

SOME NOTES ON ANATOLIAN OSSETIC

BY

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1. The Ossetes of Anatolia are descended from Mohammedan immigrants (*Muhacir*) who in the 1860'ies, after the defeat of Shamyl, left their native country in Czarist Caucasus and, along with the Circassians, and other Caucasian tribes, settled in Ottoman Turkey.¹ Ossetic settlements are today to be found in the neighbourhood of Sivas, Yozgat, Erzerum, Kars and Muş; besides, a number of Ossetic families are living in these and other towns of Central and Eastern Anatolia. The Ossetic speaking population of the country was by one of my informants estimated at about 4-5 thousand soules, but that is only a guesswork, and the number is probably lower. By the Turks the Ossetes are as a rule identified with the Circassians; more specially, they may be referred to as *Kuşha(lar)*. The indigenous name is, however, *Iron*; the language is called *Ironau*.

Through the courtesy of the Cultural Department of the Turkish Foreign Ministry I was enabled to start collecting materials about the language of the Ossetes of the Sivas Vilayet in July 1966.²

¹ For the history of these migrations cf., e.g., История Северо-Осетинской АССР, ред. колл. С. К. Буцуев <и др. >, (1959), p. 173 et seq.

² I express my gratitude to Prof. G. Morgenstierne, Oslo, and Prof. G. Dumézil, Paris, who suggested this topic to me. Thanks are also due to the Turkish Embassy of Oslo, to the Cultural Department of the Turkish Foreign Ministry, and to the Office of the Vali of Sivas, who all kindly offered their assistance to my work. Unfortunately, after about 10 days my investigation was interrupted by forces beyond the control of both these institutions and myself. My material is accordingly rather fragmentary, and consists for the main part only of short sentences and separate words. But as it seems uncertain when I will be able to resume this work, and as this special branch of Ossetic dialectology seems not to have been treated

My investigations were carried out partly in the town of Sivas, partly in Yeniköy, a little village in the vicinity of Belcik, 30-40 km to the west of Yıldızeli. The bulk of my information was obtained from three persons:

Mr. Mustafa Arı (MA), an hotel proprietor of Sivas, of about 60 years, who evidently knew the language well;

Mr. Murat Eren (ME), the muhtar of the village of Yeniköy, 60-70 years old, an intelligent man and a fine speaker of the language; and

Mr. Celal Yılal (CY), an office clerk of Sivas, about the age of 40, born in Yıldızeli of Ossetic speaking parents; in contrast with the other informants he has in adult years only spoken Ossetic secondarily, and often complained that his memory of the language failed him.

The population of Yeniköy is about 150 souls, according to the muhtar. Only with the old generation is the Ossetic language still in daily use. The young people are as a rule better acquainted with Turkish; some of them do not even know Ossetic. The children, I was told, are now only taught to speak Turkish. The Ossetic speaking part of the population is of course bilinguals, using Turkish at least as a secondary language. If the situation is the same in the other Ossetic settlements of Turkey, and that seems to be probable, it is only a question of a few decades until the Ossetic language has totally disappeared from Asia Minor.

The tradition of the immigrations and the memory of the Caucasian ancestry of the people is well preserved. I was, for instance, shown a big cavern near Yeniköy where the first settlers had lived, and which was treated with some reverence. Unfortunately, I was not able to elicit any folk-tales or songs from my acquaintances; when asked, e.g., about the Narts, nobody seemed to have heard of them. But that is certainly not conclusive.

As far as I know, the language of all the Ossetic settlements of Anatolia belongs to the Iron group of dialects, even if it is not always in compliance with the standard literary idiom. My in-

before, I have decided to publish this report, in spite of its shortcomings. It should be mentioned that the total stock of materials collected is somewhat larger than the selection made here.

formants asserted that the language was the same everywhere, and I have no reason to question that.

The phonemic system in the main seems to be parallel with that of standard Caucasian Iron, with some phonetic modifications. The cases normally reckoned with in modern grammars are all recorded, with the exception of the adessive; but that lacuna may be accidental. In all the instances where the equative case occurs the ending *-au* might probably quite as well be treated as a derivation morphem, but this again may be due to the incompleteness of the material. The cardinal numbers always stand with the singular of the indefinite case (nominative), never with the genitive as in Caucasian Iron. The old future forms (*-zɨncæn* etc.) seem in most instances to be used much in the same way as the Turkish present II (aorist), while a new periphrastic future has been created (*-inag dæn* etc.). The old system of verbal prefixes is preserved.

As regards the vocabulary, quite a lot of Turkish loanwords have been incorporated; this applies, of course, especially to political and religious terms and the like. But on the other hand, the bulk of the agricultural vocabulary recorded is Ossetic; a few Turkish names of plants and agricultural products are noted, such as *keštáne* "chestnut", *pórtakal* "orange", *šeftáli* "peach", *šaráb* "wine". It is perhaps of some historical and sociological interest to notice that the only word for "plough" that seemed to be known to my informants in Yeniköy is Turkish (*šabán*; *šabán tærɨn* "to plough").

2. The *sound system* seems to be approximately as follows:

2. 1. *Vowels.*

i	u
i̇	
e	o
æ	
a	

/i/ is a close front vowel.

/i̇/ is a little more open than */i/* and not as frontal. It shows a considerable latitude according to the surroundings; before and after velars it has a more back variant.

/e/ probably has a low frequency and is recorded only in few indigenous words. As far as I was able to hear, it is kept quite distinct from /æ/ in the pronunciation of all the informants, even if there may be some individual variations. It has a more close, and probably a more frontal, pronunciation than /æ/ in similar surroundings. In the word *keštáne* "chestnut" the velar /k/ has a more palatalized articulation than in the sequence /kæ/. (No other example of /ke/ is recorded.) In loanwords and names Turkish /e/ as a rule seems to be identified with Oss. /e/: *tren* "train", *šinema* "cinema"; *A(x)mét*, *Yıldızeli*.

/æ/ is a half-open front vowel, more central than /e/, but less so than /a/.

/a/ is an open central vowel.

/u/ is a back close vowel.

/o/ is a back half-close vowel.

2. 2. /e/ is always a long vowel. /i/ is normally rather short, and when unstressed, often very weakly articulated and sometimes tends to be lost.³ Otherwise, when stressed the vowels are somewhat longer than in an unstressed position.

2. 3. In syllable-initial position the vowel /i/ is preceded by an optional palatal on-glide, the vowel /u/ by a velar one: (y)išin "to take", (y)ix "ice", (y)iron "Ossetic, an Ossete", (w)unin "to see", (w)urš "white", (w)uš "woman".

2. 4. Clusters of two vowels may be both monosyllabic and bisyllabic. The following monosyllabic vowel-clusters (diphthongs) are recorded: /ai/, /au/, /æi/, /æu/, /oi/. In some instances there may be some vacillation between a monosyllabic and a bisyllabic articulation; e.g., for *aik* "egg" both variations are noted. The present forms of the verb *ca(w)ún* "to go" always seems to be bisyllabic.

In /ai/ and /æi/ the last component is often dropped; that is especially the case with CY: *rášom* = *ráišom* "tomorrow", *rášin* = *ráišin* "to take", *ašénag* = *ašéinag* "iron", *-æ* = *æi*, the ablative morpheme.

³ An epenthetic /l/ is occasionally inserted between two consonants: *fénizjæn* "I (will) see" (CY).

2. 5. *Consonants.*

p	p'	b	f	v	m	w ⁴
t	t'	d			n r l	
c	c'	ʒ				
č	(č')	ʒ̣	š	ž		y ⁴
k	k'	g				
q			x			
			h ⁵			

/p/ etc. are aspirated unvoiced stops.

/p'/ etc. are unaspirated unvoiced stops, followed by a glottalization. The glottalization is, however, as a rule rather weak, and may even be optional; at least, it is often hard to detect.

/b/ etc. are apparently unvoiced (or only slightly voiced) lenes.

The sibilants mostly seem to have a palatal articulation: /š/, /ž/. There may, however, be some (individual) fluctuation between the palatal and a more dental articulation.

/ʒ/ and /ʒ̣/ tend to be assimilated, and thus to merge with /ž/.

No instance of /č'/ is recorded, but that is probably accidental.

The nasals, especially /n/, are in word-final position rather weakly articulated, and sometimes hardly audible. That is most clearly the case with CY.

The old distinction between the labio-dental /v/ and the bilabial /w/ is mostly preserved. In the pronunciation of CY, however, they tend to be merged in /v/.

In the pronunciation of CY the opposition between the lenes /b/ etc. and the aspirates /p/ etc. is normally neutralized according to the same rules as in Turkish; the same applies to the opposition between the voiced and unvoiced fricatives. The same phenomenon was sporadically observed with the villagers of Yeniköy. But it was evidently not the case with the other informants, where the distinction between, e.g., *arv* "heaven" and *arf* "deep", and *baž* "pillow, cushion" and *baš* "soup" in all instances seemed to be quite clear.

⁴ The phonemic relations between the vowels /i/ and /u/ and the semivowels /y/ and /w/ resp. must here remain an open question.

⁵ /h/ is only recorded in some Turkish loanwords, and possibly in the word *henfr* "now" (rather than *ɣenfr*).

Consonant clusters are very seldom found in word-initial position. As a rule the vowel /i/ is added before (in some instances after) the first consonant. Examples: *íðtái* "afterwards, later", *íð'ól* "table", *íðnón* "yesterday"; *æž æi íðkóttón* "I did it", *æž íðkéninag ðæn yæ* "I will do it";—*kíróí* "mill" (M-F: *κῆρροί, κροί*), *šimág* "smell" (M-F: *σμαε*).

The only exceptions noted occur in loanwords, such as *tren* "train", and in place names like *Trápžon* etc.

2. 6. In several instances the velars are not palatalized before front vowels: *lægí*, gen. sg. of *læg* "man", *tálŋi*, inessive sg. of *tálŋ* "darkness", *rúžŋi* (in *rúžŋi æmbéržæŋ* "curtain"), gen. sg. of *rúžŋ* "window". But: *kárčŋæ*, plur. of *kark* "hen", *wæržŋæ*, plur. of *wærág* "knee".

Morphemics.

Nouns.

3. 1. *The plural suffix -tæ*: The following plural forms recorded are at variance with the dictionaries: *kárčŋæ*, plur. of *kark* "hen"; M-F and Kas. have *καρρωμαε*; but Ios. *καρρωμαε* (v. Russ. *кypпyя*;—stress not denoted). As a plural of *don* "water" CY gave *dóntæ* (dict. *daŋtæ*), like *bóntæ* of *bon* "day". But always *šivállættæ* "children" (sg. *šivállon*), *šændág(g)ættæ* "travellers" (sg. *šændág(g)on*), and the like.

4. Cases.

4. 1. Of words designating animate beings the definite object appears in the genitive, while the indefinite object is put in the indefinite case (nominative): *wu légi fétton* "I saw that man" (CY), but: *yu lék fétton* "I saw a man" (CY).

Of inanimata the indefinite case is used without a distinction of both definite and indefinite objects: *qæugéktŋ nŋwáð næ žónŋ* "I don't know the language of the villagers" (Yen.); *yu šápka bálxæŋŋ* "I buy a hat" (CY); *yu águžæ šaráb ærbáwæš* "bring a glass of wine" (CY); *yu gŋcfl æwšŋr águŋŋ* "I want some milk" (MA).

There is, however, some fluctuation in this matter, as the genitive of inanimata may also be used to designate the definite

object: *kitábj dšut* "take the book" (CY); *kælmæržænj ærf wul* "give me the handkerchief" (CY). The same apparently applies to the infinitive: *kæšfij næ žónij* "I cannot read" (CY); but *fjššijn næ žónij* "I cannot write" (CY); *cæwún næ færážijn* "I cannot walk" (CY); *mæn dæc činik fjššijn fændf* "I want to write a letter too" (CY).

Pronouns: *cj fěttai* "what did you see" (ME); *kæi fěttai* "whom did you see" (ME).

4. 2. No instances of the adessive (locative exterior) are recorded. But this may be due to a coincidence and the incompleteness of the material.

4. 3. Examples of the uses of the inessive (locative interior):

4. 3. 1. Local function: *xæžárj* "in the house, at home", contrasting with *xæžáræi* "from the house" and with *xæžármæ* "to the house".

ácj xæžárj mæ mád cærf "in this house my mother lives" (ME).

æž úcj xúšæntj báxušittæc "I slept in that bed" (ME).

wátj išt'ól i "there is a table in the room" (MA).

İštámbulj m'æšimæcærf fëninag dæc "in I. I am going to see my brother" (ME).

Aæmæt cæxæradonj næi "A. is not in the garden" (ME).

dj fændágj cæuzijnæ "you walk in the street" (MA).

šjvællon bá fijnj yi, áftæ næu "the child has fallen asleep, has it not" (CY).

Yıldızeli İronau zırj "in Y. Ossetic is spoken" (MA).⁶

4. 3. 2. Temporal function:

æž hažiranj úm ultæc "I was there in June" (MA).

šábbatj wi úm wudj "he was there on Saturday" (MA).

min æmæ fárašt fónzjšæz æmæ æxšéžj ráigurdi "he was born in 1906" (MA).⁷

yu mæij æmæ yæ næ wúnijn "I have not seen him for one month" (MA).

⁶ A. Chr., Text. oss., p. 93: "Acj zæxxil jürjnc Ironau: Dans cette contrée on parle ossète", where the adessive is used.

⁷ A. Chr., Text. oss., p. 93: "Sæmbæld 1893æm a3jl: cela arriva en (l'an) 1893", where the adessive is used.

4. 4. Examples of the uses of the allative:

4. 4. 1. Local function:

Ánkaramæ kæd céwinag dæn "when will you go to A." (CY).

įštėi póštahanemæ céwinag dæn, pul rášinag dæn "afterwards I will go to the post office and buy stamps" (CY).

fændágmæ ácįdi "he went out into the street" (ME).

mášinæiæ fændágmæ ácįdištį "they went away by train" (MA).

4. 4. 2. Temporal function:

wálzægmæ céwinag įštém "next summer we will go away" (CY) (Turk. yaza gideceğiz).

4. 5. Examples of the uses of the ablative:

4. 5. 1. Local function:

fændágwei ærbáciđi "he came in from the street" (MA).

dúwaræi ácįdi "he went out through the door" (MA).

4. 5. 2. Instrumental function:

æwšárigardæi yæ ničáfta "he hit him with the sword" (MA).

kæcį ævžágwei zúrįs "what language do you speak" (MA).

mášinæiæ fændágmæ ácįdištį "they went away by train" (MA) (here ablative translates Turk. trenile; but cf. 4. 6).⁸

4. 5. 3. Causal function:

wi æwčáiį tįxėi yæ bákotta "he did it for money" (MA).

4. 5. 4. Ablative with comparative:

dæwčėn dæ wó d'ėfšįmærcæi lægįdær u "your sister is braver than your brother" (MA).

dį mænėi xuzdėr dæ "you are better than I" (MA).

4. 6. Examples of the uses of the comitative:

Trápžonmæ lrėnimæ ácėwun "I shall go to T. by train" (CY) (Turk. Trapzona trenile gideyim).

įžnón m'ėfšįmærimæ wúttæn "I was with my brother yesterday" (ME).

wi yæ fįdime ærcįđi "he came with his father" (ME).

⁸ A. Chr., Text. oss., p. 90: "Æz cįdton nauį: je partis avec le bateau", where the inessive is used.

Xæŕlcaertæ Yúnantimæ iŕxæcǐdǐŕŕi "the Turks fought against (with) the Greeks" (MA).

kæimæ zúrǐŕ "to whom are you talking" (ME; *kæi(y)tmæ* . . . , CY).

4. 7. Examples of the uses of the equative:

æŕ Ironau zúrǐn (žónǐn) "I speak (know) Ossetic (CY).

æŕ Xæŕlcaeragau næ žónǐn "I don't know Turkish" (CY).

Xæŕlcaertæ Ironau næ žónǐnc "the Turks don't know Ossetic" (CY).

Other uses of this case are not recorded.⁹

"He flew (ran away) like an arrow" was translated with *wi fáti xučæn ácǐdi* (MA).

4. 8. The uses of the dative don't call for any special remarks: *kæmæn čǐnǐk fiŕŕǐnag dæ* "to whom are you going to write a letter" (CY).

Bay Demiræn fiŕŕǐnag dæn "I will write to Mr. Demir" (CY).

5. *Pronouns.*

5. 1. The indefinite case of the personal pronouns may be used as the subject of verbs, but more often it seems not to be used; the sentences quoted elsewhere in this paper will supply sufficient examples of this.

5. 2. In the singular only the proclitic genitives *mæ*, *dæ* seem to be used attributively (designating possession): *mæ/dæ xæzar* "my/your house"; *m'æŕŕǐmæri ŕǐvællættæ yæ bákottoi* "the children of my brother did it" (MA); *Trápǐžonmæ cæwán, mæ mádi rǐnčǐn zínad féninag dæn* "I am going to T. to look after my sick mother's condition" (ME) (Turk.: T. 'a gidip hasta valideme bakacağım).

In the plural both the accentuated and the proclitic genitives may be used, but in most instances only the proclitic form is

⁹ It may be questioned, from the synchronic point of view, if the suffix *-au* in *Ironau* etc. is to be identified with the equative case-morpheme, or if it is to be interpreted as an homonymous derivation suffix. *Ironau* stands as an object with transitive verbs, and fills then the same place and has the same function in the syntagm as does the indefinite case: *Ironau žónǐn ~ fiŕŕǐn žónǐn*. It seems however doubtful if *Ironau* can be put in the genitive case as an object.

recorded, the accentuated form evidently being more emphatic: *max xæzár/næ xæzar* "our house" and *šimáx xæzár/wæ xæzar* "your house". But the construction with dative + genitive is frequently recorded: *mænéén mæ xó/dæwén dæ xó* "my/your sister" (MA); *mænéén m'æmbalí læppú ám i* "the son of my friend is here" (MA).

5. 3. The bidimensional deixis is preserved. *ai* (free form), *áci* (attribute) as a rule is equal to Turk. *bu*; *(w)u* (free form), *(w)úci* (attribute) regularly seems to correspond to Turk. *o* and *şu*:¹⁰ *ái ci wú* "what is this" (Turk.: *bu nedir*); *wudón cítě 'šlī* "who are those" (Turk.: *onlar/şunlar nedir*).

5. 4. The 3rd person enclitic object is placed either before or after the verb; so, e.g., *kænfn æi*, *kænīš æi* "I/you do it", *kænī yæ* "he does it", but *wu yæ iškólla* "he did it"; *wu yæ féninag u* "he will see him";—*fétta yæ* "he saw him" (CY).

6. Numerals.

6. 1. Only the vigesimal system seems to be in common usage among my informants:

iššéc3 "20", *dæš æm(æ) iššéc3* "30", *duw(w) iššéc3* "40", *ærtiššéc3* "60", *dæš æm(æ) ærtiššéc3* "70", *cippáriššéc3* "80", *dæš æmá cippáriššéc3* "90", *fónziššéc3* "100", *duw(w)é fónziššéc3* "200".

6. 2. The cardinal numbers always stand with the singular of the indefinite case; no instance of the genitive is recorded. Example: *ábon ši 'rcfd fændággættæ*, *fon3 æxšécž bon bážázišlī* "the travellers who came today will stay for 5 or 6 days" (ME).

Cf. also the above mentioned numerals for "40" etc.

6. 3. C. Y. very frequently uses *yu* as an indefinite article, like Turk. *bir*: *ai yu čildáb wu* "this is a book", etc.

7. Verbs.

7. 1. In the preterite the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is preserved; no vacillation in this matter was noticed:

¹⁰ *(w)u* (CY) or *wi* (MA, ME); plur. *(w)udón* (CY, MA) or *widón* (ME, Yen.).

rálta yæ "he gave it", *jškólta yæ* "he did it", *ámarta yæ* "he killed him";—*læg ámarđi* "the man died", *ácđi* "he left", *ærbácđi* "he came".

7. 2. The periphrasis *-inag* (future participle) + the present tense of the verbum substantivum is commonly used for the future tense, thus translating Turk. *-eceđim* etc.: *æž rášom ærbácæwinag den, đđ rášom ærbácæwinag đæ, wi rášom ærbácæwinag u* "I/you/he will come tomorrow" etc. (MA).

cđ wínag u "what will happen" (ME) (Turk.: ne olacak).

rášom kædém cæwínag įštút "where will you go tomorrow" (CY) (Turk.: yarm nereye gideceksiniz).

įštæi cđ kænínag įštút "what will you do afterwards" (CY) (Turk.: sonra ne yapacaksınız).

The 3rd person of the verbum substantivum is sometimes dropped, perhaps, but not necessarily, due to Turkish influence:

Aæmél ácđ bon ærcæwinag, næu "A. will come today, will he not" (CY), but also: *wú yæ įškáninag u* "he will do it" (CY).

This periphrasis also may translate Turk. *istemek* + the infinitive: *æž đær cæwínag den* = *ben de gitmek istiyorum* "I too want to go" (CY). But, of course, also: *mæn đær čínjk řjššđn řændđ* "I too want to write a letter" (CY) (Turk.: ben de mektup yazmak istiyorum).

7. 3. Occasionally the future forms of Caucasian Iron (*-žínæn* etc.) are recorded with the clear denotation "I will do", thus translating Turkish future forms: *cđ řæúžįštæm* "what will become of us" (ME) (Turk.: ne olacağız); *ábon čđ 'rcđđ řændággættæ, řonž æxšéž bon bážažįštđ* "the guests who came today will stay for 5 or 6 days" (ME) (Turk.: bugün gelen yolcular dört beş gün kalacaklardır).

But very frequently they were used, by all my informants, to translate the Turkish present II (aorist), thus carrying the general denotation "I do, I will do": *đđ řændáđđ cæužínæ* "you walk (are walking) in the street" (MA) (Turk.: sokakta yürürsün); *æž įšk'ólaiđ bákúšžínæn* "I study (work) at the school" (MA) (Turk.: okulda çalışırım); *wi mæn řénžæni* "he sees me" (MA) (Turk.: o beni görür). On the other hand, to the best of my knowledge

these forms don't correspond to the Turkish present I, cf., e.g., *æž dæu henʃr wunʃn* "I see you now" (MA) (Turk.: şimdi seni görüyorum).

7. 4. The present form may be used to translate both the present I and the present II of Turkish: *áci áðæmag k'ofl cımı* "this man is drinking coffee" (ME) (Turk.: bu adam kahve içiyor); *áci áðæmag bíræ k'ofl cımı* "this man drinks much coffee" (ME) (Turk.: bu adam çok kahve içer).

7. 5. The present form may be used to designate a future action: *ráışom cı kúšış* "what will you do tomorrow" (ME) (Turk.: yarın ne yapacaksın); *Ánkaramæ cæwún* "I will go to A." (ME) (Turk.: Ankaraya gideceğim).

7. 6. The double function of the preverb is well preserved; partly it is used to determine the action in some way, partly, more or less losing its semantic content, it serves to give the verb a perfective aspect¹¹. Usually the preterite presupposes some preverb; the only exception noted is the verb (*w*)*un* "to be". In some instances the preterite of the same verb may be combined with two (or more) preverbs alternately, without a great difference in the meaning; e.g., the preterite of the verb *kænʃn* "to do" is recorded both with *ış-* and *ba-*: *æž æi ışkólton, dı ye ışkóltaı, u ye ışkólta* etc. "I/you/he did it" (CY), but *m'æšşımæri šıvállættæ ye bákóltoi* "the children of my brother did it" (MA). Such questions are of course very difficult to decide, and there may be some semantic differences that are hardly detectable for one only superficially acquainted with the language.

In most instances the future forms recorded, especially those in *-zınæn* etc., take some preverb; the same applies to the imperative: e.g., present form (*w*)*unʃn* or *fénʃn* "I see", but the future forms *féninag dæn/fénzınæn* "I will see/I see" (preterite *félton*). But also *dı fændáğı cæuzınæ* "you are walking in the street", cf. 7. 3, and *ráışom šinemamæ cæwınag dæn* "I will go to the cinema tomorrow" (CY).

¹¹ Cf. V. I. Abaev, A grammatical sketch of Ossetic (1964), p. 45, and Грамматика осетинского языка, под ред. Г. С. Ахвледиани (1963), p. 237 et seq.

Imperative: *rácu* (plur. *rácæwut*) "go, leave", *ærbácu* "come", *fén* (plur. *fénut*) "see"; *yu águžæ šaráb ærbáwæš* "bring a glass of wine" (CY). With negation: *má racu* "don't go"; *lálŋiǰi ættémæ má cæwut* "don't go out (into the street) in the darkness" (CY) (Turk.: *karanlıkta sokağa gitmeyiniz*); *henŋr činig má kæšut* "don't read the book now" (CY).

8. Phraseology.

xorž bóntæ "good morning to you" (CY); never *dæ bón xorž*. *xeržé bóntæ* "good-bye" (CY); given as equivalent to Turk. *Allaha ismarladık*.

dæ fændág rašt "good-bye" (ME, CY); given as equivalent to Turk. *güle güle*.

ægáš næm cu "I am glad to see you" (ME).

dæ kád bíræ wæd "thank you" (ME).

nippár mæ "pardon, forgive me" (CY); *farn* seems also to be used with this meaning (not so in dict.).

9. Vocabulary.

As regards political and religious institutions and the like, the Turkish terms are those most commonly used; in some instances both an Ossetic and a Turkish term may exist side by side; as equivalent to Turk. *muhtar* "headman of a village" I was given *qæuj xištær*, but it was apparently an obsolete word, and the Turkish term was evidently that in common use. The same seems to be the case with Turkish and foreign geographical names; no of my informants knew of any other name of his country than the Turkish one (Türkiye). The Turks, however, were called *Xæčilcærtæ* by all my informants, their language *Xæčilcæraqau*.

9. 1. The Turkish suffix *-ci*, denoting the occupant of a profession or the like, is recorded in the word *æxšŋrži* "milkman" (Turk. *sütçü*).

9. 2. The names of the days were given as follows by MA: *æucáu bon* "Sunday", *k'uríšær* "Monday", *dŋc(c)ég* "Tuesday", *ærtŋccæg* "Wednesday", *čippæræm* "Thursday", *máiræmbon* "Friday", *šábbat* "Saturday".

9. 4. The Turkish names of the months were those normally used by all my informants. The old Ossetic names were known to some of them, and were given, with some incertitude, by MA as below; the Turkish names (ocak etc.) he gave as equivalents to the Ossetic ones, but it seems improbable that the two nomenclatures correspond exactly to each other:

l'énžjī mæi "January", *žiméǵjī mæi* "February", *márt'jī mæi* "March" *rág(?)walzæǵjī mæi* "May", *xóškærtænjī mæi* "June", *šúšænī mæi* "July", *xúmkartænjī mæi* "August", *ærxænī (?) mæi* "September", *æréǵfæžžæǵjī mæi* "October", *fæžžéǵjī mæi* "November",¹² *fīrwázjī mæi* "December".

9. 5. *Gleanings from the vocabulary.*¹³

ádæmag "man, people".

ážjīn "sugar" (ME); *ážjīn cæxéra* "sugar-beet" (ME).

áfon "time" (CY).

áftæ "so, like that"; *áftæ næu?* "is not it so?" (CY) (Turk.: *değil mi?*).

águrjīn "to want, to require": *cj águrut* "what do you want" (MA) (Turk.: *ne istiyorsunuz*).

águžæ "glass"; M-F: *æǵǵææ*, *æǵbææ*; *yū águžæ šaráp* "a glass of wine" (CY) (Turk.: *bir bardak şarap*).

áidæn "mirror".

aik "egg".

álčī "everybody": *álčī máxææ kæšjīnc* "everybody is looking at us" (ME).

áraq "brandy".

arf "deep".

ary "price".

áryau "story, tale" (Turk. *hikâye*).

arš "bear".

arv "heaven".

ášonjīn "to close"; pret. *ášjīton*.

avg "glass".

¹² This is certainly a mistake. *fæžžéǵ* is, according to M-F "осень, Herbst"; cf. Vs. Miller, *Осетинские этюды* I (1881), p. 129: Фæззæг – лъто начинал съ покоса до листопада. Cf. also A. Chr., *Text. oss.*, p. 65.

¹³ Turkish words, not found in the dictionaries, are marked with a star (*).

æfšédin "to be satiated" (Turk. doymak).

æfšé(i)nag "iron".

æfšér "jaw".

æfšimær "brother, sister": *čǰǰg æfšimær* "sister", *læg æfšimær* "brother"; so always CY (also *æfšimær* alone "brother"); MA used *æfšimær* only with the meaning "brother"; *æo* "sister". Cf. Turk. kız/erkek kardeş.

ægáš cf. 8.

ældár "prince, chief"; apparently not in common use; translated by Turk. bey (ME).

embál "friend".

embáržæn cf. *rúžing*.

ærdǰn "bow" (subst.).

æri: *kælmæržænǰ æri wul* "give me the handkerchief" (CY) (Turk.: mendil veriniz).

ærléx "dew".

æržyórǰn "to run, to leap".

ællémæ "outdoors".

ævžág "tongue, language".

æxcá "money".

æxšárigard "sword".

æxšérij bæláš "nut-tree".

æxšév "night"; *áxšæv* "tonight".

æxšin "wife of *ældar*" (ME).

æxšǰn "to throw away" (Turk. atmak).

æxšǰnc (-c?) "plum" (Turk. erik); M-F *æxšǰnc*.

æxšǰr "milk"; *æxšǰržǰ* "milkman, dairyman", cf. 9. 2.

æxšúš "help": *dæwæn æxšúš bákænjn* "shall I help you" (CY) (Turk.: size yardım edeyim mi).

ba "kiss" (subst.).

báivǰn (*báyivǰn*?) "to change, exchange" (Turk. deǰişmek).

bálxænjn "to buy".

baš "soup".

baž "pillow, cushion".

bæláš "tree".

bælón "pigeon".

baeržái "neck".

bæštá "country" (Turk. memleket).

bæx "horse".

bíræ "much".

bíræy "wolf".

bíðr "flat land, valley" (opp. *xox*).

bon "day, weather"; *ábon* (*áci bon* CY) "today".

cai "tea".

car "ceiling".

cærjn "to live, to be resident".

cæšl "eye".

cævæg "scythe" (subst.).

cæ(w)ún "to go, to walk"; *áæ(w)un*, *rácæ(w)un* "to go out, to leave"; *ærbáæ(w)un* "to come (in)", *ærcé(w)un* "to come".

cæxéradon "garden".

cjmjn "to drink".

cong "arm"; plur. *cænktá*.

c'ai "well" (subst., Turk. kuyu).

čínjg "book, letter".

čitri (*čit'ri?*) "cucumber".

čiryéd "basket".

čirjn "wardrobe"; M-F "оундук, Kasten, Koffer".

čjžg "girl".

dary "long".

dændág "tooth".

dídínæg "flower".

djry "fruit".

don "water, river".

dúnje (*dúnjæ?*) "world".

duwár (*dwar?*) "door"; *duwári qáqqænenæg* "door-keeper".

zæbéx "good, nice"; *áci qæu zæbéx wu* "this village is nice" (ME); *zæbéx šjvællon dæ* "you are a nice child" (ME); *bon zæbéx næu* "the weather is not fine" (CY).

zínad "condition, health" (cf. 5. 2); M-F "действие, дело, деяние, поступок; Tat, Tätigkeit, Handlung".

zjkkú "hair".

zjæ "mouth; pit" (CY, Turk. kuyu).

zul "bread".

zúrjn "to talk".

farn "pardon" (?- cf. 8).

farš "side".

fárun "last year" (MA); M-F *фарон*.

fat "arrow".

fændág "road, street".

fændággon "traveller"; plur. *fændággættæ*.

fændǰ; *mæn* . . . *fændǰ* "I want".

færázjn "to be able to".

fætk'ú "apple".

féxaljn "to fight": *wi yæ bǎštæiǰ tǰxǎei féxali* "he fights for his country" (CY); M-F "разрушить, разбить . . . , umstürzen, zerstören . . ."

fijag "shovel".

ficjn "to cook".

fjd "father".

fjd "meat".

fjn "sleep": *šivǎllon bá fjni yi* "the child has fallen asleep" (CY) (Turk.: çocuk uyudu).

fjnǎei kǎnǰn "to sleep"; *rǎšom mǰn kúšt nǎei, fjnǎei kǎninag dǎen* "tomorrow I have nothing to do, I will sleep" (CY) (Turk.: yarın işim yok, uyuyacağım).

fjnǰ "nose".

fjng "table".

fjrt "son", cf. *lǎppú*.

fjš "sheep".

fjšǰm "master of the house".

fjš(š)jn "to write"; pret. *ǎfjšton*.

gal "bull".

gauž "carpet" (Turk. kilim).

gædǰ "cat".

gæm "hemp".

gæx(x)ǎt "paper".

gǰc(c)ǰl "little"; *yu gǰc(c)ǰl* "a little".

górǎet "town".

gúrjn (*rǎigurjn*) "to be born"; pret. *rǎigurdi* (3rd p.).

henfr "now" (cf. note 5).

(*y*)*išin*, *rá(i)šín* "to take"; imper.: *kitábi ášut* "take the book" (CY).

(*y*)*ia* "ice".

(*y*)*žær* "evening".

išk'óla "school".

ištég "bone".

ištéi "later".

ištír "great".

išt'álj "star".

išt'ól (*ištól?*) "table".

ižnón "yesterday".

kad "honour", cf. 8.

káfín "to dance".

kálím "snake"; M-F *κααμ*.

kard "knife".

kark "hen".

kart'óf "potato".

káštun "soup" (?); not in dict.

kælmæržæn "handkerchief".

kænfn "to do"; pret. *bákotton*, *iškóttun*.

kærdæg "grass".

kærzín "bread".

kæšág "fish".

kæšæncæšt "glasses".

kæšín: + dative "to look at"; + indef. case (gen.) "to read".

**keštáne* (*bæláš*) "chestnut".

**kitáb* "book"; occasionally *šitáb* (CY).

kīrói "mill" (cf. 2. 5 ad fin.).

kuž "dog".

kúrín v. *águrín*.

kúšín "to work, to do": *çj kúšjš* "what are you doing" (ME) (Turk.: ne yapıyorsun).

kušt "activity": *rásom çj kúšt kéninag dæ* "what will you do tomorrow" (CY) (Turk.: yarın ne yapacaksın).

k'ax "foot"; *k'áak'uax* "toe".

k'áx̄in "to dig".

k'æzčéx "rock".

k'ofl "coffee".

k'uryl "week".

k'ux "hand, finger"; *ængúlz* "finger" was unknown to my informants. *x̄štær k'ux* "thumb", *d̄ikkág k'ux* "index", *áštukag* (*áštæukag*?) *k'ux* "middle-finger", *kæštér k'ux* "ring-finger", *ḡicc̄l k'ux* "little finger" (MA).

layž "stable" (ME)(?); not in dict.

laxš "flat, level" (CY); M-F *layš*.

læg "man; brave"; compar. *læḡidær*.

læppú "son, boy".

læw(w)ún "to stop"; used by ME and CY to translate both Turk. *durmak* and *kalmak*.

mad "mother".

már̄in "to kill"; pret. *ámarton*; *mard* "dead".

mášincæ: abl. *mášincæie* translates Turk. *trenile* (cf. 4.5.2); this meaning is not found in dict. (M-F, Ab., Kas.); Ios. translates Russ. *машина* by *машина*. Perhaps the right translation of *mášincæie* is "by bus", some substitution having taken place in my informant's mind. Or an early Russian loanword for *frain*?

mæi "moon, month".

mælz̄ig "ant".

mæln "to die"; pret. *ámarten*.

mæncéu "wheat".

m̄iy "cloud".

m̄it "snow".

m̄id "honey".

m̄ikkág "family".

m̄jšt "mouse".

nad "blow" (subst.).

naš "a sort of cabbage"; M-F "тыква, Kürbis".

nau "ship".

niž "illness, disease"; *x̄æšgé niž* "epidemic".

(*n̄jčév̄in*) "to hit"; pret. *n̄jčáfta*.

n̄jppár̄in "to forgive".

nja "nail".

njaš "talk, language, conversation" (Turk. konuşma, sohbet).

nog "new".

nom "name".

nuwázjn "to drink"; *nošt* "drink, wine and beer".

pacáx "sovereign, king, president of the republic".

pjšúnce "lavatory".

pjaš "shrub, thicket" (Turk. çalılık).

**pórtakal* (*portakál?*) "orange".

**póštahane* "post office".

**pul* "stamp".

qaž "goose".

qarm "hot".

qarú "strength" (Turk. kuvvet).

qázjn "to play" (Turk. oynamak).

qebár qæd "hornbeam" (Turk. gürgen); not in dict.

qæd "wood, forest, tree".

qædúr "bean" (Turk. fasulye).

qæždŕg "rich".

qæu "village"; *qæugág* "villager", plur. *qæugáktæ*.

Qizŕbaš "a Persian".

qug "cow"; plur. *qúccitæ*.

qúlig "churn" (subst.).

quš "ear".

qušjn "to hear".

ráišom, rášom "tomorrow".

rašt "straight, direct".

ráttn "to give"; pret. *rátton*.

ræšúgd "beautiful, pretty"; comp. *ræžúgdæ*.

ræxŕš "chain (e.g. watch-chain)"; the old holy *Ræxŕš* was totally unknown to my informants (MA, ME, Yen.).

rjnčjn "sick, ill".

rod "calf".

rúzjnq "window"; *rúzjnqj æmbéržæ* "curtain".

**šabán* "plough" (subst.); not in dict.; Turk. saban; *šabán* *terjn* "to plough" (Yen.).

- *šapká "hat".
 *šaráb "wine".
 šary "saddle".
 šau "black"; šaubiræy "wild boar" (Turk. yaban domuzu);
 not in dict.; šauc'iu "starling" (Turk. sigircik).
 Šáudenžž "Black Sea".
 šaxár "town".
 šaxát "watch, clock".
 šæy "goat".
 *šeftálǰ "peach".
 šænépšir (bælás) "vine". M-F write *ænépšicīp*.
 šæŋk "kid".
 šær "head".
 *šænema "cinema".
 šik'á "horn" (Turk. boynuz).
 šil "woman".
 šimág "smell", cf. 2. 5 ad fin.
 šinž "thorn" (Turk. diken).
 šintæg "sofa, couch".
 širdónic'iu "sparrow" (Turk. serçe).
 širæ "red".
 širæáriš (?) "elm-tree" (Yen.).
 šivéllon "child"; plur. *šivéllættæ*.
 šug "fire-wood" (Turk. odun); *æúššug* "idem".
 layd "quick, agile" (Turk. çabuk).
 lálǰ "darkness".
 lærqúš "hare".
 læršǰn "to fear".
 læxón "talk, conversation" (ME) (Turk. konuşma); M-F
 "обсуждение, суд . . . , Gericht, Gerichtsschluss".
 læxéi, postpos. with gen. "on account of".
 *tren "train".
 túlæn "wheel" (CY); M-F "катанье, каток, das Rollen, Wäscherolle . . .".
 túlž (or *túlžǰ bælás*) "oak"; *túlžǰ bælásǰ dǰryttæ* "acorns".
 (w)únaffæ "conversation, discussion"; (w)únaffæ *kænǰn* "talk together, discuss".

(w)unġn, fġnġn "to see"; pret. fġtton.

(w)urš "white".

(w)uš "(a married) woman".

walzæg "spring, summer" (Turk. yaz).

wári "eagle" (ME) (Turk. kartal); M-F "сокол, Falke".

warġn "to rain; rain": warġn wari "it rains", mit wari "it snows".

waržġn "to love".

wášæg "cock"; plur. wášžġtæ.

wal "room".

wážal "cold".

wážæg "guest".

waelúnk "high" (CY) (Turk. yüksek); not in dict.

wærág "knee"; plur. wæřžġtæ.

wæřġ "lamb".

(w)ud "soul" (Turk. can).

(xæcġn) "to fight"; pret. išxæcġtten.

xæzár "house, home"; xæzari xæcau "master of the house".

xærég "donkey".

xærinag "fodder".

xærġn, báxærġn "to eat"; pret. báxortton.

(xæšġn), ærbáxæšġn "to bring".

xid "bridge".

xo "sister"; cf. æřšġmæř.

xor "rye" (ME) (Turk. çavdar); M-F "хлеб верховой, Getreide, Korn".

xorž "good, mature (Turk. olgun); yes"; comparative xuržér.

xoš "hay".

xox "mountain".

xu "pig".

xúđġn "to laugh".

xum "field".

xur "sun".

xuræ "throat".

xúšæntæ "bed" (ME): æž úcġ xúšæntġ báxušġtten "I slept in this bed"; M-F only sg.

xúšġn "to sleep"; pret. báxušġtten.

xuržæn: postpos. with gen.: "like".

**Yúnantæ* "the Greeks".

žái(y)in "to stay": fut. *bážaiyinag dae* "you will stay"; *bážazištj* "they will stay".

žáræg "song".

žægél "nail, rivet".

žærdæ "heart".

žæx "floor".

žlīn "to go, walk" (Turk. *gezmek*).

žindg "enemy" (cf. 2. 5 ad fin.).

žing "fire".

žónjn "know"; pret. *bážjltton*.

ABBREVIATIONS

dict.: (The Ossetic) dictionaries.

M-F: Ws. Miller, *Ossetisch-russisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*. Hg. und erg. von A. Freiman. I-III. 1927-34.

Ab.: В. И. Абаев, *Русско-осетинский словарь*. 1950.

Kas.: А. М. Касаев, *Осетинско-русский словарь*. 1952. 2. ed. 1962.

Ios.: Иосифъ Епикопоу Владикавказскій, *Русско-осетинскій словарь*. 1884.

A. Chr., Text. oss.: Arthur Christensen, *Textes ossètes*. 1921.

The other abbreviations used are either explained in the text or will be easily understood.

Postscript:

After this paper was written, I have learned that there probably exists—or until recently has existed—a small Digor settlement in the vicinity of Kars.

