ОСЕТИНСКИЕ ПРЕВЕРБЫ

Э. Шахингёз [Цорити]

Хотя термин «преверб» не получил широкого распространения, он используется в лингвистике кавказцев (включая все три семейства: северо-западных, северо-кавказских и картвельских), каддоанской, атабаскской и алгонкинской лингвистике для описания определенных элементов, предшествующих глаголам. В контексте индоевропейских языков этот термин обычно используется для отделяемых префиксов глаголов.

Превербы, изначальная функция которых состоит в выражении пространственных связей, были предметом рассмотрения в ряде исследований по осетинскому языку. Особое значение традиционно придается морфологическим, семантическим и фонетическим процессам, сопровождающим стадию словообразования, когда основы глаголов сливаются с превербами. Фонологические явления иллюстрируются различными процессами, происходящими в иронском и дигорском вариантах осетинского языка. В основном они встречаются на стыке морфемы и включают эпентезу в форме согласного или полугласного, изменение гласного и геминацию начального согласного или полугласного в инициальной позиции в глагольной основе. Развитие дейктической функции наречий имеет типологическое сходство с грузинским: аспектные глагольные префиксы, возникшие из наречных частиц с функцией направления. Горизонтальный и вертикальный дейксис, а также экстравертный (ориентированный от говорящего) и интровертный (ориентированный на говорящего) дейксисы различаются в осетинском языке и сопоставимы с грузинским. Критически рассмотрено количество превербов, и было предложено выделить в качестве предглаголов восемь элементов в иронском варианте и семь в дигорском варианте. Рассматриваются пространственные и грамматические (точнее: аспектные) функции превербов, а также функционирование исторических и непродуктивных превербов. Эта работа является первой частью обширного труда по осетинским превербам.

Ключевые слова*: осетинский язык, фонетический процесс, эпентеза, пространственные функции, сопоставительный анализ.*

Ossetic Preverbs[1]are elements that enable a special word formation process; they combine with verbs, but at the same time they are not firmly connected to the word stem. They are verbal prefixes that modify the basic verb grammatically and semantically. This modification can be aspect-specific or spatial-directional. In some grammars, preverbs are referred to as prefixes.

This work is intended to provide a chronological overview of previous research on preverbs in Ossetic as well as to illuminate the proposed semantic

and syntactic functions. Modern literature was used to determine whether previous research regarding their functions and semantics is still applicable or needs to be updated. For the analysis the Ossetic translations of The Little Prince (A. d. Saint-Exupéry, 1943) that was translated by T. Kambolov [1] into Iron and Digor was used as parallel text [1]. Another text that was used for this analysis is *mægwyr læg æmæ us | mægur læg æma wosæ*[2] («The poor man and woman»), since the text is available in both Ossetic varieties (*mlæw*). Further, the Ossetic National Corpus was consulted [2].

Previous Research on Ossetic Preverbs

Already in 1844 A. J. Sjögren speaks of «compound verbs» in his grammar on Ossetic and recognizes some of the preverbs as modifying prepositions [3, 111-113]. V. Miller supplemented the previously published research in 1903 by showing cognates from other Iranian languages and providing examples of the functions and peculiarities of the preverbs [4, 81-84]. In 1949 V. I. Abaev mentions the preverbs in four paragraphs (§76-80) [5] and notes the dialectal differences [5, 420-421]. A few years later, in 1959 V. I. Abaev's grammar on Iron-Ossetic is published[3] where he devotes an entire chapter to preverbs and partly discusses their functions [6, 76-80]. Later, É. Benveniste discusses the spatial functions of the preverbs and their historical preverbal forms as well as the etymology of some productive andsome no longerproductive preverbs [7, 103-113]. With detailed descriptions of the functions of the individual preverbs, G. Axvlediani rounds off the previous findings on the preverbs in 1963 [8, 237-248]. In his grammar on Digor-Ossetic, M. I. Isaev outlines the functions of the preverbs and explains that in addition to the function of perfecting the aspect they also reflect semantic nuances such as suddenness or duration of the action [9, 80-86]. In 1970 K. H. Schmidt publishes an article on the language typology of Ossetic [10, 161-168]. He explicitly goes into the development of the Ossetic aspect system and its parallels to Georgian and Russian. After no research on Ossetic preverbs had been published for a long period of time, R. Bielmeier publishes an article in 1981 in which, on the one hand, he refers to the term *orienţacia*, that was coined by A. Šanidze, where Bielmeier refers to the spatial function of the Ossetic preverbs [11, 27-46]. On the other hand, he divides the preverbs into non-analyzable ones that are fused with the verbal stem, and productive preverbs. Shortly afterwards, in 1982 F. Thordarson analyzes the preverbs with regard to their function, typology and etymology [12, 251-261]. The most recent studies directly related to preverbs are V. Tomelleri's research published in an article in 2010 [13, 245-272]. He examines them with regard to the category of aspect and compares them with the preverbs of Georgian and Russian.

The number of preverbs the researchers count, differs:

A. J. Sjgren	V. Miller	V. I. Abaev	É. Benve-niste (Iron)	G. Axvle-diani (Iron)	M. I. Isaev (Digor)	R. Bielmeier
a –	a –	a –	a –	a –		a –
ær-, ra- | ar-, er –	ær –	ær –	ær –	ær –	ær –	ær –
		ærba –	ærba –	ærba –	ærba –	ærba –
ba –	ba –	ba –	ba –	ba –	ba –	ba –
fa-, fæ-, fe –	fæ –	fæ –		fæ –	fæ –	fæ –
ny- | ni –	ny- | ni –	ny (n) – | ni –	ny –	ny –	ni –	ny- | ni –
ra –	ra –	ra –	ra –	ra –	(æ) ra –	ra- | (æ) ra –
s-, is –	s-, z- | is-, iz-, æz –	(y) s –	(i) s –	s –	is –	(y) s- | is –
am –						
		cæ –		cæ –		
			ræ –			

Table 1: Ossetic Preverbs according to earlier research

As shown in table 1 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-*[4] 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-*[5] as a preverb, but neither previous nor following research follows this up.

All in all, with regards to table 1 I count seven preverbs for Digor- and eight for Iron-Ossetic for my research. Hereby I leave out the preverbs *am-*, proposed only by A. J. Sjögren; *cæ-*, proposed by V. I. Abaev and G. Axvlediani; and *ræ-*, proposed only by É. Benveniste:

Iron	Digor
a –	–
ær –	ær –
ærba –	ærba –
ba –	ba –
fæ –	fæ –
ny –	ni –

ra –	*ra –*
ys-, s-, ss –	*æs-, is-, iss-, s-, ss –*

Table 2: Preverbs in Ossetic

Ossetic preverbs combine with simple and compound verbs, verbalized nouns and adjectives, as well as with borrowed verbal elements, such as from Turkish or Russian. The functions and meanings of the preverbs vary in part in Iron and Digor. Not every preverb can be combined with every verb, since the semantics of the verb are just as relevant as the semantics and function of the preverb. Basically, it can be said that the function of a preverb stands out in connection with the verbs of movement.

Functions of Ossetic Preverbs

According to G. Hewitt [14, 286], preverbs can be traced back to adverbs or prepositions and were merged with the word stem over time. This process can be understood as a process of concretization. P. Arkadiev states, thatthe original function of the preverbs is to express spatial bonds, which is why they are also called «bounder-based perfectives» in cases where such morphemes mark the perfective aspect [15, 386].

The investigations at this point, which should form the main focus of this work, are as follow:
– Phonological phenomena caused by the preverbs
– Tmesis and the inserted elements
– Compound verbs
– *Orienţacia*, with a view of the Georgian preverbs

Topics such as preverb combinations, prefix conversion, aspect and *Aktionsart* will not be dealt with in this paper. While working with the text material it seemed like there is a tendency of the preverbs expressing *Aktionsart* when they combine with the nominal part of compound verbs and marking aspect when they combine with verbs, except for verbs of movement. But this needs additional investigation and shall not be discussed any further.

The examples in the following are, if taken from the parallel texts, firstly given in Iron (for example 6a) and afterwards in Digor (6b). Since the sentences are almost identical a translation is only given after the Digor example. The sources of the examples are shortened as: «tlp» for The Little Prince, «mlæw» for *mægwyr læg æmæ us | mægur læg æma wosæ* and «ONC» for Ossetic National Corpus and a reference to the text from the ONC [2].

Phonological Phenomena

In addition to the semantic, spatial and grammatical functions there are phonological processes caused by some of the preverbs, for which the final vowel of the preverb plays as much a role as the initial consonant or vowel of the verb stem. The phonological phenomena occur at the morpheme border and include epenthesis in form of consonant or semi-vowel, vowel change and gemination of the verb's initial consonant or semi-vowel.

According to V. I. Abaev [5, 420] the preverbs *a-, ba-, ærba-, fæ-, ny-|ni-*[6] and *ra-*cause an epenthesis. In Iron a-*c-*and in Digor a-*j-*is inserted:[7]

(1) Iron

***Ацагурын** æй хъæуы.*

A-c-agur-yn	æj	qæw-y
PV-EP-search-INF	CL. 3SG. GEN	need-3SG

«It is necessary to search it.» (ONC, Md 1997)

(2) Iron

*Кæм æй **бацагурын** хъæудзæн, уый сын **бацамыдта**.*

Kæm	æj	ba-c-agur-yn	qæw-dzæn,	uyj	syn	ba-c-amyd-ta
INTER	CL. 3SG. GEN	PV-EP-search-INF	need-3SG. FUT	DEM. 3SG	CL. 3PL. DAT	PV-EP-show. PST-3SG. PST

«He/She showed them where it will be necessary to search for it.» (ONC, VzB Г. Х. 2003)

(3) Digor *Мадта махæн уой æнæ **байагорун** нæййес, – зæгъгæ, загътон-цæ дууæ лæхъуæни.*

Madta	max-æn	woj	ænæ	ba-j-agor-un	næ-jjes,	zæğ-gæ,	zağ-ton-cæ	duwæ	læqwæn-i
ADV	1PL-DAT	DEM. SG	PREP	PV-EP-search-INF	NEG-EX	say-CV	say-3PL. PST	NUM	boy-GEN. SG

«Then wecan't but look for it, – the two boys said.» (ONC, IasF 1900-1950)

(4) Iron

*[…] уый зæгъынмæ хъавыди пыхсы фæндаг **рацагурын**, […]*

[…]	uyj	zæğ-yn-mæ	qavy-di	pyxs-y	fændag	ra-c-agur-yn,	[…]
	DEM. 3SG	say-INF-ALL	seek-3SG. PST	bush-INES	way	PV-EP-search-INF	

'…he seeked to say itwhile searching for a way in the brushwood,…» (ONC, IasD 1900-1950)

(5) Digor

*Еуӕй-еу хатт сӕ къохи бафтуйуй **райахӕссун** фус […]*

Jewæj-ew	*xatt*	*sæ*	*ḳox-i*	*ba-ftuj-uj*	***ra-j-axæss-un***	*fus*	*[…]*
some-ITER	time	CL. GEN	3PL.	h a n d - GEN	PV-achieve-3SG	PV-EP-catch-INF	sheep	

«Sometimes they manage to catch a sheep…» (ONC, ZBM 2012)

If a preverb, that is ending in a vowel, meets a verb, which starts with*æ-*, then no epenthesis is inserted. Instead, the vowel changes – two *æ* become *e*, such as in*fæ-æxxuys>fexxuys|fæ-ænxus> fenxus* (6):

(6a) Iron

*…уӕд сын тынг **феххуыс** уыдзӕнис.*

[…]	*wæd*	*syn*	*tyng*	***fe-xxuys***	*wy-dzænis*
	ADV	CL. 3PL. DAT	ADV	PV-help	COP-3SG. FUT

(6b) Digor

*…уӕд син хъӕбӕр **фенхус** уодзӕнӕй.*

[…]	*wæd*	*sin*	*qæbær*	***fe-nxus***	*wo-dzænæj*
	ADV	CL. 3PL. DAT	ADV	PV-help	COP-3SG. FUT

'… then this will be a great help for them.» (tlp 5.35)

In addition to the preverbs mentioned by V.I. Abaev, the preverb *ær-* in Iron also requires an epenthesis. It is therefore questionable whether the epenthesis is only caused by the clashof two vowels in adjacent words.

(7) Iron

*Йӕ цӕстытӕ цинӕрттывд фӕкодтой ӕмӕ «Тотрадзы зарӕг» **ӕрца-мыдта**.*

Jæ	*cæst-ytæ*	*cinærttyvd*	*fæ-kod-toj*	*æmæ*	*«Totradz-y*	*zæræg»*	***ær-c-amyd-ta***
CL. 3SG. GEN	eye-PL	sparkling_ from_joy	PV-do. 3SG. PST	PST-CONJ	T o t r a d z - GEN	song	PV-EP-teach-3SG. PST

«His eyes were sparkling from joy and he taught «the song of Totradz»'. (ONC, Md 1997)

If the verb starts with a semivowel*w*[8]or *j*, then no epenthesis takes place. Preverb *ny-|ni-* requires a gemination of the initial consonant in Digor as well as in Iron (8a &8b), whereas *fæ-* causes a gemination only in Digor (9a & 9b). Semi-vowels are geminated like consonants:

(8a) Iron

*Æз **ныууагътон** мæ кусæнгæрзтæ.*

Æz	**ny-waǧ-ton**	mæ	kusængærz-tæ
1SG	PV-leave-1SG. PST	POSS. 1SG	working_tool-PL

(8b) Digor

*Æз **ниууагътон** мæ косæнгæрзтæ.*

Æz	**ni-wwaǧ-ton**	mæ	kosængærz-tæ
1SG	PV-leave-1SG. PST	POSS. 1SG	working_tool-PL

«I left my working tools.» (tlp 7.71)

(9a) Iron

*Уыдонæн алкæддæр алцыдæр æмбарын кæнын **фæхъæуы**.*

Wydon-æn	alkæd-dær	alcy-dær	æmbar-yn	kæn-yn	fæ-qæw-y
DEM. PL-DAT	always-PTCL	everything-PTCL	understand-INF	do-INF	PV-need-3SG

(9b) Digor

*Уонæн алкæддæр алцидæр лæдæрун кæнун **фæгъгъæуй**.*

Won-æn	alkæd-dær	alci-dær	lædær-un	kæn-un	**fæ-ǧǧæw-uj**
DEM. PL-DAT	always-PTCL	everything-PTCL	understand-INF	do-INF	PV-need-3SG

«It»s always necessary to explain them everything.» (tlp 1.13)

Further, if a verb in Digor starts with a vowel and there is an epenthesis between the preverb and the verb stem, then this epenthesis, since it is a semi-vowel and since semi-vowels behave like consonants, it isgeminated:

(10) Digor

*Ци **фæййагорун**, – нæ иссерун.*

Ci	**fæ-jj-agor-un**,	næ	isser-un
INTER	PV-EP-search-1SG	NEG	find-1SG

«What I am looking for – I cant» find (it). ' (ONC, Md 2002)

(11) Digor

*Æртæ анзи йин **ниййахæссун** фæрæзнæ не'ссирдтонцæ.*

Ærtæ	anz-i	jin	**ni-jj-axæss-un**	færæznæ	ne	«ssird-toncæ
NUM	year-GEN. SG	CL.DAT.SG	PV-EP-catch-INF	method	NEG	find. PST-3PL. PST

«During the three years they did not find a method to catch it.» (ONC, IasF 1900-1950)

If there isa tmesis in Digor, the initial consonant of the inserted element is also geminated:

(12) Digor

*Уосæ рамæстгун æй 'ма 'йбæл фæгъгъæр кодта: – **Ниммæуадзæ** хуссун.*

Wosæ	*ra-mæstgun*	*æj*	*«ma*	*'j-bæl*	*fæ-ǧǧær*	*kod-ta:*	**N i - m m æ - wadz-æ**	*xuss-un*
woman	PV-angry	COP. 3SG	CONJ	3SG-ALL	PV-shout	do-3SG. PST	PV-CL. 1SG. GEN-leave-2SG. IMP	sleep-INF

«The woman got angry and yelled at him: – Let me sleep!» (ONC, IasD 1900-1950)

Tmesis

A peculiarity of Digor has been recorded by the research so far: a tmesis between the preverb and the verb stem is possible through enclitic pronouns. V.I. Abaev [6] is the first to realize that in Iron the particle *cæj* also presupposes a tmesis, since it can appear between the preverb and the verb stem. K.H. Schmidt takes up this theory and describes the function of the particle *cæj*, which denotes a coincidence case or an almost completed action and is a «formal identification of the imperfectivein the future and past tense» [16, 164]. The particle also exists Digor, but K. H. Schmidt describes its function used as a demanding particle. I suppose that preverb *cæ-*, proposed by V.I. Abaev and later G. Axvlediani either goes back to particle *cæ j*or even is this particle, wrongly analysed as a preverb. In the Ossetic National Corpus, the particle is listed as a preverb as -*cæj*-.[9] Hence, in the following -*cæj*- (with two hyphens) will be called particle.

More than one enclitic pronoun can be inserted for tmesis in Digor. In Iron, on the other hand, the enclitic pronouns follow the verb. In Digor as well in Iron, it seems like a tendency that these elements stand in the «Wackernagel's position. 'In verbal constructions with trivalent verbs with a direct and indirect object, where both pronouns are clitized, the direct object follows the indirect one:

(13a) Iron, only direct object

Бауадз мæ иунæгæй иу къахдзæф акæнын.

Ba-wadz	***mæ***	*iwnægæj*	*iw*	*ḳaxdzæf*	*a-kæn-yn*
PV-leave	CL. 1SG. GEN	alone	NUM	step	PV-do-1SG

(13b) Digor, only direct object

Бамæуадзæ еунæгæй еу къахдзæф ракæнун.

Ba-mæ-wadzæ		*jewnægæj*	*jeu*	*ḳaxdzæf*	*ra-kæn-un*
PV-CL. 1SG. GEN-leave		alone	NUM	step	PV-do-1SG

«Let me do one step by myself.» (tlp 26.157)

(14a) Iron, direct and indirect object

*Лæг [фырадæргæй хъуыди дæр нæ акодта, афтæмæй] загъта, **рат-дзынæндын æй**, зæгъгæ.*

Læg	*[…]*	*zaǧ-ta,*	***rat-dzynæn***	***dyn***	***æj,***	*zæǧ-gæ*
man		say-3SG. PST	give-1SG. FUT	CL. 2SG. DAT	CL. 3SG. GEN	say-CV

(14b) Digor, direct and indirect object

*Илæг [дæр, æнæ нецирасагъæскæнгæй,] загъта, **ра-дин-æй-æтдзæнæн**, зæгъгæ.*

I	*læg*	*[…]*	*zaǧ-ta,*	***ra-din-æj-æt-dzænæn,***	*zæǧ-gæ*
PTCL. DEF	man		say-3SG. PST	PV-CL. 2SG. DAT-CL. 3SG. GEN-give-1SG. FUT	say-CV

«The man [,was so excited that with out thin king at all,] said «I will give her to you.»'
(mlæw 12)

In Iron, there are not many examples for a tmesis with the particle *-cæj-*. Further, it seemsthat only some preverbs can be combined with it.

(15) Iron

*Иуахæмы та æнкъардæй **рацæйцыди** сæхимæ.*

Iwaxæmy	*ta*	*ænæard-æj*	***ra-cæj-cyd-i***	*sæxi-mæ*
ADV	PTCL	sadness-ABL	PV-PTCL-go. PST-3SG. PST	REFL. 3PL-ALL

«But once he went (home) to themselves insadness.»   (ONC, IasD 1900-1950)

The particle *-cæj-*can be found more frequently in Digor. Theoretically, it should be possible to combine the particle with enclitic pronouns in tmesis position. But I could not find any examples for this.

(16) Digor

***Рацæйевгъудæй** мæ догæ, **Ниццæйкалдæй** мæ мæсуг.*

Ra-cæj-evǧud-æj	*mæ*	*dogæ,*	***Ni-ccæj-kald-æj***	*mæ*	*mæsug*
PV-PTCL-miss. PST-3SG. PST	POSS. 1SG	time	PV-PTCL-destroy. PST-3SG. PST	POSS. 1SG	tower

«My time has passed, my tower is destroyed.»   (ONC, D342007)

Another property of the preverbs is that together with a preverb in preverbal position the same preverb can occur in suffix position at the same time. This seems to be more common in Digor than in Iron. However, the examples of this phenomen on are very little; for Digor, only a few examples were given by V. Miller and M. I. Isaev. And for Iron, there is only one sentence by V. I. Abaev:

(17) Iron

*Цӕгъдынтӕ сӕ **байдыдтон-ба***

Cӕğdyn-tӕ	*sӕ*	***ba-jdyd-ton-ba***
destroy-PL	CL. 3PL. GEN	PV-begin. PST-1SG. PST-PV
«I began to destroy them»		(Abaev 1964: 104)

(18) Digor

Ниффинсай-ни*йецигӕгъӕди!*

Ni-ffins-aj-ni	*jeci*	*gӕğӕdi*
PV-write-IMP. 2SG-PV	DEM	paper
«You shall write that paper!» (Isaev 1966: 84)		

(19) Digor

Рацӕуайтӕ мӕмӕ-ра*, мӕ хортӕ!*

Ra-cӕw-ajtӕ	***mӕ-mӕ-ra,***	*mӕ*	*xor-tӕ*
PV-go-IMP. 2PL	1SG-ALL-PV	CL. 1SG. GEN	sun-PL
«Come to me, my suns!» (Isaev 1966: 84)			

Example (19) shows that another word, in this case the clitic*mӕ*, can appear before the repeated preverb.

Compound Verbs

In Ossetic, compound verbs are formed by combining a nominal, verbal or verbalized (de-adjective, de-substantive) element with an auxiliary verb. According to M. I. Isaev [9, 84] the most frequent auxiliary verbs used herefore are *kӕnyn | kӕnun* «to do», *lasyn | lasun* «to carry» und *wyn | un* «to be» (copula). Other verbs, that can function as auxiliars are*daryn | darun* «to have», *kӕsyn | kӕsun* «to look», *maryn | marun* «to kill» and *mӕlyn | mӕlun* «to die». A large number of compound verb connections are onomatopoetic expressions that combine with an auxiliary. In Ossetic the preverb can often be foundon the nominal element of the compound verb:

(20a) Iron

*Ме 'мбал та ногӕй **ныккӕл-кӕл кодта:***

Me	*'mbal*	*ta*	*nogӕj*	***ny-kkӕl-kӕl***	***kod-ta***
POSS. 1SG	friend	PTCL	new	PV-laughter	do. PST-3SG. PST

(20b) Digor

*Мӕ 'нбал нӕуӕгӕй **никъкъӕл-къӕл кодта:***

Me	*'nbal*	*nӕwӕg-ӕj*	***ni-ḳḳӕl-ḳӕl***	***kod-ta***

POSS. 1SG   friend   new-ABL   PV-laughter   do. PST-3SG. PST

«My friend broke into another peal of laughter:» (tlp 3.41)

However, this should be seen as a tendency, since there are also cases where the preverb occurs on the auxiliary verb:

(21a) Iron

*Æмæ Гыццыл принц цы зæрдиаг **кæл-кæл ныккодта**, [уымæ йæм тынг рамæсты дæн.]*

Æmæ	*Gyccyl*	*princ*	*cy*	*zærdiag*	***kæl-kæl***	***ny-kkod-ta,***	*[…]*
CONJ	little	prince	INTER	warm-hearted	laughter	PV-do. PST-3SG. PST	

(21b) Digor

*Æма Минкъий принц зæрдиуаг **къæл-къæл никкодта**, [æма мæ уомæй хъæбæр рамæстгун кодта.]*

Æma	*Minæij*	*princ*	*zærdiwag*	***kæl-kæl***	***ni-kkod-ta,***	*[…]*
CONJ	little	prince	warm-hearted	laughter	PV-do. PST-3SG. PST	

«And the little prince broke into a lovely peal of laughter, which made me very angry.» (tlp 3.15)

The auxiliary verbs, that are used to form compound verbs, cannot be limited to the verbs, that were listed by M.I. Isaev, since compound verbs combining with other verbs can be found as well:

(22a) Iron

*[Æвирхъау] **гуыв-гуыв систа** æмæ мæ нымады цыппар рæдыды скодтон.*

[…]	***guyv-guyv***	***s-is-ta***	*æmæ*	*mæ*	*nymad-y*	*cyppar*	*rædyd-y*	*s-kod-ton*
	buzz	PV-take. PST-3SG. PST	CONJ	POSS. 1SG	count-INES	NUM	mistake-GEN	PV-do. PST-1SG. PST

(22b) Digor

*[Æверхъау] **гув-гув исиста** æма мæ нимади цуппар рæдуди скодтон.*

[…]	***guv-guv***	***is-is-ta***	*æma*	*mæ*	*nimad-i*	*cuppar*	*rædud-i*	*s-kod-ton*
	buzz	PV-take. PST-3SG. PST	CONJ	POSS. 1SG	count-INES	NUM	mistake-GEN	PV-do. PST-1SG. PST

«He made [exceptional] noise and I made four mistakes at my counting.» (tlp 13.26)

Certain compound verbs consist of two verbal elements, which on the other hand appear with two different preverbs before they are accompanied

by the auxiliar, such as *raco-baco kænun* [9, 23].The verb *co* can be analysed as imperative of the second person singular of *cæwun* «to go.»Preverb *ra-* marks a movement away from the speaker whereas preverb *ba-* marks a movement to the direction of the speaker. The two preverbs denote opposite actions (Engl. *back-forth*; Germ. *hin-her, auf-ab*).

(23) Digor

*Биццеу **рацо-бацо кæнуй** зæнхи астæу.*

Biccew	***ra-co-ba-co***	***kæn-uj***	*zænx-i*	*astæw*
boy	PV-go-PV-come	do-3SG. PRS	world-INES	POSTP

«The boy goes back and forth in the midst of the world.» (ONC, Nk 2005)

(24a) Iron

*[Йæ зæрдыл æрлæууыдис, кæддæр] хурныгуылдтæ фенины тыххæй бандон куыд **ралас-балас кодта**, уый.*

[…]	*xurnyguyld-tæ*	*fen-yn-y*	*tyxxæj*	*bandon*	*kuyd*	***ra-las-ba-las***	***kod-ta,***	*uyj*
	sunset-PL	see-INF-GEN	POSTP	chair	INTER	PV-push-PV-drag	do. PST-3SG. PST	DEM. 3SG

(24b) Digor

*[Æ зæрдæбæл æрлæудтæй, кæддæр хорнигулдтæ] фæййинуни туххæй къела куд **раласæ-баласæ кодта**, е.*

[…]	*xorniguyld-tæ*	*fæ-jjin-un-i*	*tuxxæj*	*ķela*	*kud*	***ra-lasæ-ba-lasæ***	***kod-ta,***	*e*
	sunset-PL	see-INF-GEN	POSTP	chair	INTER	PV-push-PV-drag	do. PST-3SG. PST	DEM. 3SG

«He/She remembered how he/she dragged the chair to see the sunsets.» (tlp 14.52)

The verb *las (yn) | las (un)* (24) has a reciprocal meaning due to the two preverbs. Hence*ra-las|ra-lasæ*means «push» and *ba-las|ba-lasæ*means «drag».

As in Example (25) an enclitic pronoun can appear between the elements of a compound verb. In contrast to tmesis, where clitics can mainly be encountered in Digor, both varieties can have clitics between the verbal and nominal element of acompound verb:

(25a) Iron

*[Уый мын лæвæр кодта йæ хæрздæф,] **срухс мын кодта** мæ цард.*

[…]	***s-ruxs***	*myn*	***kod-ta***	*mæ*	*card.*
	PV-light	CL. 1SG. DAT	do. PST-3SG. PST	POSS. 1SG	life

(25b) Digor

[Е мин лӕвар кодта ӕ хуӕрздӕф,] срохс мин кодта мӕ царди.

[…]	**s-roxs**	*min*	**kod-ta**	*mӕ*	*card-i.*
	PV-light	CL. 1SG. DAT	do. PST-3SG. PST	POSS. 1SG	life-GEN

' [He/She gave me his/her fragrance as a gift] and (this) enlighted my life.» (tlp 8.61)

(26a) Iron

Сныв мын кӕн фыс.

S-nyv	*myn*	**kӕn**	*fys.*
PV-picture	CL. 1SG. DAT	do. 2SG. IMP	sheep

(26b) Digor

Схузӕ мин кӕнӕ фус.

S-xuzӕ	*min*	**kӕn-ӕ**	*fus*
PV-picture	CL. 1SG. DAT	do. 2SG. IMP	sheep

«Draw me a sheep.»   (tlp 2.42)

Orienţacia

The term *orienţacia ikitķen da akatķen* («Orientation here and there»), introduced by A. Šanidze, denotes a movement that either goes to the direction of the speaker or listener or to a place they know (theact of direction, also: *observer's field*). In contrast there is the position of the speaker or observer and the direction of movement (position of the observer, also: *actor's field*). Due to the differentiation of the movement towards the speaker or away from the speaker, this opposition is also referred to as «back/forth deixis» [10, 162]. According to F. Thordarson the spatial-directional function of preverbs is only marked on the verbs of movement.

The development of the deictic function of the preverbs has a typological similarity to Georgian: aspectual verbal prefixes developed from adverbial particles with a directional function [12, 251-252]. The two-dimensional system, which denotes the movement towards or away from the speaker, is also an area phenomenon that Ossetic has adopted from its Caucasian contact languages, which show large numbers of elements with spatial functions. However, the two-dimensional system of spatial opposition in Osseticis not fully researched yet and *orienţacia*in Ossetic is less developed than *orienţacia* in Georgian. The following table show s*orienţacia* in Old and New Georgian, Ossetic and Russian. Since in some cases it is not possible to express the opposition of the speaker's position in English, some movements are described more accurately by giving the German oppositions of ther movement.

The preverbs *cæ-* and *ræ-*, the first one being only proposed by V.I. Abaev and G. Axvlediani and the second one by É. Benveniste, and which I decided to not count as preverbs, are also inserted in this table, since their spatial functions were described. É. Benveniste mentioned *ræ-* as opposition to *(y) s-* | *(i) s-* and it was M.I. Isaev and R. Bielmeier who described the spatial function of preverb *fæ-*. Not every researcher considered the spatial functions for the preverbs, hence I only describe the position of the speaker; the position of the observer, as described by M.I. Isaev [9, 81-83] for Digor, is not taken into account:

	Speaker's position	Old Georgian	New Georgian	Ossetic		Russian
from the inside to the outside (*hinaus & heraus*)	inside	*gan-, ga –*	*ga –*	*a-* | *ra –*		*vy-, iz –*
	outside	*ganmo-, gamo –*	*gamo –*	*ra –*		
from the outside to the inside (*hinein & herein*)	inside	*še –*	*še –*	*ba –*		*v-, vo –*
	outside	*šemo –*	*šemo –*	*ærba –*		
from the top to the bottom (*hinunter/runter & herunter*)	top	*da –*	*ča –*	*ny-* | *ni –*	*cæ –*	*so-, pod –*
	bottom	*damo –*	*čamo –*	*ær –*		
from the bottom to the top (*hinauf & herauf*)	bottom	*ağ-/a*	*a –*	*(y) s-* | *(i) s –*		*voz-, na –*
	top	*ağmo –*	*amo –*	*ræ –*		
over (*hinüber/herüber*)	here	*garda –*	*gada –*	expressed lexically		*pere –*
	there	*gardamo –*	*gadamo –*			
to the speaker/hearer (*her-*)	–	*mo –*	*mo –*	*ær-, ærba –*		*pri –*
away from the speaker/hearer	–	*mi –*	*mi –*	*fæ –*		*ot-, raz-, c-, u –*
away from somebody	there	*c̣ar –*	*c̣a –*			
	here	*c̣armo –*	*c̣amo –*			
to the bottom and inside	not at the bottom and inside	*šta –*	*ča –*	*ær –*		expressed lexically
	at the bottom and inside	*štamo –*	*čamo –*			
backwards	in front	*uḳu –*	expressed lexically	expressed lexically		expressed lexically
	behind	*uḳumo –*				
forward	behind	*c̣ina –*	expressed lexically	expressed lexically		*pred –*
	in front	*c̣inamo –*				
through	not to the speaker	*c̣iağ –*	expressed lexically	expressed lexically		*pere-, pro –*
	to the speaker	*c̣iağmo –*				

Table 3: *orienţacia* in Old and New Georgian, Ossetic and Russian

In contrast to the other preverbs in Old and New Georgian, which are extrovertive (oriented away from the speaker), preverb *mo-* is introvertive (oriented towards the speaker); it can combine with other preverbs and form a preverb compound. In doing so, it retains its function of indicating the direction to the speaker. Except for the Old Georgian preverbs *uḳu (mo) –* , *cina (mo) –* , *ciaǧ (mo) –* , that have adverbs function aslexical equivalents in New Georgian, Old Georgian preverbs are mainly preserved in New Georgian.

As in Georgian, the horizontal and vertical deixis are distinct in Ossetic. The two-dimensional opposition in relation to the position of the speaker can be clearly seen. Ossetic *ær-* behaves similarly to New Georgian *ča (mo) –* : it marks a movement from to top to the bottom (the speaker islocated at the target of the movement) and can therefore be used for a movement downwards. Generally speaking, speakers of Digor use the preverb *ær-* in movements that occurin direction to them; only when the speaker is in a building and the movement is in directionto that particular building, the speaker might use*ærba-*. In Digor, *Orienţacia*seems to be less than in Iron.

(27a) Iron

— *Ныр та **ацу,** [- загъта Гыццыл принц,] мæн фæнды дæлæмæ **æрхи-зын!***

Nyr	*ta*	***a-cu,***	*[…]*	*mæn*	*fænd-y*	*dælæ-mæ*	***ær-xiz-yn!***
ADV	PTCL	PV-go		1SG. DAT	want-3SG	below-ALL	PV-climb-INF

(27b) Digor

— *Нур ба **рандæ уо,** [- загъта Минкъий принц, –] мæн фæндуй дæлæмæ **æрхезун!***

Nur	*ba*	***randæ***	***wo,***	*[…]*	*mæn*	*fænd-uj*	*dælæ-mæ*	***ær-xez-un!***
ADV	PTCL	away	COP. 2SG. IMP		3SG. DAT	want-3SG	below-ALL	PV-climb-INF

«Now go away, [said the Little Prince,] I want to go down there.» (tlp 26.22)

In (27a & 27b) two directions are marked: Iron *a-cu*, which is represented in Digor by a the compound verb *randæ wo*, and *ær-xizyn | ær-xezun*. [10] The former verb is the verb *cu | co* «go», which in this case in combination with *a-*gets the meaning «to go away», but can mean «come» in combination with the preverbs *ba-cu | ba-co, ær-cu | ær-co, ærba-cu | ærba-co*. Depending on the context and situation, these preverbs can also represent the vertical and horizontal deixis.

Furthermore, in example (27) the preverb *ær-* in *ær-xizyn | ær-xezun* «to climb down» marks a movement from the top to the bottom. In this example the speaker expresses his wish to climb downto the bottom. This means he cannot be at the bottom already. In contrast to the speaker, however, the listener is already at the bottom, which is why preverb *ny- |ni-*might have been

expected. This suggests that the preverbs in the Ossetic might differentiate between the speaker's space, the listener's space and the event's space.

(28a) Iron

*Ахæм паддзахиуæгад тынг **фæцыдис** Гыццыл принцы зæрдæмæ.*

Ахæm	padzdzaxi-wægad	tyng	**fæ-cyd-is**	Gyccyl	princ-y	zærdæ-mæ.
such	power	ADV	PV-go. PST-3SG. PST	little	prince-GEN	heart-ALL

(28b) Digor

*Ауæхæн паддзахеуæгадæ хъæбæр **бацудæй** Минкъий принци зæрдæмæ.*

Awæxæn	padzdzaxe-wægadæ	qæbær	**ba-cud-æj**	Miṇkij	princ-i	zærdæ-mæ.
such	power	ADV	PV-go. PST-3SG. PST	little	prince-GEN	heart-ALL

«The Little Prince really liked this kind of power.» (tlp 10.48)

As in example (28) both varieties use different preverbs for the metaphorical expression *zærdæmæ fæ-cydis | zærdæmæ ba-cudæj* «he/she liked it» (lit. «it went to the heart»). The preverb *fæ-* marks a movement away from the speaker/listener, but a movement from the outside to the inside. If something «goes to the heart» resp. ifsomeone likes something/someone, one would expect a movement to the inside, as in Digor (28b). Considering this, the question arises as to why in theIron example*fæ-*was used and whether this may have something to do with the fact that *orienţacia* is more pronounced in Iron than in Digor. Another reason could be the aspect (perfectivity) or the viewer's position, but preverbs expressing aspectuality with verbs of movement has yet to be examined.

Conclusion

This workbriefly summarized previous research on the preverbs and the research focus of the linguists who researched Ossetic preverbs. Furthermore, phenomena that are caused by the preverbs and differ in Digor and Iron were explained. These include phonological phenomena such as reduplication or epenthesis and tmesis, where the order of the inserted clitics is of great importance. Furthermore, compound verbs and *orienţacia* in Ossetic have been described in more detail. The latter was illustrated by showing parallel meanings and functions of these preverbs in two contact languages of Ossetic, namely Old and New Georgian and Russian.

Contrary to the previous studies on preverbs, I suggest eight preverbs for Iron and seven for Digor. The reason for this is the particle-*cæj-*, which is declared as a preverb in previous research. But during my investigations

I wasn't able to find an example of -*cæj*-in an initial position with preverbal functions. According to N. K. Bagaev, this preverb can be found in certain North Ironic dialects [17, 282]. V. I. Abaev states that it is found more frequently in South Ossetic rather than in North Ossetic varieties [5, 103]. G. Axvlediani, on the other hand, states that it can be found in all dialects of Iron [8, 244]. R. Bielmeier and É. Benveniste ignore thisparticle completely because of the lack of *orienţacia* and thereforethey don't address it as a preverb.

In this work, topics such as preverb combinations, prefix conversion, aspect and *Aktionsart* were not dealt with. Since preverbs function as *orienţacia*-markers when combined with verbs of movement, they might mark grammatical aspect and *Aktionsart* when being combined with other verbs, including compound verbs. This theory needs to be checked and shall be discussed in a later supplementary work on Ossetic preverbs.

List of Abbreviations

1	1st Person	INES	Inessive
2	2nd Person	INF	Infinitive
3	3rd Person	INTER	Interrogative Pronoun
ABL	Ablativ	ITER	Iterative
ADV	Adverb	NEG	Negation
ALL	Allative	NUM	Numeralia
CL	Clitic Pronoun	PL	Plural
CONJ	Conjunction	POSS	Possessive Pronoun
COP	Copula	POSTP	Postposition
CV	Converb	PREP	Preposition
DAT	Dative	PRS	Present Tense
DEM	Demonstrativ Pronoun	PST	Past Tense
EP	Epenthesis Particle	PTCL	Particle
EX	Existence Particle	PTCL. DEF	Definite Article
FUT	Future Tense	PV	Preverb
GEN	Genitive	REFL	Reflexive Pronoun
IMP	Imperative	SG	Singular

Şahingöz, [Tsoriti] Emine M. A. – Goethe University Research Training Group «Nominal Modification» (Frankfurt, Germany); sahingoez @em.uni-frankfurt.de

The preverbs, the original function of which is to express spatial bonds, have been studied in a number of the researches on the Ossetic language. Special importance is traditionally attached to morphological, semantic, and phonetic processes which accompany the derivational stage, when verb stems merge with preverbs.

The phonological phenomena is illustrated through the differing processes which occur in the Iron and Digor variants of the Ossetic language. Mainly they occur at the morpheme border and include epenthesis in form of consonant or semi-vowel, vowel change and gemination of the verb's initial consonant or semi-vowel.

The development of the deictic function of the preverbs has a typological similarity to Georgian: aspectual verbal prefixes developed from adverbial particles with a directional function. The horizontal and vertical deixis, as well as extrovertive (oriented away from the speaker), and introvertive (oriented to the speaker), are distinct in Ossetic and are comparable with Georgian. The number of preverbs is critically reviewed and it has been suggested to identify as preverbs eight elements in the Iron and seven in Digor variants, their spatial and grammatical (more precisely: aspectual) functions are discussed as well as their functionality with in terms of historical and unproductive preverbs.

This work is the first part of a broad work on Ossetic preverbs. It displays topics such as the phonological phenomena that are caused by the preverbs, tmesis where elements stand between the preverb and the word stem, compound verbs and the spatial functions of the preverbs, also known as orienţacia.

Notes:

1. This work is a revised excerpt from my thesis entitled «Präverbien im Ossetischen», which I wrote in 2018 to achieve the academic degree of Master of Arts. I want to thank Elmira Gutieva for her helpful remarks for this revised version.

2. In the following the Iron- and Digor-Ossetic forms are separated by a vertical bar with the example before the line standing for the Iron and the word following the line being the Digor form of the morpheme or lexeme.

3. The English translation was published in 1964.

4. The prefix *æm-* (sometimes *æn-* in Digor), not with/a/but/æ/, is still existent in today. It expresses a comitative meaning: *æm-dzæræn* «(student) dormitory», *æm-badt* «joint sitting», *æm-xwærdt* «joint eating.»

5. I suppose *cæ-* is an allophone of *cæj-* which will be discussed below.

6. Regarding Abaev's assumption that the preverbs *ærba-* and *ny-* also lead to an epenthesis, I could not get any results in the Ossetic National Corpus. Also the examples given by Abaev, *ærbacarazyn | ærbajarazun* and *nyccaxsyn* (1949: 420) are not present in the corpus in this form. Even in combination with

other verbs, that have a vowel in initial position, I could not find an example of an epenthesis caused by these preverbs.

7. In the following examples, if the case is not explicitly mentioned in the gloss, *casus rectus* is to be assumed.

8. Cyrillic *y* can be transliterated as vowel *u* as well as semivowel *w*. If it's surrounded by two vowels (C_C), it's transliterated as/u/. If it stands between two vowels (V_V) orword initial and followed by a vowel (#_V) or in word or syllable final position after a vowel (V_#), then it is transliterated as semivowel/w/.

9. In the Ossetic National Corpus, – *cæj-* is designatedas a preverb, but its spelling implies that it cannot stand in wordinitial position. Even when searching for it in the ONC, no results with a word initial position are obtained. In my own parallel corpus, that was created during my master's thesis, – *cæj-* cannot be found in any word initial position. Taking Anatolian Ossetic into account, where I have not encountered -*cæj-* yet, I do not list the particle as a preverb, but prefer referring to it as particle. The only occurrence I can think of is in a Digor folk song in form of *ær-cæj-cæğdæ, cæj, Zærijnæ* what can be translated with -*cæj-* and *cæj* as somewhat functioning as interjection: «Come on play, let's go, Zærijnæ.»

10. The Digor form*randæ* could be composed of two elements: preverb *ra-* and the adjective *ændær* «different». This theory is reinforced by the assumption of the phonological rule that an epenthesis with an verb with *æ* in initialposition does not result in an epenthesis but a vowel change. If this assumption is correct, then the verb composition *randæ wo* could mean something like «be somewhere else» and the preverb*ra-* would be an opposition to *a-*, as shown in Table 3.

REFERENCES

1. Saint-Exupéry, de A. *The Little Prince* (*tlp*) Ossetic Version: Digor Translation: Qambolti Tamerlan, *Maleinķij princ*. Dzæwægiğæw. Iron Translation: Qæmbolty Tamerlan & Astermiraty Izet, *Gyccyl princ*. Dzæwdžyqæw. 2017. 183 p.

2. Vydrin, A. Ossetic National Corpus (ONC), et al., 2011-2014.
URL: http://corpus.ossetic-studies.org/search/index. php?interface_language=en

3. Sjögren, A.J. Iron aevzagakhur, das ist: Ossetische Sprachlehre: nebst kurzem ossetisch-deutschen und deutsch-ossetischen Wörterbuche. St. Petersburg. Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1844. 543 p.

4. Miller, V.F. Die Sprache der Osseten. In: Geiger und Kuhn (Ed.): Grundriss deriranischen Philologie. App. Vol. I. Strassbur, 1903. 111 p.

5. Abaev, V. I. *Osetinskij jazyk i fol'klor* [Ossetian language and folklore]. Moscow and Leningrad, USSR Academy of Sciences Publishing House, 1949. 603 p.

6. Abaev, V. I. A grammatical sketch of Ossetic. The Hague. 1964. 133 p.

7. Benveniste, É. Études sur la langue ossète. Paris. Transl.: K. E. Gagkaeva. *Očerki po osetinskomu jazyku*. Moscow, 1965. 168 p.

8. Axvlediani, G. *Grammatika osetinskogo jazyka* [Ossetian grammar]. Ordžonikidze, 1963-1969.

9. Isaev, M. I. *Digorskij dialekt osetinskogo jazyka* [Digor dialect of the Ossetian language]. Moscow, 1966. 223 p.

10. Schmidt, K. H. Zur Tmesis in den Kartvelsprachen und ihren typologischen Parallelen in indogermanischen Sprachen. Machavariani, G. et al. (Ed.): Giorgi Axvlediani, 1969, pp. 96–105.

11. Bielmeier, R. Präverbien im Ossetischen. Duchesne-Guillemin, J. (Ed.). Monumentum Georg Morgenstierne I. Leiden. E. J. Brill. 1981, pp. 27–46.

12. Thordarson, F. Preverbsin Ossetic. Monumentum Georg Morgemstierne II. Leiden. E. J. Brill, 1982. 140 p.

13. Tomelleri, V. The category of aspect in Georgian, Ossetic and Russian. Some areal and typological observations. Faits de langues. 2009, vol. 1, pp. 245–272.

14. Hewitt, G. Introduction to the Study of the Languages of the Caucasus. Lincom Handbooks in Linguistics. Munich, Lincom Europa, 2004. 346 p.

15. Arkadiev, P. Towards an areal typology of prefixal perfectivization. Scando-Slavica. 2014, no. 60 (2), pp. 384-405.

16. Schmidt, K. H. Zur Sprachtypologie des Ossetischen. Bedi Kartlisa XXVII – Études Géorgiennes et Caucasiennes, Paris, 1970, pp. 161–168.

17. Bagaev, N. K. *Sovremennyj osetinskij jazyk (Fonetika i morfologija)* [Modern Ossetian language. Phonetics and Morphology]. Ordžonikidze, 1965. 488 p.