   д   without vowel change:

Present Stem		Past Stem
<u>a</u>		<u>a</u>
фас(ын)	'to comb'	фаст
дас(ын)	'to shave'	даст
лас(ын)	'to convey'	ласт
уас(ын)	'to bleat'	уаст, уасыд-
хъаз(ын)	'to play'	хъазт, хъазыд-

уарз (ын)	'to love'	уарзт
фад (ын)	'to break' ·	фаст
бад (ын)	'to sit'	бадт
уадз (ын)	'to leave, abandon'	уагъд
садз (ын)	'to seat'	сагъд
тадз (ын)	'to drip, drop'	тагъд
хъав (ын)	'to aim (at), drive'	хъавд, хъавыд-
дар (ын)	'to hold, keep'	дард
мар (ын)	'to kill'	мард
зар (ын)	'to sing'	зард, зарыд-
уар (ын)	'to rain'	уард, уарыд-
бар (ын)	'to weigh' [transit.]	барст
къах (ын)	'to dig'	къахт
сай (ын)	'to deceive, cheat'	сайд
агай (ын)	'to touch, disturb'	агайд
кай (ын)	'to touch'	кайд
рай (ын)	'to be glad'	рад
зай (ын)	'to grow'	зад
нымай (ын)	'to count'	нымад
тай (ын)	'to melt'	тад
архай (ын)	'to romp, potter'	архайд
фау (ын)	'to condemn, censure'	фауд
хау (ын)	'to fall'	хауд
дау (ын)	'to smooth, pat'	дауд, etc.

Present Stem		Past Stem
æ		æ
æхгæн (ын)	'to lock'	æхгæд
ныгæн (ын)	'to bury'	ныгæд
æвгæн (ын)	'to load'	æвгæд
улæф (ын)	'to breathe'	улæфт
рæй (ын)	'to bark'	рæйд
лæууу (ын)	'to stand'	лæуд
бæлл (ын)	'to strive, rush'	бæлд, бæллыд-
тæфс (ын)	'to get warm'	тæфст
æргъæвс (ын)	'to shiver'	æргъæвст
хæц (ын)	'to hold, fight'	хæст, хæцыд-

Present Stem		Past Stem
и		и
сид (ын)	'to call, summon'	сидт
сим (ын)	'to sing and dance in a ring'	симд
сир (ын)	'to amble'	сирд

Present Stem ы		Past Stem ы
тъысс (ын)	'to poke'	тъыст
фысс (ын)	'to write'	фыст
хуысс (ын)	'to sleep'	хуыст, хуыссыд-
мыс (ын)	'to write, compose'	мыст, мысыд-
бырс (ын)	'to press, stress'	бырст
хъуыз (ын)	'to sneak away'	хъуызт, хъуызыд-
тындз (ын)	'to spread'	тыгъд
хынц (ын)	'to count'	хыгъд
ауындз (ын)	'to hang up'	ауыгъд
быр (ын)	'to crawl'	бырд
гуыр (ын)	'to be born'	гуырд
æхсын (ын)	'to gnaw'	æхсыд
хъырн (ын)	'to sing along'	хъырнд
зын (ын)	'to be seen'	зынд
уын (ын)	'to see'	уынд
дым (ын)	'to blow'	дымд

Present Stem у		Past Stem у
худ (ын)	'to laugh'	худт
цуд (ын)	'to stagger'	цудт, цудыд-
дуд (ын)	'to itch'	дудыд
абуз (ын)	'to be distended'	абузт

Present Stem о		Past Stem о
дом (ын)	'to demand, subdue'	домд

But in the majority of instances, the past stem differs from the present stem by <u>vowel change</u> in addition to the augments т or д; also, the final <u>consonant</u> of a present stem is often changed.

§ 94.   We present the common types of vowel alternation in present and past stems:

Present Stem æ		Past Stem a
хæсс (ын)	'to carry'	хаст
кæс (ын)	'to look'	каст
кæрд (ын)	'to cut'	карст
тæрс (ын)	'to be afraid'	тарст
фæрс (ын)	'to ask, inquire'	фарст
бæтт (ын)	'to bind'	баст

сӕтт (ын)	'to break'	саст
тӕх (ын)	'to fly'	тахт
тӕр (ын)	'to drive'	тард
цӕр (ын)	'to live'	цард
сӕй (ын)	'to be ill'	сад, etc.

Present Stem		Past Stem
<u>a</u>		<u>ӕ</u>
араз (ын)	'to make'	арӕзт
ӕййаф (ын)	'to overtake'	ӕййӕфт
ӕмбар (ын)	'to understand'	ӕмбӕрст
ӕфсад (ын)	'to satisfy'	ӕфсӕст
ӕвнал (ын)	'to touch'	ӕвнӕлд, etc.

As is clear from the examples given, this type of alternation is characteristic of bisyllabic stems. It is also encountered, by way of exception, with monosyllabic stems:

уаф (ын)	'to weave'	уӕфт
саф (ын)	'to lose'	сӕфт

Present Stem		Past Stem
<u>ӕ</u>		<u>o</u>
кӕн (ын)	'to make'	конд
хӕр (ын)	'to eat'	хорд

Present Stem		Past Stem
<u>и</u>		<u>ы</u>
лидз (ын)	'to run away'	лыгъд
уидз (ын)	'to pick up'	уыгъд
рисс (ын)	'to be ill'	рыст
хиз (ын)	'to pasture'	хызт
риз (ын)	'to tremble'	рызт
ӕлвис (ын)	'to spin [cloth]'	ӕлвыст
ӕвдис (ын)	'to show'	ӕвдыст
ӕхсид (ын)	'to boil'	ӕхсыст
фид (ын)	'to pay'	фыст
ӕрвит (ын)	'to send'	ӕрвыст
зил (ын)	'to twirl'	зылд
тил (ын)	'to wave'	тылд
хил (ын)	'to creep, crawl'	хылд
ӕлхъив (ын)	'to squeeze'	ӕлхъывд
ӕрттив (ын)	'to glitter'	ӕрттывд, etc.

Present Stem		Past Stem
<u>y</u>		<u>ы</u>
кус (ын)	'to work'	куыст[7]

хъус (ын)	'to hear'	хъуыст
тух (ын)	'to wrap up'	тыхт
[æ]здух (ын)	'to twist'	[æ]здыхт
судз (ын)	'to burn'	сыгъд
фæрсудз (ын)	'to filter'	фæрсыгъд
нымудз (ын)	'to report'	нымыгъд
рæмудз (ын)	'to pull out'	рæмыгъд
дуц (ын)	'to milk'	дыгъд
рув (ын)	'to weed'	рывд
кув (ын)	'to bow'	куывд
кур (ын)	'to ask, request'	куырд
агур (ын)	'to seek'	агуырд
дзур (ын)	'to speak'	дзырд
сур (ын)	'to drive'	сырд
тул (ын)	'to roll'	тылд
æвдул (ын)	'to drag along'	æвдылд
æмпул (ын)	'to crumple'	æмпылд
æмбул (ын)	'to win'	æмбылд, etc.

Present Stem		Past Stem
<u>ау</u>		<u>ы</u>
тау (ын)	'to sow'	тыд
[æ]стау (ын)	'to commend'	[æ]стыд
рæвдау (ын)	'to caress'	рæвдыд
ардау (ын)	'to provoke, hound'	ардыд
арау (ын)	'to scorch'	арыд
æфтау (ын)	'to add'	æфтыд
фæлгъау (ын)	'to solicit'	фæлгъуыд
фæйлау (ын)	'to roll, move in waves'	фæйлыд

Present Stem		Past Stem
<u>æу</u>		<u>ы</u>
цæу (ын)	'to go'	цыд
кæу (ын)	'to weep'	куыд
хъæу (ын)	'to be needed'	хъуыд

Present Stem		Past Stem
<u>о</u>		<u>ы</u>
зон (ын)	'to know'	зынд
тон (ын)	'to tear'	тынд
хон (ын)	'to call'	хуынд
амон (ын)	'to show'	амынд
ком (ын)	'to obey, yield'	куымд
[æ]ссон (ын)	'to push'	[æ]ссыд
рæхой (ын)	'to pierce'	рæхуыст
[æ]схой (ын)	'to push'	[æ]схуыст

Present Stem		Past Stem
zero		a
[æ]ст (ын)	'to get up'	[æ]стад
[æ]сс (ын)	'to grind'	[æ]ссад
æхс (ын)	'to wash'	æхсад

The initial   æ   in these verbs is a prothetic, not a root, vowel.

§ 95.   In stem consonants the following alternations are observed:

Present Stem		Past Stem
Д, Т, ТТ, НД, НТ		СТ
фад (ын)	'to split'	фаст
æхсæд (ын)	'to clean'	æхсæст
æфсæд (ын)	'to be satiated'	æфсæст
кæрд (ын)	'to cut'	карст
уæрд (ын)	'to wrinkle up'	уæрст
сæрд (ын)	'to smear'	сæрст
ауæрд (ын)	'to spare'	ауæрст
ныуæрд (ын)	'to muffle'	ныуæрст
æхсид (ын)	'to boil'	æхсыст
æвзид (ын)	'to threaten, gesture at'	æвзыст
æрвит (ын)	'to send'	æрвыст
æлгъит (ын)	'to curse'	æлгъыст
бæтт (ын)	'to tie'	баст
сæтт (ын)	'to break'	саст
[æ]ссæнд (ын)	'to trample'	[æ]ссæст
нывæнд (ын)	'to wind yarn'	нывæст
[æ]змæнт (ын)	'to stir'	[æ]змæст
амæнт (ын)	'to soil'	амæст, etc.

Present Stem		Past Stem
ДЗ, Ц, НДЗ, НЦ		ГЪД
лидз (ын)	'to run away'	лыгъд
судз (ын)	'to burn'	сыгъд
фæрсудз (ын)	'to filter'	фæрсыгъд
уадз (ын)	'to leave, abandon'	уагъд
тадз (ын)	'to drip'	тагъд
садз (ын)	'to plant'	сагъд
æндадз (ын)	'to solder'	æндæгъд
нымудз (ын)	'to report, inform on'	нымыгъд
ржмудз (ын)	'to tear'	ржмыгъд
ауындз (ын)	'to hang'	ауыгъд
тындз (ын)	'to spread'	тыгъд
ифтындз (ын)	'to harness'	ифтыгъд

| дуц (ын) | 'to milk' | дыгъд |
| хынц (ын) | 'to count' | хыгъд |

In a number of verbs the past stem is characterized by addition of the cluster -ст to the present stem:

æвзар (ын)	'to choose'	æвзæрст
æмбар (ын)	'to understand'	æмбæрст
лæмар (ын)	'to squeeze out'	лæмæрст
æппар (ын)	'to throw'	æппæрст
бар (ын)	'to weigh'	барст
уар (ын)	'to divide'	уæрст
луар (ын)	'to sift'	луæрст
æндзар (ын)	'to ignite'	æндзæрст
[æ]сгар (ын)	'to find out'	[æ]сгæрст
лæдар (ын)	'to allow to drip'	лæдæрст
æфсæр (ын)	'to stuff'	æфсæрст
ахор (ын)	'to paint'	ахурст
удай (ын)	'to moisten'	удæст
хой (ын)	'to beat'	хост

§ 96.   The past stem of some verbs has an augment of the entire syllable -ыд :

Present Stem		Past Stem
быр (ын)	'to creep'	бырыд
каф (ын)	'to dance'	кафыд
зар (ын)	'to sing'	зарыд
уас (ын)	'to hoot, whistle'	уасыд
лæуу (ын)	'to stand'	лæууыд
хъаз (ын)	'to play'	хъазыд
хъав (ын)	'to intend'	хъавыд
хæц (ын)	'to hold'	хæцыд , etc.

The past participles of the above verbs are formed regularly:

бырд	лæуд
кафт	хъазт
зард	хъавд
уаст	хæст

As a result, for these verbs — in contrast to the others — the past stem is not identical with the past participle.

§ 97.   Some verbs, in which the present stem ends in a nasal consonant (н м) , lose this nasal in the past stem.

Present Stem		Past Stem
æхсын (ын)	'to gnaw'	æхсыд
æлвын (ын)	'to cut (hair)'	æлвыд
[æ]скъуын (ын)	'to break'	[æ]скъуыд
ныгæн (ын)	'to bury'	ныгæд
æвгæн (ын)	'to load'	æвгæд
æлхæн (ын)	'to buy'	æлхæд
æхгæн (ын) [æхкæнын]	'to lock'	æхгæд [æхкæд]
хъахъхъæн (ын)	'to guard'	хъахъхъæд
[æ]ссон (ын)	'to push'	[æ]ссыд
нæм (ын)	'to beat'	над
уром (ын)	'to stop'	урæд

In past forms such as кодтон 'I did' from кæнын, зыдтон 'I knew' from зонын, уыдтон 'I saw' from уынын, etc., one should speak of assimilation, not of the disappearance of н; this follows from the fact that in the past participle the nasal н is retained: конд, зынд, уынд.

The verb дæттын 'to give' makes its past forms from another stem — лæвæрд.

Moods and Tenses

§ 98.   The Ossetic verb has three moods: indicative, subjunctive, and imperative.   The indicative and the subjunctive each have three tenses: present (present-future), past, and future.   For the use of these forms, see after the conjugation paradigms (§§126.-40.).

The imperative mood has two tenses: present and future; the latter is expressed by addition of the particle иу: зæгъ ын 'tell him (now)';   зæгъ ын-иу 'tell him (in the future)'; ракæн иу, ракæ йæ сагъæс дæ хъарæджы, аргæвд иу хистæн нæ хъуг 'tell, tell (in the future) his thought in your lamentations, slaughter our cow for the funeral banquet' (К).

Voice

§ 99.   A general morphological system of oppositions of voice does not exist in Ossetic.   The difference between underlined transitive verbs ("active" voice) and underlined intransitive verbs ("middle" voice, "mediopassive") can be expressed by many means:

.1 Lexically, by different stems; for example, арын 'to give birth', гуырын 'to be born', etc.

.2 By vowel alternation in the verb stem, with a strong vowel giving transitive meaning, and a weak vowel, intransitive:

марын	'to kill'	мæлын	'to die'
калын	'to pour'	кæлын	'to flow'
халын	'to destroy'	хæлын	'to be destroyed'

æвхалын	'to damage'	æвхæлын	'to be damaged'
сафын	'to lose'	сæфын	'to get lost'
фадын	'to split'	фæдын	'to split'
хъауын	'to use'	хъæуын	'to be needed'
[æ]згъалын	'to pour [powder]'	[æ]згъæлын	'to be poured'
æвзарын	'to choose'	æвзæрын	'to be chosen'
ныхасын	'to glue'	ныхæсын	'to be sticky'
иртасын	'to separate'	иртæсын	'to be separated'
ивазын	'to stretch'	ивæзын	'to lengthen out'
аразын	'to make, do'	арæзын	'to be made, done'
садзын	'to stick (in)'	сæдзын	'to be stuck'
тадзын	'to pour drop by drop'	тæдзын	'to run in drops'
æндадзын	'to solder'	æндæдзын	'to stick'
æфсадын	'to satiate'	æфсæдын	'to be full'
фæлдахын	'to turn over'	фæлдæхын	'to be overturned'
[æ]здахын	'to return'	[æ]здæхын	'to come back'
ласын	'to drag'	лæсын	'to be dragged'
æлвасын	'to extract'	æлвæсын	'to be extracted'
хъусын	'to hear'	хъуысын	'to be heard'
æнкъусын	'to shake'	æнкъуысын	'to be shaken'
æмпулын	'to crumple'	æмпылын	'to be wrinkled'
хонын	'to call'	хуинын	'to be called'
æфтауын	'to add'	æфтын	'to be added'

In a number of cases, the instransitive verb differs from the transitive not only by vowel weakening, but also by appearance of the consonant c:

тавын	'to warm'	тæфсын	'to become warm'
лæдарын	'to let flow'	лæдæрсын	'to flow'
удайын	'to wet'	удæсын	'to become wet'
тухын	'to muffle'	тыхсын	'to be muffled'
[æ]здухын	'to twist'	[æ]здыхсын	'to be twisted'
ахорын	'to paint, color'	ахуырсын	'to be painted, colored'
рæдувын	'to tear'	рæдыфсын	'to split' (of leather)

In the opposition дымын 'to inflate' : дымсын 'to swell', the intransitive stem is distinguished from the transitive only by presence of the consonant c.

In the opposition скъуынын 'to tear' : скъуыйын 'to be torn', the transitive form is distinguished from the intransitive by presence of the nasal н in the transitive stem.

.3 Differentiation between transitive and intransitive forms is consistently carried out in the past tenses (cf. §§122., 123.).

§100. A considerable group of verbs combines both meanings, transitive and intransitive; only in the past tenses do they have different inflection

for transitive and intransitive meaning:

зилын	'to twist; to be twisted' (past зылдтон 'I twisted'; зылдтӕн 'I was twisted')
тулын	'to roll'
сӕттын	'to break; to crack'
хизын	'to pasture; to graze'
судзын	'to burn'
фыцын	'to cook; to be cooking'
ӕхсидын	'to boil'
ӕмбӕхсын	'to conceal; to be concealed'
[ӕ]змӕнтын	'to mix, knead; to be mixed'
ивын	'to change'
райдайын	'to begin'

The last two verbs even in the past tenses have a single form for transitive and intransitive meanings: ивта 'changed', райдыдта 'began'.

§101.   The <u>passive</u> voice is rendered by combining the past participle of the main verb with the verb цӕуын 'to go':

аразын	'to build'	арӕзт цӕуын	'to be built'
ӕвдисын	'to show'	ӕвдыст цӕуын	'to be shown', etc.

In these constructions, the actor (the logical subject) is generally absent.

§102.   The <u>causative</u> voice is expressed by combining the infinitive of the main verb with the verb кӕнын 'to do':

бадын	'to sit'	бадын кӕнын	'to seat'
[ӕ]змӕлын	'to move'	[ӕ]змӕлын кӕнын	'to set in motion'
хӕрын	'to eat'	хӕрын кӕнын	'to feed'
зонын	'to know'	зонын кӕнын	'to acquaint'
кӕуын	'to weep'	кӕуын кӕнын	'to make cry', etc.

§103.   For expression of the <u>reflexive</u> voice a periphrastic construction is used — namely, the reflexive pronoun хи is placed before the verb:

науын	'to dip, bathe'	хи ныуын	'to take a dip, a bath'
дасын	'to shave'	хи дасын	'to shave oneself'

In inflection for person, the pronoun хи takes the corresponding forms мӕхи, дӕхи, etc. (cf. § 68. of the section on "Pronouns"):

ӕз	мӕхи дасын		'I shave myself'
ды	дӕхи дасыс		'you shave yourself'
уый	йӕхи дасы		'he shaves himself'
мах	нӕхи дасӕм		'we shave ourselves'
сымах	уӕхи дасут		'you shave yourselves'
уыдон	сӕхи дасынц		'they shave themselves'

Aspects

§104. In the Ossetic verb, just as in Russian, there is differentiation of aspects: <u>imperfective</u> and <u>perfective</u>. In some instances, they are expressed lexically, by different stems:

дзурын	'to talk'	зӕгъын	'to tell'
дӕттын	'to be giving'	раттын	'to give'

§105. Preverbs (verbal prefixes) are the principal means, however, of distinguishing the perfective aspect from the imperfective; these serve, at the same time, to express the direction or character of an action. In this too there is a complete analogy with Russian. As in Russian, the prefixed forms of the verb acquire the meaning of perfective aspect only in the past and future tenses, but not in the present:

хъусын 'to be hearing', фехъусын 'to hear [suddenly]', фехъуыстон 'I heard [suddenly]', фехъусдзынӕн 'I will hear [suddenly]';

цӕуын 'to be going', рацӕуын 'to go out', рацыдтӕн 'I went out', рацӕудзынӕн 'I will go out'.

With present tense forms the preverb either indicates only the direction or character of the action or movement (spatially), without giving any aspectual nuance, or else it qualifies the meaning of the action as <u>recurring</u>, customary, or <u>durative</u>:

ӕз рацӕуын	'I go out'
ӕз фехъусын	'I (often) hear or listen'
ӕз фӕкӕсын	'I (often) read'

The preverb фӕ-, in contrast to the others, may impart to a verb the sense of duration not only in the present, but also in the past and future tenses:

фӕбадтӕн	'I sat around (for a long time)'
фӕбаддзынӕн	'I will sit around (for a long time)'

In one instance, recurrence (customariness) is distinguished lexically: уын 'to be' : вӕййын 'to be sometimes, to occur'.[8]

To express recurrence or customariness (in all tenses), the particle иу is also used; it can precede as well as follow the verb: ӕз-иу фыстон or фыстон-иу 'I used to write'; мит-иу куы уарыд, уӕд-иу ныззарыд къӕдзӕх лӕгӕты 'when it was snowing, he sang in the rocky cavern' (К 48); кӕдӕм-иу бафтыд, уым-иу фӕкафыд кӕрдзыны мурыл 'wherever he turned up, there he danced for the sake of a piece of bread' (К 47).

This same particle gives to the imperative the meaning of future tense.

§106. Repetition of an action can be expressed by combining the plural past participle with the verb кӕнын 'to do':

кӕсын 'to look', кӕстытӕ кӕнын 'to take several looks': фӕйнӕрдӕм акӕстытӕ кодта 'he looked in [various] directions'; цъӕхгӕрмӕуынгӕй

рацыди æртæ лæджы, кæрæдзи къухтыл хæцгæйæ, цудтытæ кæнынц 'from the cross street three men came out, holding hands, staggering' (A 211); (кардæн) йæ фистон дæр æруындтытæ кодтой 'they also looked over the hilt (of the sword)' (Ч 49); (куыдз) асмыстытæ кодта '(the dog) sniffed (several times)' (A 84).

§107.   Finally, duration and recurrence are expressed by reduplication of the prefixed verbal stem, together with   кæнын 'to do':   кæсын 'to look', stem кæс; hence акæс-акæс кæнын   'to keep looking out';

дзурын 'to talk', stem дзур ; hence радзур-бадзур кæнын   'to exchange chit-chat (for a long time)';

уайын 'to run', stem уай ; hence рауай-бауай кæнын   'to run up and down, here and there' (for compound verbs, see §150.).

This means of expressing duration is possible with substantives and adverbs, not only with verbs: ратæрхон-батæрхон кæнынц, цæмæй ма цæрдзысты, ууыл 'they judge and bargain as to what they are going to live on' (Ч 173) (тæрхон 'judge'); радæалæ-бауæлæ, афтæмæй сæ фæнд сфыхтой 'having talked and chatted, they reached unanimity' ('welded their project') (Ч 61) (дæлæ 'below', уæлæ 'above').

§108.   As we mentioned above, the preverb converts the imperfective aspect of a verb into the perfective. But there are cases of this sort when an imperfective action is concerned, while the verb needs to be prefixed (to indicate the direction or character of the action); in other words to have a preverbal form in the imperfective. The particle цæй serves this purpose, and is inserted between the preverb and the verb:

цыди 'he was going', рацыди 'he went out', ра-цæй-цыди 'he was going out'.

Here the particle цæй neutralizes, as it were, the meaning of perfective action that is given to the verb by the preverb. The forms with   цæй are used very readily when it is necessary to indicate that a given action was not yet finished when some other action was completed: куы рацæйцыди, уæд æм чидæр фæдзырдта 'when he was going out, somebody called him'; раст хур фæцæйныгуылди, афтæ æлдары раз балæууыдысты 'just when the sun was setting, they were presented to the prince' (С 66); Хъазийы ахæстонмæ куы фæцæйкодтой, уæд къæдзæхæй йæхи аппæрста 'when they were taking Kazi to prison, he threw himself over the cliff' (С 74); æмæ уыдон хохæй куы æрцæйцыдысты, уæд Иесо бафæдзæхста æмæ загъта ... 'and when they were descending from the mountain, Jesus forbade them, saying ...' (Ев.).

The use of forms with   -цæй- is quite common not only in temporal subordinate clauses, but also in main clauses:

гуыбыр-гуыбыр сцæйцыд мæгуыр лæг 'having lowered his head, the poor man stood (raised) up' (С 117). The forms with   -цæй- are used for

the expression of an almost-completed action, or one about to be completed: зæрдæ фырцинæй фæцæйыскъуыд 'the heart was just about to burst from happiness' (C 35); мæ иу фысы мын бирæгъ фæцæйхордта, фæлæ йæ байстон 'one of my lambs was just about eaten up by the wolf, but I took it away' (OT 97); йæхи найынмæ фæцæйцыди, фæлæ йæ æз нæ бауагътон 'he just about went swimming, but I did not let him' (OT 97); стонгæй фæцæймардтæн 'I just about died of starvation'.

As is evident from the aforesaid, in the Ossetic verb the categories of <u>perfective</u> and <u>imperfective</u> aspect, <u>customariness</u>, <u>iteration</u>, <u>recurrence</u>, and <u>duration</u> can be expressed. In expressing all these aspectual shades of meaning, an exceedingly important role belongs to the preverbs.

Participle and Gerund

§109. Ossetic has participles (verbal substantives) ending in

-æг   for the present and past tenses
-т   -д   for the past tense
-инаг   for the future tense.

§110. In the modern language, the -æг participles usually have active meaning; the -т -д past participles, passive meaning; and the -инаг future participles are indeterminate as far as voice is concerned, and, depending on the context, can have either active or passive meaning. Thus, from фыссын 'to write' we have:

фыссæг   'one who writes, writer'
фыст   'written'
фыссинаг   'one who intends to write' or 'what is to be written'

Participles ending in -æг, when prefixed, acquire the meaning of past tense:

фыссæг   'writing'   ны-ффыссæг 'having written'
хæссæг   'carrying away'   а-хæссæг   'having carried away'
мæлæг   'dying'   а-мæлæг   'dead'

In a number of instances, present participles have taken on the meaning of action-nouns: зарæг 'song' from зарын 'to sing', ризæг 'fever' from ризын 'to tremble', хуыфæг 'a cough' from хуыфын 'to cough', æхснырсæг 'head-cold' from æхснырсын 'to sneeze'.

§111. Past participles also very often designate action-nouns:

куыст	'work'	from	кусын
хæрд	'a meal'	from	хæрын
нозт	'a drink'	from	нуазын
хъазт	'play, dance'	from	хъазын
хæст	'war'	from	хæцын

The forms конд 'arrangement, structure', зонд 'wit', амонд 'luck, fortune' represent the lexicalized participles of кæнын 'to make, do', зонын 'to know', амонын 'to indicate, teach'; parallel with them there exist forms with vowel-weakening: чынд 'done, made', зынд 'known', амынд 'indicated, taught'.

.1 It is also necessary to assign to the participle category the forms with the suffix -аг, which signify a permanent characteristic or inclination to some action:

уайаг	'jumper'	from	уайын	'to jump'
нуазаг	'drunkard'	from	нуазын	'to drink'
хъазаг	'joker'	from	хъазын	'to play, joke'
тæрсаг	'coward'	from	тæрсын	'to be afraid', etc.

§112.   A mixed participle-gerund meaning is characteristic of forms ending in -гæ.   Derived from transitive verbs, they yield participles with passive meaning:

дуцгæ хъуг	'a milch cow'	(дуцын	'to milk')
кæрдгæ дур	'a cut stone'	(кæрдын	'to cut')
тæргæ бæх	'a driven horse'	(тæрын	'to drive')

Муртаз æнæхонгæ ныггуырсти 'Murtaz burst in without invitation (not being invited)' (Ф 1957 III 56); уæларвæй рауадзгæ сызгъæрин сырх Аларды 'the heaven-sent golden red Alardy' (ЮОПам. II 103).

The -гæ forms of intransitive verbs may be considered to indicate an active quality:

судзгæ цырагъ	'burning candle'	(судзын	'to burn')
цæугæ дон	'flowing river'	(цæуын	'to go, flow')
уайгæ бæх	'jumping horse'	(уайын	'to jump')
æхсидгæ бæгæны	'boiling beer'	(æхсидын	'to boil')
худгæ хур	'smiling sun'	(худын	'to smile, laugh'), etc.

æмæ мæнæ æврагъæй хъуысти дзургæ хъæлæс ... 'and lo, a voice from the cloud was heard saying ...' (Ев.); бæзгæ кард у, æмбал ын бирæ нæ разындзæн нæ хъæуы 'a worthy sword, few equal to it will be found in our village' (Ч 49); ауылты сæгътæ рацæугæ нæ федтай? 'haven't you seen goats passing through these places?' (ДС 39); уыцы лæппуйы æлдар хæдтулгæ уæрдоны сбадын кодта 'the elder seated that youth on the cycle-cart' (ОТ 104).

§113.   The gerundial (adverbial) meaning of the -гæ formations appears in such expressions as: уæрдоныл бадгæ æрбацæйцыди 'he drove up, sitting on a cart'; æнæ сымах бафæрсгæ куыд? 'how did they not ask you?' (Бр. 27); лæппу кæугæ бацыд йæ хæдзармæ 'the boy with a cry went into the house' (ОЭ I 78); (Пакондзы Амыранмæ) йæхи рауагъта æмæ дзы йæ ныхтæ ныссагъта, хæссын æй байдыдта зилгæ-зилгæ уæларвмæ '(Pakondzy upon Amyran) rushing down and plunging his claws into him, [and] making

circles began taking him into the sky' (ОЭ I 64); дзæнæты дуар ын хæр-
-хæргæнгæ байгом кæны 'with a clang the gates of heaven opened to him'
(ОЭ I 114); дисгæнгæ сæ фарста 'he asked them with surprise' (ОЭ I 110).

A special form of the verbal adverbs is the combination of -гæ forms
with the infinitive: цæугæ-цæуын 'on the go, going, running'; хæргæ-хæрын
'at meal time'; хæргæ-хæрын куыдз дæр нæ рæйы 'even a dog doesn't
bark at meal time [while eating]' (proverb); куы-иу дамбаца сæппæрста йæ
разæй уæлæмæ, æмæ-иу æй уыцы уайгæ-уайыны ацахста; зæхмæ-иу истæмæ
уыцы тæхгæ-тæхыны дамбацайæ куы фæхъавыди, уæд-иу йæ тæккæ астæу
сæмбæлди 'then he tossed up his gun before him and at full gallop
caught it; when he, on the fly, took aim from the gun at something on the
ground, he made a hole in the very middle of it' (A 75); уæд дын иу бон
амайгæ-амайын дур рахаудта æмæ æфсымæртæй сæ иуы сæр асаста 'and
lo, one day during construction, a stone fell down and smashed the head of
one of the brothers' (Ч 95).

§114. The double, participle-gerund nature of the -гæ forms is in
full agreement with the non-differentiation of parts of speech in Ossetic. As
there is no sharp boundary between the adjective and the adverb, neither is
there any between the participle and the gerund. And just as to transform
an adjective-adverb into a "real" adverb one must put it in the ablative case
(карз 'sharp' and 'sharply', but карзæй only 'sharply'), so must the -гæ
participle-gerund forms be put in the ablative to convert them to "real" ge-
runds:

    тæргæйæ   '(while) driving' (ablative of тæргæ)
    цæугæйæ   '(while) going'
    худгæйæ   '(while) smiling, laughing', etc.

кадмæ бæлгæйæ æгадæй мæлæм 'striving for glory, we perish in shame'
(К 39); Хъæвдын ... сæр риуыл æруадзгæйæ къухтæ фæсонтыл сæвæргæйæ
доны был-тыл рацу-бацу кодта 'lowering his head to his chest, putting
his arms behind his back, Xavdyn paced along the bank of the river' (A 7);
хыбылтæ разæй уадысты, сæ бырынчъытæ зæххыл сæрфгæйæ 'the little
pigs ran ahead, drawing their snouts along the ground' (A 211); кæрæдзи
къухтыл хæцгæйæ 'holding on by the hands' (A 211); хъазгæйæ нæм æрцæу-
дзæн, худгæйæ нæ ныууадздзæн 'he came playing to us, he left us laugh-
ing' (ЮОПам. II 103).

Forms ending in -гæйæ are sometimes used to express indebtedness,
necessity: уыимæ дын цæргæйæ у 'it is proper for you to live with him';
compare the Digor: уæйæ гæнгæ уодзæнæ цагъайрагæн 'you should be
sold into slavery'; æз цæуын дæ бацамынд фæндагыл, æмæ мын кæд æрæз-
дæхгæйæ нал уа уæддæр-иу бузныг ... 'I am going along the way shown
by you, and even if I am not to return again, nevertheless I thank you ...'
(Ф 1957 IV 34).

The -гæ forms are also used to make periphrastic formations with a
special shade of meaning: цæугæ кæнын 'to go', худгæ кæнын 'to laugh',

etc. (see §150.3). Forms in -гæ are also readily used as a substitute for the imperative mood:

цæугæ!	'go! leave!' [sg.]
цæугæ-ут!	'go! leave!' [pl.]

дæ галтæ сифтындз æмæ цæугæ! 'hitch up your oxen and leave!' (C 59); æмбæхсгæ-ут, кæлæнгæнæг ссæуы 'hide, here comes a sorcerer!'(Бр. 86); цæугæ-ут, мæ фыстæ, цæугæ-ут! 'come, my sheep, come!' (H 191).

§115.   There are very rare verbal nouns ending in -он. They have the meaning either of passive or of active participles; thus, from уарзын 'to love', we have уарзон 'beloved'; from барын 'to forgive': барон 'forgiving, kindhearted'.

Infinitive

§116.   The verb form which can be called the infinitive is built from the present stem by means of the suffix -ын (it is identical with the form of the first person present indicative): цæуын 'to go', кæсын 'to look', фыссын 'to write', дуцын 'to milk'. This form can be inflected for case and even number, and should therefore be regarded as a verbal substantive. Thus, if the action is intended (is a goal), the infinitive is put in the allative case: хъуг дуцынмæ ацыд '(she) went to milk the cow'. If the action is the cause of something, the infinitive is put in the ablative: фыссынæй ба-фæлладтæн 'I got tired of writing'.

The use of all other cases is also possible.

The use of the plural infinitive is peculiar: цæрынтæ байдыдтой 'they began to live' (цæрынтæ is the plural of цæрын 'to live'); сурынтæ систон сагты рæгъау, цæгъдынтæ сæ байдыдтон-ба 'I started pursuing and herd, began destroying them' (СОПам. III 123); райдыдтой уым хæрынтæ æмæ нуазынтæ 'they started having eats and drinks there' (Ч 62); хæцынтæ си-стой Куырттатимæ, хæцынтæ 'they started to fight with the Kurtatins' (Ч 65); ссыдысты сæ хосгæрстмæ æмæ кæрдынтæ байдыдтой '(they) went up to their mowing area and started to mow' (ОЭ I 98); лидзынты фæци '(he) took off running' (ДС 14).

Instances of Substantivization of Personal Verb Forms

§117.   Not only participles and the infinitive, but in particular cases even personal forms of the verb or whole clauses can be used as substantives and take case endings: йæ "цу-ма" рæхуыстæй 'her "oh, come on" (is accompanied) by a kick' (К 54) — here the imperative form of цæуын serves as subject; кæстæр "цу-ма"-йæн у 'the youngest serves for errands'; æппын "нæй"-ы бæсты чызг дæр хорз у 'a [little] girl is better

than absolutely nothing' (C 102) — here нӕй is the truncated form of нӕ ис
'not', 'not to have', 'there isn't'; уӕ цӕрайӕ куы цӕры 'in fact he lives
with a desire for your (good) life' (Бр. 22) — цӕра is the third person sub-
junctive of цӕрын 'to live', cf. the lexicalized магуса 'idler' from
кусын 'to work', мадзура 'silent (man)' from дзурын 'to speak', etc.;
the whole clause can acquire a case form: рацыдысты "ӕз раздӕр-уон"
-ӕй 'they came out, contesting their "I'll be first"s' (Ч 162); алчи "фӕ-
-раздӕр-он"-ыл йӕ уд хъары 'none of them spares his strength in order
to be first' (К 134) — the clause "фӕ-раздӕр-он" ('that I should be in
front') is put in the adessive case in -ыл; "кӕмӕй цы ратонон"-ыл сыстӕм
'we are occupied with whom to snatch something from' (К 233) — the clause
"кӕмӕй цы ратонон" ('from whom I should snatch something') is put in the
-ыл adessive case; "ма амӕла"-йы къӕбӕр ын лӕвӕрдтой 'they gave him
a piece of bread just so he would not die' — the clause "ма амӕла" ('let not
die' — subjunctive) stands in the genitive.

Personal Endings

§118. Indicative

Singular	Plural
Present Tense	
-ын	-ӕм
-ыс	-ут
-ы	-ынц
Past Tense	
(Transitive Verb)	
-(т)он	-(т)ам
-(т)ай	-(т)ат
-(т)а	-(т)ой
(Intransitive Verb)	
-(т)ӕн	-ыстӕм
-(т)ӕ	-ыстут
-(ис)	-ысты
Future Tense	
-дзын-ӕн	-дзы-стӕм
-дзын-ӕ	-дзы-стут
-дзӕн-(ис)	-дзы-сты

The endings of the past tense for intransitive verbs and of the future
tense for all verbs — -(т)ӕн, -(т)ӕ, -ис, -(ы)стӕм, -(ы)стут, -(ы)сты
— coincide with the present tense forms of the auxiliary verb уын 'to be'
(дӕн, дӕ, ис, стӕм, стут, сты — cf. §124.). This indicates the peri-
phrastic character of the given forms. Past tense forms are derived from
the past participle with the present tense of the auxiliary verb: цыдтӕн 'I

went' from цыд-дæн 'I am gone', etc. Future tense forms consist of the present stem plus the element -дзын- ~ -дзы- plus a present tense form of the auxiliary verb: цæу-дзын-æн.

§119.   Subjunctive.

Singular	Plural	
	Present-Future Tense **(the old optative)**	
-ин	-иккам	
-ис	-иккат	
-ид	-иккой	
	Past Tense **(the old optative)**	
	(Transitive Verbs)	**['52]**
-(т)аин	-(т)аиккам	[-(т)айккам]
-(т)аис	-(т)аиккат	[-(т)айккат]
-(т)аид	-(т)аиккой	[-(т)айккой]
	(Intransitive Verbs)	
-аин	-аиккам	[-айккам]
-аис	-аиккат	[-айккат]
-аид	-аиккой	[-айккой]
	Future Tense **(the old conjunctive)**	
-он	-æм	
-ай	-ат	
-а	-ой	

The optional consonant т that appears in the past tenses is characteristic of verbs whose present stem ends in й, у, р, л, м, н. It has different origins. In the past tense of intransitive indicative verbs, it goes back to the initial д of the auxiliary verb: уадтæн 'I ran' < уад-дæн lit. '(having) run (I) am'. In other cases, we are dealing with gemination of the final д of the past stem (for gemination, see phonetics section).

§120.   Imperative.

The second person singular almost always coincides with the present stem:

цæр   'live!'   кус   'work!'   зар   'sing!'

Some verbs that have æу in the present stem are exceptions; their second singular imperative ends in у:

цæуын	'to go'	цу
кæуын	'to cry'	ку
хъæуын	'to be lacking'	хъу

2d plural ends in -ут
3d singular ends in -æд
3d plural ends in -æнт.

§121.   Conjugation of the Transitive Verb.
Infinitive: калын 'to pour'

Indicative

Singular		Plural
Present Tense		
калын	'I pour'	калæм
калыс		калут
калы		калынц
Past Tense		
калдтон	'I poured'	калдтам
калдтай		калдтат
калдта		калдтой
Future Tense		
калдзынæн	'I will pour'	калдзыстæм
калдзынæ		калдзыстут
калдзæн (ис)		калдзысты

Subjunctive

Singular	Plural	
Present-Future Tense		
(the old optative)		
калин	каликкам	
калис	каликкат	
калид	каликкой	
Past Tense		
(the old optative)		['52]
калдтаин	калдтаиккам	[калдтайккам]
калдтаис	калдтаиккат	[калдтайккат]
калдтаид	калдтаиккой	[калдтайккой]
Future Tense		
(the old conjunctive)		
калон	калæм	
калай	калат	
кала	калой	

Imperative
Present Tense

2d	кал		2d	калут
3d	калæд		3d	калæнт

<center>Future Tense</center>

2d кал-иу   2d калут-иу
3d калæд-иу   3d калæнт-иу

<center>Participles</center>

Present	калæг	'pouring'
Past	калд	'poured'
Future	калинаг	'intending to pour' or 'what is to be poured'

<center>Gerund</center>

<center>калгæ, калгæйæ '(while) pouring'</center>

<center>Conjugation of the Intransitive Verb
in the Past Tenses</center>

§122.   The conjugation of intransitive verbs coincides with that of tran-
sitives, except in the past tenses. For a pattern, we give the conjugation
of the verb кæлын 'to pour, be poured'.

<center>Indicative
Past Tense</center>

Singular	Plural
калдтæн	калдыстæм
калдтæ	калдыстут
калд (ис)	калдысты

<center>Subjunctive
Past Tense
(Optative) ['52]</center>

калдаин	калдаиккам [калдайккам]
калдаис	калдаиккат [калдайккат]
калдаид	калдаиккой [калдайккой]

§123.   As is evident from these paradigms, transitive and intransitive
verbs in the past indicative have different inflections: on the one hand,
калдтон, калдтай, etc., and on the other, калдтæн, калдтæ, etc. As
far as the past tense of the subjunctive is concerned, the difference between
transitive and intransitive verbs boils down to the fact that in the former,
the stem consonant   д of the past tense is geminated: калдтаин 'I would
have poured', but калдаин 'I would have been poured, have poured for my-
self' (the gemination is rendered orthographically by дт).

Gemination takes place only after vowels and resonants (н м р л
й у). It does not occur after the fricatives с х ф з гъ в, being
"absorbed" by them. Thus, from сафын 'to lose', the past indicative will
be сæфтон, not *сæфдтон; and from сæфын 'to get lost': сæфтæн, not

*сӕфдтӕн.   Thanks to the fricatives' property of "absorbing" the following
stop, the difference between the past subjunctive forms of transitive and in-
transitive verbs disappears:

    сӕфтаин   (not   *сӕфдтаин)   'I would have lost'
    сӕфтаин   'I would have gotten lost'

    In the 3d sing. past and future indicative, along with the full forms кал-
дис, кӕлдзӕнис, калдзӕнис,   truncated forms are also used: калди,
кӕлдзӕни, калдзӕни,   or калд, кӕлдзӕн, калдзӕн.

§124.   Conjugation of the Verb уын   'to be'

Indicative

Singular		Plural

Present Tense (Momentaneous Aspect)

дӕн	'I am'	стӕм
дӕ		стут
у, ис, и		сты

Present Tense (Iterative Aspect)

вӕййын	'I often am'	вӕййӕм
вӕййыс		вӕййут
вӕййы		вӕййынц

Past Tense

уыдтӕн	'I was'	уыдыстӕм
уыдтӕ		уыдыстут
уыд (ис)		уыдысты

Future Tense

уыдзынӕн	'I shall be'	уыдзыстӕм
уыдзынӕ		уыдзыстут
уыдзӕн (ис)		уыдзысты

Subjunctive

Singular	Plural

Present-Future Tense (Strong Aspect)

уаин	уаиккам
уаис	уаиккат
уаид	уаиккой

Present-Future Tense (Weak Aspect)

уин	уиккам
уис	уиккат
уид	уиккой

Past Tense		['52]
уыдаин	уыдаиккам	[уыдайккам]
уыдаис	уыдаиккат	[уыдайккат]
уыдаид	уыдаиккой	[уыдайккой]

Future Tense

уон	уæм
уай	уат
уа	уой

Imperative

2d	у	2d	ут
3d	уæд	3d	уæнт

Participles

Present	уæвæг
Past	—
Future	уинаг

Gerund

уæвгæ, уæвгæйæ

§125.   The weak form of the present subjunctive (уин, уис, etc.) in the literary language is used only with preverbs: фæ-уин, (æ)с-уин, etc.

Preverbal formations with уын have the meaning of 'becoming', while фæ-уын also means 'to end, to finish'.

Other peculiarities of preverbal formations with уын are:

.1 The present indicative can be formed only from the iterative aspect:

фæ-вæййын	'I happen to be'
(æ)с-вæййын	'I become'
ба-вæййын	'I have an occasion to be', etc.

.2 The combination of the preverb with the present tense of the momentaneous aspect дæн, дæ, etc., takes on the meaning of past tense:

фæ-дæн	'I proved to be, I finished'
(æ)с-дæн	'I became', etc.

.3 With the past indicative, the preverbs are not combined; therefore the formation of such combinations as *фæ-уыдтæн, *(æ)с-уыдтæн is impossible.

4 In the past indicative, 3d singular, the consonant -ц is inserted between the preverb and the verb: фæ-ц-ис, (æ)с-с-ис (from ыс-ц-ис), ба-ц-ис, æрба-ц-ис.

.5 The strong aspect of the present subjunctive has two forms: a) the normal, and b) with insertion of -ц :

фæ-уаин   and   фæ-ц-аин
(æ)с-уаин   and   (æ)с-ц-аин, etc.

.6 The past subjunctive also has two forms: a) the normal, and
b) with insertion of -ц :

фæ-уыдаин   and   фæ-ц-адаин
(æ)с-уыдаин   and   (æ)с-ц-адаин, etc.

Use of Indicative Forms

§126. In the use of indicative forms there is great similarity between
Ossetic and Russian. This likeness is particularly emphasized by the fact
that both languages distinguish perfective and imperfective aspects, and
that both languages use preverbs as the principal means for this differen-
tiation.

The forms without preverbs express imperfective durative action in all
three tenses. The present tense indicates:

.1 An action taking place at the moment of speech: Нары хъæу
хуыссы 'the village of Nar is asleep' (К 43).

.2 Constant, "timeless" action: дон кæлы йæ рæзты урс æхсæр-
дзæнтæй 'the river is rushing down before him in white cataracts' (К 63);
бирæгъ артæй тæрсы 'the wolf is afraid of fire' (ЮОПам. III 195).

.3 An action accomplished in the past, when one wishes to give to
the past the clearness, vividness, and spontaneity of the present (historical
present): мæликк æй йæ дæллаг фарс сбадын кодта æмæ йæ фæрсы ...
'the prince let him sit down a little lower than himself and asks ...' (ОЭп. 24).

.4 The imminent, immediate future: райсом куывд кæнын 'I
shall arrange the feast tomorrow'.

§127.   Past forms without preverbs express durative or constant ac-
tion in the past: цы ардта, уый хордта   'she ate up everything that she
found' (К 55); раджы хохы цъуппæй касти иу æрра фиййау; мигъ æнгом
йæ бены бадти 'long ago (at one time), from the top of the mountain a
reckless shepherd watched; a cloud lay close under him' (К 79).

§128.   The corresponding forms of the future tense express prolonged
uncompleted action in the future and are as a rule translated into Russian
with periphrastic forms of the type буду писать 'I shall write,' etc.:
дзул дын тулдзыстæм мыды, адджын цай цымдзынæ 'we shall dip (for)
you white bread in honey, you will drink sweet tea' (К 121); иу ранæй
згъæлдзæн хуыр 'from one place gravel will fall' (К 73); кæй кæуынæй
риздзæн къæдзæх? 'from whose sobs will the cliff be shaken?' (К 33).

Sometimes in special context the future forms without preverbs can
express an action which is conceived as concluded, resultative: уæйыг

æрбацæуы æмæ дæ хæрдзæн 'the giant is coming and will eat you up' (and
not "will eat"); here according to the sense we would expect бахæрдзæн.

In conditional subordinate clauses, the future indicative is sometimes
used instead of the subjunctive (conjunctive): додой Ахмæт! ды мæн бакъ-
уылымпы кæндзынæ, æмæ дын æз ацы хъамайæ дæ къабæзтæ æрцæгъд-
дзынæн 'beware, Akhmat! you just disturb me and I will chop off your limbs
with this dagger!'(Бр. 148); one could also say ды мæн куы бакъуылымпы
кæнай, уæд дын   etc.

§129.   Preverbal forms in the past and future indicate an accomplished
action: сыстад Инал, æмæ адæм фæхъус сты 'Inal rose up and the people
became silent' (К 139); æз амардтон лæг ... бафхæрдта мæ, мæ цард мын
бассæста 'I killed a man ... he insulted me, crushed my life'(Бр. 145); де'-
фсургъыл дын идон афтаудзæн мæйы фырт, стæй йыл сызгъæрин саргъ
авæрдзæн хуры фырт 'the son of the moon will put a bridle on your wonder
horse, then the son of the sun will throw on a golden saddle' (К 70).

Sometimes the forms of the past are used instead of the future when
the inevitability of the coming action is to be emphasized: банцай, æндæра
дæ ранадтон (instead of   ранæмдзынæн)! 'stop talking — if not then I
will beat you up!' (lit. 'did beat up'); cf. Digor кыддæр имæ сцæуæн, отæ
нæ дуйнейæй рацох кодта 'as soon as we went up to him he took our life
(ДС 2).

§130.   The concept of perfectivity is by nature alien to the present
tense.   Therefore preverbal forms in the present do not give the meaning
of perfective aspect.   But at the same time that in Russian the preverbs,
joined with the forms of the present, convert them into future perfectives
(несу 'I am bringing' — принесу 'I will bring', читаю 'I read' — про-
читаю 'I will read', etc.), in Ossetic the preverbal forms of the present
have the meaning of <u>recurrence</u>, <u>duration</u>, <u>generality</u>: фæдзурынц æй ал-
-хатт ... 'they speak about that every time ...' (К 54); хур скæсы æмæ
аныгуылы 'the sun rises and sets'.   Such a meaning is sometimes not alien
even to preverbal present tense forms in Russian: прочтет, улыбнется, и
снова прочтет, и снова без отдыху пишет 'he'll read a bit, smile,
read a bit more, then write without rest' (А. К. Толстой, Шибанов); in
translation into Ossetic it will sound this way: бакæсы, бахуды, ногæй та
бакæсы, æмæ та æнæрынцойæ фыссы.

Use of Subjunctive Forms

§131.   The use of forms of the subjunctive does not have a complete
analogue in Russian, but is similar to the use of corresponding forms in Old
Iranian, Greek, and Latin.   The preverbs in the subjunctive, as in other in-
stances, give verbs the meaning of perfective aspect.

§132.   The subjunctive, in our conjugation pattern, unites two histori-
cally different forms: the old optative (калин, калдаин), and the old
conjunctive (калон).   This kind of unification simplifies the conjugation
pattern and is objectively justified, insofar as the modern language cannot
draw a clear line between the optative and conjunctive use of the correspond-
ing forms.

The falling together of meaning of the old optative and the subjunctive is
complete in the past tense.   The past tense forms of the old subjunctive
(калдтон, калдтай, калдта etc.) were used as the past indicative for
transitive verbs.   In this connection, the past tense of the old optative (ка-
лдтаин, калдтаис, калдтаид etc.) absorbed in itself the meaning of both
optative and subjunctive.   That the optative functions in the past not only as
optative but also as subjunctive is evident from examples where in phrases
and constructions with the same meaning, the form of the old subjunctive is
used in the present-future tense, while the optative form occurs in the past:
цы бакæнон? 'what am I to do?'; цы бакадтаин? 'what was I to do?';
хъуамæ ацæуон 'I have to go'; хъуамæ ацыдаин 'I had to go.'

In the present and future tenses the meanings of the optative and sub-
junctive are also often close and their forms are interchangeable. For in-
stance, to express vacillation, doubt, indecisiveness, meditation, both op-
tative and subjunctive can be used: йæ разæй фæуин, æмæ мæ разыбадæг
хондзæн, фæсте йæ сурин, æмæ мæ фæдисон хондзæн 'should I drop in the
front way — as if he didn't consider me to be sitting in ambush; or should I
overtake him from behind — as if he didn't consider me a pursuer' (HC 344).
Here the forms of the optative (фæуин, сурин) without substantial change
of meaning could be replaced by the forms of the subjunctive (фæуон, су-
рон): йæ разæй фæуон, æмæ мæ разыбадæг хондзæн. фæсте йæ сурон, æмæ
мæ фæдисон хондзæн. It is possible to say рахизмæ ацæуин æви галиумæ?
'should I go to the right or the left?'; бауæндис цымæ? 'will you dare?'
(Бр. 16).

§133.   However, in a number of cases the use of the optative and the
subjunctive is differentiated, as can be seen from the following examples.

We will consider two groups of cases: a) Subjunctive mood in the main
clause. b) Subjunctive mood in a subordinate clause. (See §136.)

In the first group, the following types can be identified:

1) The present-future tense of the subjunctive mood (the optative) ex-
presses desirability, possibility, intention, hesitation; where the forms
without preverbs indicate present or future tense, the preverbal forms —
only future: дунейы хæрзтæй хуыздæр мæм куы кæсид уарзондзинад!
'oh if only among all blessings of the world, love would seem the best to me!'
(К 16); искуы кæд ысуис мæ дарæг 'perhaps sometime you will become
my benefactor' (К 27); чи зоны хъуыддаг сырæзид æнæ хъаугъайæ 'it
might be that the matter will be arranged without a quarrel' (А 78); тæхуды

ныр уæ къæсæрæй куы базарин æз дæр! 'oh, if I could only sing from your threshold!' (К 110); мæ иу цæстæй куы бакæсин, мæ хуры хай, бæумæ! 'oh, if only I could glance with one eye at you, my little sun!' (К 110); зæгъин ын, æмæ куы смæсты уа 'I would tell him, but I hope he doesn't get angry'; искуы дæ фиййау куы разарид иу сау къæдзæхы сæрæй! 'oh, if your shepherd would only begin to sing from the top of the black cliff!' (К 36); сау фæныкæй уæ куы фенин фæлтау! 'I'd rather see you as black ashes' (К 39).

The present-future subjunctive (the optative) is used in interrogative phrases with a nuance of doubt: бауæндис æхсæвыгон хъæдмæ ацæуын? 'are you brave enough to go to the forest at night?'

The present-future subjunctive (the optative) in combination with куы is sometimes used instead of the past indicative for expressing a fast action:

уæйыг аппæрста къухдарæн зæхмæ; Уырызмæг дæр цингæнгæ къухдарæн зæххæй куы фелвасид æмæ йæ йе'нгуылдзыл куы бакæнид 'the giant threw the ring to the ground; Urizmag with joy suddenly seizes the ring from the ground, and then quickly puts it on his finger' (НС 50-51).

§134.   The future subjunctive (conjunctive) expresses <u>command</u>, <u>inducement</u>, <u>wish</u>, <u>purpose</u>:

фæлидзон, загъта '"Well here goes — I'm off running," he said' (К 50); чиныгмæ ма бавналай! 'mind you, do not touch the book!'; байрæзай! '(I wish) you'd grow up!'; уæ лæг саг амара, уæ ус тырын ныййара 'let your husband kill a deer, let your wife give birth to a boy!'; фæсмон фæкæна, мæрдты дзыназа, дæу чи ныййардта! 'let whoever gave birth to you be remorseful, let her sob in the kingdom of the dead!' (К 48); цæй æмæ ныццæуон 'let me take and go down.'

нарты ... дзаумæтæ рахæссон æмæ сæ бафхæрон 'I think I'll (let me) down, take away the clothes of the Narts, and insult them!' (ОЭ 26);

æз иучысыл ацуан кæнон 'I will do a little hunting' (ОЭп. 16);

ам уал бад, æз доны был мæ къухтæ ахсон 'sit here a little, I will wash my hands in the river'(ОЭп. 17);

ауадзут мæ, æз мæ хойы рацагурон 'let me go, I'm going to look for my sister.'

цон æз бæх аифтындзон 'I should go and harness the horse'(Бр. 37).

The future subjunctive (conjunctive) expresses indecision or question regarding the fulfillment of some action:

размæ цæуон æви фæстæмæ здæхон? 'should I go ahead or should I return?'

цы номæй дæм бадзурон? 'by what name should I call you?' (К 42);

кæй барвитон курæг? 'whom am I to send as matchmaker?' (К 61);

арт скæнон? 'start a fire?'

цы бакæна Будзи? Куыд сæргом кæна йæ уарзондзинад Сæлимæтæн? 'what should Budzi do? How is he to reveal his love to Salimat?'

The future subjunctive (conjunctive) expresses speculation about the pos-sibility or probability of some action (often with куы):

чи зоны искуы æрыфта дæ зæрдыл иунæджы сагъæс 'maybe sometime a thought about a lonely one will come to your heart' (К 23).

мæ галты мын арс куы ныттона, кæлды бын сæ æхсæвæрæн куы ныгæна '[I hope] a bear doesn't kill my bulls, [I hope] he doesn't bury them for dinner under windfallen branches!' (Ч 63);

сывæллон былæй куы ахауа, миййаг '[I hope] the boy does not fall off the edge.'

The second person of the subjunctive from the verb зæгъын 'to speak, to say' is used with the meaning of the conjunction 'whether, if' (Russ. ли):

цъыхыры зæгъай, мæкъуылтæ зæгъай, æнувыдæй мын æмпъухдзысты 'be it brush or be it shocks [of grain], all of them will steal from me dili-gently.' (Ч 62).

§135.   The past subjunctive (the optative), as we have noted (§132.), is used in all meanings which were proper to both the old optative and the old conjunctive. It can express desirability, possibility, and doubt:

куы нæ дæ федтаин бæргæ! 'if only I hadn't seen you!' (К 112);

раздæр дыл куы сæмбæлдаин! 'I wish I had seen you earlier!'

загътаис, нырма лæппу у 'did you say that he is still (a) young (man)';

хъæдын цæвæг цы слыг кодтаид? 'what could a wooden scythe cut a-part?' (ОЭ I 86)

сæхи хæдзарæй йын йæ сæр сæрдасæндзæф чи фæкодтаид, ахæм нал уыдис 'no one remained of the domestic servants who could touch his head with the razor' (ОЭ I 90)

Уырызмæг дæр йæ разы кæм бадтаид! 'did Urizmag really begin sit-ting before him!' (НС 50);

цы нæ федтаис æвæдза Уанелы базары, уæд æвзист дзаумайæ, уæд хæрдгæйæ, уæд хъæдабæйæ! 'what all couldn't you see at the Vanel bazar, whether it was silver ware, or golden embroidery, or velvet' (Ч 72);

æмбисæхсæвæй аивгъуыдтаид, афтæ хъæдырдыгæй фехъуысти фæдыл--фæдыл æртæ гæрахы 'it was very likely after midnight when from the di-rection of the forest three shots rang out, one after the other' (А 78);

дзывыр сæ миййаг нæ разылдаид — чысыл гæппæлтæ уыдысты 'the [wooden] plough could not be turned around there (so small were the plots of ground)' (Ч 95);

цы уыдаиккам мах æнæ Тотай? 'what would we be without Tota?' (МД 1956 VII 49);

уый йæхи низæй нæ амардаид 'possibly he did not die because of his illness.'

The past optative sometimes expresses multiple, repeated action in the past (which is usually expressed by the particle -иу):

Хъæу тарф фынæйæ хуыссыди ... Æрмæст хаттæй-хатт куы иуырдыгæй,

куы иннӕрдыгӕй куыдз срӕйдтаид, йӕ фӕдыл ӕндӕртӕ дӕр, фӕлӕ та уайтагъд банцадаиккой 'The village slept in a deep sleep. Only once in a while here or there a dog would begin to bark, and then others after it, but they immediately became silent.' (A 77);

цӕвиттон дӕ уыгӕрдӕн ӕркарстай ..., уӕд-иу баскъӕрдтаиккой галтӕ ӕмӕ раластаиккой де'вастӕй ӕвзаргӕ мӕкъуылтӕ 'suppose you mowed your meadow ..., then they drove out their bulls over and took away your select haycocks without your consent' (4.60);

уалынмӕ сывӕллӕтты хъазыны уынӕр уынгӕй йӕ хъустыл ауадаид; уӕд фӕгӕпп кодтаид, лидзӕг фӕцадаид уынгмӕ 'in that time from the street noise of children's games would be heard; then he would jump up and run out into the street' (A 11);

иуӕй-иу лӕппу, йӕ кафӕг къайӕн уӕлдай кад скӕныны тыххӕй, фелвӕстаид дамбаца ӕмӕ-иу ӕй чызджы къӕхты бын ныццавта 'another youth, in order to give particular honor to his dancing partner, jerked out his pistol and shot near the feet of the girl' (A 74).

The use of the optative to express recurrence in the past is more common in the Digor dialect, where, however, the forms of the present tense (and not the past) are used in this meaning:

ӕхститӕ кӕнун сӕ байдӕдта ӕма си ке фехсидӕ, е ба кӕсгон ху-мӕндӕргъцӕ фесхъеуидӕ 'he began to throw them out and the one whom he would throw would fly off the length of a Kabardian meadow' (ДС 9);

Батраз си ке куд ӕййафта, отӕ ин ӕ сӕр ракъуӕридӕ ӕма'й ӕ фӕ-цабӕрцӕ рацӕвидӕ 'Batraz, as soon as he overtook [them] one after another, would cut off his head and tie it to his saddle-horn straps' (ДС 11).

§136.   In subordinate clauses, the following very important instances of the use of the subjunctive are to be noted:

1) Conditional clauses:

In conditional subordinate clauses, the forms ending in -ин, -ис, -ид, etc. (the old optative), signify unreal, problematic, potential conditions, and are translated by Russian если бы; but the forms in -он, -ай, -а, etc. (the old conjunctive), signify a real condition and are translated by Russian если. In the former instance, the predicate of the main clause is put into the subjunctive; in the latter, into the indicative:

куы йӕ фенис, уӕд дис фӕкӕнис 'if you had seen him, you would have been surprised';

куы йӕ фенай, уӕд дис фӕкӕндзынӕ 'if you see him, you will be surprised';

куы мын загътаис, уӕд хорз уыдаид 'if you had told me, it would have been good';

куы сӕ фӕфиппайдтаиккой, уӕд бабын уыдаиккой: усӕн йӕ дзык-кутӕ ракодтаиккой, йӕ уӕрджытӕмбӕрзӕн ын йе 'фцӕгыл ӕрыфтыдтаик-кой ӕмӕ йӕ хӕрӕгыл зыгъуыммӕ бадтӕй хъӕуунгтыл ӕрзилын кодтаик-кой, стӕй та йӕ уырсы къӕдзилыл бабастаиккой; лӕппуйы та уадидӕ-гӕн фыдджыны кӕрдӕнтӕ скодтаиккой 'if they had been noticed, then they

would have perished; the tresses of the woman would have been cut off, her trousers would have been pulled up over her neck, and, seating her backwards on a donkey, they would have led her down the streets, and then would have tied her to the tail of a stallion; the youth would have been cut to pieces like sausage meat (Ч 80-81);

сӕ фос цы ран хизынц, уый мын куы бацамониккат, уӕд сӕ ӕрбӕтӕрин 'if you would show me where their herd pastures, I would drive them home' (ДС 19);

искъуы мын куы схъомыл уаис, уӕд ды дӕр дзы цух нӕ заис ...; скӕнис хъугдзарзармӕй ӕрчъитӕ, къахис митбынӕй мӕхъитӕ 'if you would grow up sometime, and would not fail (in the work), you would make shoes from cowhide, you would dig out birch-twig props from under the snow' (К 27);

уыцы фыдбылызы балцы куы нӕ ацыдаид, уӕд ныр дӕр ма дзӕбӕх цӕрид 'if he hadn't set out on that ill-fated trip, then he still would be living well';

фӕндаг куы зонин, уӕд цӕуин 'if I knew the road, I would go';

ныббар мын, кӕд-иу дӕм мӕ зарӕг кӕуӕгау фӕкӕса миййаг 'forgive me if my song seems like weeping to you' (К 11);

куы бамбӕхсай барӕй, уӕд усы кӕрдӕны мыггагмӕ фӕхӕт 'if you deliberately hide yourself, then you should wear a woman's veil forever' (К 42);

ӕз дын сӕ куы баныгӕнон ӕмӕ дын сыл хорз цырт куы самайон, уӕд мын цы ратдзынӕ? 'if I bury them for you and raise a good monument over them, then what will you give me?' (ОӔп. 17);

Гӕдийы ус куы уа, уӕд амонджын уыдзӕн 'if she becomes Gadi's wife, she will be happy' (С 105-106);

кӕд фервӕзон, уӕд куывд скӕндзынӕн 'if I am rescued, I shall arrange a feast'.

2) Purpose Clauses:

цӕмӕй йӕ мачи базыдтаид, уый тыххӕй йӕ зачъе адаста 'in order that nobody would recognize him, he cut off his beard';

адӕм уымӕн сыстадысты, цӕмӕй сӕрибардзинад райсой 'the nation revolted in order to obtain freedom';

Секъойы марыны фӕнд скодтой, цӕмӕй йӕ фос, йӕ мулк ӕмӕ йӕ ус уыдонӕн баззадаиккой, уый тыххӕй 'they decided to kill Seko so that his herd, his belongings, and his wife would be theirs' (С 92);

ӕфсӕдтӕ ӕгасӕйдӕр бӕхӕн йӕ хъазын куыд уыдтаиккой, афтӕ ӕрлӕууыдысты 'the whole army stood so that all of them could see the trick riding' (ДС 4);

хъӕды стыр арт скодтой, цӕмӕй сӕм бирӕгътӕ ма уӕндой 'they built a big campfire in the forest in order that the wolves would not dare (to come up) to them'.

3) Object Clauses:

бафӕдзӕхстон ын, цӕмӕй бӕхты хизынмӕ аскъӕртаид 'I told him that he should drive the horses out to pasture';

Саукуыдз ... йæ чызгæн лæгъстæ кодта, цæмæй Гæдийæн бакома 'Saukudz asked his daughter to agree to marry Gadi' (C 105);

тарстæн, куы мæ фæнадтаис, уыймæй 'I was afraid lest you would beat me up' (Ф 1957 III 59);

кæдæм цыдаиккам, уый нал зыдтам 'we did not know where to go';

цы агурай, уый ссардзынæ 'what you look for, that you will find';

мæ фосæй ауæй кæндзынæн æмæ æрхæсдзынæн, цас зæгъай, уыйас 'I will sell [some] of my herd and will bring (the money), as much as you say' (C 60).

афтæ бакæ, цæмæй уæхст дæр ма басудза æмæ физонæг дæр 'make it so that neither the skewer nor the mutton gets burned';

зæгъ ын, æмæ сихор бахæра 'tell him that he should dine';

тæрсын, куы басийат 'I am worried lest you freeze to death'.

The forms of the subjunctive are placed after фæндын 'to want', хъуа-амæ 'it is necessary', бон уын 'to be able, capable', бар уын 'to have the right', etc.

фæндыд мæ, куы нæм баззадаис 'I wanted you to remain with us';

фæнды мæ, куы нын фенис нæ цард 'I want you to look at our life';

фæнды мæ, фенай нын нæ цард   (or ... цæмæй нын нæ цæрд фенай) 'I want you to look at our life';

хъуамæ ацыдаин 'I ought to have gone';

хъуамæ ацæуон 'I ought to go';

мæ бон нæ уыд мæ хæс бафидын 'I was not able to pay off my debt';

бар дын ис мидæмæ бацæуай 'you have the right to go inside';

кæд фервæзин, зæгъгæ, ууыл архайдтон 'I tried to get rid of him'.

4) Temporal clauses with a nuance of <u>futurity</u> or <u>possibility</u>:

цалынмæ йæ ссарон, уæдмæ не 'рынцайдзынæн 'until I find him, I won't rest';

хур куы скæса, уæд араст уыдзыстæм 'when the sun rises, we shall leave';

афыцой хъæдуртæ, абадут æнцад '(while) the beans are being cooked, sit calmly' (К 44).

Адæм куы стыхсой цагъайраджы цардæй,
Адæм куы бамбарой се 'фхæрд, сæ марæг, —
Зон, уæд кæй сыстдзысты иу бон хъыгдардæй,
Зон, уæд кæй фехъуысдзæн иу бон сæ зарæг.
'When the people are exhausted from slavish life,
When the people understand their offences and who is their
    murderer —
Then, know you, they will rise from the oppressions,
Then, know you, their song will resound one day.' (Ц 29);

фæлладæй куы хуысса, уæд ын йæ бындзытæ сурдзынæн 'when, being tired, he will sleep, I will keep the flies off him.'

Use of Imperative Forms

§137.   Forms of the imperative mood exist for the second and third person. An inducement directed to the first person is expressed by forms of the conjunctive (future tense of the subjunctive):

цæй-ут, æфсымæртау, радтæм нæ къухтæ абон кæрæдзимæ, Иры лæппутæ 'Now then, as brothers let's shake hands with each other, young men of Ossetia' (К 34).   Compare §134. above.

§138.   Unprefixed forms of the imperative express inducement to prolonged or constant action:

цæттæ дæ хызын дар, тагъд де'скъоламæ уай! ... зондамонæгмæ хъус, цы зæгъа, уый-иу кæн, зæрдæхъæлдзæгæй кус 'keep your school bag ready, run quick to school! ... listen to the teacher, do what he says, work cheerfully' (К 118).

барын кæмæн хъæуы, уымæн барут 'who needs to be forgiven, forgive him' (Бр. 116); цæй хуыссæд 'let [him] sleep' (К 64);

фос уал ам мæ сæрмæ хизæд уæзæгыл 'let the herd for the time being pasture above me on the hillock' (К 79);

дæ хъæбултæ цæрæнт дæхи фæндиаг 'let your children live as you wish'; compare Digor: ласæнтæ нæ, кæд сæ гъæуæн 'let them bring us, if they need us' (Гурджибеков. Æдули).

§139.   The preverbal forms of the imperative express inducement to an action limited in time, conceived as completed:

фезмæл, уазджытæ æрбацæуынц 'hurry, guests are coming' (Бр. 23);
бадзурут Хетæгмæ! 'call Khetag!' (К 138);
Хуыснæгæй хуыцау бахизæд 'may God protect from a thief' (Бр. 154);
ма йæ амарæнт! '[I hope] they don't kill him!' (Бр. 23).

From the verb цæуын 'to go' it is possible to make a mixed form of the first and second person imperative цомут 'let's go', representing the contamination of цом [цæуæм] — first plural of the conjunctive, and of цæут — second plural of the imperative:

рухсмæ æнæзивæг цомут æнгомæй 'without being lazy towards the world, let's go amicably' (К 34).

Command can also be expressed by forms ending in -гæ: цæугæ! 'go!'; цæугæ-ут! 'go!' [plur.] (see §114.).

§140.   There is a special periphrastic form of the future imperative in Ossetic. It is formed by the addition of the particle иу to the common imperative forms. This particle in other instances expresses iterative action. Inasmuch as иу can express recurrence, even in the imperative, the risk of vagueness arises, as to just what the particle иу in each individual case does express — recurrence or future? However, this vagueness is commonly eliminated in context. So in the sentence аргæвд-иу хистæн

нæ хъуг 'slaughter our cow for the funeral feast' (К 380), there can be no question of recurrence, since there is only one cow; here аргæвд-иу is the future form of the imperative. In precisely the same way сбад-иу дæ бæхыл (К 70), as is clear from the context, does not mean 'sit on the horse frequently' but indicates a single action in the <u>future</u>. Let us compare the following two sentences:

хæдзармæ куы бацæуыс, уæд-иу фысымтæн арфæ ракæн '(every time) when you enter a house, greet the hosts';

хæдзармæ куы бацæуай, уæд-иу фысымтæн арфæ ракæн 'when you enter a house, greet the hosts'; in the first instance иу expresses recurrence (permanence), in the second — future tense.

The use of the future imperative is very common:

сбад-иу дæ бæхыл 'sit (then) on your horse' (К 70); бакæс-иу æгъдаумæ 'observe (then) the custom' (К 71); ацу-иу уырдыгæй 'set out (then) from there' (К 72).

Sometimes the imperative forms are used in subordinate conditional (by meaning) clauses instead of the conjunctive:

дæ хæдзармæ дын бассæндæнт, дæ хæдзарæй дын дæ чызг тыхæй раскъæфæнт, уымæн паддзахы закъон æппындæр ницы амоны? 'if they break into your house and forcibly carry away your daughter from your house, is it possible that the royal law indicates absolutely nothing (no penalty) for this?'. It would be possible to say: дæ хæдзармæ дын куы бассæндой [conjunctive] ... etc.

The Impersonal Form

§141.   The impersonal form consists of the past participle, often strengthened by the final vowel   -æ, and the auxiliary verb уын 'to be'

загъдæ у   'it is said'

Афтæ хъæлдзæгæй фæсивæды иу хъазты

Никуы ма фендæ-уыд Ирæй, Кæсæгæй

'Such gay young people at one dance have never been seen
        either in Ossetia or in Kabardia' (К 137).

... йæ къахыл нæ фендæ-уыд дзабыр сæракæй 'on his leg they did not see a puttee of Moroccan leather' (К 67);

нæ рæгъау нын фæтардæ-у! 'they are driving away our herd of horses!' (Kh. Kadag);

нæ дзаг мыдыкъусы ауагъд-и сусæгæй марг 'into our full cup of mead they secretly poured poison' (Ф 1957 III 32);

минæвæрттæ джихæй аззадысты, цыма сын сæ былтæ ныццавд-и, уыйау 'the messengers remained dumbfounded as though they had been struck on the lips' (МД 1949 II 34);

æнæрай дæ счындæ-уа, ацы фыдæбоны кард! 'that you should not be in storage, sharp swords!' (Ч 50)

'цы бачындæ-уа?' катæйттæ кæны йæхицæн зæронд Заза 'what to do? meditates to himself old Zaza' (Ч 75);

Cf. Digor: ци киндæ-уа, ке ибæл сардауон?   'what to do, whom to instigate against him?' (Гурджибеков. Æдули);

... уымæн хуыздæр уыдаид, фæлтау ын йе 'фцæгыл куы æрцауыгъдæ-
-уыдаид куыройы фыд æмæ йæ куы баппæрстæ-уыдаид денджызы арфы ...
'that one would be better off, if they hung a millstone on his neck and drowned him in the depth of the sea' (Ев.).

Compound Verbs

§142.   Compound verbs are composed of a nominal part and the auxiliary verb кæнын 'to do' (sometimes also ласын 'to draw') or уын 'to be'. They are extraordinarily common in the language. Most actions and conditions which are expressed in Russian by simple verbs are expressed in Ossetic by compound verbs:

лыг кæнын	'to cut' ('to make cut')
сыгъдæг кæнын	'to clean'
хæццæ кæнын	'to mix'
иу кæнын	'to unite'
ленк кæнын	'to swim'
хъæр кæнын	'to shout'
хъал кæнын	'to wake'
хъуыды кæнын	'to think'
рох кæнын	'to forget'
арфæ кæнын	'to thank'
хæлæг кæнын	'to envy'
цин кæнын	'to be glad'
мæсты кæнын	'to be angry'
хуым кæнын	'to plough'
æххуыс кæнын	'to help'
хъарм кæнын	'to warm'
дис кæнын	'to wonder, be astonished'
дзаг кæнын	'to fill'
хид кæнын	'to sweat'
ту кæнын	'to spit'
пъа кæнын	'to kiss'
хъыдзы кæнын	'to tickle', etc.

§143.   If these verbs are not provided with preverbs, then they are often neutral with respect to voice, i.e., they can have either transitive or intransitive meaning:

иу кæнын	'to unite, to be united'
рох кæнын	'to forget, to be forgotten'
мæсты кæнын	'to anger, to be angry'

But if they occur with preverbs and thus take on perfective meaning, voice differentiation ensues: constructions with кæнын take on transitive meaning, those with уын — intransitive.

баиу кодтон	'I united'	баиу дӕн	'I was united'
ферох кодтон	'I forgot'	ферох дӕн	'I am forgotten'
смӕсты кодтон	'I angered'	смӕсты дӕн	'I got angry'

As is evident from the examples cited, the preverb of compound verbs is added to the <u>nominal</u> part, not to the auxiliary verb. However, affixation of the preverb to the verbal part is also possible. This happens when the logical emphasis falls on the nominal part: instead of нӕ дӕ ферох кодтон 'I haven't forgotten you', it is possible to say рох дӕ нӕ фӕкодтон 'I haven't <u>forgotten</u> you', with the logical emphasis on рох.

§144.   The possibility of taking the preverbs "out of the brackets" and uniting it with the nominal part represents an important characteristic of compound verbs, differentiating them from the usual combinations of verb with object. Thus, from арт кӕнын 'to light a fire', it is possible to say сарт кодта 'he lit a fire', but from кӕрдзын кӕнын 'to prepare bread', one says кӕрдзын скодта not *скӕрдзын кодта, since арт кӕнын is a compound verb while кӕрдзын кӕнын is a free combination.

§145.   Another feature of the compound verbs is that with them the negatives нӕ and ма can stand before the nominal part, while in free combinations they must stand before the verb:

нӕ арт кӕны 'he does not start a fire'

ма дис кӕн 'don't be surprised';

but one does not say *нӕ кӕрдзын кӕны, *ма дуар кӕн; it is necessary to say: кӕрдзын нӕ кӕны 'she does not prepare bread', дуар ма кӕн 'don't open the door'.

§146.   The preverbal forms of compound verbs that are formed with the present tense of the auxiliary verb уын 'to be' have <u>past</u> tense meaning: ферох дӕн means 'I have been forgotten' and not 'I am being forgotten' (see §125. for the preverb forms of уын). We recall that the past forms of simple (non-compound) intransitive verbs are also historically <u>compounded</u> from past participles and the <u>present</u> tense of the verb уын 'to be.   Therefore а-хылд-ис 'he crawled away' (from the simple verb хилын 'to crawl') and а-хыл-ис 'he quarreled' (from the compound verb ахыл уын 'to quarrel') are completely identical in structure. In both cases the present tense of the auxiliary verb is joined to the nominal part (the participle хылд from хилын 'to crawl' or хыл 'quarrel'), thus resulting in a past tense.

§147.   Participial forms can serve as substantival parts of compound verbs: фӕ-хӕст уын 'to catch' from хӕцын 'to hold'; фӕ-мард уын 'to be killed'; фӕ-мард кӕнын 'to kill' from марын 'to kill';

фӕ-лидзӕг уын 'to start to escape' from лидзын 'to run away', etc.;

фӕхӕст дӕн хӕйрӕгыл 'I grabbed the devil' (К 98); мард фӕци уыцы бон Мулдарты Къӕбутдзӕф 'on that day Kabutdzaf Muldarov was killed' (Ӕфхӕрдты Хӕсанӕ); гӕххӕттытӕ лагъзы атъыстон ӕмӕ лидзӕг фӕдӕн мӕ кабинетӕй 'I poked the papers into the drawer and rushed out of my study' (A 115). Цӕугӕ, цалынмӕ дын бӕрз уисӕй хӕрӕджы над не 'скодтон, уалынмӕ 'away with you, before I beat you like a donkey, with a birch rod'(Бр. 148); here 'to beat like a donkey' is expressed by the compound verb хӕрӕджы над кӕнын,   where над is the past participle of нӕмын; фидӕртты дуӕрттӕ ныккодта ӕнгом ӕхгӕд 'he closed tightly the gates of the fortress'. (ЮОПӕм. I 106).

Cf. below §150.3 for compound verbs with forms in -гӕ (лидзгӕ кӕнын etc.)

§148.   Sometimes the following verbs also perform the role of auxiliaries: дарын 'to hold', кӕсын 'to look', марын 'to kill'. In such expressions as хъыг дарын 'to mix, disturb', ӕнхъӕлмӕ кӕсын 'to wait', мӕстӕй марын 'to tease', the verbs дарын, кӕсын and марын lose their lexical meaning and should be regarded as auxiliaries.

The nominal part of the compound verb can be inflected for case and number: Парса фӕ-сонтау 'Parsa has sort of lost his head' (сонтау is the equative case from сонт 'half-witted, crazy'); ныддистӕ кодта 'he was very surprised' (дистӕ: plural of дис 'surprise').

§149.   Compound verbs are often formed from the combination of ono-matopoetic-expressive words with кӕнын or ласын. There are many such words in Ossetic.   Thus, the concept of thrust, blow, stroke, with various shades of meaning, is rendered by the words: тъӕпп, тъупп, гуыпп, къупп, дзӕхст, хафт, къӕрцц, къуырцц, цъыкк, фӕртт, цӕлхъ, (cf. Russian бух, трах, бац, шмыг etc. 'bang, crash, splat, zip'); hence, тъӕпп кӕнын, гуыпп кӕнын, etc.

We present an alphabetical list of words of this group:

ӕхситт	'whistle'
бӕгъ-бӕгъ	'bleat, chatter'
бӕз-бӕз	'hum, buzz'
бӕр-бӕр	'chatter'
бухъхъ	'belch, burp'
гӕбӕц-гӕбӕц	'little steps'
гӕв-гӕв	'strong trembling'
гӕпп	'jump'
гӕрах	'shot'
гӕр-гӕр	'movement or fall of large number of objects'
гӕртт-гӕртт	'strong trembling'
гуыв-гуыв	'buzz, humming'
гуыз-гуыз	'buzz'

гуым-гуым	'drone'
гуыпп	'blow'
гуыпп-гуыпп	'knock'
гуыр-гуыр	'thunder, rumble'
дӕнг	'shot'
дыбал-дыбул	'muttering, inarticulate babble'
дыввытт	'casting out'
дыв-дыв	'drone'
дыгъгъуытт	'casting out'
дыгъуыл-дугъуыл	'mumble'
дыз-дыз	'shiver running up and down the body'
джис-къус	'vacillation, wavering'
джыртт-джыртт	'heavy trot'
дзӕгъ-дзӕгъ	'rattle'
дзӕнгӕл	'cutting apart'
дзӕхст	'blow, slap in the face'
дзедзрой	'rocking, swinging'
дзой-дзой	'reeling, staggering'
дзолгъо-молгъо	'turmoil, bustle'
дзортт-дзортт	'shattering'
дзыгъал-мыгъул	'clang, jingle'
зӕу-зӕу: зӕу-зӕу кӕны	'rocks while suspended' (of something heavy)
зыввытт	'discarding, throwing out'
зыв-зыв	'rapid motion'
зыпп-зыпп	'noise from stepping on granular substances'
зыр-зыр	'trembling'
зыррытт	'noise of rotation' (of a spindle or millstone)
кӕл-кӕл	'laughter (ho-ho)'
къӕпп	'yelp'
къӕпп-къӕпп	'hit, snatch'; yelping, jabbering'
къӕр-къӕр	'crash, crack'
къӕрцц	'blow, thrust, stroke'
къӕс-къӕс	'gritting of teeth'
къӕу-къӕу	'chatter, jabber'
къох-къох	'grunt'
къупп	'blow, stroke'
къуыззитт	'whistle'
къуыр-къуыр	'cooing'
къуыртт-къуыртт	'knock, rap'
къуырцц	'blow, stroke'
къуыс-къуыс	'howling of the wind'

къыбар-къыбур	'noise from cracking nuts or dried crusts'
лӕнк-лӕнк	'loud breathing, panting'
лӕпп-лӕпп	'splashing noise of a full wine-skin'
лӕф-лӕф	'panting, loud breathing'
мехъхъ	'bleating of a goat'
мыр-мыр	'neighing'
пӕллахъхъ	'noise of falling into water'
пӕлхъ-пӕлхъ	'violent boiling'
пӕр-пӕр	'fluttering, waving of a flag', etc.
пӕррӕст	'fluttering of a bird'
пӕртт-пӕртт	'whimpering'
пӕх-пӕх	'noise of a strong flow of liquid'
пыррыкк	'burst of laughter'
пыф-пыф	'puff'
пъӕгъгъӕст	'splash, splatter'
пъӕр-пъӕр	'the rip of cloth tearing'
пъӕртт	'tearing'
сӕпп-сӕпп	'trot, tread'
сӕррӕтт	'big jump'
сӕр-сӕр	'hissing, sizzling'
сӕртт-сӕртт	'tread, noisy footstep'
сӕх-сӕх	'noise of pouring rain, or of a large stream'
сӕххӕтт	'fast outpour, splashing'
селф	'rapid motion, slipping'
сусу-бусу	'whisper, gossip'
сыбар-сыбур	'whisper, rustle'
сыллынк-сыллынк	'light jog, trot'
сым-сым	'puffing'
сыр-сыр	'weak rustle, weak murmur'
сыф-сыф	'rustle during rapid motion'
сыффытт	'rapid motion'
тай-тай	'uproar, outcry'
тӕпп	'outburst'
тӕррӕст	'swift jump'
те-те	'dragging along the ground'
ту	'spit'
тыбар-тыбур	'glitter, flash of light'
тъӕбӕртт	'fast gallop'
тъӕлланг	'ring, ringing voice'
тъӕнг	'strong sound, shot'
тъӕпп	'blow, slam, noise of falling'

тъупп   'blow, stroke'
фæртт   'blow, stroke'
футт   'snorting'
хафт   'blow, stroke'
хæкъуыцц   'hiccough'
хæлæ-мылы, хылы-мылы   'confusion'
хæл-хæл   'noise of water; laughter'
хæнц-хæнц   'bite'
хæпп   'yelp'
фæ-хæпп æм кодта   'he yelped at him'
хæр-хæр   'dragging along the ground'
хиртт   'blowing one's nose'
хуыпп   'a sip of liquid'
а-хуыпп кæнын   'to gulp down, drink up'
хуыррытт   'snort of a horse'
хуыр-хуыр   'snore'
хыбар-хыбур   'rustling, scraping'
хыбыртт-хыбыртт   'scraping'
хым-хым   'puffing'
хырттын-быртттын   'strumming on a musical
                                            instrument'

хыртт-хыртт   'scratching'
хыр-хыр   'wheeze'
цæллахъхъ   'splash, noise of waves'
цæлхъ   'blow, spanking'
цæх-цæх   'sizzling (e.g., of mutton
                                            roasting'

цух-мух   'staggering'
цух-мухтæгæнгæ цæуын   'to walk with a stagger'
цъах-цъах   'croak'
цъæгъгъæст   'sprinkling'
цъæм-цъæм   'noisy chewing, chomping'
цъиу-цъиу   'chattering'
цъортт   'rapid snatching'
фæ-цъортт ласын   'to snatch quickly'
цъыбар-цъыбур   'splashing in water'
цъыгъгъуытт   'sliding, slipping'
цъыкк   'blow, stroke'
цъыллынг   'splash, fast motion in water'
цъыртт   'sprinkling of a thin jet of water'
цъыр-цъыр   'chirping'
цъыс-цъыс   'hissing'
чепп-чепп   'hobble, limp'
чыллиу-чыллиу   'hobble, limp'

чыр-чыр	'laughter'
чъепп	'fast cutting'
чъыллипп	'kicking'

As is evident from the list given above, there are two types of onoma-topoetic words: one can be used without reduplication, while for others it is obligatory. The first group expresses momentaneous action, motion, or noise: дæнг 'shot', сыффытт 'slip', гæпп 'jump', къæпп 'hit!', etc. The second group expresses repeated or prolonged action, motion, or noise: бæр-бæр 'chatter', сæпп-сæпп 'stepping', къуыртт-къуыртт 'knocking', etc. Words of the first group can also be used with reduplica-tion, if it is necessary to show the repetition of the action; thus, if гæпп кæнын signifies 'to jump', then гæпп-гæпп кæнын 'to hop around'.

These words render:

.1 Various sounds emitted by living beings and inanimate nature.

.2 Various kinds of motion.

.3 Some phenomena of light (glitter, flash).

The translations given by us have approximate meanings. The nature of these words is such that the entirety of their possible meanings and shades of meaning are disclosed only in specific instances of their use.

They have a common feature in that they can be inflected for case, and the unreduplicated ones, also for number; and all of them, when combined with кæнын (or with ласын), result in compound verbs with correspond-ing meaning: 'to knock', 'to ring', 'to snore', 'to whistle', etc.

We give some examples of the use of compound verbs of this type:

дон раивылд, дуртæ æууæрды, гыбар-гыбур кæны 'the river has overflowed, is rolling stones, roaring' (Ф 1957 III 30);

цы дыгъуыл-дыгъуыл кодтой, уымæн чи цы зыдта 'what they were mumbling, nobody knew' (Ч 171);

бæх ай-уый нал, фæлæ дын дзæхст зæвæтæй арсы æфсæртæн 'the horse, without thinking very long, will give the bear a hoof in the jaw' (Аргъ. 85);

æхсидгæ цæхæртæ къæрццытæ кæнынц 'the burning coals crackle' (МД 1956 VII 53);

ныкъкъæрцц ластой сæ хъал бæхты 'they whipped their haughty horses' (X. Кадæг 50);

йæ лулæйæ иу пъæртт скæны 'from the (smoking) pipe he will draw in once' (ibid.);

Мерет у æвзонг чызг ... тæнджын лæгау лæф-лæф нæ кодтаид, фæлæ кодтаид лæнк-лæнк 'Meret is a young girl and she would not, like a corpulent man, start going "лæф-лæф" [to breath heavily], but would go "лæнк-лæнк"' (Ф 1957 III 96);

иу бæласæй уæд иннæмæ кæнынц цъиутæ пæррæстытæ 'the little birds are fluttering from tree to tree' (X. Кадæг 55);

цъиутæ банцайынц сæ зарын æмæ сæ пæррæстытæй 'the birds stopped singing and fluttering' (МД 1956 VII 56);

бӕрзонд бьгруйы сӕрты расӕррӕтт кӕнынц 'they jump over the high fence' (Ч 97);

лӕппутӕ фӕйнӕрдӕм асӕррӕттытӕ кодтой 'the boys jumped away in different directions' (Ф 1957 III 31);

урс фынк калгӕ, сӕх-сӕхгӕнгӕ коммӕ хауынц ӕхсӕрдзӕнтӕ 'splashing white foam, making the noise сӕх-сӕх the cataracts are rushing down into the gorge' (X. Кадӕг 58);

хъарм ӕхсыр асыллынг-сыллынг кодта 'he lapped up the warm milk' (Ф 1956 V 9);

стай-тай та кодтой йӕ уазджытӕ 'his guests began to make noise again' (K 139);

Тотыратӕ ... фынгтӕй фӕтӕррӕттытӕ кодтой ӕмӕ сӕ кӕрдты сӕртӕм фӕлӕбурдтой 'The Totrovs ... jumped up from behind the tables and grabbed the handles of their swords' (Ч 63);

фӕтӕррӕст кодта Беци йӕ хуыссӕнӕй 'Betsi jumped out of bed' (Ч 85);

саппы сӕрты тӕррӕстгӕнгӕ уыцы зыввытт куы фӕласта 'across the hummock with a swift jump it (the horse) sailed' (X. Кадӕг 74);

уыцы иу тъӕбӕртт фӕкодтой ӕмуырдыг 'they took off at full gallop downhill' (Ч 106);

сӕ бӕхтӕ хуыррытт кӕнынц 'their horses are snorting' (Ф 1957 III 31);

мӕргътӕ цъыввыттытӕ кодтой хуры тынты, цъыбар-цъыбургӕнгӕ 'the birds fluttered around in the rays of the sun, chirping' (Ф 1956 V 9);

фосӕн ... хъуысы сӕ мондаг цъӕм-цъӕм 'one can hear the greedy munching of the herd' (ibid.);

мӕргътӕ райхъал сты ӕмӕ сӕ алфамбылай зард ӕмӕ цъыбар-цъыбурӕй байдзаг 'the birds woke up and everything around was filled with singing and chirping' (A 78).[9]

§150.   Besides the types of compound verbs described above (substantive plus auxiliary verb), Ossetic also permits the formation, from simple verbs, of periphrastic forms with кӕнын.   There are several methods of producing such formations:

.1 The plural of the past participle plus кӕнын expresses repetitive action:

цудын 'to sway', цудтытӕ кӕнын 'to stagger around'; кӕсын 'to look', кӕстытӕ кӕнын 'to take several looks'; фӕрсын 'to ask', фӕрстытӕ кӕнын 'to make inquiries'.

.2 Repetition of the present verb stem plus кӕнын, where the verb stem is prefixed either both times with the same prefix, or else the first time with the prefix ра-, and the second time with the prefix ба-; these formations also express repeated actions, and moreover, combinations with the prefixes ра-, ба- indicate the bilaterality of an action:

акӕс-акӕс кӕнын	'to look out'	(from кӕсын)
ӕркув-ӕркув кӕнын	'to lower the head repeat-	
	edly, to nod'	(from кувын)

схæц-схæц кæнын	'to try to raise'	(from хæцын)
фæлæу-фæлæу кæнын	'to stop every minute'	(from лæууын), etc.
рацу-бацу кæнын	'to go hither and yon'	(from цæуын)
рауай-бауай кæнын	'to run back and forth, here and there'	(from уайын)
ракæс-бакæс кæнын	'to look in [various] directions'	(from кæсын)
ратул-батул кæнын	'to topple over, fall from one side on- to the other'	(from тулын)
рахæсс-бахæсс кæнын	'to carry around here and there'	(from хæссын)
радзур-бадзур кæнын	'to chatter for a long time'	(from дзурын), etc.

Тугъаны зæрдæ ... йæхи атон-атон кодта сæрибары быдырмæ 'the heart of Tugan was longing for the wide spaces of freedom' (C 95);

сауджын ... боннымайæн фæрдгуытæ раууил-баууил кодта 'the priest counted over the beads of the rosary' (C 88);

раныхас-баныхас, радзур-бадзур фæкодтой 'they spoke, they judged, they bargained' (Ч 131);

æрвылбон (йæ бæхы) ... сфæлтæрыны раскъæр-баскъæр кодта 'each day he drove his horse here and there for training' (Ч 148).

We had occasion above to discuss formations of this type in connection with the category of verbal aspect.

.3 A periphrastic form can be built for any verb from the -гæ ger- und plus кæнын:

from цæуын	'to go'	—	цæугæ кæнын
from фыссын	'to write'	—	фысгæ кæнын
from хуыссын	'to sleep'	—	хуысгæ кæнын

In meaning, these compound formations do not differ from the simple verbs: цæугæ кæнын means 'to go', as does the simple цæуын. As far as can be judged, a compound form of the type цæугæ кæнын is preferred to the simple form in a situation where it is desirable to emphasize the giv- en action, to put logical emphasis on it:

ма мæ хъыгдар, фысгæ кæнын 'do not bother me, I am writing (I am occupied with writing)'

хъазгæ нæ кæнын 'I am not joking', хъазгæ кодтон 'I did joke'

кæсгæ дæр æм нал фæкодта 'he did not look at him again'

лæугæ ма кæн, бадгæ скæн! 'do not stand, sit down!'

уалдзæджы куыстытæ фæуд уыдысты, фæззæджы куыстытæн та лæугæ нæма ныккодта сæ афон 'the spring works were finished, and for the fall ones the time is not here yet' (Ч 48);

кæд бадгæ кæныс, уæд сыст, кæд лæугæ кæныс, уæд та бадгæ мауал скæ æмæ тагъд рацу 'if you are sitting ("are in a sitting position"), then get up; if you are standing, then do not sit down again, but go quickly' (ОЭ I 20);

Уырызмӕг ... хъыг кӕнын байдыдта ӕмӕ хӕргӕ дӕр нал кодта ӕмӕ
дзургӕ дӕр 'Urizmag began to mourn and stopped eating and speaking'
(ОТ 75); их мыл уары ӕви мемӕ хӕцгӕ исчи кӕны? 'is it hailing on me
or is somebody fighting with me?' (ОЭ I 24); тӕрсгӕ ма кӕн — бӕзгӕ
дӕр кӕндзынӕн ӕмӕ дӕ уарзгӕ дӕр кӕндзынӕн 'do not be afraid — I
will be useful (for you) and I will love you' (ОТ 96-7);

фӕнды мӕ ӕргӕвдгӕ акӕн 'kill me if you want' (ОЭ I 58); тӕрсгӕ
миййаг ма фӕкӕнут, кӕнгӕ уын ницы кӕндзынӕн 'mind you, don't be
afraid — I will do nothing to you' (ОЭ I 60); чи байуара, уыдон гуыргӕ
ӕмӕ мӕлгӕ кӕнӕнт 'whoever will share, let those be born and die' (ОЭ I
90).

Sometimes in these phrases the auxiliary verb is omitted (so-called
ellipsis):

ӕлдар сидгӕ ӕмӕ нуазгӕ, мӕгуыр лӕг дӕр афтӕ (instead of ...
сидгӕ ӕмӕ нуазгӕ кодта) 'the aldar [prince, lord] gave toasts and
drank, so (did) the poor man' (С 117); разӕй кӕрдгӕ, фӕстейӕ ссивгӕ
ӕмӕ фондзыссӕдз мӕкъуылы ацамадта 'he moved forward, in back he
raked up (the hay), and quickly put together a hundred haycocks' (С 118);
иу бон кусы, фондз боны сӕйгӕ 'one day he works, five days he ails'
(Ф 1957 III 58).

Preverbs (Verbal Prefixes)

§151.   The following preverbs (verbal prefixes) are used in Ossetic:

а-	ӕрба-	цӕ-	(rare)
ба-	ра-	(ы)с-	
ӕр-	нын-	фӕ-	

§152.   One of their functions is already known to us: they give to verbs
the meaning of perfective aspect with various additional aspectual nuances
(cf. §105., 'Aspects'). In addition to this, they bear still another function.
With dynamic verbs, i.e., those meaning motion or direction, the preverbs
specify the direction of the action.   This locational meaning does not com-
pletely coincide with the semantics of Russian preverbs.   Whereas the lat-
ter indicate the direction of motion abstractly in space, the Ossetic ones
point out, in addition, the position of the observer in relation to the mov-
ing object.   Whereas the Russian prefix вы- signifies motion from inside
to outside, independently of the position of the observer, of its two Ossetic
equivalents a- and pa-, the former signifies an outward motion from
the viewpoint of one who is inside, the latter, from the point of view of one
who is on the outside.

Similarly, the movement from outside to inside that is rendered by a
single Russian prefix в- (во-), has in Ossetic two prefixes for its

expression: 1) ба- inward motion from the point of view of one who is out-
side; 2) æрба- inward motion from the point of view of one who is inside.

Finally, motion from top to bottom is designated by the prefix æр-,
if the observer is below, or ны-, if the observer is above.

а-цыд	'he went out'	observer is inside
ра-цыд		observer is outside
ба-цыд	'he entered'	observer is outside
æрба-цыд		*observer is inside*
æр-цыд	'he descended, arrived'	observer is below
ны-ццыд	(from above)	observer is above

.1 With verbs of motion the preverb фæ- expresses motion away
from the speaker in any direction.

фæ-лыгъди 'he ran away,' фæ-хаста 'he took away (far)'
адæм æрæмбырд сты, ... хист бахордтой æмæ сæ хæдзæрттæм фæцы-
дысты 'the people gathered, they ate at the funeral feast, and then left for
their homes' (C 77).

§153. The aspectual nuances that are added to verbs by the preverbs,
are quite varied (suddenness, instantaneousness, duration, recurrence)
and depend not only on the preverbs themselves, but also on the semantics
of the verbs to which they are joined, as well as on the context.

We can make some general observations:

.1 the preverb фæ- stands apart by its semantics from the other
preverbs (cf. below).

.2 the aspectual meanings, added to verbs by preverbs in the
present tense, are different from the meanings in the past and future tenses.
In the latter two tenses, the preverbs (except фæ-) add the meaning of the
momentaneous perfective aspect:

ба-кастæн 'I have read over'; ны-ффыстон 'I have written up'; ба-
кæсдзынæн 'I will read'; ны-ффысдзынæн 'I will write up'

In the present tense, these preverbs convey the meaning of recurrence
to the verb. Compare the analogous use of prefixed forms in Russian: про-
чтет, улыбнется, и снова прочтет, и снова без отдыха пишет,
'he'll read a bit, smile, read some more, and then he writes without rest;'
translated into Ossetic: ба-кæсы, ба-худы, ногæй та ба-кæсы æмæ та
æнæрыцойæ фыссы (cf. §130.).

.3 In the semantics of the various preverbs the following features
are to be noted:

The preverb a- often shows a rapid, brief, and superficial action:

а-лæууыд	'I stood for a little while'
а-хордта	'I ate a little'
а-куыста	'I worked a bit'
а-куыдта	'I wept a bit,' etc.

разæй кæрдгæ, фæсте ссивгæ æмæ фондзыссæдз мæкъуылы ацамадта 'ahead he mowed, behind he raked up (the hay), and quickly put together a hundred haycocks' (C 118).

The preverb ба- expresses a more substantial action:

ба-хордта   'he ate up'
ба-ныэта   'he drank up'
ба-хуыдта   'he sewed together, sewed up'
ба-сыгъта   'he burned down, burned up'
ба-рывта   'he weeded out', but compare ба-худти   'he grinned', ба-зарыд 'he started singing in a low voice'.

The preverb ны- is used for the expression of special tenseness or intensity of action:

ны-ззарыд   'he started singing (at the top of his voice)'
ны-ххудти   'he laughed out loud'
ны-ккуыдта   'he sobbed'
ны-ррызти   'he trembled (violently)'
ны-ббаста   'he tied up (firmly)'
мит ныууарыди   '(much) snow fell' (Ч 76).

The preverb æрба- often renders the meaning of suddenness and rapidity:

æрба-й-сæфти   'he disappeared suddenly'
æрба-марди   'he passed away suddenly'
æрба-цъæл ис   'he crashed suddenly'

æз дын мæ уасæг æрбаргæвддзынæн 'I will (promptly) kill my rooster for you' (Бр. 73);

дæуæн та фырыхъулы хуызæн лæппу æрбайгуырдзæн 'to you a son will (soon) be born similar to a mutton bone' (A 36).

.4 The preverb фæ- in the present tense expresses customariness of an action ('permansive'), which does not completely coincide with the repetition expressed in the present tense by other preverbs:

бирæ цудæртæ мæгуыры фæ-фæнды 'a poor man (usually) wants plenty' (К 16);

афтæ фæ-зæгъы йæхицæн 'thus he (usually) speaks to himself' (К 16); фæ-кæсын а-бе-тæ 'I (usually) read the alphabet' (К 115);

æз дæ зарынмæ куы хъусын, уæд хъæлдзæгдæрæй фæ-кусын 'when I listen to your song, I work more merrily' (К 17).

In the past and future tenses, the preverb фæ- can render, on the one hand, a rapid and brief action, and, on the other hand, one that is prolonged and repeated. Only the context shows which of these two meanings is found in a given instance.

Thus the form фæ-хæцыд can mean either 'he bit, snatched', or 'he fought (for a long time)'; фæ-калди either 'he stumbled' or 'it was pouring, falling (for a long time)'; фæ-рысти 'it was painful' or 'it was sore (for

a long time)'; фæ-зылди 'he turned around (quickly)' or 'he was revolving (for a long time)'; кæй фæ-мардта, уыдонæй алкæй тыххæй дæр хъуамæ фæфыдæбон кæна бæрæг афон 'for each of those whom he had been killing, he had to suffer for a certain time' (СОПам. III 129).

By virtue of the indicated characteristics of Ossetic preverbs, expressing as they do quite specific spatial and other relations, one and the same Russian verb — such as взглянуть 'to glance' — has not one but several Ossetic counterparts with preverbs: акæсын, бакæсын, æрбакæсын, æркæсын, ныккæсын, фæкæсын, æскæсын, ракæсын.

§154. Sometimes preverbs can essentially change the lexical meaning of a verb. Thus the verb уын (уæвын) 'to be' with preverbs can mean 'to begin, to become, to disappear, to finish, to be finished, to die (with фæ-), to undertake', etc.: фиййау дæр сдæнъ 'I also became a shepherd' (К 56).

цы фæдæ, Хуындæджер? 'where did you disappear, Khundadjer?' (Æфх. Хæс);

рувас йæ ныхас нæма фæци 'the fox has not finished his speech yet' (К 100);

дæхи нæма цæхсыс, афтæ аргъæуттæ дзурыныл фæвæййыс 'you still haven't washed yourself, and you undertake to tell tales' (СОПам. III 123);

лæппу лидзынтыл фæци 'the youth set out running.'

The verbs хæцын 'to hold', исын 'to take', амайын 'to build' (more often with the preverb с-, (ы)с-) also can take on the meaning of 'to undertake something':

æз æй сабыр кодтон, уый ноджы лæбурынтыл схæцыд 'I tried to quiet him down but he kept throwing himself (into the fight)';

райста арвы айдæн æмæ кæсынтæ систа фæйнæрдæм 'she took the heavenly mirror and set to looking in all directions' (СОПам. III 63);

Digor: самайунцæ тумбул фингæбæл къæрцц æнгулдзæхтæ 'they begin toe-dancing boisterously on the round table' (ОЭп. 62).

The verb хæцын with the preverb (ы)с- can also mean 'to catch fire, burn':

артæй стъæлфæн фесхъиудта, хосы мæкъуылыл сæмбæлд, æмæ мæкъуыл схæцыд 'from the bonfire a spark jumped out, fell on a hay-shock, and the shock caught fire'.

The verb лæууын 'to stand' in combination with the preverbs ба- and ра- can take on the meaning 'to beat up, assault':

ехсæй йыл ралæууыд '[he] began to beat him with the lash'.

The verbs здæхын 'to turn' and æвдæлын 'to be unoccupied, unemployed' with the preverb ба- are used in phrases with the meaning of 'to take and do something':

лæппу баздæхти (бавдæлди) æмæ æхсæвыгон чызджы аскъæфта 'the young man took and abducted the girl at night'.

The preverb can be repeated twice, before and after the verb:

цæгъбынтæ сæ байдыдтон-ба 'I began to destroy them' (СОПам. III 123).

Negation

§155. The negative particles with a verb appear in two shapes: нӕ and ма. With the indicative, only нӕ is used. With the subjunctive, sometimes нӕ occurs, sometimes ма; with the imperative, only ма. When joined to pro- nouns, adverbs, and particles, the negatives нӕ and ма result in:

ницы, мацы	'nothing'
ничи, мачи	'nobody'
нал, мауал	'no more'
ницыуал, мацыуал	'nothing more'
ничиуал, мачиуал	'no one else'
никуы, макуы	'nowhere, never'
никуыуал, макуыуал	'nowhere else, never more'
нӕма, мама	'not until'

Examples for the indicative mood:

нӕ зонын мӕ мады рӕвдыд 'I don't know a mother's caress' (К 31);

зӕрдӕ нал агуры хъазын 'the heart does not want to play anymore' (К 92).

Examples for the subjunctive mood:

цӕмӕй мӕ нӕ фехъуса ... or цӕмӕй мӕ ма фехъуса ... '[I hope] he doesn't hear me ...'

куыдзмӕ ма бавнӕлдтаис ӕмӕ дыл нӕ фӕхӕцыдаид 'if you had not touched the dog, it would not have bitten you' (but it is also possible to say: куыдзмӕ куы нӕ бавнӕлдтаис ... 'if you hadn't touched the dog ...')

хъуамӕ фӕсте ма баззайон 'I ought not to remain behind'.

Examples for the imperative mood:

ма тӕрс!   'do not be afraid'

мачи мыл фӕхудӕд!   'let nobody laugh at me'

афтӕ-иу макуал бакӕн! 'do not act like that again!'

Indeclinable Words

Coordinating Conjunctions

§156. **Copulatives:** ӕмӕ (placed before the word to which it refers) 'and'; also acts as a subordinating conjunction (see below);

дӕр (placed after the word to which it refers) 'also'

... дӕр ... дӕр   'both ... and ...'

нӕдӕр ... нӕдӕр ...   'neither ... nor ...'

§157. **Disjunctives:** кӕнӕ 'or'; кӕнӕ ... кӕнӕ ... 'either ... or ...'

йе 'or'; йе ... йе ... 'either ... or ...'

With the meaning of 'either ... or ...', фӕнды ... фӕнды ... is also used (lit. 'you want ... you want ...')

æви 'or' (in question phrases).

§158. Adversatives: фæлæ 'but'
та (not placed first in a sentence) 'but'.

§159. Other conjunctions: уæдæ 'thus, in that case'; цымæ, a con-
junction which begins interrogative sentences, has no exact equivalent in Rus-
sian.

цыма	'as if, as though'
æвæдза	'but look'
æндæра	'if not, otherwise'
кæннод	'if not, otherwise'
кæддæра	translated approximately as 'well, come on, let's see'.

§160. Subordinating Conjunctions: Attributive and complementary con-
junctions:
    кæй ... уый ... 'what ... that'; цы ... уыцы, кæцы ... уыцы 'who
... that [one]', уый ... æмæ 'the one ... which', etc.
    Conditional: кæд ... уæд ... 'if ... then',
куы ... уæд 'if (it would) ... then'.
    Concessive: кæд ... уæддæр ... 'although ... yet',
куы ... уæддæр 'although ... yet'.
    Causal: уымæн ... æмæ 'since ... that'
уый тыххæй ... æмæ 'because ... that'.
    Purpose: цæмæй   'in order to'
             куыд   'in order to, in order that'
             æмæ   'in order to' (скъоламæ цу, æмæ кæсын
                           базонай 'go to school in order to
                           learn to read').
    Temporal: куы   'when'
              куы ... уæд 'when ... then'
              куыддæр   'as soon as'
              куыддæр ... афтæ 'as soon as ... then'.

§161. Particles:
о, гъо, ай ай   'yes'
омæ   'well, then ...'
ома   'he, she, they say'
нæ, нæй   'no'
цæй   'well!', цæй-ма   'well, come now'
ма   'come on [coaxing], for the time being';
                                          зæгъ-ма мын 'just tell me; come
                                          on, tell me'
та 'again'; чи та нæ хъыгдары? 'who is disturbing us again?' (К 65)

дӕр 'also, even, and'; хъуыды дӕр нӕ кӕны 'does not even think' ('doesn't give a darn'); also used as a conjunction (cf. above).

уал 'meanwhile, until'; ды та уал уым уас 'you should sing there meanwhile';

иу a particle expressing the repetition of an action: цыдтӕн-иу 'I used to go'; with an imperative the particle иу expresses future tense: ратт ын--иу 'give him (not now, but later)';

дам 'so to say, they say'; мах, дам, ларсаг ыстӕм 'we, they say, are from Lars'.

§162.   Interjections.

These can express:

pain, sorrow, fear:	уӕу, оххай, ӕллӕх, дӕдӕй
enthusiasm, temper:	гъӕйтт, мардзӕ (гъӕйтт-мардзӕ, гъе-мардзӕ), гъӕй-джиди
astonishment, indignation:	ау, уанцон нӕу
regret:	уӕууа
threat:	додой
aversion, disdain:	пуй
wish:	тӕхуды, etc.

Notes

1.   This same section will give brief information on the usage of substantival and verbal forms, since the dimensions of the Sketch do not permit devoting a special section to this problem.

2.   Only three words — лӕг 'man, husband', ус 'wife', and чызг 'girl' — may take a vocative with the special ending -ай: азар-ма, чызгай! 'sing, girl!'

3.   We have this same double declension for the word бӕстӕ 'country'.

4.   In case of enumeration, the noun can occur before the numeral; in this case the former is put in the nominative plural: бӕхтӕ фондз, галтӕ дӕс, фыстӕ сӕдӕ 'horses—five, bulls—ten, sheep—one hundred.'

5.   The forms йӕ, йын, йӕм, йыл are used when the preceding word ends in a vowel; the forms ӕй, ын, ӕм, ыл — when it ends in a consonant.

6.   The comitative case forms мамӕ, немӕ, демӕ, уемӕ, йемӕ, семӕ can be called short, insofar as they contrast with the full forms мӕнимӕ, мӕхимӕ, etc.; but the designation "enclitic" is inapplicable to them since they always have independent stress.

7. The appearance of the semivowel y before ы in this and other cases indicates labialization of the preceding velar, not any special (diphthongal) vocalization (cf. phonetics section).

8. It is possible that historically we have the same root in both verbs.

9. For more about compound verbs with onomatopoetic words see Труды Института Языкознания VI, 1956, pp. 409-427.

WORD-FORMATION

§163.   Word-formation is often treated in the morphology section under the corresponding parts of speech: "derivation of nouns", "derivation of adjectives", "derivation of adverbs", "verbal derivation".

In the present outline we single out word-formation in a special section. Here we are guided by the following considerations.

§164.   In languages of the Ossetic type there is not enough objective foundation to scatter exposition of word-formation under the individual parts of speech, since among the latter there are no clear-cut boundaries and the very same formatives produce nouns as well as adjectives and adverbs (see §196.).

Furthermore, word-formation is in essence a transitional, not a purely morphologic, category.   Word-formation with the help of affixation occupies an intermediate place between morphology and lexicology; word-formation by means of compounding of words is something transitional from morphology to syntax.   This particular position of word-formation in the grammar justifies singling it out in a special section.

In the present chapter we are considering substantival word-formation. As far as verbal derivation is concerned, we will not treat it in a separate section for the following reasons.

§165.   Verbal derivation is implemented in Ossetic with the help of preverbs.   But preverbs fulfill a double function in the case of the Ossetic verb: aspect-formational (see §105.) and derivational.   These two functions are so closely interwoven that to divide and present them separately does not seem expedient.

Therefore in the sections devoted to "aspects" and "preverbs" (§§104.-108. and 151.-154.), we treated both the morphological (aspect-formative) and lexical (word-formative) meanings of the prefixed verbs.

Substantival Word-Formation

§166.   In Ossetic, two living and highly productive methods of substantival word-formation prevail: suffixing and compounding.

Suffixes

§167.   Prefixes occur in Ossetic only as preverbs, discussion of which is found above in the verb section.   The prepositional particles әнә 'without', әд 'with', әм- 'with, co-' are examined in the section on compounding.

In the remaining instances in Ossetic we have to do with suffixes. For the con-
venience of exposition we divide them into three groups:

    .1 Suffixes with both deverbative and denominative use;

    .2 Suffixes with deverbative use;

    .3 Suffixes with denominative use.

Suffixes with Both Deverbative and Denominative Use

§168.   Suffix -аг.

Deverbative Formations

    .1 It forms participles with the sense of a permanent characteristic
or disposition from the present tense stem:

кафаг 'dancer', кусаг 'a worker', сираг 'ambler', хилаг 'crawler'
(euphemistically 'snake'), etc. (cf. concerning participles, §111.).

    .2 It forms the future tense participles from the infinitive:

даринаг	(from дарын-аг) 'dependent' (one who needs to be supported)
хæринаг	'food' (what is to be eaten)
худинаг	'shame' (what is to be laughed at)
тауинаг	'seeds' (what is to be sown), etc.

    .3 In some cases it is suffixed to the past tense stem:

хъуыддаг	'affair, matter' (from хъæуын 'to be needed')
дзырддаг	'controversial' (from дзурын 'to speak')
фастаг	'small board, shingle' (from фадын 'to split, break')
састаг	'splinter' (from сæттын 'to break')
байзæддаг	'posterity' (from баззайын < байзайын 'to remain').

    .4 Suffixed to verbal nouns in   -æг:

æмбæллæггаг	'share of the catch or booty given to the first pas- serby' (from æмбæлын 'to meet')
кусæггаг	'fee for work' (from кусын 'to work')
ссарæггаг	'a find' (from ссарын 'to find')
фыссæггаг	'fee for something written' (from фыссын 'to write'), etc.

    .5 The word æфтиаг 'profit' (from æфтын 'to be added, increase'),
фæндиаг 'object of a wish' (from фæндын 'to wish') are apparently formed
from the 3d sing. of the present tense: æфты, фæнды.

Denominative Formations

    .6 Indicates origin, belonging, relation:

уырыссаг	'Russian' (уырыс 'Russians')
гуырдзиаг	'Georgian' (гуырдзы 'Georgians')
хохаг	'mountaineer' (хох 'mountain')
дойнаг	'river-, fluvial' (дон 'river')
быдираг	'plain-, plainsman' (быдыр 'plain')
хъæддаг	'woods-, wild' (хъæд 'forest')
уæллаг	'upper' (уæлæ 'above')

дӕллаг	'lower' (дӕлӕ 'below')
кӕройнаг	'marginal' (кӕрон 'border, edge')
сӕйраг	'principal' (сӕр 'head')
адджинаг	'sweetness' (from адджын 'sweet'), etc.

.7 Indicates destination:

мойаг	'husband-to-be' (мой 'husband')
усаг	'bride-to-be' (ус 'wife')
цухъхъайаг	'material for a coat' (цухъхъа 'coat')
арахъхъаг	'mash for vodka' (арахъхъ 'vodka')
фӕндаггаг	'provisions for the road' (фӕндаг 'road')
бӕндӕйнаг	'grass for twisting into a rope' (бӕндӕн 'rope, cord'), etc.

.8 Forms some ordinal numbers:

фыццаг	'first'
дыккаг	'second'
ӕртыккаг	'third'

§169.   Suffix -ӕг.

Deverbative Formations

.1 From present stems, it forms participles with the meaning of the actor:

кусӕг	'worker'
фыссӕг	'writer'
тӕхӕг	'flier, flying' (cf. §110., concerning participles).

.2 In a few cases it is added to the past stem:

| цӕрдӕг | 'living, agile' (from цӕрын : цард 'to live') |
| хуындӕг: хуындӕджы бадын | 'to visit' (from хонын : хуынд 'to invite'). |

.3 There are instances where the suffix -ӕг is joined to the infinitive:

тӕдзынӕг	'leaking of the roof' (from тӕдзын 'to leak, be leaking')
фадынӕг	'measles' (from фадын 'to be covered with a rash')
рӕзынӕг	'gland' (from рӕзын 'to grow').

Denominative Formations

Denominative formations ending in -ӕг, which can be regarded as productive in the contemporary language, are few in number:

| мӕгуырӕг | 'poor fellow' (from мӕгуыр 'poor') |
| ӕхсинӕг | 'dove' (from ӕхсин 'dark gray' — preserved only in the Digor dialect) |

Куыдзæг	a proper name (from куыдз 'dog')
галиуæг	'left hander' (from галиу 'left')
æхсæрæг	'squirrel' (from æхсæр 'nut')
æхсырæг	name of a plant which produces a milky sap (from æхсыр 'milk').

§170.   Suffix -æн .

Deverbative Formations

.1 Indicates instrument:

сæрдасæн	'razor' (сæр дасын 'to shave the head')
къахæн	'spade' (къахын 'to dig')
хъазæн	'toy' (хъазын 'to play')
уасæн	'whistle' (уасын 'to whistle')
рæхсæн	'belt-thread' (рæхсын 'to fasten with such a thread')
хæссæн	'instrument for carrying'; euphemistically 'donkey' (хæссын 'to carry')
кæрдæн	'scissors' (кæрдын 'to cut')
нуазæн	'goblet' (нуазын 'to drink')
барæн	'scales' (барын 'to weigh')
кусæн дзаума	'work tool' (from кусын 'to work')
æмбæрзæн	'a cover' (æмбæрзын 'to cover')
сæрдæн	'ointment, grease' (сæрдын 'to grease')
ахорæн	'color, dye' (ахорын 'to paint'), etc.

In the case of the word æвдисæн 'witness' (from æвдисын 'to show') an actor is concerned.

.2 Indicates place:

хизæн	'pasture' (хизын 'to graze')
бадæн	'seat', бадæн фæйнæг 'bench' (from бадын 'to sit')
хуыссæн	'couch' (хуыссын 'to sleep')
ласæн	'slope down which piles of hay, wood, etc., are dragged from the mountains' (К 123) (from ласын 'to drag')
дондарæн	'watering place' (дон дарын 'to water')
хинайæн	'bath' (хи найын 'to take a bath'), etc.

.3 Indicates time:

хосгæрдæн	'haying season' (хос кæрдын 'to mow hay')
хуымгæрдæн	'harvest' (хуым кæрдын 'to harvest')
бонивайæн	'dawn' (бон 'day', ивайын 'to become pale'), etc.

.4 Indicates the capability for something:

фæдæн	'easily split' (фæдын 'to be split')

тасæн   'flexible' (тасын 'to be bent')

сæдзæн   'sticky, swampy' (сæдзын 'to sink in')

рæзæн   'well grown' (рæзын 'to grow')

лæууæн   'sturdy, solid, durable' (from   лæууын 'to stand,
                                          to hold on')

зæрдæхалæн   'heart-rending'

зæрдæхалæн хъарæг'lamentation capable of breaking the heart' (К 33)
                                    (зæрдæ 'heart', халын 'to break, tear').

   .5   Indicates the possibility of something:

ацæуæн   'the possibility of passing, passage'

азмæлæн   'the possibility of moving': уынгты азмæлæн нæ
                                          уыдис адæмæй 'it was impossible to move along
                                          the streets because of the (multitude of) people'

хæцæн   'possibility of fighting': хæцæн дæр ын нал уыд —
                                          гæнах басыгъд 'he was not able to fight any
                                          more — the fortress was burnt down.' (С 101);

кæрдæн: нæл фысы дымæгау æнцон кæрдæн сты 'they are easy to cut
as the fatty tail of a sheep' (С 126).

ахæссæн   'possibility of carrying away' —

тыхæй ардыгæй ницы ахæссæн ис 'by force nothing can be taken away
from here' (Бр. 27);

ныккæсæн   'possibility of looking' —

зæрдæйæ зардæмæ куы уаид ныккæсæн! 'oh, if it were possible to look
from one heart into another!' (Ф 1956 III 14).

   .6   Indicates action or result of action:

кæрдæн   'cloth, shawl' ('that which is cut off'; compare above
                                          кæрдæн 'scissors'), кæрдæнтæ кæнын 'to cut in-
                                          to pieces'

тъыссæнтæ кæнын   'to hide in different places' from   тъыссын 'to poke',

аходæн   from аходын 'to bite, to eat' means both 'break-
                                          fast' and 'breakfast time'.

                                    Cf. Digor лæвæрæн 'armful of hay'.

Denominative formations in   -æн are rare:

сæрæн   'energetic, capable' (сæр 'head').

Suffix -он.

Deverbative formations are rare:

уарзон   'beloved' (уарзын 'to love')

иударон   'constantly worn, being in use' (иу 'one', дарын
                                          'to carry, to wear')

нæдзæрон   'unsociable' (нæ 'not', цæрын 'to live')

фæндон   'a wish' (from фæндын 'to want')

кæнон   'conduct, behavior' (кæнын 'to do')

барон	'forgiving' (барын 'to forgive')
фӕразон	'of great endurance' (from фӕразын 'to be vigorous')
кӕрдзындӕттон	'hospitable' (кӕрдзын 'bread', дӕттын 'to give'): йӕ фыдау уыд кӕрдзындӕттон 'he was, like his father, hospitable' (Ф 1956 XII 15)
ӕвдӕлон	'unoccupied, empty' (ӕвдӕлын 'to be unoccupied')
бӕззон	'fit' (бӕззын 'to be fit, serve for')

Denominative formations are extremely common since -он serves as a favorite adjectival suffix. It is widely used in modern terminology for the formation of adjectives of the most diverse meanings.

.7 Indicates origin, nationality, family:

ирон	'Ossete, Ossetic'
кӕсгон	'Kabardian, Circassian' (from кӕсӕг 'Kabardians')

Цырыхон 'belonging to the Tsirikh family'; the suffix is particularly frequent in connection with married women, who are called by their maiden name:

Зорон	woman from the Зоратӕ family.
Хъалӕгон	woman from the Хъалӕгатӕ family, etc.

.8 Indicates relationships of varying character.

зӕххон	'earthly'
хъӕууон	'rural'
хӕдзарон	'domestic, homemade'
цуанон	'hunter' (цуан 'hunt')
махон	'our'
сымахон	'your'
зымӕгон	'wintry'
хӕстон	'military'
ӕвдсӕрон	'seven headed (авд 'seven', сӕр 'head')
дыуусӕхстон	'double-barreled' (дыуусӕ 'two', ӕхст 'shot')
уатон	'one who is sick in bed' (уат 'bed')
фӕдон	'follower' (фӕд 'track')
фӕндаггон	'traveller'
колхозон	'kolkhoznik'
коммунистон	'communist' (adj.)
революцион	'revolutionary', etc.

-ыккон , -ыгон are to be regarded as more complex forms of this suffix in the words зноныккон 'yesterday's', дӕсазыккон 'ten-year old', боныгон 'daily', ӕхсӕвыгон 'nightly', сӕрдыгон 'summer's'.

§171.   Suffix -дзӕг .
Deverbative formations:

къахындзӕг	'referring to animals that dig the ground with their paws'.
омдзӕг	'vomit' (омын 'to vomit').

Denominative formations:

æйкдзæг	'ovary' (айк 'egg')
хъæлдзæг	'jolly' (хъал 'jaunty').

Suffixes of Deverbative Usage

§172.   Suffix -ын forms the so-called infinitive:

фыссын	'to write, writing'
дасын	'to shave, a shave'
судзын	'to burn, burning', etc.

§173.   Suffix -т, -д forms past participles:

фыст	'written'
даст	'shaven'
баст	'tied, connected'
арæзт	'done'
мард	'killed, dead'
лыгъд	'escaped'
сыгъд	'burnt down', and many others (cf. §§109.-111. on participles).

§174.   Suffix -гæ produces the gerund forms (cf. §§112.-114. on gerunds)

§175.   Suffix -ц, -дз forms verbal nouns, usually with abstract meaning:

бæрц	'measure' (барын 'to measure')
хæлц	'subsistence' (хæрын 'to eat')
æфхæлц	'damage' (æфхæрын 'to damage')
æуyæрц	'clump of trampled young nettles' (æуyæрдын 'to crush')
нымæц	'number' (нымайын 'to count')
фидыц, фидауц	'beauty, elegance' (фидауын 'to show off, stand in splendor')
зæйц	'posterity' (зайын 'to give birth')
æрдз	'nature' (арын 'to give birth')
гуырдз	'embryo' (гуырын 'to be born')

§176.   Suffix -ин.

æмдзæрин	'roommate' (æм + цæр-ин)
фæс-дзæуин	'servant', lit. 'the one who goes behind' (фæс- 'behind', цæуын 'to go')
рыгхæцин	'cloth to which dust sticks easily' (рыг 'dust', хæцын 'to stick')
рæстдзæвин	'accurate' (раст 'straight', цæвын 'to beat')

§177.   Suffix -ццаг.

мæлæццаг	'mortal' (from мæлын 'to die')
кæлæццаг	'unsteady, shaky' (from кæлын 'to collapse, fall down')
цæлæццаг	'viable' (from цæрын 'to live')
ивццаг	'change' (ивын 'to change')
схъиуæццаг	'splinter' (схъиуын 'to break off')
бæллиццаг	'desired' (бæллын 'to wish something')
скъуыццаг[1]	'rag' (скъуынын 'to tear off')
мæрццаг	'clothes for the deceased'
амаццаг	'building' (амайын 'to build')

§178.   Suffix -цъаг.

There are two instances:

| бырынцъаг | 'slippery' (бырын 'to slide, slip') |
| мизынцъаг | 'urine' (мизын 'to urinate') |

Suffixes with Denominative Usage

§179.   Suffix -ад   forms abstract ideas:

æлдарад	'rule, domination' (æлдар 'prince')
хицауад	'government' (хицау 'chief, governor')
паддзахад	'state' (паддзах 'king')
сабырад	'calm' (сабыр 'quiet')
сæрибарад	'freedom' (сæрибар 'free')
ахуырад	'education' (ахуыр 'learned')
дæсниад	'mastery' (дæсны 'skillful'), and others.

§180.   Suffix -дзинад   is close to the foregoing in meaning:

рæстдзинад	'truth' (раст 'truthful')
æцæгдзинад	'truth' (æцæг 'true')
хорздзинад	'good' (хорз 'good')
æвзæрдзинад	'vice' (æвзæр 'bad')
уарзондзинад	'love'
хъæлдзæгдзинад	'merriment, gaiety', and others.

§181.   Suffix -ын   denotes the material from which an object is made:

хъæдын	'wooden'
дурын	'stone-, stony; clay' (of chinaware)
чъырын	'lime'
авджын	'glass-' (авг 'glass')
хъисын	'of coarse wool'
фæсмын	'woolen'

задын   'bread made from malt' (зад 'malt')
нымӕтын   'felt', and others.

§182.   Suffix -джын indicates the content or possession of something:
фыдджын   'meat pie' (фыд 'meat')
картофджын   'potato pie'
тулдзджын   'place where there are oaks' (тулдз 'oak')
ӕхсӕрджын   'grove of nut trees'
дурджын   'stony'
хъуынджын   'hairy'
цӕхджын   'salty'
сойджын   'greasy'
адджын   'sweet, tasty' (ад 'taste')
бӕзджын   'fat, corpulent', cf. бӕзн 'thickness'
сӕвджын   'wide' (about a fabric), cf. сӕвн 'width of cloth'
кадджын   'famous'
барджын   'mighty' (бар 'law, power, might')
бонджын   'rich' (бон 'strength, wealth')
усджын   'married (man)'
мойджын   'married (woman)'
ныхджын   'with a large forehead, bald'
ныфсджын   'daring, bold' (ныфс 'hope, courage')
номджын   'respected, famous'
мӕстджын   'afflicted, grieved'
рынчын   (from рын-джын) 'sick', and others.

§183.   Suffix -ыг denotes that something is provided with something:
цыппӕрдзӕлхыг   'four-wheeled' (цыппар 'four', цалх 'wheel')
дыкъахыг   'two-legged' (ды-къах-)
иузӕрдыг   'devoted' (иу 'one', зӕрдӕ 'heart')
дызӕрдыг   'doubting, having doubts' ('two-hearted')
ӕгомыг   'mute, dumb' (ӕ-ком-ыг, where ком is 'mouth',
                                ӕ-, a privative particle)
фӕсномыг   'allegorical' (фӕрс-ном 'called by a strange name')
хъисыг   'bristly'
бузныг   'grateful' (бузн 'gratitude'), and others.

Suffixes -ыгон, -ыккон, cf. above under the suffix -он.

§184.   Suffix -ой indicates the presence of a strong degree of some
feature:
былой   'thick-lipped' (был 'lip')
сӕтой   'salivary' (сӕт 'saliva')
къӕдзой   'lopsided' (къӕдз 'curved')

лӕгой   'mannish, manlike' (about a woman), from лӕг
                          'man, male'
сайӕгой   'deceiver' (сайӕг 'deceiving')
уарзӕгой   'loving, full of love'

In the Digor dialect this same suffix can point to the lack of something —
къахой 'legless'; къухой 'armless'; цонгой the same: къахой Дз-
анболат къохойбӕл рабадтӕй 'legless Dzanbolat sat down on the armless
one' (ДС 24); еци сахатбӕл хъӕрӕу цонгойбӕл хуӕцгӕй оми ӕрбамедӕг
ӕнцӕ 'instantly the blind man, lead by the armless man, arrived there' (ДС
26). However this usage evidently is not alien even to the Iron dialect: къӕб-
ылайӕн ... йӕ хъусты кӕрӕттӕ разындысты лыг, ӕмӕ йыл сывӕллӕттӕ
уайтагъд авӕрдтой ном "Хъусой" 'the tips of the puppy's ears were cut off
and the children immediately gave him the name "Earless"' (A 80).

The suffix -ой is apparently of another origin in зӕнгой 'a kind of put-
tee' (зӕнг 'leg, shin-bone'), уисой 'broom' (from уис 'rod, twig').

§185.   Suffix -ӕм forms ordinal numbers beginning with 'fourth': цып-
пӕрӕм, фӕндзӕм, ӕхсӕзӕм, etc.

§186.   Suffix -гай has distributive meaning:
иугай   'one by one'
дыгай   'two by two'
фӕндзгай   'five by five'
дӕсгай   'ten by ten'
бонгай   'by the day'
къордгай   'by groups'
радыгай   'in turn' (рад 'turn, place')
къӕртнай   'piece by piece'
чысылгай   'a little at a time, little by little'
цъусгай   the same as above
сындӕггай   'silently, slowly'
сабырнай   'little by little, gradually', etc.

сырдтӕ йӕ размӕ хӕлӕф кодтой; бон дыгӕйттӕ-ӕртыгӕйттӕ мардта 'the
beasts themselves ran to him; he killed them, two-three a day' (C 77). фа-
рон нӕ комгай ныппырх кодтой 'the last year we were defeated valley-wise
[in the valley]' (Бр. 112).

§187.   Suffix -гомау indicates a moderate degree of some quality (like
Russian -оватый):
лӕмӕгъгомау   'rather bad' (лӕмӕгъ 'weak')
ӕдылыгомау   'rather stupid' (ӕдылы 'stupid')
тагъдгомау   'rather fast, pretty quick' (тагъд 'fast')

сабыргомау   'quietly' (сабыр 'silent')
æнкъардгомау   'sad enough' (æнкъард 'sad'), etc.

§188.   Suffix -бын indicates a moderate degree of quality in the names
of colors:

сырхбын   'reddish'
тарбын   'rather dark'
бурбын   'yellowish', etc.

The word бын exists independently meaning 'bottom'; therefore we can
more properly classify the above-mentioned words as compounds. (Cf. below
in the section 'Suffix or Compound Word').

§189.   Suffix -дæр forms the comparative degree:

хуыздæр   'better' (from хорз 'good')
фыддæр   'worse' (from фыд 'bad, evil')
фылдæр   'more' (from фыр 'much')
стырдæр   'bigger' (from стыр 'big')
раздæр   'more ahead or earlier' (from раз 'before')
фæстæдæр   'more behind or later' (from фæстæ 'behind')
фидардæр   'stronger'
дарддæр   'further'
хæстæгдæр   'nearer', etc.

This same suffix serves to form indefinite pronouns and adverbs:

чидæр   'somebody'
цыдæр   'something'
кæцыдæр   'some'
кæмдæр   'somewhere'
кæддæр   'sometime'
куыддæр   'somehow'
цалдæр   'few, as much as'

The secondary formations: чидæриддæр 'whoever', цыдæриддæр 'what-
ever', etc., break down into чи-дæр-ид-дæр, цы-дæр-ид-дæр, etc.

§190.   Suffix -дон designates a receptacle:
хордон   'granary' (хор 'bread' [of grain])
хосдон   'hayloft' (хос 'hay')
бæхдон   'stable' (бæх 'horse')
кæркдон   'hen-house' (карк 'hen')
сæкæрдон   'sugar-bowl' (сæкæр 'sugar')
æхцадон   'purse' (æхца 'money')
рынчындон   'hospital' (рынчын 'ill')
уазæгдон   'guesthouse' (уазæг 'guest'), etc.

§191.   Suffix -стон is used in names of countries and to denote recept-
acles:

Ирыстон	'Ossetia'
Гуырдзыстон	'Georgia'
æрдыстон	'case for onions' (æрдын 'onion')
цæххыстон	'salt-shaker' (цæхх 'salt'), etc.

§192.   Suffix -ид joined to the reduplicated stem of color names, it
denotes the intensity of coloring:

сау-сау-ид	'very black'
бур-бур-ид	'bright yellow'
сырх-сырх-ид	'very red', etc.

This same formative is present, apparently, in pronouns and adverbs
with the meaning '-ever, -soever', etc.: чи-дæр-ид-дæр, кæм-дæр-ид-дæр,
etc.

§193.   Suffix -адз appears in the following words:

мыдадз	'wax' (мыд 'honey')
куырдадз	'forge' (куырд 'smith').

§194.   Suffix -ау.

уæззау	'heavy' (уæз 'heaviness')
мæгуырау	'rather bad, of poor quality' (мæгуыр 'poor')
хъуырау	'jug' (хъуыр 'throat', хъуырау 'neck-shaped')
уæлиау	'high'
дæлиау	'low'
фæстиау	'behind'
мидæгау	'deep inside'
æддиау	'far outside'
фалиау	'far to that side'
æрæджиау	'after all'

This formative is evidently identical with the ending of the equative case
(cf. the declension of nouns, §50.).

§195.   Suffix -æх appears in the following words:

хорзæх	'reward, good will' (хорз 'good')
фыдæх	'enmity' (фыд 'harm').

Distribution of Suffixal Formations
According to Parts of Speech

§196.   The non-differentiation of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs in the
Ossetic language leads to a situation where even suffixes cannot be grouped

according to parts of speech: forming nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. The
same suffixes yield formations which according to their function can be grouped
sometimes with nouns, sometimes with adjectives, or with adverbs. Thus
formations ending in -он can be:

        substantival and advectival:

ирон	'Ossete' and 'Ossetic'
колхозон	'kolkhoz worker, kolkhoz-'
нæртон	'Nart' and 'Nartic'
хæххон	'mountaineer' and 'mountainous'
дугъон	'a galloping or steeple-chase horse' (also the adj.)
уарзон	'favorite, beloved' (with substantival and adjectival meaning as in Russian любимый)
фондзазон	'five-year-plan' (noun and adj.), etc.

        adjectival and adverbial:

зымæгон	'wintry' and 'in winter'
сæрдыгон	'summer-' and 'in summer'
бæстон	'solid, thorough' and 'thoroughly', etc.

        chiefly nominal:

фæндон	'desire'
кæнон	'conduct'
цуанон	'hunter'
фæндаггон	'traveller'
бæлццон	'traveller'
сывæллон	'child, infant', etc.

        chiefly adjectival:

коммунистон	'communist-'
револю̈цион	'revolutionary'
рагон	'ancient'
хæстон	'military', etc.

        adverbial:

боныгон	'by day'
æхсæвыгон	'by night'
фарон	'in the last year', etc.

        pronominal:

мæнон	'mine'
дæууон	'your' (sg.)
махон	'our'
сымахон	'your' (pl.)
хион	'one's own'

The suffix -аг produces:
        substantival-adjectival:

уырыссаг	'Russian' (with noun or adj. meaning as in Russian)

мӕскуыйаг	'Muscovite' and 'Moscow-'
китайаг	'a Chinese' and 'Chinese'
сыхаг	'neighbor' and 'neighboring'
ӕфсӕйнаг	'iron' and 'ferrous', etc.

substantival:

хъуыддаг	'affair, business'
хӕринаг	'food'
худинаг	'shame' (but also 'shameful')
адджинаг	'sweetness'
байраг	'foal'
мойаг	'bridegroom'
бинойнаг	'spouse' (fem.)
байзӕддаг	'posterity', etc.

adjectival:

кусаг	'industrious'
сӕйраг	'main'
раззаг	'front'
фӕстаг	'rear'
уӕллаг	'top'
дӕллаг	'lower', etc.

numerals:

фыццаг	'first'
дыккаг	'second'
ӕртыккаг	'third'.

The suffix -ӕг produces:

substantival and adjectival:

фыссӕг	'writer' and 'writing-'
кусӕг	'worker' and 'working'
хӕстӕг	'relative' and 'close' (and also the adverb 'closely')
зарӕг	'song', and 'singing'
худӕг	'laughter' and 'ridiculous, funny', etc.

substantival:

барӕг	'rider'
ӕхсинӕг	'dove'
цӕвӕг	'scythe'
кӕрдӕг	'grass'
чындзхӕссӕг	'best man' (at a wedding)
ахуыргӕнӕг	'teacher', etc.

adjectival:

| цӕрдӕг | 'live, fast' |
| мӕллӕг | 'emaciated', also as a participle (see §110.). |

§197.   Deverbative formations ending in -т , -д sometimes have the meaning of past passive participles (саст 'broken', баст 'wrapped' but also 'package', тарст 'frightened', сайд 'cheated', etc.), sometimes the meaning of action-nouns: хæрд 'meal', нозт 'drink', хъазт 'dance', куыст 'work', хæст 'war, quarrel', etc.).

Deverbative formations ending in -гæ (gerund) might be substantival, adjectival, or adverbial: дымгæ 'wind', цымгæ 'soup', хъæрзгæ 'unhealthy' (subst. and adj.), зонгæ 'familiar' (subst. and adj.), хъазгæ '(while) playing', худгæ '(while) laughing' (adverbs).

Formations ending in -æн also have varying meanings (usually substantival, but sometimes also adjectival, for instance, æлвисæн 'spinning'); those ending in -джын (mostly adjectival sometimes substantival, for instance, in the names of pies фыдджын, etc.); those ending in -ын (compare on the one hand дурын 'jug', задын 'bread made from malt', and on the other, хъæдын 'wooden', авджын 'glass-'); those ending in -гомау (sometimes adjectives, sometimes adverbs); those ending in -ау (compare хъуырау 'pitcher' with уæззау 'heavy', and then уæлиау 'high', æрæджиау 'in the end, after all').

Some suffixes of the noun are more specialized: -дон, -стон (denote receptacle, place), -уат (denotes place), -ад, -дзинад, -ц (used to form abstract concepts).

§198.   Phonic phenomena in derivative words.

.1 Weakening of the stem vowels a and o to æ ; observed only in a few cases:

фæрссаг	'strange' from фарс 'side'
рæстаг	'right' from раст 'truthful'
хъæстаг	'object of complaint' from хъаст 'complaint'
мæрдджын	'having lost someone near' from мард 'dead'
æвдæм	'seventh' from авд 'seven'
фæндзæм	'fifth' from фондз 'five'
хæххон	'mountainous' from хох 'mountain'
кæркдон	'hen-house' from карк 'hen', etc.

.2 Gemination of the last stem consonant and semi-vowel; observed in some cases along with the addition of the suffixes -аг, -он, etc.

диссаг	'astonishing' from дис 'surprise'
тæссаг	'terrible' from тас 'fear'
уæфссаг	'leather for soles' from уафс 'sole'
лыггаг	'piece, part' from лыг 'cut'
фæндаггаг	'provisions for travelling' from фæндаг 'road'
хъæддаг	'forest-, timber' from хъæд 'forest'
худдаг	'material for making caps' from худ 'cap'

| уӕззау | 'heavy' from уӕз 'weight' |
| хъӕууон | 'rural' from хъӕу 'village' |

.3   The appearance of the semivowel й   before a stem-final reso-
nant (commonly along with the addition of the suffixes -аг and -он):

хӕдзайраг	'home-' from хӕдзар 'house'
базайраг	'goods' from базар 'commerce'
сӕйраг	'main' from сӕр 'head'
гайлаг	'calf that bids fair to become (a good) bull' from гал 'bull'
джызӕйлаг	'from Gizel' from Джызӕл 'the village Gizel'
дойнаг	'fluvial, river-' from дон 'river'
кӕройнаг	'extreme' from кӕрон 'border, edge'
адӕймаг	'man' from адӕм 'men' (in general)
хъыримаг	'Crimean' (from хъырыймаг) from Хъырым 'Crimea'
цъылинаг	'plant from which small brooms are made' (from цъылыйнаг) from цъылын 'broom'
хӕринаг	'food' (from хӕрыйнаг) from хӕрын 'to eat'
дайуаг	'questionable' from дау 'argument', etc.

.4   Assimilation of consonants:

| хъаджджын | 'missing, lacking' from хъуаг-джын |
| туджджын | 'one involved in a blood-feud' from туг-джын, etc. |

.5   Dissimilation of consonants:

| фылдӕр | 'more (in quantity)' from фыр-дӕр |
| стылдӕр | 'more (in size)' from стыр-дӕр |

Compound Words

§199.   Compounding in Ossetic is very common and is a productive means
of formation of new word-concepts.   The enrichment of the Ossetic lexicon by
words connected with modern culture, science, and technical fields, occurs to a
considerable degree due to the formation of new words and of new compound words.

Compound words consist commonly of two, sometimes of three, compo-
nents.

We will examine typical examples of compound words, first in respect to
their first part, then, their second part; and finally, from the point of view
of the correlation of the first and second parts, and the syntactic function of
the compound word.

§200.   First Part of Compound Words.

.1   As the first part of a compound word the privative particle appears
either in its short form ӕ- or in its full form ӕнӕ-   (the type of Russian
бездомный 'homeless').

| ӕ-дзар | 'homeless' (цар 'roof') |
| ӕ-гад | 'inglorious' (кад 'glory') |

æ-дых	'powerless' (тых 'force, power')
æ-гомыг	'dumb' (ком 'mouth')
æ-гуыст	'jobless' (куыст 'work')
æ-дас	'safe' (тас 'danger')
æ-вæд	'traceless' (фæд 'trace')
æ-дзæттæ	'unready' (цæттæ 'ready')
æ-дзæрæг	'uninhabited' (цæрæг 'living')
æ-дзух	'constantly' (цух 'missing')
æ-дзæхх	'with little salt, saltless' (цæхх 'salt')
æн-амонд	'unfortunate' (амонд 'fortune')
æнæ-нцой	'(de)void of peace' (æнцой 'rest, peace')
æнæ-мæт	'carefree, untroubled' (мæт 'anxiety, concern')
æн-ахуыр	'unusual, uncommon' (ахуыр 'habit, custom')
æнæ-гъдау	'indecent' (æгъдау 'custom')
æнæ-къай	'without a pair' (къай 'pair')
æнæ-къæм	'blameless, stainless' (къæм 'stain, stigma')
æнæ-зæнæг	'childless' (зæнæг 'children')
æнæ-бары	'involuntarily' (бар 'will')
æнæ-нхъæлæджы	'unexpectedly' (æнхъæлæг '(one who) expects'), etc.

.2 The prepositional particle æд- 'with' in the first part:

æд-гæрзтæ	'armed' (гæрзтæ 'arm, weapon')
æд-дзаума	'with things' (дзаума 'things')
æд-уæрдон	'with a cart' (уæрдон '(ox-)cart')
æд-бæх	'with a horse' (бæх 'horse')
æд-хъуын-æд-хъис	'as a whole' (lit. 'with-hair-with-bristle')

.3 In the first part of the phrase, the particle æм- expresses joint-ness, conformity, etc. (of the type of Russian сотрудник 'collaborator'):

æм-кусæг	'collaborator, co-worker' (кусын 'to work')
æм-гар	'age-mate' (кар 'age')
æм-бæстаг	'(fellow) countryman' (бæстæ 'country, land')
æм-дзæрин	'roommate' (цæрын 'to live')
æм-цæдис	'fellow-plougher, ally' (цæдис 'joint ploughing, alliance')
æм-дзæхдон	'favoritism', lit. 'common brine' (цæхдон)
æм-дых	'equivalent, of equal strength'
æм-хæрд-æм-нозт	'table companionship' (хæрд 'food', нозт 'drink')
æм-хиз	'joint pasturage' (хизын 'to put to pasture')
æм-гæрон	'close' (кæрон 'edge, brim')
æм-буар	'adjacent, close to each other' (буар 'body')
æм-хъæлæсæй	'unanimously' (хъæлæс 'voice')
æм-вæндæй	'unanimously' (фæнд 'wish, desire')

.4 With the old adverb-prepositions уæл- 'over', дæл- 'under', раз- 'before', фæс- 'behind', мид- 'inside' in the first part (of the type of Russian надземный 'above ground', подземный 'underground'):

уæл-зæхх, уæл-дзæх	'above ground'
дæл-зæхх, дæл-дзæх	'underground, subterranean'
уæл-вæндаг	'over the road' (фæндаг 'road')
дæл-вæндаг	'under the road'
уæлæ-син	'dress with quite a high waist' (син 'hip')
дæлæ-син	'dress with quite a low waist'
дæл-базыр	'porch' ('under-roof')
уæлæ-уæз	'rather high'
дæлæ-уæз	'a little lower'
раз-уæз	'with the weight forward' (in shifting the load on an oxcart)
фæстæ-уæз	'with the weight to the back'
уæл-хæдзар	'roof' (хæдзар 'house')
уæл-фад	'instep' (фад 'foot')
дæл-фæдты	'at the feet'
дæл-фад-бос	'footstrap' (бос 'crossbelt')
уæл-гоммæ	'backwards, supine' (ком 'mouth, face')
дæл-гоммæ	'with face down'
дæлхъуыр-уæлхъуыр	'embracing' (хъуыр 'throat') (дæлкъух-уæлкъух ных-хæцыдысты æмæ симынц 'they took hold of each other's arms and danced the <u>simd</u>' (Ч 97).)
уæл-бæхæй	'on horseback' (бæх 'horse')
уæл-арв	'heaven' (lit. 'high heaven')
уæл-дæф	'air' (lit. 'high air' тæф; cf. Russian воз-дух)
уæл-хох	'upland'
уæл-вæз	'elevated plateau' (фæз 'plain')
уæл-мæрд	'cemetery' (мард 'the deceased')
раз-дарæн	'apron' (дарын 'to carry')
раз-вæндаг	'the road ahead' (йæ развæндаг нæ уыны талынджы 'in the darkness he doesn't see the road before him')
фæс-дуар	'at the door'
фæс-он	'back' (он 'shoulder blade')
фæс-къæвда	'after the rain'
фæс-æмбисбон	'after midday'
фæс-сихор	'after lunch'
фæс-дзæуин	'servant' ('one who goes behind')
мид-зæрдæйы	'in the heart'
мид-былты	'between lips' (мидбылты худын 'to smile barely noticeably', lit. 'between the lips')

хъыримаг топп мидагъудмæ зыдта, фæринк кард мидкæрддзæммæ 'he recognized the Crimean gun in the case, and the French sword in the sheath.'

.5 In the first part, the pronoun хæд 'self' (of the type of Russian самокат 'bicycle'):

хæд-тулгæ	'bicycle' (тулын 'to roll')
хæд-зилгæ	'self-turning' (зилын 'to turn around')
хæд-тæхæг	'airplane' (тæхын 'to fly')
хæд-мæл	'carrion' (мæлын 'to die')
хæд-дзыргъæй	'mowing or reaping' (without observing prescribed ceremonies)
хæд-архайд	'independent action' (архайын 'to act')
хæд-æгъдау	'well-bred' (æгъдау 'custom')

.6 With the pronoun хи- 'self' (of the type of Russian себялюбивый 'selfish, self-loving') in the first part:

хи-уарзон	'self-loving' (уарзын 'to love')
хи-бар	'reserved to himself' (lit. 'self-willed')
хи-вæнд	'self-willed, stubborn' (фæнд 'wish')
хи-хсæн	'wash stand' (æхсын 'to wash')
хи-сæрфæн	'towel' (сæрфын 'to wipe')

.7 Other pronouns:

алы-варс	'round' (алы 'any', фарс 'side')
алы-рдыгæй	'from all sides'
алы-рдæм	'in all directions'
æндæрæ-бон	'the day before yesterday' ('of the other day')
иннæ-бон	'the day after tomorrow' ('of the other day')

.8 With a numerical or quantitative word (of the type of Russian одноглазый 'one-eyed') in the first part:

иу-цæстон	'one-eyed' (цæст 'eye')
ды-вæнд	'hesitation' ('two purposes')
ды-къахыг	'two-legged' (къах 'leg, foot')
æртæ-сыфон	'trefoil'
æрт-тигъ	'tip of an arrow' (in the Nart epic) (lit., трехгранник 'trihedron')
цыппæр-вадыг	'gallop' ('run with four feet')
цыппæр-дигъон	'quadrangular'
фондз-азон	'five-year plan'
æвд-сæрон	'seven-headed'
æстдæс-сион	'eighteen-pointed' (horns)
фыр-дзырд	'loquacious'
фыр-хæрд	'gluttony' ('much food')
фыр-цин	'plenty of joy'
æмбис-бон	'midday'
æмбис-æхсæв	'midnight'
æрдæг-мард	'half-dead'

.9 With a formless noun in the first part serving as a modifier to the second. Because of the absence of a clear boundary between nouns and

adjectives in Ossetic, it is not possible to examine separately cases with
nouns in the first part of compound words, on the one hand, and with adjec-
tives in the first part, on the other.

An important group is formed by the addition of хæрз- 'good' and фыд-
'bad' to the first part of the compound word (of the type of Russian доброн-
равный 'well-behaved', злонравный 'ill-behaved'):

хæрз-уаг	'well-behaved' (уаг 'custom, manner')
фыд-уаг	'ill-behaved'
фыд-хуыз	'who looks ill, emaciated' (хуыз 'appearance')
хæрз-хуыз	'who looks well'
хæрз-конд	'well-built' (конд 'addition, building')
фыд-конд	'badly built'
хæрз-уынд	'of good appearance' (уынд 'look, air')
фыд-уынд	'of bad appearance, ugly'
фыд-ми	'evil deed, crime' (ми 'affair')
хæрз-бон	'parting' (in wishing a "good day")
фыдæ-бон	'torture, torment' ("bad day")
фыд-аз	'bad year'
фыд-æхсæв	'bad night'
фыд-фын	'bad dream, nightmare'
фыд-кой	'bad rumor, ill fame'

With color names in the first part (of the type of Russian чернобровый
'black-browed'):

сау-æрфыг	'black-browed'
сау-цæст	'black-eyed'
сау-зæрдæ	'wicked' ('black hearted')
сау-нæмыг	'bilberry' (нæмыг 'grain, berry')
сау-хъæд	'leafy woods'
сау-гуырм	'completely blind' (куырм 'blind')
сау-стъæлф	'birthmark' ('black spot, stain')
урс-дæллагхъуыр	'white-necked'
урс-цъар	'white-skinned'
урс-зачъе	'white-bearded'
урс-сæр	'white-headed' (ДС I)
сырх-уадул	'red-cheeked'
сырх-цæст	'red-eyed'
булæ-мæргъ	'nightingale' ('yellow bird')
бур-дым	'yellow-tailed' (name of a bird)
бур-хил	'light-haired' (хил 'hair')
цъæх-цæст	'blue-eyed', etc.

With various other adjectives in the first part:

бæз-æрхыг	'thickset, stock' (бæзджын 'thick', арх 'bough')
бæз-цъар	'thick-skinned' (about fruits, etc.)

тӕн-цъар	'thin-skinned'
тӕн-зӕрдӕ	'soft-hearted' (lit., 'thin-hearted')
рӕу-вад	'fast' ('light-footed')
рӕу-зӕрдӕ	'easily-aroused' ('light-hearted')
нары-сӕвн	'not wide' (about fabrics; нарӕг 'narrow', сӕвн 'width')[2]
нарӕг-астӕу	'narrow-waisted' (астӕу 'waist')
фӕтӕн-риу	'broad-chested'
ӕстыр-зӕрдӕ	'haughty' ('with big heart')
даргъ-дзыкку	'long-braided'
бӕгъӕм-сар	'bare-headed' (cf. бӕгъ нӕг 'bare', сӕр 'head')
бӕгъӕм-вад	'bare-foot' (фад 'foot')
фӕлмӕн-вад	'weak-willed' ('weak-footed')
цыргъ-зонд	'witty'
рӕст-вӕндаг	'having a good (straight) way'
хъӕрм-хуыпп	'soup' (from хъарм 'warm' and хуыпп 'drink, gulp')
хъӕрмӕ-дон	'mineral waters' (lit. 'warm water')
бӕрӕг-бон	'holiday' ('observed day'), etc.

With a noun in the first part functioning in the compound as an attribute to the second part:

дур-ӕвзалы	'hard-coal' (lit. 'stone-coal')
ӕфсӕн-дуар	'iron gate'
ӕрхуы-аг	'copper pot'
ӕрхуы-гуырд	'coppersmith' (куырд 'smith')
зӕрин-гуырд	'goldsmith'
зӕрин-бос	'golden thread'
зӕрин-дзыкку	'golden-haired'
кӕрдӕг-хуыз	'green' ('grass-color')
фӕнык-хуыз	'gray' ('ash-color')
къӕй-ных	'insolent, impudent'
цӕхӕр-цӕст	'with sparkling eyes'
дур-зӕрдӕ	'cruel' ('stone-heart')
арт-дзӕст	'hearth' ('fire-eye')
сӕри-бар	'freedom, free' ('head-will')
сӕр-низ	'headache' ('head-illness')
гуыбын-низ	'stomach-ache'
стӕг-низ	'rheumatism' ('bone-illness')
фад-низ	'foot disease' (of cattle, etc.)
фад-хъул	'ankle' (lit. 'knuckle bone of the foot')
фад-хос	'hay for padding slippers' ('hay of the foot')
хъус-цӕг	'earring' ('ear-ring')
мӕй-рухс	'moonlight'

бын-дур	'foundation' ('foundation stone')
лæг-дых	'man power'
бæрц-агъуд	'pocket with pouches for bullets' (on a Circassian coat)
хъæд-гæрон	'edge of a forest'
хъæу-гæрон	'edge of a village'
дзæбидыр-дзуан	'mountain-goat hunt'
чындз-æхсæв	'marriage' ('night of the bride')
æрс-дзарм	'bearskin'
саг-дзарм	'reindeer skin'
уæл-дзарм	'lambskin' (уæр 'lamb')
уæр-гъуын	'lamb wool'
гал-уæрдон	'ox-cart'
бæх-уæрдон	'horse-cart'
бæх-вæндаг	'horse-path'
бæх-гæрдæг	'horse-grass'
къах-вæндаг	'foot-path' (къах 'foot')
къах-дзæф	'step' ('stroke of foot')
астæу-бос	'belt' (baldric [бос] of the belt [астæу])
бын-ат	(from бын-уат) 'place' (lit. 'lower place')
фад-ат	(from фад-уат) 'possibility' (lit. 'place for the foot')
зæй-уат	'place endangered by snow slides' (зæй 'avalanche')
æхсæв-и-уат	'shelter for the night'
цъыф-дзаст	'puddle' ('mud-eye')
æхсар-гард	'sabre' (lit. 'knife [кард] of valor [æхсар]')
фæрæт-хъæд	'ax-handle' ('ax-shaft')
сæу-æхсид	'daybreak'
изæр-æхсид	'evening glow'
уд-æнцой	'rest, peace' ('peace of soul')
æгъд-æнцой	'stirrup' ('support for the thigh')
кæстæр-и-уæг	'the serving of the young by the old'
æлдар-и-уæг	'supremacy'

.10 With a verbal noun in the first part determining the second part:

кусæн-гарз	'work-tool' (кусын 'to work', гарз 'tool')
хæцæн-гарз	'weapon' ('tool to fight with')
цæрæн-уат	'place for residing, residence' (цæрын 'to live')
хъазæн-хъул	'object of a joke, gaiety' (lit. 'bone [хъул] for playing' [хъазын 'to play'])
кæсæн-цæст	'telescope' ('eye for gazing')
цæугæ-дон	'flowing water' (цæуын 'to go')
кæрдгæ-дур	'a cut stone (кæрдын 'to cut')

In the word рай-дзаст 'light, bright', we have the bare stem of the verb райын 'to rejoice' ('glad-eyed') in the first part.

зайӕг-хал	'plant' ('a growing blade of grass')
хӕрӕг-хӕлмаг	'an itch' ('itching scab')
кӕуын-дзаст	'tear-stained'
худын-дзаст	'with a smiling look'
цӕрын-хъуаг	'short-lived'
цӕуын-хъом	'able to walk'
кусын-хъом	'able to work'

In the first part, the verb can sometimes be in a conjugated form:

мӕлазӕнӕг	'one whose children died' (мӕла — 3d person of the conjunctive of мӕлын 'to die') (ДС 59).

.11 With a noun in the first part which is the direct or indirect object of the second, verbal part (of the type of Russian людоед 'man-eater'):

лӕг-хор	'man-eater'
рӕгъау-гӕс	'horse-herd'
ӕрм-ахуыр	'tamed' (lit. 'trained [ахуыр] to the hand [арм]')
къух-дарӕн	'ring' (lit. 'what is worn [дарӕн] on the hand [къух]'), etc.

The number of this type of compound words is quite large. We will give below a more detailed survey of them in the section devoted to the second part of compound words.

.12 The first part represents a substantive-adverb playing the role of an adverbial word in connection with the second, verbal part (of the type of Russian дармоед 'parasite')

лӕвар-хор	'parasite'
ӕввонг-хор	'parasite'
рӕст-дзӕвин	'accurate' ('straight-hitting')

.13 With a noun in the first part having case or number formation. The genitive case form occurs often; the others — more rarely:

лӕджы-хъӕд	'manhood' ('man-quality')
бӕсты-хай	'house, building' ('district-part')
мыды-бындз	'bee' ('honey-fly')
цӕсты-сыг	'a tear' ('eye-stream')
цӕсты-хау	'eye-lash' ('eye-fringe')
цӕсты-гагуы	'pupil' (гагуы is not used alone)
топпы-хос	'powder' ('gun-medicine')
базы-цъар	'pillow case' ('pillow-covering')
хуры-тын	'sun-ray'
цонджы-хъул	'wrist' ('arm-knucklebone'); cf. фадхъул 'ankle', where фад 'foot' lacks a case ending.
уды-хос	'elixir of life' ('soul medicine')
комы-къул	'inner surface of the cheek' ('wall of the mouth')
комы-дон	'saliva' ('water of the mouth')

сӕры-фахс	'part of the skull' ('side of the head')
доны-хъаз	'swan' ('water-goose')
мады-рвад	'uncle' ('mother's brother')
удыл-хӕцӕг	'keeping up the soul', 'preserving life' (удыл — adessive case of уд 'soul')
къухыл-хӕцӕг	'best man' ('leading by the hand')
коммӕ-гӕс	'obedient' ('one who is looking at the mouth')
хырхӕй-фадӕн	'saw-mill' ('where they split with a saw [хырхӕй]')
мӕстӕй-дзаг	'full [дзаг] of grief [мӕстӕй]'; мӕстӕй is the ablative case of маст; cf. мӕст-ӕлгъӕд with the same meaning, where the first part does not have case form
хинӕй-дзаг	'full of slyness'
цъыфӕй-дзаг	'dirty'; цъыфӕй is the ablative case of цъыф 'dirt, mud'
астӕуӕй-дӕлӕмӕ	'skirt' ('from the waist to the ground')
къухтӕ-мӕрзӕн	'towel' ('what the hands [къухтӕ] are wiped with [мӕрзын]').

§201.   Second Part of Compound Words.

There are two fundamental types: a) a nominal stem or a substantive with a suffixed formative in the second part, and b) a verbal stem or a deverbative substantive in the second part.

Substantive in the second part:

.1   In the bare stem form:

ӕ-дас	'safe'
ӕнӕ-мӕт	'happy, untroubled'
ӕд-уӕрдон	'with an ox-cart'
ӕм-гар	'of the same age'
уӕл-арв	'heaven'
дӕл-базыр	'porch'
фӕс-сихор	'after dinner'
ӕмбис-бон	'midday'
фыд-аз	'bad year'
сау-цӕст	'black-eyed'
бӕз-цъар	'thick-skinned'
бӕгъӕм-вад	'barefooted'
фӕрӕт-хъӕд	'ax handle'
ӕрт-тигъ	'arrowhead, end of the arrow' ('trihedron')
кусӕн-гарз	'tool'
мыды-бындз	'bee, honey fly', and many others.

In the second part, such words as зӕрдӕ 'heart' are often encountered (for expressing emotional states):

рухс-зӕрдӕ	'glad, joyful' (рухс 'bright, radiant')
хъӕлдзӕг-зӕрдӕ	'gay'
рог-зӕрдӕ	'light-minded'
фӕлмӕн-зӕрдӕ	'kind' (фӕлмӕн 'soft')
тӕн(ӕг)-зӕрдӕ	'sensitive, soft-hearted' (тӕнӕг 'fine, thin')
стыр-зӕрдӕ	'haughty' (стыр 'big')
хъал-зӕрдӕ	'arrogant'
сау-зӕрдӕ	'wicked' (сау 'black')
хъыг-зӕрдӕ	'aggrieved' (хъыг 'grief')
рыст-зӕрдӕ	'with aching heart', etc.

дзарм : (from царм 'skin, fur') for naming the hides of different animals:

уӕл-дзарм	'lamb-skin'
гал-дзарм	'ox-hide'
хъуг-дзарм	'cowhide'
сӕгъ-дзарм	'goatskin'
саг-дзарм	'deerskin'
ӕрс-дзарм	'bearskin', etc.

низ 'illness' in the names of different illnesses:

сӕр-низ	'headache'
дӕндаг-низ	'toothache'
хъуыр-низ	'scarlet fever' (хъуыр 'throat')
тар-низ	'tuberculosis' (тар 'chest')
гуыбын-низ	'stomach illness'
стӕг-низ	'rheumatism' (стӕг 'bone')
фад-низ	'foot disease' (of cattle), etc.

уат 'place', for designation of place:

бынат	(from бын-уат) 'place'
фадат	(from фад-уат) 'possibility' ('place for the foot')
уазӕг-уат	'sojourn'
ӕхсӕви-уат	'lodging for the night'
хъӕу-уат	'place where there used to be an aul (village)'
цӕрӕн-уат	'(place of) residence'
хуыссӕн-уат	'couch'
куыст-уат	'place of work'
зӕй-уат	'a place frequently endangered by avalanches'
куырд-уат	'arrival of the newly-wed bride in the paternal house'

цӕст (-дзӕст, -дзаст) 'eye':

сау-цӕст	'black-eyed'
цъӕх-цӕст	'blue-eyed'
цӕхӕр-цӕст	'with sparkling eyes'
рай-дзаст	'bright, light-'
худын-дзаст	'with a smiling glance'

кæуын-дзаст   'tear-stained'
цъыф-дзаст   'marsh, bog'
арт-дзæст   'hearth' (арт 'fire'), etc.

хъæд (гъæд) 'wood, forest' in the names of trees, wood, and also for
the designation of handles, etc.

сус-хъæд   'lime (tree), linden'
уис-хъæд   'maple'
фат-хъæд   'hornbeam'
зал-гъæд   'azalea'
бурæ-хъæд   'buckthorn'
сау-хъæд   'leafy woods'
фæрæт-хъæд   'ax-handle'
цæвæг-хъæд   'handle of a scythe'
сæр-хъæд   'upper plank of an ox-cart'
бын-хъæд   'lower support-beam of a windmill'
хъæбыс-хъæд   'cross-beam in a weaving loom'

.2 The substantive is in the genitive or inessive case; words of this
type are adverbial:

æнæ-бары   'unwillingly'
æнæ-нхъæлæджы   'unexpectedly'
дæл-фæдты   'at the feet'
мид-былты   'between the lips'
мид-зæрдæйы   'in the heart, in the soul'
сæр-быны   'topsy-turvy (lit. 'with the head down')
абон-дæргъы   'whole day' ('today — throughout')

.3 The substantive is in the ablative form — usually adverbs:

æм-вæндæй   'unanimously'
æм-хъæлæсæй   'unanimously'
сæр-гуыбырæй   'with hanging [гуыбыр] head'
бон-цухæй   'a day later' ('skipping a day'), etc.

.4 The substantive is in the dative:
зæрдæ-дзæбæхæн   'for one's pleasure' ('for delight of the heart')

.5 The substantive is in the allative case:
дæл-гоммæ   '(lie) face downwards'
уæл-гоммæ   '(lie) face upwards'

.6 The substantive is suffixed:
фондз-азон   'five-year plan'
æвд-сæрон   'seven-headed'
æртæ-сыфон   'trefoil'
цыппæр-дигъон   'quadrangular'
цыппæр-дзæлхыг   'four-wheeled'

иу-зæрдыг   'devoted' ('one-hearted')
ды-зæрдыг   'one who has doubts' ('two-hearted')
æ-гомыг   'mute'
къæм-дзæстыг   'confused' ('with a mote in the eye')
бон-хуыздæр   'from day to day better'
бон-выддæр   'from day to day worse'

Verb in the second part.

In the form of the bare stem (-гæс from кæсын 'to look, to watch', -дзау or -дзу from цæуын 'to go', -дар from дарын 'to carry', гур from курын 'to ask', -хор from хæрын 'to eat', etc.); compounds of this type usually denote the actor:

хъом-гæс   'herdsman' (хъом 'livestock')
бæх-гæс   'stable-man'
уæлы-гæс   'shepherd' (уæр 'lamb')
род-гæс   'calfherd' (род, рæуæд 'calf')
хуы-гæс   'swineherd'
сæгъ-гæс   'goatherd'
рæгъау-гæс   'horseherd'
хæдзар-гæс   'housekeeper'
дуар-гæс   'doorkeeper'
куырой-гæс   'miller'
хъæд-гæс   'forester' (хъæд 'forest')
коммæ-гæс   'obedient' ('looking intently at the mouth')
суг-дзау   'woodcutter' (lit. 'the one who fetches [дзау]
                           wood [суг]')
хос-дзау   'hay-maker' ('one who goes for the hay')
дон-дзау   'water-carrier'
куырой-дзау   'one who goes to the mill'
хуын-дзау   'one who arrives with presents [хуын]'
дзæгъæл-дзу   'idler'
хæд-дзу   'drifter, person on unwarranted leave'
фад-дзу   'go at slow pace' (of a horse) [фад 'foot']
æхсæв-дзу   'night march'
аг-дар   'custodian, keeper of the kettle [аг]')
дзаг-дар   'wine-drawer' (lit. 'custodian [дар] of the full
                           vessel [дзаг]').
хæзна-дар   'treasurer'
фарс-дар   'supporter' (lit. 'the one who keeps [дар] the
                           side [фарс] ')
мæгуыр-гур   'beggar' (lit. 'begging [гур] because of poverty
                           [мæгуыр] ')
кæрдзын-гур   'begging for bread'
ус-гур   'fiancé' ('asking for a wife')
тых-агур   'seeker of might'

лӕг-мар	'killer'
фыд-ис	'large fork for taking out [ис] meat [фыд] from the cauldron'
хъӕд-хой	'woodpecker' (lit. 'pecking [хой] on wood [хъӕд]')
ӕм-хиз	'combined pasturage'
сӕу-хиз	'dawn pasturage'
изӕр-хиз	'evening pasturage'
фӕсон-астӕр	'lining of a Circassian coat on the back' (астӕрын 'to trim')
фыд-ӕнхъӕл	'disappointment' ('bad waiting')
ӕгъдау-хал	'upsetting custom'
кӕсаг-лас	'heron' ('one that drags out fish')
хӕд-мӕл	'carrion' (lit. 'self-decaying')
ӕрв-дзӕф	'thunder-struck' (арв 'heaven', цӕвын 'to hit')
уац-мыс	'author of a literary work [уац]'
саг-сур	'one who overtakes [сур] a reindeer [саг]', in the sense of 'a fine fellow'
цъиу-сур	'(black) kite, falcon' ('one that hunts birds')
дзидзи-дай	'infant, baby' (lit. 'one who is sucking [дай from дӕйын] from the breast [дзидзи]')
фыд-хор	'carnivorous' (фыд 'meat')
хал-хор	'herbivorous' (хал 'blade of grass')
хӕдмӕл-хор	'feeding on dead animals'
бын-хор	'prodigal' ('one who eats up his inheritance [бын]')
лӕвар-хор	'parasite, drone'
ӕввонг-хор	'parasite, sponger'

We also find the stem -хор in a series of compound words with the meaning of 'material necessary for one or another type of clothing or footwear':

| дзабыр-хор | 'leather sufficient for sandals' (lit. 'so much as the sandals eat up') |
| уафс-хор | 'leather sufficient for a sole' |

   .7 The verb is in its participial form ending in -ӕг; this includes words with the meaning of the actor:

ӕм-кусӕг	'co-worker'
знаг-сӕттӕг	'one who ruins the enemy'
ахуыр-гӕнӕг	'teacher'
тых-гӕнӕг	'violator, tyrant'
хӕрз-гӕнӕг	'benefactor'
фыд-гӕнӕг	'villain, evildoer'
хъӕр-гӕнӕг	'herald' (хъӕр кӕнын 'to proclaim')
бӕх-тӕрӕг	'horse-driver'
хӕдзар-аразӕг	'house-builder'
зонд-амонӕг	'tutor, teacher' ('mind-guide')
туг-исӕг	'vendettist, avenger'

дзырд-хæссæг	'informer' ('word-carrier')
уд-хæссæг	'evil spirit' ('soul-taker')
чындз-хæссæг	'bridegroom' ('taking the new bride')
рынчын-фæрсæг	'visitor (caller) of the sick'
дæсны-фæрсæг	'sorceress, fortune teller'
хæрз-æмбæлæг	'a good man one meets' ('the one who brings fortune')
фыд-æмбæлæг	'a bad man one meets'
къухыл-хæцæг	'best man' ('the one who leads by the hand')
цæст-дарæг	'supervisor, superintendent'
хъус-дарæг	'supervisor, superintendent'
нард-уарæг	'one who distributes rich food' (server of food at feasts and funeral banquets)
уырдыджы-стæг	'table-waiter' (one who serves at feasts)
хъус-хилæг	'wood-louse' ('crawler into the ear')
хæд-тæхæг	'airplane'

.8 With the verb in the gerund form ending in -гæ; producing adjec-
tives and nouns:

æнæ-зонгæ	'stranger'
бон-зонгæ	'one who knows his own strength; modest'
хæд-тулгæ	'bicycle'
зæрдæ-хсайгæ	'suspicious, suspect' (lit. 'about whom or what the heart [зæрдæ] is worried [æхсайын]')
дзырд-дзæугæ	'influential' ('whose word goes')
цæст-уынгæ	'visible, obvious' ('seen by the eye')
сæр-исгæ	'the appearance of a pie' ('with removable top')

.9 With the verb in the past participle form ending in -т, -д; com-
pounds of this type usually yield words with the meaning of nouns of action or
of passive quality:

æм-хæрд	'communal meal'
æм-нозт	'communal drink'
æнæ-внæлд	'untouched'
хæрз-æхсад	'well washed'
хæрз-хаст	'well raised'
хæрз-фых[3]	'well-cooked, baked well'
хæрз-сæфт	'complete loss'
бын-сæфт	'complete loss'
кард-æлвæст	'with naked sword'
хъæст-æлвæст	'with tightened stomach' (хъæстæ 'stomach' in the Digor dialect)
æрдæг-мард	'half dead'
дзæгъæл-мард	'perished obscurely'
дзæгъæл-гаст	'exciting glance'

хынц-фарст	'urgent questions'
тых-уард	'strong rain'
тых-тард	'forced driving' (of a horse)
цӕст-дард	'care' ('holding of the eyes')
хъус-дард	'supervision, attention' ('holding of the ears')
фӕрс-ыссад	'with edges sharpened'
хуылф-хӕлд	'with damaged [хӕлд] insides [хуылф]'
лӕг-ӕвзӕрстӕй	'specially-manned' (adverb)
бӕх-ӕвзӕрстӕй	'choice-horsed' (adverb: 'having choice horses')
ӕрд-хорд	'sworn brother'
хос-гӕрст	'haymaking' (хос 'hay', кӕрдын 'to mow')
цард-ӕфсӕст	'satisfied with life'
кӕвдӕс-ард	'born in a manger' (a person of low origin in old Ossetia)
ног-гуырд	'newborn'
цӕрм-ыстыгъд	'wearing somebody's skin' (in the sense of 'very similar to somebody')
цъар-ист	'skim (milk)'
сӕрма-гонд	'special, particular' ('made for the head')
сӕгъ-ӕлвыд	'badly, unevenly clipped' ('clipped like a kid')
бӕрзӕй-саст	'with broken neck'
хӕрӕг-саст	'fight ending in a tie' ('donkey-defeat')
мӕрд-хуыст	'dead asleep'
куыст-вӕллад	'tired from work'
хӕд-архайд	'independent action'
мыд-амӕст	'honeyed cookie' ('mixed with honey')
дон-ласт	'drowned man' ('taken away by the water')
рон-баст	'crossbelt'
ных-къуырд	'repulse' ('blow in the forehead')
ном-дзыд	'famed' ('whose name has come')
ном-хуындӕй	'by name' ('naming by first name')

The past participle from кӕнын 'to do' is found in the second part of compound words in the forms –гӕнд and -гонд, or -конд. In the first case, the compound usually has the meaning of a noun of action; in the second, it can mean 'similar to something, formed, built':

хуымгӕнд	'arable land'
фӕззыгӕнд	'winter sowing'
уалдзыгӕнд	'spring sowing'
хӕрзконд	'well-formed'
фыдконд	'deformed, ugly'
ӕфсымӕргонд	'adopted brother' ('like a brother')
хогонд	'step-sister'
хызгонд	'lace' ('net-like')

.10 With the verb in the form of the verbal noun ending in   -æн, yields
words with the meaning of tool, time, place, etc.

ми-гæнæн	'tool' (ми 'matter', кæнын 'to do')
хи-сæрфæн	'towel'
хи-найæн	'bath-house'
хи-хсæн	'wash-stand'
раз-дарæн	'apron'
цæх-дарæн	'salt-shaker'
дон-дарæн	'watering place, pond'
къух-дарæн	'ring' ('worn on the finger')
цæнг-дарæн	'bracelet' ('worn on the arm')
цырагъ-дарæн	'candlestick'
хос-гæрдæн	'hay mowing'
хуым-гæрдæн	'harvest' (хуым 'cornfield')
хуым-гæнæн	'time of ploughing'
лауыз-гæнæн	'when cookies are made' (name of a holiday))
кæрк-уасæн	'time when the roosters crow'
бон-ивайæн	'dawn' (бон 'day', ивайын 'to turn pale')
бон-асадæн	'day halt' (асадын 'to give shade')
туг-уарæн	'disaster' (lit. 'bloody rain')
туг-гæлæн	'bloodshed'
дур-æхсæн	'sling' ('stone-thrower')
хъæд-фадæн	'sawmill'
сæр-васæн	'comb' ('what the head [сæр] is combed [фасын] with')
сæр-дасæн	'razor' ('what they shave [дасын] the head with')
сæр-бæттæн	'kerchief' ('bandage of the head')
рагъ-бæттæн	'saddle girth'
авдæн-бæттæн	'wrapping the child in the cradle [авдæн] and the ceremony connected with this ritual'
чъири-фыссæн	'what a pattern [фыссын] is molded onto a tart [чъири] with' (the wooden stamp used for this purpose)
кæл-мæрзæн	'kerchief' (мæрзын 'to wipe'; кæл 'hand' is not used alone)
къухтæ-мæрзæн	'kerchief, towel' (къухтæ 'hands')
хал-а-мæрзæн	'rake', 'what the grass [хал] is raked with'
цæрм-хафæн	'scraper for leather work'
арынг-хафæн	'scraper for a dough-trough'
куыдз-æппарæн	'precipice, abyss' ('where the dogs are thrown')
уд-исæн	'death agony' ('extraction of the soul')
ном-хæссæн	'famous, unprecedented' (ном 'name', хæссын 'to carry')

.11 The verb is in the form of a verbal noun ending in -он :

иу-дарон	'constantly worn' (about clothes)
æн-ауæрдон	'merciless' (ауæрдын 'to spare')
æнæ-вдæлон	'occupied' (æвдæлын 'to be free')
нæ-бæз з он	'unfit, worthless'
нæ-дзæрон	'unsociable, quarrelsome'
нæ-уынон	'abhorrent' (уынын 'to see')
хи-уарзон	'proud'

.12 The verb is in the form which ends in -ин:

æм-дзæрин	'roommate'
фыд-дзæрин	'quarrelsome'
фæс-дзæуин	'servant' ('one who walks behind')
рыг-хæцин	'fabric to which dust [рыг] easily sticks [хæцын]'

.13 The verb is in the 3d person sg. subjunctive form:

| ма-гуса | 'idler' (ма куса '(who) doesn't work') |
| ма-дзура | 'the silent one' (ма дзура '(who) doesn't speak'). |

§202.   Other Types of Compounding.

.1 Compounds are copulative when the two parts have independent meaning and, as it were, strengthen or complement each other.

ис-бон	'property' ('property-riches')
уад-тымыгъ	'snowstorm in the steppe' ('wind-snowstorm')
сæр-фад	'order' (lit. 'head-foot', 'beginning-end')
хæрг-æфс	'mule' (cf. хæрæг 'donkey', йæфс 'mare')
хъæу-бæстæ	'(rural) community' (хъæу 'village', бæстæ 'neighborhood')

Compounds of this type are not numerous.

.2 The second part, which does not have independent meaning, presents an assonance to the first:

къæдз-мæдз	'curved, crooked'
зылын-мылын	'curved, crooked'
хæццæ-мæццæ	'intermingled, mixed'
хъулон-мулон	'motley, many-colored'
къуыддæр-мыддæртæй	'anyhow, with difficulty'
цъындæг-мындæгæй	'blindly'
кæркæ-мæркæ	'bright, gay colored, brilliant'

The first part of this last word does not occur independently.

> къæдзтæ-мæдзтæ, кæдæм цæуыс?
> зылын-мылын, цы хъуыддаг дæ ис?
> 'sinuous one, where are you going?
> crooked one, what is the matter with you?'

(riddle; answer: chain above the hearth and smoke (ОТ 32 inaccurately)
рӕхыс дӕр цараӕй къӕдзтӕ-мӕдзтӕй артмӕ нал тавы йӕӕхи 'the chain above the hearth, all bent, does not warm itself anymore over the fire' (H 142)

цард хъулон-мулонӕй ӕрзылди мӕ рӕзты 'life in all of its brightness whirled before me' (H 143)

Digor куддӕр-муддӕртӕй еци тагӕмӕ бафтудӕй 'with difficulty he reached that copse' (ДС 14)

разгъордта къуымӕй цъындӕг-мындӕгӕй 'he ran out of the corner blindly' (ЮОПам. III 79)

.3   To the category of compound words one can also associate, with certain reservations, word-reduplication:

a) verbal:

акӕс-акӕс   'look, gaze'
рахӕц-рахӕц   'pulling'
зына-нӕзына   'hardly seen, hardly noticeable' (МД 1956 VII 52)

b) onomatopoetic:

тъӕпп-тъӕпп   'slapping, spanking'
къӕр-къӕр   'crash, crack'
гыбар-гыбур   'roar, rattle', and many others (cf. under compound
                             verbs)

c) in names of colors:

сау-сау-ид   'deep-black'
сырх-сырх-ид   'bright-red', etc.

d) in some other cases:

фӕд-фӕдыл   'in succession, in a row'
ӕрми-рми   'from hand to hand'
хӕдзари-хӕдзар   'from house to house'
дон-дон   'along the river' (МД 1956 VII 57)
адаг-адаг   'along the ravine' (X. Кадӕг 59)
къуылых-къуылых   'while hobbling' (Ф 1956 V 14).

.4   At present the use of abbreviated compounds assimilated or loan-translated from Russian is widespread:

райком   'district committee'
фӕскомцӕдис   'Komsomol', and many others.

§203.   The function of compound words in speech.

The compound word, according to its function, can be a noun, an adjective, or an adverb.   The distinction is not determined by formal markers, but by actual usage in speech.   If we take the words сау-ӕрфыг 'black-browed' and   сау-нӕмыг 'bilberry', we note that according to their structure and form they are completely identical.   However, the former is unquestionably adjectival, denoting 'having black eyebrows'; the latter, undoubtedly

nominal, denoting 'black berries'. In Russian this difference is expressed morphologically: the adjective has the special endings -ый, -ая, -ое. In Ossetic, however, сау-æрфыг formally means 'black eyebrow' but is translated 'black-browed'.

There is the same difference between æфсæн-вæндаг 'railroad, iron road' (noun), and æфсæн-дзых 'iron-barreled' (adjective — as of a gun), between зæрин-бос 'golden thread' (noun) and зæрин-дзыкку 'golden-haired' (adjective).

Of the two identically formed compound words фæс-он 'back' ('behind the shoulder blade') and фæс-сихор 'after lunch', the first should be considered a noun, and the second, an adverb — on the basis of their usage. Consequently, even adverbs cannot be strictly distinguished by formal markers from other compounds. And it is true that in a number of cases compound words are identified as adverbs by having case endings.

æм-вæндæй	'unanimously'
лæг-æвзæрстæй	'well-manned'
дæл-гоммæ	'face downwards, prone'
мид-зæрдæйы	'in the heart'

But many compound words, not having such formations, must nevertheless be regarded as adverbs.

§204.   Compound Words with Inversion.

In compound words, where one part serves as a modifier to the other (and such is the overwhelming majority of them), the modifier always appears before the modified. For modern formations such order appears to be a law.

However there are some facts which show that in the past this order was freer and permitted "inversion", i.e., the attribute might appear after the modified. Such compounds with inversion are also retained in considerable number in the modern language.

бар-хи	(also хи-бар) 'arbitrary'
астæу-нарæг	(also нарæг-астæу) 'with slender waist'
зæрдæ-рухс	(also рухс-зæрдæ) 'with bright heart, joyful'
зæрдæ-хъæлдзæг	'with gay heart'
ком-хæлиу	'with wide-open mouth' (ком 'mouth')
фæндаг-раст	(also рæст-вæндаг) '(having) straight way'
сæр-æгас	'unharmed', '(having) unharmed head'
сæр-ыстыр	'haughty, arrogant', '(having) big head'
сæр-хъæн	'unbalanced, extravagant', '(having) the head injured'
сæл-хæр	from сæр-хæлд 'unbalanced'
сæр-гуыбыр	'with hanging head'
рон-бæгъд	'without belt', 'with belt unfastened'
уæнг-мард	'flabby', '(having) dead limbs'

уд–мидӕг	'live', '(having) a soul inside'
уд–уӕлдай	'selfless', 'soul-sacrificing'
чыр–гъӕд	'wooden trunk'
хур–зӕрин	'golden sun'
кӕф–хъуындар	'fish covered with hair' (in fairy tales), etc.

Similar inversion takes place even in words where the modifier is expressed through a noun (in the sense of the genitive case), where according to current norms, the modifying noun necessarily should appear in the first part of the compound word:

йӕу–гӕф	'(hard) roe' (lit. 'millet [йӕу] of fish [гӕф]')
дон–гуырон	'mill [гуырон from куырон, куырой] river, rivulet [дон]'
згъӕллаг–ком	'bit' (harness) (lit. 'metal [згъӕллаг] of the mouth [ком]')
хӕф–фындз	'snot' (lit. 'pus [хӕф] of the nose [фындз]')
цӕфхад	(from цӕг–фад) 'horseshoe' (lit. 'ring [цӕг] of the feet [фад]')

§205.   Compound Words with Obscure Etymology.

There are quite a few such compound words in Ossetic, in which one or both parts no longer make sense in the contemporary language either because they underwent sound degeneration or because they vanished from the language in independent usage.

Such compounds are:

ӕфсымӕр	'brother' from ӕм–сывӕр 'of the same womb'
цӕфхад	'horseshoe' from цӕг–фад
сӕлхӕр	from сӕр–хӕлд 'disturbed' (lit. 'with wounded head')
ӕвдасарм	'part of a carcass including a front leg and a side', from ӕд–фарс–арм 'front foot (арм) with the side (ӕд фарс)'
ӕхсӕрфарс	'cheek' from ӕфсӕр–фарс 'side of the jaw'
цӕджджинаг	'big pot with handles' from цӕг–джын–аг 'pot (аг) with handles (цӕг–джын)'
тинкӕрц	'expensive fur coat' ('squirrel coat' with the forgotten word тин 'squirrel')
хӕр–ис	'willow' where ис is from уис 'rod', and хӕр is a forgotten word meaning 'gray'.

§206.   Suffix or Compound Word?

Some words, when used as the second part of a compound, lose so much of their original lexical meaning that they become something like suffixes:

бын 'bottom' in such words as сырх–бын 'reddish'; бур–бын 'yellowish'; уӕз–бын 'rather heavy'; тӕгӕр–бын 'maple forest', etc.

цæф (-дзæф) 'blow' in such words as   сæнтдзæф 'a little troubled' (сонт 'half-wit'); æдылы-дзæф 'foolish'; дæрд-дзæф 'aloof, at some distance', etc.

уаг (-уæг) 'mood, behavior' in such words as хæрз-и-уæг 'a favor'; æлдар-и-уæг 'domination', etc.

In such compounds as цъыф-дзаст 'swamp, bog', дон-дзаст 'watery', it is hard to catch the semantic connection with цæст 'eye'; but in words like зул-аив 'obliquely', хæрд-аив 'barely uphill', уырдыг-аив 'barely downhill', there is a connection with аив 'pleasant'.

In compounds of the type of цæуын-хъом 'able to walk', хъазын-хъом 'able to play', кусын-хъом 'able to work', the second part (хъом) is undoubtedly connected with хъомыл 'grown up', but this connection is no longer realized, and -хъом has turned into a suffix.

We should consider these cases as transitional from composition to derivation.

§207.   Phonic Phenomena in Compound Words.
      .1 Weakening of a, о to æ in the first part:

æвд-сæрон	'seven-headed' (авд 'seven')
рæст-вæндаг	'having a straight way' (раст 'straight')
хъæрм-хуыпп	'soup' (хъарм 'warm')
хæрз-конд	'well-built' (хорз 'good'), etc.

This change does not have the character of a rule and is observed only in certain cases.

Raising of the vowel in the first part is observed in the word бил-тас 'curling the lips', where the vowel и represents the strong grade of the vowel ы in был 'lip'.

Vowel weakening in the second part of the compound is quite rare; cf. булæмæргъ 'nightingale' from бурæ-маргъ, кæстæриуæг 'service of the junior' from кæстæр-и-уаг 'behavior (уаг) of the younger'.

      .2 Raising of æ to а in the second part: хос-дзау 'hay mower' and other words containing -дзау in their second part (see above) from цæуын 'to go'

дзидзи-дай	'suckling baby' (from дæйын 'to suck')
дæгъæм-сар	'bareheaded' (сæр 'head')
рай-дзаст	'colored, bright' (цæст 'eye').

This change also occurs sporadically.

      .3 Voicing of voiceless consonants at the beginning of the second part is a very widespread phenomenon:

æ-гад	'inglorious' (кад 'glory')
æм-гар	'age-mate' (кар 'age')
дæл-вæндаг	'under the road' (фæндаг 'road')
хос-гæрдæн	'hay-maker, -mowing' (кæрдын 'to mow')
тых-гæнæг	'violator', etc.

In the beginning, voicing apparently took place after resonants and voiced consonants, and later, by analogy, was also extended to cases after voiceless consonants.

.4   Assimilation of consonants:

бæгъæм-вад > бæгъæввад   'barefooted'
фад-дзу > фаццу   'pacing', etc.

.5   Disappearance of consonants and semivowels (rarely):

цæр-хафæн   from цæрм-хафæн   'scraper for hides'
бын-ат   from бын-уат 'place', etc.

.6   Connective vowel:

In such compounds as:

хæрз-и-уæг   'service, favor'
кæстæр-и-уæт   'service (rendered) by the young'
æлдар-и-уæг   'rule, domination'
æхсæв-и-уат   'lodging for the night'
сæр-и-бар   'freedom'

The role of the vowel и needs some clarification. It is impossible to recognize it as the case ending of the genitive (ы) because we do not have other instances of ы raising to an и in case endings. Therefore it is possible that we have here a connective vowel, like o and e in Russian:

лист-о-пад   'fall (shedding of the leaves)'
кров-е-носный   'blood-carrying, circulatory', etc.

In other cases the vowels a and æ had the role of such a connection.

хал-а-мæрзæн   'rake'
фæс-а-хсæвæр   'after supper'
худ-а-истæй   'with cap taken off'
уд-а-истæй   'puffing' ('with soul pulled out')
сæрм-а-гонд   'special' (сæрм from сæрмæ, allative case of
                     сæр 'head')
æндæр-æ-бон   'the day before yesterday' ('the other day').

Notes

1. In actual orthography these are written: скъуыддзаг, мæрддзаг, амаддзаг.

2. In these examples the adjective of the first part is in its truncated form. In independent usage they appear thus: бæзджын 'fat', тæнæг 'thin', рæуæг 'light', нарæг 'narrow'.

3. The participle фых, from фыцын, as an exception does not end in -т.

INFORMATION ON SYNTAX[1]

Simple Sentences

§208.   The simple sentence can be composed of a single word — a predicate in its impersonal form or in its personal form, but with omission of a pronoun:

уары	'it's raining'
цӕугӕ	'get out!, go!'
фендзыстут	'you will see'

Usually in the simple unextended sentence both parts are present, the subject and the predicate:

хур судыз	'the sun is burning'
мит тайы	'the snow is thawing'

As a rule, the subject precedes the predicate, but such an order is not obligatory:

ӕрцыди уалдзӕг	'spring came' ("came the spring")

The simple extended sentence can be broken down into two groups of components: subject-group and predicate-group. The first includes the subject with its modifiers; the second — the predicate with objects and adverbials. The subject-group usually precedes the predicate-group.

Parts of the Sentence

Subject

§209.   The subject can be expressed by any substantival form (noun, pronoun, verbal noun) in the nominative case:

хистӕртӕ лӕппуйыл ном сӕвӕрдтой   'the elders have given a name to the young boy'

чи та нӕ хъыгдары?   'who is disturbing us again?'

цӕвӕг ӕвзидӕгӕй фӕраздӕр ис   'the one who strikes has outstripped the one who is getting ready'.

With some verbs ('to want', 'to believe') the logical subject is in the genitive case instead of being in the nominative.

мӕн фӕнды	'I want'
мӕн уырны	'I believe'

Predicate

§210.   The predicate can be verbal or nominal with a copula.
Both simple and compound verbs appear as a verbal predicate:
йӕ въах нӕ фӕллад 'his (foot) feet did not get tired'
уазджытӕ фысымӕн раарфӕ кодтой 'the guests thanked the host'.
The nominal predicate consists of substantives and verbal copulas. In
the role of the latter, we find the verbs уын 'to be' and кӕнын 'to do' and
their preverbal formations more than anything else: фӕуын 'to prove to be',
суын 'to become', скӕнын 'to make', etc.
While in Russian the presence of the verbal copula is obligatory only in
the past and future tenses, but in the present tense it is almost always omitted,
in Ossetic, the verbal copula, as a rule, also occurs in the present tense:

уый дзӕбӕх уыди   'he was healthy'
уый дзӕбӕх уыдзӕн   'he will be healthy'
уый дзӕбӕх у   'he is healthy'

However in Ossetic, particularily in poetic speech, the copula can be o-
mitted:
нӕ хуымтӕ — кӕндтытӕ 'our fields are tilled' (instead of кӕндтытӕ
сты) (К 123)

арсы хъуын — йӕ лыстӕн,
тинтычъи — йӕ баз
'bear-skin — is his bed,
goat hair — is his pillow' (К 64)
(instead of арсы хъуын у йӕ лыстӕн, тинтычъи у йӕ баз).
The predicate noun in Ossetic is often in the nominative case:
цы хосдзау уыдтӕн! 'how excellent was I as a haymaker!' (К 57) (lit.,
'what a haymaker I was!')
Sometimes in the ablative or dative:
Сабан цуанонӕй (ablative case) хатти 'Saban is making his rounds as
a hunter'
Иунӕг ӕмбалӕн (dative case) ын уыд йӕ къуыбырхъус куыдз 'his
sole comrade was his alert dog'.

§211.   The predicate agrees with the subject in person and number.
But if the subject, while appearing formally in the singular, has nevertheless
a collective meaning, the predicate occurring with it usually is in the plural:
хъом хизӕнӕй ӕрцыдысты 'the herd arrived from the pasture (lit. 'ar-
rived [pl.]')
Фос цы ран хизынц, уый мын бацамонут 'show me, please, where
the herd grazes' (lit. 'are grazing') (ДС 19)
лӕппу-адӕм бӕхтыл хъазынц 'the young people (sg.) are trick riding
on the horses' (MST 1310)
ӕфсад хъӕумӕ бабырстой 'the army moved (pl.) into the village'

адæм фæфæдис сты 'the people (sg.) were alarmed'.

On the other hand, if indefinite things appear in the plural as the subject, the predicate occurring with them can stand in the singular:

хохæй дуртæ тулы 'from the mountain, stones were rolling ('is rolling')',

хæзнатæ нæм хауы уæларвæй 'wealth (treasures) is falling to us from heaven' (К 127)

бирæ сывæллæттæ цъæхнæууыл хъазы 'many children are playing (sg.) on the green grass' (К 77)

хæфсытæ уасыд йæ къахы скъуыдтæй 'from the cracks frogs were croaking (sg.) at his feet' (К 47)

æртæ æхсинæджы нæ мæсыгæй ратахт 'three doves flew (sg.) down from our tower' (Бр. 110)

атæппæт бæллæхтæ дæу тыххæй æрцыд 'all these misfortunes happened (sg.) because of you' (С 106)

Секъойы марын фæнд скодтой, цæмæй йæ фос, йæ мулк æмæ йæ ус уыдонæн баззадаид 'they intended to kill Seko in order that his cattle, property and wife would come (sg.) into their possession' (С 92)

цæхгæрмæ уынгæй рацыди æртæ лæджы 'three men came (sg.) out from the cross street' (А 211).

Violation of agreement can take place even in a case when a noun serves as the predicate:

зæдтæ æмæ даудджытæ — дæ фыд Хæмыцы марæг 'those in heaven (dwellers in the heaven) are the killers ('killer') of your father Khamits' (ОТ 48).

§212.   Attribute.

The attribute can be expressed by an adjective, an adverb, or any verbal noun:

бæрзонд урс хæхтæ	'high white mountains'
худгæ хур	'smiling, laughing sun'
амайæн фæрæт	'carpenter axe, broad-axe'

Or by a noun in the nominative (endingless) case:

хур бон	'sunny day' ('sun-day')
æвзист рон	'belt made with silver' ('silver-belt')

Or by a noun in the genitive case:

мады рæвдыд	'motherly caress' ('mother's caress')
æнусы кад	'eternal glory' ('glory of eternity')

Or by a noun in the ablative case:

дурæй мæсыг	'stone tower' ('tower of stone').

Very often the genitive case of a possessive attribute is replaced by the phrase: dative case of the attribute plus pronoun in the genitive case; therefore, instead of saying мады рæвдыд, it is possible to say мадæн йæ рæвдыд 'mother (dat. case) her (gen. case) caress'; and instead of адæмы куыст 'work of the people', адæмæн сæ куыст 'to the nation their work'.

The numerals, when occurring before nouns, require that the noun be placed in the genitive case. Otherwise, combinations with numerals may be treated the same as with modifiers, namely, only the noun is declined, and the numeral remains without any change:

дӕс лӕджы	'ten men'
дӕс лӕгӕн	'to ten men', etc.

The same can be said about the quantitative pronouns and adverbs:

цал лӕджы?	'how many men?'
бирӕ адӕм	'many people'

The modifier, whatever it is expressed by, necessarily precedes the modified.

The modifier does not agree with the modified either in case or in number:

мӕ зӕронд фыд	'my old father'
мӕ зӕронд фыдӕн	'to my old father'
нӕ зӕронд фыдӕлтӕ	'our old fathers'
нӕ зӕронд фыдӕлтӕн	'to our old fathers'

As is clear from these examples, the modifier with the modified is regarded as one integral complex where it is enough to inflect the last part, i.e., the modified.

§213.   Direct Object.

Any noun or pronoun or verbal noun form can stand in the role of direct object.

The direct object is put in some instances into the nominative, in others — into the genitive case:

If an inanimate object or an indefinite being serves as a direct object, then the direct object usually appears in the nominative:

халон цыхты къӕртт ссардта 'the crow found a piece of cheese' (К 82)

йӕ фос ныууагъта 'he abandoned his herd' (К 50)

цырд лӕппу гӕлӕбу ӕрцахста 'the quick boy caught the butterfly' (К 123)

уӕ лӕг саг амара! '(I wish) your husband will succeed in killing a deer'

уазӕг нӕ уадзут? 'don't you allow a guest to enter?' (Аргъ. 132)

лӕппу ӕвдсӕрон уӕйыг куыддӕр ауыдта, афтӕ лидзынты фӕци 'as soon as the young man saw the seven-headed giant, he rushed away' (ДС 14).

The designation of an inanimate object or animal is put in the genitive case when it is stressed that it is a question of a definite object:

топпы рагъӕныл ӕрцауыгъта 'he hung up his gun on the rack' (Ч 76)

ӕнӕ ауӕдз лыгӕй афӕлдӕхтой уыцы фӕзы 'without marking a boundary they tilled the field' (Ч 174)

къухты аирд кодта сапон 'the soap completely cleaned the hands' (Н 159)

Дзамболат ын тæвд цæкуыты йæ къухты нылхъывта 'Dzambolat pressed hot corn into her hands' (ДС 13)

ссардта бæхы 'he found his horse' (the one already known).

Ирæф ивылдзæн æмæ ласдзæн куырæйтты '(the river) Iraf will overflow and carry off the mill' (М 126).

In one and the same phrase, variation is possible in the use of either nominative or genitive case. Thus, in Britaev's play "Дыуу<ae> хойы ", side by side we read (page 30):

Куитæ йыл сардаудзынæн 'I will set the dogs (nom. pl.) on him'

Куиты йыл сардау 'Set the dogs (gen. pl.) on him'.

If a definite individual animate being serves as the direct object, then the direct object stands in the genitive case:

Чермен йæ мады кæугæ баййæфта 'Chermen found his mother crying'.

Proper nouns and personal pronouns, in the role of direct object, always appear in the genitive case:

Азау Таймуразы ауыдта 'Azau saw Taymuraz'

æз дæу фæрсын 'I ask you'.

§214.   Indirect Object.

The basic case of the indirect object is the dative.   The remaining oblique cases, and also the postpositional constructions, can be either objects or adverbials, depending on the specific use.   We give examples of their use in the indirect object function:

фæцыдтæ мæгуыртæн (dat. case) фиййау 'you walked for the poor as a shepherd' (К 29)

Уырызмæг Сосланмæ (allat. case) бадзырдта 'Urizmag turned to Soslan'

йæ аууонæй (abl. case) дæр тæрсгæ кæны 'he is even afraid of his own shadow'

куырд куырдыл (iness. case) ахуыр кæны 'the smith is learning from the smith'

Батрадз хуыцауимæ (comit. case) дæр тох кодта 'Batradz fought even with God'.

Below we give examples for the typical use of these same cases in the function of adverbials.

§215.   Adverbials.

Adverbials can be expressed by adverbs, gerunds, oblique case-forms, and postpositional constructions.

Adverbials of time (to the question when?) can also be expressed by the nominative case:

иу бон хизæнæй æртардта йе 'фсæст фосы дзуг 'in one day he brought back his well-fed herd from the pasturage' (К 104).

Adverbial of time, expressed by the inessive case:

уалдзӕджы къуылдымтӕ дидинӕгай сӕхи сфӕлыстой 'in spring (time) the slopes were dressed up with flowers'.

Adverbial of time, expressed by the ablative and allative cases:

ӕхсӕвӕй-бонмӕ мит фӕуарыд 'from night to morning it snowed incessantly'.

Adverbial of place, expressed by the inessive case:

бӕх кӕрты ӕд саргъ лӕууыди 'the horse stood saddled in the yard'.

Adverbial of place, expressed by the adessive case:

рахъил, дурыл сбадти 'he raised himself up and sat on the stone' (К 64).

Adverbial of place, expressed by the ablative and allative cases:

комӕй коммӕ зарӕг айхъуыст 'the song spread from canyon to canyon'.

Adverbial of manner of action, expressed by the ablative case:

уӕлбӕхӕй сӕ разы фӕвзӕрд 'he appeared before them on horseback'.

Adverbial of manner, expressed by the equative case:

бӕласы цонгыл цӕргӕсау сбадти 'on the branch (of the tree) it (the crow) alit like an eagle' (К 82).

Adverbial of cause, aside from postpositions and adverbs proper, is most often expressed by the ablative case; the adverbial of goal — by the allative.

уазалӕй рызти 'he trembled from the cold'

хъӕдмӕ саунӕмыгмӕ ацыдыстӕм 'we went to the forest for bilberries'.

In a sentence, adverbials appear as a rule before the predicate, immediately adjoining it. Only the adverbials of time and place, if they indicate the general situation of the action, have a tendency to appear at the beginning of the sentence, independently of the position of the predicate:

раджы та иу бирӕгъ нард хӕдмӕл хордта 'long ago a wolf ate a fat dead carcass' (К 85)

нӕ хуымты ацы аз диссаджы хорз мӕнӕу ӕрзад 'in our fields good wheat has surprisingly grown this year'.

Enclitic Pronouns and Enclitic Particles

§216. Enclitic pronouns and particles occupy such an outstanding place in Ossetic speech that it is necessary to speak of them separately.

According to their function in the sentence, enclitic pronouns serve as objects; and enclitic-particles, generally as adverbials or modal words.

But in contrast to independent (non-enclitic) objects and adverbials which gravitate toward the predicate, the enclitic pronouns and particles adjoin the first word or the first syntagm (rhythmical unit) in the sentence, independently of the position of the predicate.

In the sentence —

Сырдон уайтагъд хъӕлдзӕгӕй бадзырдта Хӕмыцмӕ 'Sirdon immediately turned gaily to Khamits' — the indirect object Khamits stands after the predicate бадзырдта. If we replace it with the enclitic pronoun ӕм

'to him', then the sentence will take this form:

Сырдон æм уайтагъд хъæлдзæгæй бадзырдта 'Sirdon to him immediately turned gaily' (the enclitic æм stands after the first word Сырдон). This order is strictly observed in Ossetic.[2]

§217.   The following feature in the use of enclitics is characteristic for Ossetic: very often an object or adverbial, expressed by a nominative case form or by a full pronoun, is anticipated additionally in the form of an enclitic pronoun. In this way, the object or adverbial proves to be expressed twice in the sentence: first in the form of an enclitic pronoun, and then in the form of a noun or full pronoun:

Батрадз æм рагæй мæсты уыд сохъхъыр уæйыгмæ 'Batradz at him was long ago angry at the one-eyed giant'

бирæ дзы фæдæ Мæскуыйы? 'did you stay there long in Moscow?'

нæ нæм цæуы махмæ lit. 'not to us (enclitic) he comes to us', i.e., 'he does not come to see us'.

The anticipation of possessive phrases by enclitic pronouns in the dative is common:

бавæрдзыстут мын мæ мард 'bury for me my body' (К 21)

кæсынц ын йæ кардмæ 'they are looking to him at his sword'.

If several enclitics follow after one another, the enclitic particles appear in the following order: дæр 'also', та 'again, but', ма 'still, more, just', уал 'while, as long', дам 'he says', иу — the particle of repetition. Next are the enclitic pronouns in the following order: dative or allative case, genitive case (direct object), inessive, and ablative:

ныр дæр та йæм кæсы 'now also again him he looks at'.

§218.   Word Order.

Strict regularity is observed in the following cases:

    the modifier stands before the modified;

    the postposition stands after the governed word;

    enclitics are joined to the first word or syntagm of the sentence.

In the remaining cases, Ossetic permits considerable freedom in the arrangement of the parts of the sentence, and here we can speak only of tendencies, not of laws.

We can note the following common tendencies:

    the subject-group more often precedes the predicate-group;

    adverbials and objects precede the predicate;

    adverbials of time and place, if they point to a general situation, gravitate toward the beginning of the sentence.

Иухатт зæронд Уырызмæг Нарты ныхасы иунæгæй дурыл рæдзæ-мæдзæ кодта 'once in solitude the old Urizmag in the Nartian place dozed upon a stone'.

The arrangement of words in the frame of allowed shifts is used for stylistic nuances of speech and for expressing logical stress.   The word which

receives the logical stress is often put at the end of the sentence, sometimes also, at the beginning.

§219.   Sentences with Coordinate Parts.

Sentences with several coordinate parts — with several subjects, or predicates, or attributes, or objects, or adverbials — are constructed according to the same pattern and subordinated to the same norms as simple sentences.

In comparison with Russian there is only one peculiarity: if coordinate nominal parts (attributes expressed by the genitive case, objects) require case forms because of meaning, then the case ending is joined only to the last of the coordinate terms; the others remain undeclined. In other words, the entire group is regarded as a whole, as a single declinable unit:

бирӕгъ, арс ӕмӕ рувасы аргъау мын ракӕн 'tell me the tale of the wolf, the bear, and the fox' ('wolf-bear-and-fox's tale tell me')

йӕ мад, йӕ фыд ӕмӕ йӕ хотимӕ горӕтмӕ ацыди 'with his mother, his father, and his sisters, he went to the city' (his-mother-his-father-and-with-his-sisters he went to the city')

гуыбыр, тызмӕгӕй бады 'he sits hunched, stern' (instead of гуыбырӕй, тызмӕгӕй).

Paired coordinate nominal parts (subjects, objects, adverbials) can be in the ablative case:

чысылӕй-стырӕй кусынмӕ ацыдысты 'young and old went to work'

сӕрдӕй-зымӕгӕй ныхасы бады 'summer and winter he sits in the Nikhas' (a place where men spent their free time)

ӕрӕмбырд кодта се'гасы цыиуӕй-бӕдулӕй 'he gathered them all: chicks and hens'.

§220.   Compound Sentences.

Compound sentences can occur with or without conjunctions. Examples for the latter might be:

халон халонмӕ тӕхы, халон халонӕн зӕгъы 'raven flies to raven, raven talks to raven' (К 128).

This means of coordination is abundantly represented in the works of Kosta Khetagurov which reflect popular speech.

Compound sentences joined by conjunctions, according to the character of logical relation among the parts, are divided into copulative and adversative types.

Most frequently used as copulative conjunctions are: ӕмӕ 'and', дӕр 'also', стӕй 'afterwards, then', афтӕмӕй 'thus', уӕлдайдӕр 'all the more':

лӕппу порти ныкъкъуырдта, ӕмӕ Уырызмӕджы уӕрагыл сӕмбӕлди 'the boy kicked the ball and it hit the knee of Urizmag'

стъалытӕ сӕрттывтой, мӕй дӕр скасти 'the stars began shining, the moon also came up'

ус афæдзы бонмæ йæхиуыл хæцыд, стæй Куырттаты коммæ чындзы та
фæцыд 'the woman waited for a twelve-month period, then married again in
Kurtatin Canyon' (К 55)

сæ иу бæхыл абадт, иннæ фистæгæй, афтæмæй араст сты 'one of them
went away on horseback, the other, on foot — in this manner they left'.

Adversative connection is expressed by the conjunctions фæлæ 'however',
та 'but, while', афтæмæй '(but) meanwhile, (but) whereas', кæннод 'if not,
otherwise', æндæра 'if not, otherwise', кæнæ 'or', æви (in interrogative
phrases) 'or', etc.

Уырызмæг Нартæн раарфæ кодта, фæлæ йæм кæсгæ дæр ничи ракодта
'Urizmag greeted the Narts, but nobody even glanced at him'

бирæгъæн æмбисæндтæ хасти, уый та хъæдмæ касти 'they told tales
to the wolf but he (just) gazed at the forest'

арæхстджын дзыхæй, афтæмæй нæ курыс '(you) are eloquent, but never-
theless you don't ask' (К 94)

æнцад бад, æндæра дæ марын 'sit quietly — if not, I will kill you'

кæнæ кадимæ æрыздæхдзынæн, кæнæ мæ сæр фесафдзынæн 'either I
will return with glory, or I will lay down my head'.

Complex Sentences

§221.   The connection between main and subordinate clause is expressed
by various subordinating conjunctions and pronouns. But there are also cases
of subordination without a conjunction:

мигъ бады цæгаты, нæ йæ тавы хур 'the fog settled on the northern
side, (because) the sun did not warm it'.

The order of succession in a complex construction can be varied, but the
general tendency is that the subordinate is before the main clause.

Types of subordinate clauses and the conjunctions commonly used with
them (pronouns, adverbs):

§222.   Subordinate-subject clause (чи, цы, кæй, etc.):

фæсмон фæкæна, дæу урс æхсырæй чи нæ бафсæста   'let her who did
not fill you with white milk be repentant' (К 48)

удынцой ма фена, махæн нæ царды фæнд чи халы барæввæндæй   'the
one who deliberately disturbs our plan of life should see no peace'

сæ хистæр чи уыд, уый загъта 'the oldest of them (the one who was
the oldest among them) said'

кæй уардзæн, уый бæлвырд у   'that it will rain, this is without question'.

§223.   Subordinate-object clause (кæй, цы æмæ, etc.):

хæрз дзæгъæл кæй зайын, уый базыдтон 'I learned that I remain com-
pletely neglected (homeless)' (К 55)

чи цы агуры, уай ссары   'whoever seeks something, that he finds'

загъ ын, æмæ æрбацæуа 'tell him that he should enter'.

§224.   Subordinate-attributive clause (чи, цы, кӕцы, and the oblique cases of these relative pronouns: кӕм, куы etc.):

цуанон цы ком нӕ басгары, уый сырдджын хоны 'the gorge which he (still) did not scout out, the hunter considers abundant with wild game'.

Subordinate-attributive clauses which follow the main clause and begin with кӕцы 'which' are not characteristic of Ossetic, and only in the last period have they spread under the influence of Russian subordinate clauses beginning with который 'which'. But once in a while they are found even in old texts:

Digor ... ӕма ин райгурдӕй ӕртӕ лӕхъуӕни, кӕцитӕн сӕ кӕстӕр хуынд-тӕй Дзанболат ... '... and three sons were born to him, of whom the youngest was called Dzanbolat' (ДС 12).

§225.   Subordinate of place (кӕм, кӕдӕм, кӕцӕй):

йе 'фсымӕры кӕм ныууагъта, уырдӕм ӕрбацыд 'he arrived where he had left his brother'.

§226.   Subordinate of cause (уымӕн ... ӕмӕ, etc.):

адӕм уымӕн сыстадысты, ӕмӕ сӕ бон нал уыди 'the nation revolted because it was not able to endure any more'.

§227.   Subordinate of result (афтӕ ... ӕмӕ):

арв афтӕ ныннӕрыд, ӕмӕ хӕдзар ныррызти 'the sky began to thunder so, that the house trembled'.

§228.   Subordinate of purpose (цӕмӕй, кӕд, ӕмӕ):

куыдзӕн къӕбӕр аппар, цӕмӕй мауал рӕйа (or ӕмӕ мауал рӕйа, or кӕд нал рӕид 'throw a piece of bread to the dog, so that it won't bark anymore'.

Some instances of the use of direct speech can also be regarded (in translation to Russian) as subordinates of purpose (see below).

§229.   Conditional subordinate (кӕд, куы):

кӕд ды дзырд мӕ дзырдмӕ арай — дӕу фӕуӕд мӕ фос 'if you find an answer to my word, then let my herd be yours' (К 104)

фӕзын, кӕд лӕг дӕ 'show yourself, if you are a man' (К 62)

ӕз дзыллӕйӕ къаддӕр куы дарин, уӕд афтӕ ӕнкъардӕй нӕ зарин 'if I owed less to everyone, I would not sing so sadly' (К 11).

Sometimes in conditional subordinate clauses куы (кӕд) is omitted, but then the predicate of the subordinate clause may be not in the subjunctive mood but in the future indicative, and the main clause begins with the conjunction ӕмӕ:

ды мӕн бакъуылымпы кӕндзынӕ, ӕмӕ дын ӕз ацы хъамайӕ дӕ къабӕз-тӕ ӕрцӕгъддзынӕн 'you just disturb me, and I will chop off your limbs with this dagger' (Бр. 148).

§230.   Concessive subordinate (кæд):

кæд бирæ нæ ацарди, уæддæр ын бирæ бантыст 'although he didn't live long, he accomplished much'.

Concessive connection can also be expressed in Ossetic by a coordinate sentence (бæргæ ... фæлæ):

бæргæ йын дзырдтон, фæлæ не 'сразы ис 'although I persuaded him, he still did not agree'.

§231.   Subordinate of manner of action (куыд, цыма, etc.):

чи куыд арæхст, афтæ кафыдысты 'they danced however they were able'

цыма сæ фæдисæй скъæры, тындзы 'he hurried as if he were driving them (the geese), (after having heard) the alarm' (К 88).

§232.   Conjunctions joining subordinate clauses with main ones should stand in Ossetic immediately adjacent to the predicate of the subordinate clause, under the same accent with it, and not at the beginning of the sentence, as in Russian:

мит куы уарыд ... lit. 'the snow when it was falling'; one cannot say:
        куы мит уарыд 'when the snow was falling'

халагъуды дуарæй куы бакаст æмæ чызджы куы федта, уæд загъта lit. 'in the door of the tent when he glanced, and a girl (accusative) when (he) saw, then (he) said'; it is impossible to say: куы халагъуды дуарæй бакаст æмæ куы чызджы федта ...

хæрз дзæгъæл кæй зайын, уый базыдтон lit. 'absolutely homeless that I remain, this I learned' (К 55); it is impossible to say: кæй хæрз дзæгъæл зайын ...

These conjunctions are exceptions: кæд 'if' (but not кæд 'when'!), цæмæй 'in order that' (but not цæмæй 'than'!), цалынмæ 'while', куыддæр 'as soon as', цыма 'as if'. They have independent stress and can stand as far as desired from the predicate of the subordinate clause.

§233.   Conjunctions of the subordinate clause can sometimes be omitted. It is possible to say: кæй мæ уарзут, уый хатын 'that you love me, this I understand'; but one can also say: уарзут мæ, уый хатын 'you love me, this I understand' (exactly so in Kosta Khetagurov's poem Цъиу æмæ сывæл-лæттæ 'The Little Bird and the Children').

§234.   Connective-words (pronouns, adverbs) of the subordinate clause have these correlative pronouns and adverbs in the main clause:

чи	'who' — уый 'that (one)'	
цы	'what' — уый 'that (thing)', уыцы 'that (one)'	
кæд	'if, when' — уæд 'then'	
куыд	'how, as' — афтæ 'so, thus'	
цалынмæ	'while' — уалынмæ 'until'	
цыма	'as if' — афтæ, уыйау 'so', etc.	

With respect to clause position, the following regularities are discernible. If the subordinate <u>precedes</u> the main clause (and in Ossetic, as we already noted, this is the prevailing norm), then the correlative pronoun or adverb (уый, уæд, афтæ, etc.) usually stands at the beginning of the main clause (see examples above).

But if the subordinate <u>follows</u> the main clause, then the correlative connective-word is transposed to the very end, after the subordinate clause. In the sentence

кæй мæ уарзут, уый зонын 'that you love me, this I know', the subordinate precedes the main, and the correlative уый appears at the beginning of the main clause.

If we put the principal clause in front, then the sentence takes this shape: зонын, кæй мæ уарзут, уый 'I know, that me you love, this'.

Here the closing уый in a way strengthens the connection between the main and the subordinate clauses that is weakened by the unusual order of the parts: the main before the subordinate.

However, such an end-tie is not strictly obligatory. Many cases can be shown where it is lacking. For instance, the line cited above from Kosta Khetagurov:

фæсмон фæкæна, дæу урс æхсырæй чи нæ бафсæста 'who did not fill you with white milk be repentant' (instead of ... чи нæ бафсæста, уый).

The correlative pronouns and adverbs of the main clause (уый, уымæн, уæд, etc.) can sometimes be omitted:

карк кæмæ и — сæдæ карчы, фыс кæмæ и — сæдæ фысы, хъуг кæмæ и — сæдæ хъуджы, гал кæмæ и — сæдæ галы, бæх кæмæ и — сæдæ бæхы 'whoever has chickens, (let him present) a hundred chickens, whoever has sheep — a hundred sheep, whoever has cows — a hundred cows, whoever has bulls — a hundred bulls, whoever has horses — a hundred horses (ОЭ 170); in full style it would be: карк кæмæ и, уый сæдæ карчы, etc.

§235. Participial and Gerundial Phrases.

Expanded subordinate clauses can sometimes be replaced with participial or gerundial phrases. Instead of —

цыма ницы федта, йæхи афтæ акодта 'he put on a look as if he had not noticed anything';

one can also say:

ницы фенæгау йæхи акодта, where фенæгау is the equative case of the participle фенæг 'having seen'.

Instead of —

симды куы бацæуай, уæд дзы симын хъæуы 'if you enter the simd-dance then you should dance';

it is possible to say:

симды бацæугæйæ дзы симын хъæуы 'entering into the simd, (one) should dance'.

§236.   Direct Discourse.

Other people's words are seldom rendered in Ossetic by so-called indirect speech, i.e., by a subordinate object clause.   More often they are expressed by direct speech, introduced with the help of the following words: зæгъы 'he says', загъта 'he said', зæгъгæ 'after having said', зæгъгæ загъта 'saying said', дам 'sez':

мах, зæгъы, Ларсаг стæм   '"we," he says, "are from Lars"'

æз, загъта, нæ фос хизынмæ аскъæрдтон   '"I," he said, "drove our herd to the pasture"'

кæдæм лидзыс, зæгъгæ, йæ фæрсы Уырызмæг   '"Where are you running," saying, Urizmag asks him'.

худинаджы бæсты мæлæт хуыздæр, зæгъгæ, загъта   '"rather than disgrace, death is better," saying he said'

æз, дам, Нарты Уырызмæг дæн   '"I," says he, "am the Nart Urizmag"'.

Some cases of the use of direct speech correspond to the Russian subordinate of purpose:

кæд мæ хойы фервæзын кæнин, зæгъгæ, Уаскъуыппы бæрзондмæ тагъд кодта   '"Maybe I can save my sister" — saying, he hurried to Waskup peak', i.e., 'He hurried to Waskup peak in order to save his sister'.

Notes

1.   Almost all illustrative examples are taken from Ossetic literature and folklore.

2.   What is said here does not apply to the short form of the comitative case of the pronoun, which is in essence not an enclitic (see the section on 'Pronouns').