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PASHTO PREVERBS, IV. OSSETIC PREVERBS¹

As already established by all researchers involved in this field, despite the many borrowings from neighbouring Kartvelian languages and the similarities with the aspectual verbal system of the Slavic languages, Ossetic preverbs are all inherited from Proto-Iranian². Their etymology was established without major problems during the 20th century³.

The first part of this article will briefly present the functions of the Ossetic preverbs⁴, while in the second part I will draw up an inventory of the preverbs, used (“living”) and not (“dead”), and, in the latter case, those assimilated to verbs, with the etymologies. In the last section, I will try to compare Pashto, another eastern Iranian language, in order to offer, in the conclusions, a general reflection on the preverbs in the two Iranian languages.

This article is part of a wider research project on Pashto preverbs (this is the fourth article on this subject), and I think that a comparison with Ossetic can be useful for a better understanding in both languages. Pashto, in particular,

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² Cf., for instance, THORDARSON 1982: 257 (“The Iranian etymologies of the preverbs, both the ‘dead’ and the ‘living’ ones, are mostly clear. All can be traced back to directional particles the majority of which function as preverbs in Old Iranian. There has been no borrowing from adjacent languages”) and ARYS-DJANAÏÉVA 2004: 114 (“Pour la formation des verbes accomplis, l’ossète utilise neuf préverbes, issus pour la plupart de l’iranien commun”).

³ “L’identification historique de la plupart de ces préverbes est acquise” (BENVENISTE 1959: 95).

⁴ For a description of the main functions of Ossetic preverbs, especially from a typological point of view, see ŞAHINGÖZ 2020, providing many examples and proposing the identification of eight preverbs for the Iron dialect and seven for the Digor dialect.

shares with Ossetic a particular function, that of marker of the perfective aspect, and the presence of the two types of preverbs, “living” and “dead”⁵.

Functions of the Ossetic preverbs: the aspect

In 1982, Fridrik Thordarson published an article on the “Preverbs in Ossetic”, with the subtitle “Some reflections”, that followed by a year an article by Roland Bielmeier on the “Präverbien im Ossetischen”⁶. Thordarson focused primarily on the two main functions of the preverbs: that of modifying the meaning of the verb and that of distinguishing grammatically the perfective aspect from the imperfective:

The Ossetic preverb has a double function: 1) It determines in some way the meaning of the verb, focuses the attention on some point in the course of the action or process expressed by the verb. It can be used metaphorically and effect — to a large extent unpredictable — semantic specializations of the verbal meaning. [...]

2) The preverb has a grammatical function, distinguishing the perfective from the imperfective aspect. [...] In its aspectual function the preverb may, at least to some extent, lose its semantic content, appearing as an ‘empty’ marker of aspect only. As a rule, however, the preverb adds some semantic element to the verb, although this element can be difficult to define or to paraphrase. (THORDARSON 1982: 251)

These functions of the preverbs are further explained by L. Arys-Djanaïeva (2004: 114): “Outre l’indication de l’aspect accompli, ils remplissent deux autres fonctions : avec les verbes de mouvement, ils précisent la direction de l’action dans l’espace par rapport au locuteur ; et avec tous les verbes, ils précisent le caractère de l’action, sa durée, sa vitesse, son intensité, son achèvement”.

This “orientational” function, however, should be secondary, as pointed out by THORDARSON (2009): “The bi-dimensional, orientational function of the preverb is no doubt a recent innovation”. This statement, however, is contradicted by Bielmeier, who considers older the directional function⁷.

⁵ On the first category, cf. De Chiara forthcoming a and b; on the second one, cf. De Chiara forthcoming c.

⁶ This article, originally published in the first volume of the *Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne* (LEIDEN 1981), contains useful considerations on the etymologies and functions of the “living” and of the “dead” preverbs: see there for further details and bibliographical references. For the analysis of some preverbs, see also GAÁL 1960.

⁷ “Diese letzte Funktion [the directional one] ist älter und besonders bei den Bewegungs-
verben deutlich zu erkennen” (BIELMEIER 2012 [1981]: 292).

From a diachronic point of view, Thordarson specifies how the grammatical function must be considered secondary to the semantic one: “From the historical, as well as from the synchronic, point of view the aspectual (grammatical) function must be regarded as secondary, being derived from the function of determinacy (the semantic function)” (*ibid.*).

From a functional point of view, as from the etymological one, “the existence of particles with directional-aspectual functions (aspect here being used in its widest sense) is a typological feature which belongs to Indo-European”, even if “[s]imilar traits are found, e.g., in the Caucasian languages” (*ibid.*)⁸.

Thordarson’s article, always accurate, also explains that “[i]n Indo-European these particles seem on principle to have been independent of the verb, but in the individual languages the general tendency is towards a fixed place of the particle in relation to the verb” (*ibid.*: 252)⁹.

G. Lazard, in a short article of 1987, entitled “L’aspect dans les langues irano-aryennes”, shortly presents the aspect in three Iranian languages: Persian, Pashto and Ossetic. Regarding this latter, he remarks (p. 113) the differences as compared with the other Iranian languages:

Si l’on entend par système verbal l’ensemble des « temps et modes » d’un même verbe, celui de l’ossète ignore l’aspect. On n’y trouve rien de semblable à l’opposition du duratif à l’aoriste en persan ou à celle du perfectif à l’imperfectif en pashto : il n’y a qu’un seul passé, un seul présent, un seul futur, un seul impératif. En revanche l’ossète possède un riche jeu de préverbes susceptibles d’exprimer des sens qui relèvent de ce qu’on appelle habituellement l’aspect. Ce jeu ressemble à celui qu’on trouve dans les langues slaves, en particulier en russe, et plus encore à celui du géorgien.

Etymologies of the Ossetic preverbs: “living” preverbs

A clarification by THORDARSON (*ibid.*: 256) caught our attention in this context: the distinction between old preverbs now assimilated with the verb (“dead”) and preverbs still in use (“living”):

⁸ We should not forget that, among the Iranian languages, directional particles exist also in Pashto andOrmuri, this latter a residual Iranian language spoken in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

⁹ See also Booji and van KEMENADE 2003: 2: “In the early stages [of Indo-European], preverbs seem to have been independent constituents. Kurylowicz notes that, since in many of the daughter languages preverbs behave both as preverbs and as prepositions, it is thought that the origin of both preverbs and prepositions is adverbial”. Against this last statement, in Ossetic, as clarified by Thordarson (*ibid.* : 257), “[a]ll preverbs function as preverbs only; they never occur as independent adverbial nor as local affixes with nouns (postpositions, case-endings)”.

A distinction must be made between preverbs which are productive as spatial determiners and aspectual markers in the modern language, i.e. constitute its preverbal and aspectual system, and instances where the verbal stem and an ancient preverb have amalgamated into one unanalysable lexical unit; in the latter case the preverb has neither a determining nor an aspectual function, and the verb acquires perfective aspect only through the addition of one of the productive (“living”) preverbs.

This was already clearly stated also by BIELMEIER (2012 [1981]: 292), in his article on the “Präverbien im Ossetischen”:

Neben diesen produktiven Präverbien lassen sich im Ossetischen historisch altpräverbierte Verbalformen feststellen, deren Präverbien mit dem Verbum weitgehend zu einer Einheit geworden sind. Ihre Etymologien sind iranisch gut zu sichern. Aufgrund der engen Verbindung von Präverb und Verbalstamm werden diese Formen nicht mehr als komponiert aufgefaßt und als imperfective Simplicia behandelt. Ihre Komposition liegt somit früher als der Aufbau des Aspektsystems mit Hilfe der produktiven Präverbien.

The “living” preverbs in Ossetic are studied by all the main researchers involved in this field of studies. Şahingöz (2020) provides a useful comparative table showing the different lists in the works of SJÖGREN (1844), MILLER (1903), ABAEV (1964), BENVENISTE (1959), AXVLEDIANI (1963–1969), ISAEV (1966) and BIELMEIER (1977). As shown in this table, “the preverbs all researchers mention are *a-* (only Iron), *ær-*, *ba-*, *ny-* | *ni-*, *ra-* and *(y)s-* | *(i)s-*. A. J. Sjögren and V. Miller don’t list *ærba-*, supposedly because this preverb looks like a combination of the two preverbs *ær-* and *ba-*. Sjögren counts *am-*[...] as a preverb, but this was not kept up by following research. É. Benveniste doesn’t mention *fæ-*, because he mainly goes into the spatial functions of the preverbs whereas he isn’t able to show any spatial property for *fæ-*. On the other hand, he proposes *ræ-*, which isn’t mentioned by any other research and which might be an allophone of *ra-*. V. I. Abaev and G. Axvlediani propose *cæ-* [...] as a preverb, but neither previous nor following research follows this up” (ŞAHINGÖZ 2020).

The preverbs taken into account by Şahingöz are the same mentioned by ARYS-DJANAÏÉVA 2004, in particular eight for Iron and seven for Digor (with the exclusion of *a-*): *a-*, *ba-*, *ær-*, *ærba-*, *ra-*, *ny-*, *(ə)s-*, *fæ-*.

The etymologies of these preverbs are stated with certainty by THORDARSON 2009: “The Iranian etymologies of the preverbs are clear: *a-* (< **ā-*), *ra-* (< **frā-*), *ba-* (< **upá-*), *är-* (< **awar-*), *ni/ni-* (< **ni-*), *(i)s/s-* (< **us-*), *fä-* (< **pa-* [rather than **pati-*])”.

BENVENISTE (1959: 93–94) identifies “huit préverbes, agencés en quatre paires, indiquant quatre directions à partir des oppositions intérieur/extérieur et haut/bas. Les quatre paires de préverbes sont: *a/ra-*; — *ba-/ærba-*; *ni-/ær-*; —

(i)s-/ræ-. Ils sont organisés selon les directions suivantes: 1° de l'intérieur vers l'extérieur; — 2° de l'extérieur vers l'intérieur; 3° du haut vers le bas; 4° du bas vers le haut. Chacune des directions est énoncée par deux préverbes, marquant respectivement le point d'origine et le point d'aboutissement comme visée du mouvement, c'est-à-dire pratiquement selon que le mouvement est décrit de l'extérieur ou de l'intérieur”.

Benveniste also thinks that an indirect proof of this logical ordering of the preverbs is the creation of the preverb *ærba-* from *ær+ba-*, as this is not simply “la somme des deux”: instead, “[u]ne nécessité l’a appelé à l’existence. Le système demandait un préverbe complémentaire de *ba-* pour indiquer le mouvement de pénétration vers l’intérieur décrit par un observateur placé à l’intérieur et comme au terme du mouvement *ba-*. On a créé *ærba-* en préfixant à *ba-* le préverbe *ær-* qui dénote le mouvement de haut en bas, vu d’en bas. Ainsi *ærba-* marque, pour l’observateur, que le mouvement pénètre jusqu’à lui, fond en quelque sorte sur lui. De là vient que *ærba-* s’accompagne souvent d’une nuance de soudaineté” (*ibid.*: 94).

However, as told before, “The bi-dimensional, orientational function of the preverb is no doubt a recent innovation. This appears clearly from the gaps in the dimensional system that are particularly conspicuous in Digor, indicating that it has been carried through only imperfectly. The orientational meaning of the preverb has its typological counterparts in both the Northwest and, especially, South Caucasian languages (cf. the Georg. *mo-/mi* opposition: Oss. [Iron] *ba-cidi* = Georg. *še-vida*, *ärba-cidi* = *šemo-vida* ‘he entered/he came in,’ respectively)” (THORDARSON 2009; cf. also Id. 1982: 254).

Here it is the detailed presentation of these “living” preverbs¹⁰.

a- indicates “avec les verbes de mouvement, une action dirigée de l’intérieur vers l’extérieur, pour un locuteur se trouvant à l’intérieur, ou l’éloignement par rapport au locuteur [...] Avec tous les verbes, la rapidité ou la brièveté de l’action” (ARYS-DJANAÏÉVA 2004: 114–115; cf. also BENVENISTE 1995: 95). It is undoubtedly derived < Ir. **ā-*.

ær- expresses “un mouvement ou une action dirigé de haut en bas lorsque le locuteur est en bas, au sens propre ou figuré [...] Le caractère soudain, inattendu d’une action [...] Dans certains cas, le caractère final de l’action” (ARYS-DJANAÏÉVA 2004: 116). ABAEV (1949: 27) proposed derivation < Av. *aθra* ‘here’, but BENVENISTE (1959: 97), while arguing that “un adverbe de lieu ne pouvait devenir préfixe, et d’ailleurs une forme *aθra* eût donné en ossète **ært* ou **ærtæ*”,

¹⁰ BENVENISTE (1959 : 102–103) also distinguishes another lexicalised preverb, *fær-*, by him compared with Ved. *paraḥ*.

concludes that “oss. *ær-* ne représente que **ar(a)-*, même si aucun préverbe de cette forme n’est attesté en iranien ancien. [...] Peut-être alors la préposition ou le préverbe **ar(a)-* n’est-elle autre chose, sous une forme déviée, que l’adverbe indo-iranien véd. *arám*, av. *arəm* ‘d’une manière appropriée, en se prêtant à’”.

However, THORDARSON (1982: 258–260) convincingly argues that *ær-* is derived < **awar*, with comparison of Av. Skt. *avar* ‘down (here)’, Prth. MPrs. *awar* ‘come here!’: “There are no semantic obstacles to the equation of Ossetic *ær-* and Old and Middle Iranian **awar*. In all instances it is the question of a movement downwards or/and in the direction of the observer; common to both *ær-* and *awar* is the coalescence of the two directional notions ‘down here’ and ‘hither’. [...] the assumption of a shortening or contraction of **awar* > *ær-* should raise no difficulties and is easily explicable from the proclitic position of the directional particle. At least this solution is preferable to the semantically implausible etymologies of Abaev and Benveniste” (*ibid.*: 260).

Bailey (1958: 536) compares Sh. *ar* ‘to, at’, Skt. *arvá-* and Lit. *artūs* and excludes the form **ari*. He also adds that “The never satisfactory attempt to see in this Oss. *är-* the older **adi-* would thus drop”.

ærba- indicates “une action dirigée vers l’intérieur, lorsque le locuteur est lui-même à l’intérieur [...] Le caractère soudain, inattendu d’une action” (ARYS-DJANAÏÉVA 2004: 115–116). The origin of *ærba-* from *ær+ba-* has already been pointed out above.

ba- indicates “Un mouvement ou une action dirigé vers l’intérieur, lorsque le locuteur se trouve à l’extérieur [...] l’accomplissement, le caractère total de l’action” (ARYS-DJANAÏÉVA 2004: 115). According to MILLER (1903: 82) < Ir. **upá-*, but BENVENISTE (1959: 97–98) objects that “En fait, il n’y a pas un seul exemple qui démontre le traitement oss. *b* d’un ancien **p* après voyelle [...] En aucun cas le résultat n’aurait pu être *ba-*. Inversement si nous cherchons l’origine possible d’un *b-* ossète, nous la trouvons dans un ancien **b-*, à l’exclusion de toute autre articulation [...] La conclusion est inévitable: le préverbe *ba-* doit reposer sur une forme ancienne à **b-* initial, et le rapprochement avec i. ir. *upa-* est à rejeter”. Then, he thinks that Oss. *ba-* is to be compared with the particle “av. *bā* d’affirmation”: “C’est une raison de plus pour penser que le préverbe oss. *ba-*, formellement pareil, doit aussi se restituer en **bā-* et rien d’autre” (*ibid.*).

However, the opinion expressed by Benveniste is discarded by THORDARSON (1982: 258), writing that: “It is hard to see how an emphatic particle like *ba* has become a marker of perfective aspect, and as the derivation of *ba-* from ancient **upa-* is phonetically possible (cf. Morgenstierne in JA 1961, p. 242; review of BENVENISTE 1959), it seems far-fetched to look for its origins outside of the class of Old Iranian local determiners”.

fæ- “au présent, il indique la répétition ou la régularité de l’action [...] Au passé et au futur[...] peut donner aux verbes des sens radicalement opposés: brièveté et caractère inattendu, ou longueur et répétition [...] Un même verbe doté de ce préverbe peut souvent avoir deux significations opposées” (ARYS-DJANAÏÉVA 2004: 118).

This preverb can “en principe se préfixer à n’importe quel verbe, et même à d’autres préverbes (*fæ* + *nî-*). Il donne généralement au prétérit une valeur perfective. Miller dérive *fæ-* de l’ancien *pati-*, tout en reconnaissant, que *pati-* n’explique pas la valeur perfectivante de *fæ-*” (BENVENISTE 1959: 98). Benveniste criticizes the derivation < **pati-* proposed by Miller, raising phonetical doubts: “Il est impossible que *pati-* aboutisse en ossète à *fæ-* si l’on ne peut expliquer l’aphérèse de la syllabe *-ti-*”. Instead, he proposes derivation < **pa-*: “C’est pourquoi, tenant compte d’abord des seules conditions phonétiques, nous poserons que *fæ-* continue en ossète, non *pati-* mais un préverbe iranien *pa-*. Que ce préverbe *pa-* ne soit pas — ou pas encore — reconnu dans la morphologie de l’iranien ne change rien au fait que *pa-* est le seul prototype possible de *fæ-*. Il nous faut admettre l’existence d’un préverbe *pa-*, quitte à le justifier” (*ibid.* : 98–99).

Then, Benveniste quotes some Armenian loanwords from Iranian containing the preverb *pa-*, knowing that “en arménien une initiale *pa-* ne peut se confondre avec *apa-* ni avec *pati-*” (*ibid.* : 101), and some Avestan words, in order to demonstrate that these forms “donnent une base certaine à la restitution du préverbe *pa-* en iranien ancien. Un tel préverbe iranien *pa-* ne peut être que le représentant de l’indo-européen **po-* connu par sl. *po pa-*, lit. *po pa-*, lat. *po-* (dans *po-sinō*, *po-situs*). Et puisque oss. *fæ-* confère souvent à la forme du prétérit une valeur perfective, c’est bien une analogie avec le préverbe slave *po-*. Il ne s’agit donc plus seulement d’une identité étymologique entre ir. *pa-* et baltique et slave *pa-*, mais d’un accord dans leur fonction”. On the preverb Ir. **pa-*, Slavic *po-* and IE. **po-*, cf. also ABAEV 1969 and FISHER 1977.

As for the Iranian preverb **pati-*, Benveniste sees “dans *fæc-* la survivance — assez limitée — de l’ancien *pati-*, à côté de *fæ-* qui l’a supplanté dans une large mesure” (*ibid.* : 102).

ny- indicates “les actions dirigées de haut en bas lorsque le locuteur est en haut [...] L’intensité de l’action” (ARYS-DJANAÏÉVA 2004: 116) It is derived < Ir. **nî-* (BENVENISTE 1995: 95).

ra- expresses “avec les verbes de mouvement, une action dirigée de l’intérieur vers l’extérieur, comme précédemment, mais vue par un locuteur se trouvant à l’extérieur [...] l’intensité, l’importance de l’action” (ARYS-DJANAÏÉVA 2004: 115). It is derived < Ir. **frā-* (BENVENISTE 1959: 95). Cf. also GAÁL 1960.

(g)s- “avec les verbes de mouvement, il indique une action de bas en haut, indépendamment de la position du locuteur [...] Avec les autres verbes, il peut signaler le début de l’action ou d’un processus” (ARYS-DJANAÏÉVA 2004: 117). < Ir. *us-, *uz- (BENVENISTE 1995: 95).

Some of these preverbs appear also in ancient preverbs successively assimilated in the verb and nowadays indistinguishable: the “dead” preverbs.

Etymologies of the Ossetic preverbs: “dead” preverbs

Prevervation is commonly used in the old Indo-Iranian languages, but this type of construction is also inherited by the successive Iranian languages. In an ancient epoch, preverbs were clearly distinguishable in the verb, as for instance in Avestan. However, in the modern Iranian languages the preverb totally merged with the verbal root, thus being fully assimilated and unanalysable, except in particular contexts.

This has been clearly stated by Bielmeier (2012 [1981]: 293):

Es handelt sich hierbei um weitgehend fest gewordene Präverbien altpräverbier überlieferter Verbalformen, deren Semantik sich durch die Präverbierung z.T. erheblich verschoben hat. Die dazu gehörigen Simplicia sind größtenteils nicht mehr erhalten. Die präverbier überlieferten Verbalformen werden ihrerseits als imperfektive Simplicia aufgefaßt, die durch (erneute) Präverbierung in die entsprechenden perfektiven Formen überführt werden können.

We should just note that, as it will clearly appear from the list below, “Simplicia” have not always disappeared, but, on the contrary, they are in most cases attested. As rightly written by Bielmeier, these verbs + preverb lost their transparency, were reanalysed as imperfective “Simplicia” and accordingly can take new preverbs in order to obtain a perfective¹¹.

In Ossetic the following 14 old Iranian preverbs, now fully incorporated in the verbal root, can be identified: *ā-, *abi-, *apa-, *api-/*afī-, *upa-, *us-, *aṣa-, *fra-, *ham-, *ni-, *niš-, *pari-, *pati- and *ui-. The outcomes of some of these preverbs were already quickly investigated by BENVENISTE (1959: 95), in particular:

a- < Ir. *ā-*

īv- *īf-* < Ir. **abi-*

æv-, *æf-* < Ir. **apa-* (“non *abi-* que donne MILLER, p. 82”, *ibid.*)

is- *s-* < Ir. *us-*, *uz-*

¹¹ An example of indirect reappearing of the old preverb is represented by the *a*-initial Pashto simple verbs: see De Chiara forthcoming a.

u- < Ir. **ava-*
ra- < Ir. *frā-*
ræ- < Ir. **fra-*
æm-, æn- < Ir. **ham-*, **han-*
ni- < Ir. *ni-*
fæl- < Ir. **pari-*
 Dig. *i-* < **wi-*

As an example of their frequency of usage, I provide here all verbs containing these ancient preverbs that can be identified with certainty in the *Dictionary of the Iranian Verb* by J. Cheung (2007)¹².

**ā-* > Oss. *a-*

I. *ağ_oyndyn*: *ağ_oyst* ‘to cover a building’ < **gaud-* ‘to cover’ (*ibid.*: 114; cf. also BAILEY 1945: 225–226)

I. *ağ_oyjyn*: *ağ_oyd*, D. *ağujun*: *ağud* ‘to have the bad habit, esp. to come constantly as uninvited guest [= Russ. *повадуться*], have certain quirks; to become angry’ < Ir. **gaHu-* ‘to need, be faulty, wanting; to want, desire’ (*ibid.*: 95). This same root is found in two other verbs with different preverbs: I. *ivğ_oyjyn*, D. *evğujun*: *evğud*, + **abi-*, with the meaning ‘to pass, go by; to miss (the target)’; I. *qawyn*: *q_oyd*, D. *iğawun*: *iğud*, + **ui-*, with the meaning ‘to consume, spend; to cause damage, losses’. It would be interesting to study more carefully the semantic changes related to preverbs and the simultaneous presence of different derivatives of one same root, as in this case, can represent a good opportunity.

I. *amonym*: *amynd*, D. *amonun*: *amund* ‘to admonish’ < **man-* ‘to think, consider’ (*ibid.*: 263)

I. *amæntyn*: *amæst*, D. *amæntun*: *amæst* ‘to knead the dough; to soil, stain’ < **manθH-* ‘to agitate, stir, churn’ (*ibid.*: 264). This root is also present in the verb I. *yzmantyn*: *yzmast*, D. *azmantun*: *azmast*, with the meaning ‘to minx, stir (up)’ (see below)

I. *amajyn*: *amad*, D. *amajun*: *amad* ‘to build up (a wall, logs, etc.)’ < **maH*⁻¹ ‘to measure’ (*ibid.*: 256). Cf. also *nymajyn* s.v. **ni-*

I. *ardawyn*: *ardydy*, D. *ardawun*: *ardud* ‘to snatch’ < Ir. **drau*⁻³ ‘to lead astray, delude’ (*ibid.*: 78)

¹² I will not consider here verbs appearing in that source with question mark. In this list are also considered the entries of Cheung 2002. Many verbs are treated also by other researchers, as Abaev, Bailey, Bielmeier, etc., that will be occasionally signalled: a systematic analysis of all Ossetic verbs will no doubts reveal many interesting facts.

I. *arawyn*: *aryd*, D. *arawun*: *arud* ‘to scorch in the fire’ < ***Hrau-** ‘to warm’ (*ibid.*: 192)

I. *aræxsyn*: *aræxst*, D. *aræxsun*: *aræxst* ‘to fit, match; to deal, cope with; to be able’ < ***Hraxš-** ‘to protect, defend’ (*ibid.*: 196)

I. *aræzyn*: *aræzt*, D. *aræzun*: *aræzt* ‘to be arranged, done’, I. *arazyn*: *aræzt*, D. *arazun*: *aræzt* (caus.: tr.) ‘to direct to; to construct, build, make; to adorn’ < ***Hraz-** ‘to draw a line; to direct, *richten*’ (*ibid.*: 198). Cf. also *ræzyn* s.v. ***ui-**

I. *asadyn*: *asæst*, D. *asadun*: *asast* ‘to become clouded; to cover the seeds of the land before sowing; to plant (beans, peas)’ < ***sād-** ‘to cover, protect, shield’ (*ibid.*: 341)

I. *astaryn*: *astard*, D. *astarun*: *astard* ‘to adorn (clothes, weapon); to pave (road, way); to cover (the roof)’ < ***starH**⁻¹ ‘to spread’ (*ibid.*: 365). Without preverb, this root recurs also in I. *stæryn*: *stærd*, D. *(æ)stær(n)un*: *(æ)stard* ‘to spread out; to cover; to pave; to adorn’

I. *awynzyn*: *awygd*, D. *awinzun*: *awiğd* ‘to hang’ < ***uajj-** ‘to shake, swing’ (*ibid.*: 414)

I. *awærdyn*: *awærst*, D. *awærdun*: *aurst* ‘to spare, save (money)’ < *(**H**)**uard-** ‘to grow, increase’ (*ibid.*: 208)

I. *awazyn*: *azwæzt*, D. *awazun*: *auzt* ‘to dam a river’ < ***uaz-** ‘to carry, drive (chariot, vel sim.)’ (*ibid.*: 431). Cf. also *n(y)wazyn* s.v. ***ni-**

I. *axodyn*: *axost*, D. *axwadun*: *axwast*, *axust* ‘to taste’ < ***hjad-** ‘to become, make savoury, pleasant’ (*ibid.*: 141)

I. *azælyn*: *azæld*, D. *azælun*: *azæld* ‘to give sound, echo’ < Ir. ***zarH**⁻³ ‘to bewail the deceased’ (*ibid.*: 470). This same root can be found in the verb I. *zælyn*: *zæld*, with the meaning ‘to sound’, I. *zaryn*: *zard* (caus. iter. D. *zarun*: *zard* ‘to sing’) and, with the preverb ***ajua-**, in *uzælyn*: *uzæld*, with the meaning ‘to nurse, tend; to coax; to show attention; to do something nice; to regale’

***abi-** > Oss. *iv-* (with normal exceptions)

I. *ælvisyn*: *ælvyst*, D. *ælvesun*: *ælvist* ‘to spin’ < ***urais-** ‘to turn, spin’ (*ibid.*: 437)

I. *irğævyn*: *irğævd*, D. *erğævun*: *erğævd* ‘to separate’ < ***grabH-** ‘to grab, seize, take’ (*ibid.*: 121)

I. *irvæzyn*: *irvæzt*, D. *ervæzun*: *ervazt* ‘to be saved, delivered; to slip away, escape’ < ***raz-** ‘to leave, escape (one’s notice)’ (*ibid.*: 322)

I. *ævgænyyn*: *ævgæd*, D. *ævgænun*: *ævgæd* ‘to pour in, fill, out; to draw’ < ***kan**⁻² ‘to fill’ (*ibid.*: 232)

I. *ivğ,yjyn*, D. *evğujun*: *evğud* ‘to pass, go by; to miss (the target)’ < ***gaHu-** ‘to need, be faulty, wanting; to want, desire’ (*ibid.*: 95). For other internal comparisons, see *ağ,yjyn* s.v. ***ā-**

I. *ivtynzyn*: *ivtyġd*, D. *evtinzun*: *evtiġd* ‘to yoke a horse; to load a gun; to wind up a watch, vel sim.’, I. *ivtong*, D. *evtong* ‘equipped, ready for action, under way, sim.’ < ***θanj-** ‘to pull, draw’ (*ibid.*: 392; cf. BIELMEIER 2012 [1981]: 293). Cf. also *tynjyn* s.v. ***ui-**

I. *ivxærsyn*: *ivxærst*, D. *evxærsun*: *evxa(r)st* ‘to put across across a river, dangerous place; to lead someone; to help someone who is in trouble, danger; to rescue, save’ < ***karš/*xrah-** ‘to draw, plough’ (*ibid.*: 242). Cf. also *æxxæssyn* s.v. ***ham-**

***apa-** > Oss. *æf-/æv-*, depending on the voiced or voiceless initial of the verbal root

I. *æfxæryn*: *æfxærd*, D. *æfxwærun*: *æfxward* ‘to insult, offend, call out, reprimand’ < ***huar-**² ‘to sound, swear’ (*ibid.*: 149)

I. *ævdælyn*: *ævdæld*, D. *ævdælun*: *ævdald* ‘to be indolent, unemployed, free (of work)’ < ***dar-**¹ ‘to hold, keep; [intr.] to dwell’ (*ibid.*: 58–59). Root appearing also in I. *daryn*: *dard*, D. *darun*: *dard* ‘to have, keep’ and in D. *lædærun*: *lædærd* ‘to understand, acknowledge’, + ***fra-**

I. *ævdysyn*: *ævdyst*, D. *ævdesun*: *ævdist* ‘to show’ < ***dais-**¹ ‘to show’ (*ibid.*: 52). This same root appears also in *rædesun*: *rædist*, with preverb *fra-*, with the meaning ‘to show the signs of premature births [of animals]’

I. *ævzyjyn*: *ævzyd*, D. *ævzujun*: *ævzud* ‘to fall out (of hair)’ < ***zau-** ‘to pour (libation)’ (*ibid.*: 472)

***api-/*afi-** > Oss. *æj-?*

I. *æjjafyn*: *æjjæft*, D. *æjjafun*: *æjjaft* ‘to reach, attain; to experience’ < ? ***Hap/f-** ‘to reach, attain’ (*ibid.*: 126). This root is represented, without preverb, by D. *afun*: *aft* ‘to reach a necessary level, be on the required level’

***upa-** > Oss. *ba-*. In this case, we have only one instance; however, cf., for instance, I. *bas*, D. *basæ* ‘soup’ (to root ***HasH-**), I. *bwar*, D. *bawær* ‘body’ (to root) or *bæstæ* ‘place’ (to root ***staH-**)

I. *badyn*: *badt*, D. *badun*: *badt* ‘to sit’ < ***had-** ‘to sit, be seated’ (*ibid.*: 126)

***us-** > Oss. *(y)s-/(y/æ)z-*

I. *sk’æfyn*: *sk’æft*, D. *(æ)sk’æfun*: *(æ)sk’aft* (*sk’avd*) ‘to carry, drag (quickly); to grab’ < ***čap-** ‘to seize, attach, stick, strike’ (*ibid.*: 33): cf. also *ænzævyn* s.v. ***ham-** and *nyzævyn* s.v. ***ni-**. This root has its descendant, without preverb, in I. *caëfsyn*: *caëfst*, D. *caëfsun*: *caëfst* (inch.) ‘to stick, glue’

I. *ysxoġyn*: *ysxġyst*, D. *(æ)sxwajun*: *(æ)sxust* ‘to push, thrust; to leave quickly, rush, drive away’ < ***huah-** ‘to strike, thresh; [inch., intr.] to become

tired' (*ibid.*: 143). This same root can be found in I. *xojyn*: *xost*, D. *xwajun*: *xwast* 'to strike, knock, pound' and *ræxojyn* + **fra-* (see below)

I. *ævzidyn*: *ævzyst*, D. *ævzedun*: *ævzist* 'to threaten; to shake with one's arm or weapon' < **uaid*⁻¹ 'to know' (*ibid.*: 409)

I. *ævzæryn*: *ævzærst*, *ævzærd*, D. *ævzærun*: *ævzurst* 'to get separated; to sprout (of plants); to occur, appear', (orig. caus.) Oss. I. *ævzarun*: *ævzærst*, D. *ævzarun*: *ævzurst* 'to pick out, choose; to separate; to make out (of), understand; to experience' < **uar(H)*⁻¹ 'to choose; convince; (med.) to believe' (*ibid.*: 421). Cf. also *waryn* s.v. **ui-*. This root is found without preverb in I. *wyrnyn* 'to believe'

D. *æznæmun*: *æznæ (m)t* 'to move back [of animals]' < **nam-* 'to bend, bow' (*ibid.*: 280)

I. *yzmantyn*: *yzmast*, D. *azmantun*: *azmast* 'to minx, stir (up)' < **manθH-* 'to agitate, stir, churn' (*ibid.*: 264). See the verb *amæntyn* s.v. **ā-*, above

**aua-* > Oss. *u*⁻¹³

I. *udæssyn*: *udæst*, D. *odæssun*: *odænst* (inch.: intr.) 'to suffer, bear, forego, let go' < **damH*⁻² 'to tame' (*ibid.*: 55). Without preverb, this root can be found in I. *domyn*: *domd*, D. *dæmun*: *dænd* 'to tame'

I. *udajyn*: *udad (udast)*, D. *odajun*: *odad* 'to wet, soak'. (intr.) I. *udæsyn*: *udæst*, D. *odæsun*: *odæst* 'to be soaked, wet' < **taH-* 'to flow, stream; to melt' (*ibid.*: 375). This root is found also in I. *tajyn*: *tad*, D. *tajun*: *tad* 'to melt; to thaw', (also with prev. *ær-*) D. *ær-tajun*: *ær-tad* 'to bathe'

I. *uromyn*: *uræd*, D. *oramun*: *oræd* 'to restrain, detain; to leave behind; to bear, tolerate; to keep, put on some work' < **Hram-* 'to rest, be calm' (*ibid.*: 191). This root is found also in D. *ræmun*: *ræd* 'to stand, stay in place'

I. *uzælyn*: *uzæld* 'to nurse, tend; to coax; to show attention; to do something nice; to regale' < Ir. **zarH*⁻³ 'to bewail the deceased' (*ibid.*: 470): see *azælyn* s.v. **ā-* above.

**fra-* > Oss. *r(æ)-*

D. *lædærun*: *lædærd* 'to understand, acknowledge' < **dar*⁻¹ 'to hold, keep; [intr.] to dwell' (*ibid.*: 58–59). Cf. *ævdælyn* s.v. **apa-*

I. *lægærdyn*: *lægærst*, D. *lægærdun*: *lægærst* 'to pave [cut] a path (in the water, snow, on the land) with difficulty' < **kart*⁻¹ 'to cut' (*ibid.*: 244): cf. I. *kærdyn*: *karst*, D. *kærdun*: *karst* 'to cut (to pieces)'. Cf. also I. *ærgævdyn*:

¹³ On the preverb Oss. *u-* see also Bailey 1946: 202. BIELMEIER (1977: 232–233) adds also Oss. *ulæfyn*: *ulæft* 'to breathe', unclear, but possibly < Ir. **awa-lap-*, and compares Skt. *lapati* < *rap-*.

ærgævst (with metathesis), D. *ævgærdun*: *ævgarst* ‘to slaughter, *stechen* (animal, person)’, + **abi-* or **apa-*

I. *læmaryn*: *læmærst*, D. *læmarun*: *læmarst* ‘to press out [e.g. wet linen], squeeze out [e.g., juice from a fruit]’ < **marH*⁻¹ ‘to rub; crush’ (*ibid.*: 267)

D. *læwærdun*: *læwarst* ‘to go through a certain mass [snow, earth], sweeping with the feet’ < **uart-* ‘to turn’ (*ibid.*: 425). Cf. also I. *wærdyn*: *wærst*, D. *wærdun*: *wærst* ‘to felt’, *nywærdyn* s.v. **ni-* and *æwwærdyn* s.v. **ham-*

D. *rædæzun*: *rædağd* ‘to flow in drops, leak’, D. *rædæzun*: *rædağd* (old caus.) ‘to pour (tears), weep’ < **tač*⁻¹ ‘to flow, run, walk’ (*ibid.*: 373–374): cf. also I. *tæzyn*: *tağd*, D. *tæjun*: *tağd* ‘to flow; to leak, drip’

D. *rædesun*: *rædist* ‘to show the signs of premature births [of animals]’ < **dais*⁻¹ ‘to show’ (*ibid.*: 52). Cf. also *ævdisy*n s.v. **apa-*

D. *rædæxsun*: *rædæxst* ‘to climb (a mountain)’ (< **to reach for the top*) < **tač*⁻² ‘to reach for, attain, receive’ (*ibid.*: 374–375): cf. also D. *taxun*: *taxt* (old denomin.) ‘to equip, dress (up)’. Cf. also *ændæzyn* s.v. **ham-*

I. *rædijyn*: *rædyd*, D. *rædujun*: *rædud* ‘to err, to sin against’ < **dauH*⁻² ‘to smear, rub (on)’ (*ibid.*: 58–69): cf. also I. *dawyn*: *dawd*, D. *dawun*: *dawd* ‘to smooth, polish’

D. *rægænun*: *rægæd* ‘to shake, spread (salt, pepper for seasoning)’ < **kan*⁻¹ ‘to throw, place, put; to destroy’ (*ibid.*: 231): cf. *nygæyn* s.v. **ni-*

D. *ræzæğdun*: *ræzaxt*, (inch.) D. *ræzæxsun*: *ræzaxst* ‘to spread around, scatter’ < **čak/g-* ‘to strike, hit’ (*ibid.*: 32): cf. also I. *cæğdyn*: *cağd*, D. *cæğdun*: *cağd* ‘to shake (out); to strike the iron; to play on an instrument, clock’ and *izæğdun* s.v. **ui-*

D. *ræsažun*: *ræsağd* ‘to drive, strike, stick in’ < **sač*⁻¹ ‘to fit, be suitable, be able, be in command of; to prepare’ (*ibid.*: 324): cf. also I. *sæžyn*: *sağd*, D. *sæžun*: *sağd* ‘to get stuck in’, I. *sažyn*: *sağd*, D. *sažun*: *sağd* ‘to place (in), dig in; [also D.] to build, construct’

I. *ræsijyn*: *ræsyd*, D. *ræsujun*: *ræsud* ‘to swell’ < **sauH*- ‘to bulge, swell up, increase’ (*ibid.*: 341; cf. also BIELMEIER 1977: 207)

I. *rwajyn*: *rwad* ‘to dry out’ < *HyaH*⁻¹ ‘to blow’ (*ibid.*: 203): cf. I. *wasyn*: *wast*, D. *wasun*: *wast* (inch.) ‘to whistle; to blow on a flute; to sing [of birds], chirrup, crow (vel sim.)’

I. *ræxofyn*: *ræxyst*, D. *ræxwajun*: *ræxust* ‘to penetrate, pierce; to split’ < **hʏah-* ‘to strike, thresh; [inch., intr.] to become tired’ (*ibid.*: 143): cf. *ysxojyn* s.v. **us-*

**ham-* > Oss. *æm/n-*

I. *æmbudyn*, D. *æmbodun* ‘to sense, feel’ < **baud*⁻¹ ‘to feel, sense’ (*ibid.*: 15)

I. *æmbudyn*, D. *æmbodun* ‘to smell’ < **baud*⁻² ‘to smell’ (*ibid.*: 16)

I. *æmbaryn*: *æmbærst* ‘to understand, comprehend’ < **bar-* ‘to bring, carry’ (*ibid.*: 9; cf. also BIELMEIER 1977: 117): cf. also I. *baryn*: *barst*, D. *barun*: *barst* ‘to contemplate, measure; to forgive’

I. *æmbærzyn*: *æmbærzt*, D. *æmbærzun*: *æmbarzt* ‘to cover’ < **barz-*² ‘to cover, cushion’ (*ibid.*: 13–14)

I. *æmbijyn*: *æmbyd*, D. *æmbujun*: *æmbud* ‘to rot’ < **pauH-* ‘to stink, smell, rot’ (*ibid.*: 303)

I. *æncajyn*: *æncad*, D. *æncajun*: *æncad* ‘to rest, repose’ < **čjaH-*¹ ‘to be calm, glad, rest’ (*ibid.*: 38)

I. *ændizyn*, D. *ændezun* ‘to weld (metal); to recover (from an illness)’ < **daiz/s-* ‘to build, form’ (*ibid.*: 53). Cf. also *fældisyn* s.v. **pari-*

I. *ændæzyn*: *ændağd*, D. *ændæzun*: *ændağd* ‘to stick, be stuck to’, I. *ændazyn*: *ændağd*, D. *ændazun*: *ændağd* (old caus.) ‘to attach, stick to’ < **tač-*² ‘to reach for, attain, receive’ (*ibid.*: 374–375): cf. also *rædcæxsun* s.v. **fra-*

I. *ændavyn*: *ændævd*, D. *ændavun*: *ændavd* ‘to catch fire’ < **tap-* ‘to warm up, heat’ (*ibid.*: 379). Cf. also I. *tæfsyn*: *tæfst*, D. *tæfsun*: *tæfst* (inch.) ‘to become hot’, I. *tavyn*: *tavd*, D. *tavun*: *tavd* (caus.) ‘to warm up’, also Oss. I. *tæxsyn*: *tæxst* ‘to itch; to be feverishly ill’

I. *ænzaryn*: *ænzærst*, D. *ænzarun*: *ænzarst* (caus.) ‘to kindle, light a fire’ < **gar-*³ ‘to heat, cook, kindle fire’ (*ibid.*: 105)

I. *ænzævyn*: *ænzævd*, D. *ænzævun*: *ænzævd* ‘to touch’ < **čap-* ‘to seize, attach, stick, strike’ (*ibid.*: 33): cf. also *sk’æfyn* s.v. **us-* and *nyzævyn* s.v. **ni-*

I. *æmqælyn*: *æmqæld*, D. *æmqælun*: *æmqæld* ‘to suppose, think; to hope for’ (orig. **a-pass.*) < **Hgar-* ‘to be awake’ (*ibid.*: 173)

D. *ænsedun*: *ænsidt* ‘to incite (against)’ < **said-*² ‘to call’ (*ibid.*: 327). Cf. also I. *sidyn*: *sidt*, D. *sedun*: *sidt* ‘to call (for), invite’

I. *yssyn*: *yssad*, D. *insun*: *insad* ‘to whet, sharpen’ < **saH-* ‘to whet, cut’ (*ibid.*: 326)

I. *æssonyn*: *æssyd*, D. *æsonun*: *ænsud* ‘to push through; to stick in’ < **san-* ‘to mount, ascend’ (*ibid.*: 331)

I. *æssændyn*: *æssæst*, D. *æssændun*: *ænsast* ‘to break (into pieces); to trample, oppress’ < **sč/kand-* ‘to break, cleave’ (*ibid.*: 342)

I. *æwwændyn*, D. *æwwændun* ‘to (en)trust, believe’ < **uan-* ‘to triumph, win’ (*ibid.*: 417). Cf. also I. *wændyn* ‘to dare, be bold, decide’

I. *æwwærdyn*: *æwwærst*, D. *æwwærdun*: *æwwarst* ‘to knead, smear, rub in’ < **uart-* ‘to turn’ (*ibid.*: 425). Cf. also *læwwærdun* s.v. **fra-* and *nywwærdyn* s.v. **ni-*

I. *æxxæssyn*: *æxxæst* ‘to reach, attain’, D. *ænxæssun*: *ænxast* ‘to seize, grab’ < **karš/*xrah-* ‘to draw, plough’ (*ibid.*: 243). Cf. also *ivxæssyn* s.v. **abi-*

***ni-** > Oss. *ny*-¹⁴

I. *nygæyn*: *nygæd*, D. *nigænun*: *nigæd* ‘to bury’ < ***kan**-¹ ‘to throw, place, put; to destroy’ (*ibid.*: 231). Cf. also *rægænun* s.v. ***fra**-

I. *nyzævyn*: *nyzævd*, D. *nizævun*: *nizævd*, (inch.) D. *nizævsun*: *nizævst* ‘to touch (on)’ < ***čap**- ‘to seize, attach, stick, strike’ (*ibid.*: 33): cf. also *sk’æfyn* s.v. ***us**- and *nyzævyn* s.v. ***ni**-

I. *nymuzyn*: *nymyğd*, D. *nimozun*: *nimuğd* ‘to point out; to carry to, out; to recommend’ < ***mauč**-² ‘to learn, teach’ (*ibid.*: 270)

I. *nymajyn*: *nymad*, D. *nimajun*: *nimad* ‘to count, value, esteem; to read’ < ***maH**-¹ ‘to measure’ (*ibid.*: 256; cf. also BIELMEIER 1977: 202–203). Cf. also *amajyn* s.v. ***ā**-

I. *nyvændyn*: *nyvæst*, D. *nivændun*: *niva(n)st* (+ I. *tyn*, D. *tunæ* ‘sheet’) ‘to stretch, tighten the warp’, Oss. I. *nyvond*, D. *nivond* ‘sacrifice’ < ***band**- ‘to bind’ (*ibid.*: 6). Cf. also I. *bæddyn*: *bast*, D. *bæddun*: *bast* ‘to bind’ and *ivændun* s.v. ***ui**-

I. *nywærdyn*: *nywærst*, *nordyn*: *norst*, D. *niwærdun*: *niwarst* ‘to wrap up’ < ***uart**- ‘to turn’ (*ibid.*: 425). Cf. also *læwærdun* s.v. ***fra**- and *æwwærdyn* s.v. ***ham**-

I. *n(y)wazyn*: *nywæzt*, *nozt*, *nyzt*-, D. *niwazun*: *niwazt* ‘to drink’ < ***uaz**- ‘to carry, drive (chariot, vel sim.)’ (*ibid.*: 431; cf. also BIELMEIER 1977: 203). Cf. also *awazyn* s.v. ***ā**-

I. *nyxæsyn*: *nyxæst*, D. *nixæsun*: *nixast* ‘to be attached, glued, stuck’, (caus.) I. *nyxasyn*: *nyxæst*, D. *nixasun*: *nixast* ‘to attach, adhere, glue, stick’ < ***kas**-² ‘to attach’ (*ibid.*: 246)

***niš-** > Oss. *nyC*-

I. *nykkæsyn*, D. *nikkæsun* ‘to look (down)’ < ***kas**-¹ ‘to look, appear’ (*ibid.*: 246). Cf. also I. *kæsyn*: *kast*, D. *kæsun*: *kast* ‘to look; to read; to wait; to appear’ and *fælgæsyn* s.v. ***pari**-

I. *nyqq_oyr_{yn}*: *nyqq_oyr_d*, D. *niq(q)wærun*: *niq(q)ward* ‘to swallow’ (contaminated with *qoyr*: *qur* ‘throat’) < ***garH**-⁴ ‘to swallow’ (*ibid.*: 109)

***pari-** > Oss. *fæL*-¹⁵

I. *fældisyn*: *fældyst*, D. *fældesun*: *fældist* ‘to make; to dedicate to the deceased’ < ***daiz/s-** ‘to build, form’ (*ibid.*: 53). Cf. also *ændijyn* s.v. ***ham**-

¹⁴ On the difference between ***ni-** and ***niš-** and between ***pa-** and ***pati-** see BAILEY 1961: 54: “The understanding of the prefixes *ni-* and *fä-* may be extended by the recognition that Ossetic has *ni-* without gemination and *ni-* with gemination. [...] This I think occurs also with the prefix *fä-*, which is not simply *fä-* but *fä-* with gemination in Digoron. [...] This *fä-* with gemination is then from *pati-*. A second prefix *pa-* is also acceptable in some cases”.

¹⁵ Other verb is, for instance, I. *færsuzyn*, D. *fælsozun*, according to BAILEY 1961: 54 < *pari-*, but according to IËSOJ I 454 < **para-sauč-*.

I. *fælgæsyn*: *fælgæst*, D. *fælgæsun*: *fælgast* ‘to look; survey’ < ***kas-**¹ ‘to look, appear’ (*ibid.*: 246). Cf. also *nykkæsyn* s.v. ***niš-**

D. *fælgændun*: *fælgæst* ‘to smear; paint’ < ***gant-** ‘to smell badly, stink’ (*ibid.*: 104). Cf. also *iğændun* s.v. ***ui-**

I. *fællajyn*: *fællad*, D. *fællajun*: *fællad* ‘to get tired’ < ***mraH-** ‘to soften’ (*ibid.*: 274)

***pati-** > Oss. *fæ/e(c/3)-*

D. *fæcawun*: *fæcud* ‘to pass, drive by’ < ***čiau-** ‘to move, go’ (*ibid.*: 41). Cf. also I. *cæwyn*: *cyd*, D. *cæwun*: *cud* ‘to go’

I. *fæzæxsyn*: *fæzæxst*, D. *fæzæxsun*: *fæzæxst* ‘to order; to admonish’ < ***xsaH-** ‘to explore, research’ (*ibid.*: 450)

I. *fippajyn*: *fippajd*, D. *fepajun*: *fepajd* ‘to remark, guess’ < ***paH-**¹ ‘to protect, guard (esp. of sheep, cattle), pasture’ (*ibid.*: 289)

D. *fæsmærun*: *fæsmard* ‘to know, be known; to find out; to recall’ < ***hmar-** ‘to remember, recall; to count’ (*ibid.*: 138)

***ui-** > Oss. *i-/Ø*¹⁶

D. *idæwun* ‘to question’ < ***dau-**¹ ‘to speak, chat’ (*ibid.*: 65)

I. *idajyn*: *idad*, D. *idajun*: *idad* ‘to begin’ < ***daH-**² ‘to place, put’ (*ibid.*: 46)

D. *igawun*: *igawd* ‘to look sad’ < ***čai-**³ ‘to see, observe, perceive’ (*ibid.*: 28)

D. *iğændun*: *iğæst* ‘to smell; defile, desacrate’ < ***gant-** ‘to smell badly, stink’ (*ibid.*: 104). Cf. also *fælgændun* s.v. ***pari-**

I. *ğityn*, D. *igetun*: *igitt* ‘not able to do something, to be indecisive, hesitant’ < ***čait/θ-** ‘to remark, observe’ (*ibid.*: 31). Cf. also D. *cetun*: *citt* ‘to keep an eye; to remind; to rebuke’

D. *izæğdun*: *izağd* ‘to spread, scatter’ < ***čak/g-** ‘to strike, hit’ (*ibid.*: 32): cf. *ræzæğdun* s.v. ***fra-**

I. *mysin*: *myst*, D. *imisun*: *imist* (inch.) ‘to consider; conceive, invent; to long for’ < ***Hmai-**¹ ‘to fix(ate), build, fashion’ (*ibid.*: 177)

D. *ivandun*: *ivast* ‘to twist the yarn before piling up to the loom’ < ***band-** ‘to bind’ (*ibid.*: 6). See also *nyvændyn* s.v. ***ni-**

I. *ivajyn*: *ivad*, D. *ivajun*: *ivad* ‘to pale, wither; to dawn’ < ***baH-** ‘to shine’ (*ibid.*: 1)

I. *qysyn*: *qyst*, D. *iğusun*: *iğust* ‘to be heard’, Oss. I. *qusyn*: *qyst*, D. *iğosun*: *iğust* (caus.) ‘to hear, listen’ < ***gauš-** ‘to hear, listen to’ (*ibid.*: 116; cf. also BIELMEIER 1977: 264)

I. *qawyn*: *qyd*, D. *iğawun*: *iğud* ‘to consume, spend; to cause damage, losses’ < ***gaHu-** ‘to need, be faulty, wanting; to want, desire’ (*ibid.*: 95). For other comparisons, see *ag yjyn* s.v. ***ā-**

¹⁶ BIELMEIER (1977: 161) adds also Oss. *ivazyn*: *ivæzt* ‘to pull’, < Ir. ***wi-bāž-**.

I. *ræzyn*: *ræzt*, D. *iræzun*: *iræzt* ‘to grow, gain in length; to be arranged’ < ***Hraz-** ‘to draw a line; to direct, *richten*’ (*ibid.*: 198). Cf. also *aræzyn* s.v. **ā-*

I. *særdyn*: *særst*, D. *isærdun*: *isarst* ‘to smear, grease’ < ***sard-** ‘to smear, rub’ (*ibid.*: 336)

I. *sysyn*: *syst*, D. *isusun*: *isust* ‘to evaporate, dry’ < ***Hhauš-** ‘to become dry, dry out, wither’ (*ibid.*: 174)

I. *tynzyn*: *tyğd*, D. *itinzun*: *itiğd* ‘to spread, stretch out; to crucify’ < ***θanj-** ‘to pull, draw’ (*ibid.*: 392). Cf. also *ivtynzyn* s.v. **abi-*

I. *waryn*: *wærst*, D. *iwarun*: *iurst* ‘to divide, distribute; to be divided, divide up possessions’ < ***uar(H)-¹** ‘to choose; convince; (med.) to believe’ (*ibid.*: 421). Cf. also *ævzæryn* s.v. **uz-*

I. *zajyn*: *zad*, D. *izajun*: *izad* ‘to remain’ < ***zaH-** ‘to leave (behind)’ (*ibid.*: 461)

D. *izazun*: *izazt* ‘to lift up [with a handle]’ < ***zai-¹** ‘to set in motion, impel’ (*ibid.*: 462)

Comparison between Ossetic and Pashto

Not all the Indo-Iranian preverbs are attested in Ossetic, in particular **upari-* and **ati-*:

upari-* = Skt. *upári* ‘above, upon, on, upwards’ = Av. *upari*. Among the modern oriental Iranian languages, cf. Sh. *birnāy̆-*: *birnāy̆d* ‘to wave, brandish, raise one’s hand (against)’, (Baj.) *barnāy̆-*: *barnāy̆d* ‘to turn, twist around somebody/something’ < *nāy̆-**? ‘to turn, roll’ (CHEUNG 2007: 285)

ati-* = Skt. *āti* ‘beyond, over, and; beyond, surpassing’ = Av. *ati*. Cf., for instance: Yghn. *dīvár-*, *děvár-* /*děwár-*/ (supplet. *dīyáta* < **ati-gam-*) ‘to insert, introduce’ < *bar-** ‘to bring, carry’ (*ibid.*: 9); (+ **ati-*) ? Yzgh. *cəx-*: *coxt* ‘to milk’ < ***dauxš-** ‘to suck, suckle, milk’ (*ibid.*: 70); (+ **ati-*) Sh. (Baj.) (supplet. *dēδ-*): *dēd*, Rosh. (supplet. *indīδ-*): *indayd*, Bart. (supplet. *indīδ-*): *indīδd*, Sariq. (supplet. *diδ-*): *deyd*, (supplet. *dis-*): *dayd*, Yghn. (supplet. *tīs-*, *teš-*): *táxta* ‘to enter’ < ***gam-¹** ‘to come’ (*ibid.*: 101); (+ **ati-*) Wa. *tən(ə)y-*: *tənət-* ‘to drive, chase (cattle) into the stable; to hunt, catch (birds, animals)’ < ***naiH-¹** ‘to lead’ (*ibid.*: 279)

Interestingly, these two preverbs are not used neither in Ossetic nor in Pashto. If we compare what happens in this other eastern Iranian language, we find that the most part of the “dead” preverbs used in Ossetic are also used in

Pashto, with the exception of **abi-* and **nis-*.¹⁷ However, one main difference between the two languages lies in the fact that, while in Pashto there is a clear distinction between “dead” and “living” preverbs, in Ossetic there is a certain mixture between the two groups, as shown in the following table.¹⁸

Ir.	Oss. “dead” prev.	Oss. “living” prev.	Pšt. dead prev.	Pšt. “living” prev.
<i>*ā-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>ā-</i>	
<i>*abi-</i>	<i>iv-</i>			
<i>*apa-</i>	<i>æf/v-</i>		<i>b-</i>	
<i>*ap/fi-</i>	<i>æj-?</i>		<i>bi-</i>	
<i>*api-ā-</i>				<i>byā-</i>
<i>*upa-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>ps-</i>	
<i>*us-</i>	<i>(y)s-</i>	<i>(ə)s-</i>	<i>s-</i>	
<i>*aṷa-</i>	<i>u-</i>		<i>wa-</i>	
<i>*fra-</i>	<i>r(æ)-</i>		<i>r-</i>	
<i>*frā-</i>		<i>ra-</i>		
<i>*ham-</i>	<i>æm/n-</i>		∅	
<i>*ni-</i>	<i>nyC-</i>	<i>nə-</i>	<i>n-</i>	
<i>*niš-</i>	<i>ny-</i>			
<i>*pa-</i>		<i>fæ-</i>		
<i>*parā-</i>			<i>pro-</i>	<i>prā-</i>
<i>*pari-</i>	<i>fæ/-</i>		<i>par-</i>	
<i>*pati-</i>	<i>fæ/e(c/3)-</i>		<i>pe/pa-</i>	
<i>*ṷi-</i>	<i>i-/∅</i>		<i>w-</i>	
<i>*awar</i>		<i>ær-</i>		
<i>*hačā-</i>				<i>cə-</i>
<i>*kašai-</i>				<i>kṣe-</i>
<i>*nina-</i>				<i>nəna-</i>
<i>*parai-</i>				<i>pre-</i>
<i>*parya-</i>				<i>pore-</i>

In some cases, we observe similar outcomes, as for **ā-*, **us-*, **fra-* and **ni-*. In the other cases, every language follows its own phonetic evolutions.

In one case, **parā-*, not only the preverb is not attested in Ossetic¹⁹, but in Pashto it apparently undergoes to two different evolutions, as “dead” (*pro-*) and

¹⁷ See De Chiara forthcoming a, b and c. The preverb **abi-* according to Morgenstierne (EVP 90 and NEVP 91) would be present in Pšt. *wrešəl*, but this verb is probably derived << **wrais-*, to root **ṷrais-* ‘to turn, spin’: De Chiara forthcoming b. However, in Pashto while **abi-* is used as nominal prefix, **niš-* is apparently not attested at all.

¹⁸ I do not include in this table the Oss. preverb *ærba-*, as we saw secondarily derived < *ær* + *ba*. Preverbs are ordered alphabetically according to the consonant order in the Iranian form.

¹⁹ But cf. fn. s.v. **pari-* above.

“living” (*prā-*) preverb: however, this last is attested only in the verb *prānistəl*, of not very clear etymology (see De Chiara forthcoming c). Could this Pšt. **parā-* be analysed as ***para-ā-* and correspond to Oss. *ar-* < **ā-fra-?* Cf. Oss. I. *arğawyn: arğyd*, D. *arğawun: arğud* ‘to perform a church service; [D.] to read’ < **ā-fra-garH-?* (CHEUNG 2007: 107 s.v. **garH-¹* ‘to greet, call’).

Any of the “living” preverbs of Pashto can be found in Ossetic.

Conclusion

In conclusion, in this article I tried to compare Ossetic and Pashto, two eastern Iranian languages, spoken in two different regions, *i.e.*, Caucasus and Central Asia. The result is the evidence in both languages of two sets of preverbs:

1) a set of old preverbs, “dead”, that merged with the verbal root and originated new simple verbs;

2) a set of new preverbs, “living”, still in use in contemporary Ossetic and Pashto.

Three main functional features may also be indicated for these two sets of preverbs: semantic, perfectivizing and orientational.

The third of these functions is present only in the “living” Ossetic preverbs, but not in Pashto, and we can safely conclude that it is a regional characteristic, due to the contact with the Caucasian and the Slavic languages.

The first function, the semantic one, is common to both sets of preverbs: a constant feature from the old epoch (cf. for instance the preverbs in Skt. and in Av.) to the modern languages (even if not many studies were conducted at this concern).

As for the second feature, the aspectual function, we can wonder if it belonged already to an ancient epoch: heritage or innovation? The aspect in Ossetic and in Pashto does not work in the same way, as already shown above (cf. LAZARD 1987). In Ossetic it is more similar to Slavic: all simple verbs are imperfective, while verbs with preverb become perfective. In Pashto all verbs, in their entire paradigm, have an imperfective and a perfective form: the former is unmarked, while the latter is marked by a stressed preverb, *wá-*, in the case of Simple verbs.

Leaving aside the details and the main problems linked to aspect in both languages, these two aspectual differences could apparently suggest a different origin. However, preverbs were already used as aspectual markers in the old Indo-Iranian languages. Then, I suggest that the function of distinguishing the imperfective from the perfective aspect of the preverbs is an inherited feature²⁰.

²⁰ Preverbs distinguish the aspect in other modern Iranian languages, as, for instance, in Persian and in Kurdish, where the perfective is the unmarked form: see De Chiara and Seftfonds 2019: 27–28.

Once the old “dead” preverbs merged with the verb, the new set of “living” preverbs also inherited some of the old preverbal functions.

In Pashto a new set of “living” preverbs was created, with their own semantic features, but they inherited also the aspectual function of the “dead” preverbs: indeed, verbs containing the “living” preverbs behave as Compound verbs with preverb, in which the task performed by *wá-* in Simple verbs is accomplished by these new “living” preverbs. Consider, for instance, the different behaviour of two verbs, *leğəl* ‘to send’, a Simple verb, and *prānistəl* ‘to open’, a Compound verb with preverb:

“imperfective” present

ø·leği
prā·nizi

“perfective” present

wá·leği
*prā·nizi*²¹

In Ossetic the “living” preverbs, all belonging to the Iranian heritage and often identic with the “dead” preverbs, next to the semantic features also kept their aspectual function: successively, under the influence of the languages in contact these “living” preverbs developed new forms of expression of the aspect to reach new aspectual oppositions, however favoured by the old aspectual function.

In conclusion, each of these two languages developed its own aspectual structure, due to internal evolution or to external linguistic contacts: however, in both cases a common inherited feature rendered possible the innovation. In a successive article, I will re-analyse the relations between the preverbs and the aspectual function in Pashto, trying to explain the etymology of *wá-*.

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²¹ Concerning the point and the dash, see De Chiara and Septfonds 2019: 12: “Le « point en haut » et le tiret sont utilisés dans la transcription. Ils permettent d’ajouter à celle-ci des informations morphologiques et syntaxiques le plus souvent liées au traitement de l’aspect :

Le tiret note la possibilité d’insérer des clitiques, de séparer les deux éléments qu’il relie (formes perfectives du verbe)”. The dash indicates separability under certain conditions (extension of Wackernagel’s law).

“ø” indicates that the verb is not preceded by any morpheme: a device useful for showing the parallel with Compound verbs.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Av.	Avestan
Baj.	Bajui
Bart.	Bartangi
D.	Digor
I.	Iron
IE	Indo-European
Ir.	Iranian
Lit.	Lithuanian
Mnj.	Munji
MPrs.	Middle Persian
Oss.	Ossetic
Prth.	Parthian
Pšt.	Pashto
Rosh.	Rošani
Sariq.	Sariqoli
Sh.	Shunyi
Skt.	Sanskrit
Wa.	Wakhi
Yghn.	Yaghnobi