31.

STUDIES IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE IRANIAN TRIBES IN SOUTH RUSSIA

BY

JOHN HARMATTA

130871

PROBLEMS AND TASKS

After Müllenhoff's fruitful activity[1] it was Miller's investigations[2] that produced a great advance in the research on the language of the Iranian tribes in South Russia. The ancient inscriptions of the Pontic region were collected and edited by Latyshev,[3] so that the fairly large number of names appearing in the inscriptions has become easily accessible to linguists. Miller had made a thorough study of Ossetian, a language still spoken in the Caucasus, and on the basis of his expert knowledge of that tongue, he began to investigate the material of names appearing in the ancient inscriptions of South Russia. His work was crowned with success: with the help of Ossetian, he managed to find out the meaning of a considerable portion of the non-Greek names in the inscriptions. The phonemic form of the names thus interpreted by Miller shows, in many cases, a phonemic development parallel with that of Ossetian. These correspondences may be summed up as follows:

1. The initial p- phoneme of the Old Iranian languages has a corresponding f both in the names figuring in the inscriptions and in Ossetian: e. g. Φίδας = Ossetian *fidä* 'Vater' ∼ Avestan *pitā;* Φούρτας = Ossetian *furt* 'Sohn' ∼ Avestan *puϑra-,* etc.

2. The Old Iranian initial *fri-* group of phonemes developed into *li-:* Λείμανος = Ossetian *limän* 'Freund' ∼ Avestan **friyamanah-*.

3. Old Iranian initial *v*- has disappeared before *i:* Ἰνσάζαγος = Old Ossetian **insadz-ag,* cp. Western Ossetian *insäi,* Eastern Ossetian *ssäj* 'zwanzig' ∼ Avestan *vīsaiti*.

4. Old Iranian initial *h*- has disappeared before *a:* Ἀβδ- (in the following word: Ἀρδάβδα < *Ἀβδ-άρδα) = Ossetian *avd* 'sieben' ∼ Avestan *hapta-*.

---

[1] *Deutsche Altertumskunde,* III. 101—125.

[2] His chief works: Осетинские этюды, I—III. Москва 1881—7; Дигорския сказания, Москва 1902; *Die Sprache der Osseten,* Strassburg 1903; *Ossetica,* Москва 1904; the Ossetian dictionary published postumously by Freimann: Осетинско-русско-немецкий словарь, I—III, Ленинград 1927—34.

[3] *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae,* I, II, IV, 1885—1901.
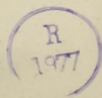
130871

I

PROBLEMS AND TASKS

After Müllenhoff's fruitful activity[1] it was Miller's investigations[2] that produced a great advance in the research on the language of the Iranian tribes in South Russia. The ancient inscriptions of the Pontic region were collected and edited by Latyshev,[3] so that the fairly large number of names appearing in the inscriptions has become easily accessible to linguists. Miller had made a thorough study of Ossetian, a language still spoken in the Caucasus, and on the basis of his expert knowledge of that tongue, he began to investigate the material of names appearing in the ancient inscriptions of South Russia. His work was crowned with success: with the help of Ossetian, he managed to find out the meaning of a considerable portion of the non-Greek names in the inscriptions. The phonemic form of the names thus interpreted by Miller shows, in many cases, a phonemic development parallel with that of Ossetian. These correspondences may be summed up as follows:

1. The initial *p-* phoneme of the Old Iranian languages has a corresponding *f* both in the names figuring in the inscriptions and in Ossetian: e. g. Φίδας = Ossetian *fidä* 'Vater' ∼ Avestan *pitā;* Φούρτας = Ossetian *furt* 'Sohn' ∼ Avestan *puϑra-*, etc.

2. The Old Iranian initial *fri-* group of phonemes developed into *li-:* Λείμανος = Ossetian *limän* 'Freund' ∼ Avestan **friyamanah-*.

3. Old Iranian initial *v-* has disappeared before *i:* Ἰνσάζαγος = Old Ossetian **insadz-ag*, cp. Western Ossetian *insäi,* Eastern Ossetian *ssäj* 'zwanzig' ∼ Avestan *vīsaiti*.

4. Old Iranian initial *h-* has disappeared before *a:* Ἀβδ- (in the following word: Ἀρδάβδα < **Ἀβδ-άρδα) = Ossetian *avd* 'sieben' ∼ Avestan *hapta-*.

---

[1] *Deutsche Altertumskunde,* III. 101—125.

[2] His chief works: Осетинские этюды, I—III. Москва 1881—7; Дигорския сказания, Москва 1902; *Die Sprache der Osseten,* Strassburg 1903; *Ossetica,* Москва 1904; the Ossetian dictionary published postumously by Freimann: Осетинско-русско-немецкий словарь, I—III, Ленинград 1927—34.

[3] *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae,* I, II, IV, 1885—1901.

5. Instead of Old Iranian *r* we find *l* before *i:* see above Λείμανος and also Φαλδάρανος, in which Φαλ- = Ossetian *fäl-* ~ Avestan *pairi.*

6. The Old Iranian initial *ary-* group of phonemes developed into *ir-:* Ἡρακᾶς = Ossetian *ir* 'Ossete', *iron* 'ossetisch' ~ Avestan *airya-.*

7. In place of the Old Iranian group of phonemes *ti* we find the groups *ts* or *dz:* Ἰνσάζαγος = Old Ossetian *insadz ~ Avestan *vīsai-ti.*

8. The Old Iranian group of phonemes *-θr-* is replaced by *-rθ-* or *-rt-:* Φούρτας = Ossetian *furt* 'Sohn' ~ Avestan *puθra-;* -ξαρθος in names like Καινάξαρθος etc. = Ossetian *äxsart* 'Macht' ~ Avestan *xšaθra-.*

9. The Old Iranian *-χr-* group of phonemes developed into *-rχ-:* Σόρχακος = Ossetian *surχ* 'rot' ~ Avestan *suχra-.*

10. The numerous names ending in -ακος, -αγος appearing in the inscriptions, correspond exactly to the present active participles formed in Ossetian with the ending *-äg:* e. g. Γώσακος = Ossetian *iγosag* 'gut hörend, guter Hörer', from the verb *γos-un* 'hören'; Κάσαγος = Ossetian *käsag* 'guter Seher' from the verb *käs-un* 'sehen, schauen'. (In this case we come up against an obvious error of Miller's, since the words *iγosag* and *käsag* contain, not the ending *-äg* mentioned above, but the suffix *-ag, -agä* which is used to form adjectives expressing permanent qualities from the present stem. The forms of names appearing in the inscriptions may, of course, just as well stand for adjectives formed with the suffix *-ag* as for participles formed with the ending *-äg*).

11. The suffix -γηνος, found in some of the names in the inscriptions, corresponds exactly to the suffix *-gin* which forms adjectives in Ossetian: Νάμγηνος = Ossetian *nom-gin* 'namhaft, berühmt'.[4]

On the basis of these correspondences Miller came to the following conclusions: 1. The Ossetes belong to the Iranian group of the Indo-European family of languages. 2. The ancestor of the Ossetian language was one of those dialects which had developed in the northern part of the territory once inhabited by the Iranians, i. e. on the steppes of Central Asia, lying roughly to the north of the rivers Oxus and Yaxartes. 3. The separation of this dialect from the common Iranian parent language had taken place in prehistoric times, before the cultured nations of Iran — the Medes and Persians — entered the course of their historical existence. 4. The ancestors of the Ossetes belonged to those nomadic Iranian peoples who, for many centuries, were known partly as Sarmatians and partly as Scythians, and who occupied the steppes stretching along the Pontus and the Sea of Azov.[5]

---

[4] See Миллер, Осетинские этюды, III. 83, *Die Sprache der Osseten,* 6 foll. With regard to par. 6 see Vasmer, *Die Iranier in Südrussland,* 28.

[5] Осетинские этюды, III, 100 foll. and also 73.

From this formulation of Miller's it does not appear clearly whether, in his opinion, the dialect, which he regards as the ancestor of the Ossetian language, was the common dialect of the Scythian-Sarmatian tribes, or a separate Ossetian dialect quite apart from the tongue of the Scythian-Sarmatian tribes. From Miller's other remarks, about the position of the Ossetian language, it appears, however, that on the whole he regards the Scythians and Sarmatians as the ancestors of the Ossetes and that, in his view, the language of the Pontic Iranians (Scythians and Sarmatians) must be identified with Old Ossetian, i. e. an earlier stage in the development of the Ossetian language[6].

After Miller, it was Vasmer who dealt in some detail with the language of the Iranian tribes in South Russia,[7] in a much more cautious manner. This caution is especially noticeable when he discusses the mutual relationship of the available Scythian and Sarmatian names. Vasmer has attempted to separate, on the basis of the available material of names, the language of the Scythians, from that of the Sarmatians. But he has no doubts, either, as to the close connection existing between Sarmatian-Alanic, on the one hand, and the Ossetian language, on the other.[8] His formula admits of a wide range of possibilities.

Vasmer's caution was undoubtedly well-founded since, though it is possible that ethnically the Ossetes are the descendants of an Iranian tribe in South Russia, it is hardly likely that a strikingly large number of Iranian tribes from South Russia, appearing in different places and under different names in the course of history, could be gathered into a single unit. Neither is it likely that their language could be regarded as Old Ossetian, i. e. as an earlier stage of the present Ossetian language. Vasmer's attempt to separate the language of the Scythians from that of the Sarmatians was not very favourably received. The negative attitude to Vasmer's theory found its clearest expression in Lommel's criticism. The latter admits the possibility of linguistic differences between Scythians and Sarmatians but, according to his view, these must have been quite insignificant. Against the differences which, in his opinion, cannot even be demonstrated, Lommel emphasizes those linguistic peculiarities of Scytho-Sarmatian which closely connect this latter group of languages with Ossetian and Sogdian. Such is the use of the -t as the plural suffix in all these languages (Scythian-Sarmatian-Alanic -ται, Ossetian -tä, -t'ä, Sogdian

---

[6] See e. g. Осетинские этюди. III, 101: ...путь которым следовали предки осетин (сармато-скифския племена) ...; *Die Sprache der Osseten*, 7: „Diese Eigentümlichkeiten der pontischen iranischen Sprache gestatten uns, in de selben eine Vorstufe der Ossetischen zu sehen, welche als ein Nachkomme der ausgestorbenen 'Sarmatischen' gelten kann". See also *ibid.* 4, 5.

[7] *Untersuchungen über die ältesten Wohnsitze der Slaven.* I. *Die Iranier in Südrussland.* Leipzig 1923, *Iranisches aus Südrussland: Streitberg-Festgabe* 367—376, and also *RLV* XII, 236—251.

[8] *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, 28 foll.

-*t*). In Lommel's view this way of forming the plural may date from very early times, and may have spread very long ago over the whole linguistic area of Northern Iran. Thus in Lommel's conception the picture of different Northern Iranian languages or dialects is replaced by a homogeneous Northern Iranian linguistic community or linguistic area.[9]

The idea of a Northern Iranian linguistic group that forms the background of Lommel's arguments took definite shape only after the important archaeological discoveries in Eastern Turkestan had brought the Sogdian language to light. It was at this time that, following Andreas' hints, Gauthiot formulated his theory, according to which Sogdian, Chorasmian, Alanic, and Ossetian, together with the rest of the related languages, formed a common „Scythian" group of languages.[10] Gauthiot's theory found, on the whole, general acceptance. One of the most prominent common features of this „Scythian" group of languages is the formation of the plural with -*t*, already referred to above[11]; after Tomaschek[12], Marquart[13], Lommel, Jacobsohn[14] and some other scholars it was Kretschmer who recently tried to prove the existence of this feature, on the basis of a more detailed argumentation from the Scythian language, with the plea that its presence in Yagnobi, Sogdian, and Ossetian argued for its extreme antiquity.[15]

The basis of all these conjectures and arguments is formed, whether consciously or unconsciously, by the old theory of the family-tree of languages. According to this theory, the Aryan branch, having become independent of the primitive Indo-European linguistic community, was only gradually divided into Indian and Iranian, Iranian in its turn being subdivided later into the Northern (or „Scythian"), Southern, Western, etc. branches. Anyone imbued with the spirit of this theory would naturally attribute the common features in different languages to an ancient unitary linguistic community; the farther he travels back on the road leading from individual languages, to the original linguistic community, the less inclined he becomes to assume the existence of linguistic or dialectal differences in the languages of human communities. This explains why Miller tried to establish the following line of development: Scythian-Sarmatian-Alanic-Ossetian, why Lommel thought it unlikely that there were any tangible dialectal differences within the North

[9] See *AfslPh* XL (1926), 151 foll.
[10] *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, Vol. I, Paris 1914—1923, III.
[11] See Benveniste, *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, Vol. II, Paris 1929, 79.
[12] *SWAW* CXVII (1888), 47.
[13] *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran*, II, Leipzig 1905, 78 foll.
[14] *KZ* LIV (1926), 268.
[15] *Glotta* XXIV (1936), 42. — The -ται ending in Scythian-Sarmatian tribal names was first compared by Miller with the Ossetian plural sign -*tä*. Vasmer was the only scholar to reject this explanation (*Iranisches aus Südrussland: Streitberg-Festgabe*, Leipzig 1924, 373 foll.) but his arguments were found unconvincing by all sholars, including H. W. Bailey (*Asica*, reprinted from *TrPhS* (1945), 25 foll.). Nevertheless, the question requires fresh, more detailed examination.

Iranian or „Scythian" branch, why the plural formation with -*t* was attributed to such an early date. Seen from the angle of the family-tree theory, the linguistic facts could be best explained by assuming the former existence of a „Scythian" branch speaking a uniform language, and developing, through a slow process of differentiation, into languages like Ossetian and Yagnobi, still spoken to-day. Starting from the premises of such a theory one naturally could not assume the existence of any noticeable dialectal differences in the various groups of Scythian and Sarmatian, since these languages represented an earlier stage in linguistic development.

The limitations imposed by the family-tree theory upon research may be best observed in Vasmer's case. He already noticed that in the material of names figuring in the inscriptions there are forms bearing witness to different lines of phonemic development. In some instances, when the forms were obviously synchronous and differences could not be explained as being due to temporal succession, he actually thought of these differences concealing some dialectal variety. In most cases, however, he did reach this conclusion, but either disregarded facts testifying to the existence of dialectal differences, or tried to assign such forms to a later date[16].

A similar theory also underlies Sköld's researches into the Ossetian loan-words in Hungarian, and the related problem of Ossetian dialects. Sköld tried to prove that the Ossetian loan-words in Hungarian derive, not from an extinct Alanic or Ossetian dialect, but from Eastern Ossetian which is still a living language. In his view the Ossetes and the Alans formed a single people who once used to inhabit a large territory. Nevertheless, he thought it impossible to assume the existence of other Ossetian dialects at an early date, apart from those two which are still spoken. Thus in Sköld's theory, too, we are clearly faced with the idea that we cannot assume a greater linguistic differentiation than that prevailing at the moment[17].

Sköld's conception is based on the mechanical and forced application of a theory: it is best shown by his disregarding the fact that even present-day Ossetian has more than two dialects. Already Miller noticed three Ossetian dialects (Western, Eastern, and Southern Ossetian)[18]. Recently Abaev's investigations have clearly demonstrated that in the Southern Ossetian territory alone there are three separate dialects, easily distinguishable by their phonemic characteristics.[19] If Sköld had no doubts with regard to the existence of the eastern and western Ossetian dialects as early as the age of linguistic connections between Ossetes and Hungarians, he naturally could have no

---

[16] *Iranisches aus Südrussland,* 370.
[17] *ZII* III (1925), 179 foll., *Die ossetischen Lehnwörter im Ungarischen,* Lund-Leipzig 1925, 66 foll.
[18] *Die Sprache der Osseten,* 2.
[19] О языке южных осетин. Языки Сев. Кавказа и Дагестана. 87 foll.

reason to doubt the existence of other Ossetian dialects in the same period. So he simply paid no attention to the southern Ossetian dialect or dialects which contradicted his theory.

Thus it is entirely natural that Sköld's conclusions about the Ossetian loan-words in Hungarian, and the relations between Alans and Ossetes in general, have been recently thoroughly revised by Abaev. Abaev refuses to view the problem of Alanic-Ossetian contacts as a problem of racial and anthropological relations, he regards the Alans simply as „forebears", the Ossetes as „descendants", as Miller had done. In his view, the question of Alans and Ossetes is significant only as the „problem of cultural-historical and linguistic contacts between two peoples of the Northern Caucasus, one of them living at the present time, the other in the Middle Ages."[20]

Abaev has sought to throw light on the relations between Alans and Ossetes from several directions. He examines, first of all, the place-names in the territory inhabited by the Balkars and the Karachay, and discovers numerous Ossetian elements in them; on the basis of these elements he comes to the conclusion that the territory was once inhabited by people who spoke Ossetian, or, more precisely, the western dialect of that language. He points out, on the other hand, that, according to the testimony of medieval sources, the Balkar and Karachay territories used to be inhabited by Alans, and that as a matter of fact, the Karachay are to this day called *alani* by the Mingrels. These facts, in Abaev's view, can be explained only by supposing that historical contacts between Alans and Mingrels must have existed during the Middle Ages. The inscription of Zelenchuk, found at a site north of the present Karachay territory, is regarded as being Ossetian by Abaev who, on this point, follows Miller's view. Abaev also discusses in detail linguistic contacts between Hungarians and Ossetes. He has no doubts that there is a *stratum* in the Hungarian and the Ossetian vocabulary common to both languages, this leads him to the conclusion that at a definite historical period there must have been two contiguous linguistic communities; the descendants of one of these communities are the Hungarians of to-day, the descendants of the other are the present Ossetes. Thus, taking the historical continuity of Alans and Ossetes as his basis, Abaev thinks that the people who enriched Hungarian with Ossetian elements, could only have been the Alans. He tries to illumine the problem of historical contacts between Alans and Ossetes, also by examining Alanic persons' names. Abaev points out that the Alanic name *Ma-ta-rh-sha*, known to us from a Chinese record, has an exact equivalent in the present Ossetian name *Matärsa*, while the name *A-da-chi* has a corresponding Alanic form *Addac* in the fifth century. Finally, Abaev discusses in detail the interpretation and significance of the Alanic formulae of salutation preserved

[20] *Alanica.* ИАН СССР 1935. Отд. общ. наук, 881 foll.

in Tzetzes, from the angle of Alanic-Ossetian relations. He demonstrates that the Alanic words found in Tzetzes show close affinity to present Digorian (Western Ossetian) forms. Nevertheless, in summing up the results of his investigations, Abaev expresses his conviction that „a great many of those peculiarities, which nowadays separate the Ironian (= Eastern Ossetian) dialect from the Digorian, did not exist at that time (in the eighth century), and the (linguistic) facts established by Tzetzes reflect, not some specific „Digorian" forms, but the „average" A'anic forms of that age."[21]

Abaev's work has, in many details, greatly contributed to research intended to clarify relations between Alans and Ossetes. But on the whole, Abaev's point of view is closely related to Miller's attitude which he had rejected so sharply, in principle. The fact is that Abaev denies the existence of the present dialects in medieval Ossetian, i. e. he regards Alanic as a uniform language, and admits the theory of a direct Alanic-Ossetian historical continuity: these features of his attitude are hardly influenced by the circumstance that he does not regard the Alans simply as the „forebears" of the Ossetes, nor the Ossetes as the „descendants" of the Alans. Abaev's whole view rests fundamentally on the family-tree theory, as did that of Miller: in accordance with this basic conviction Abaev would derive the Ossetian dialects of to-day from a uniform medieval Alanic language. This view reflects, no doubt, the conviction that if we reverse the flow of time, we meet with increasingly uniform states of language. It is enough to give two examples, in order to show to what extent this conception influences Abaev's work. In analysing the Alanic word χας, he is only anxious to stress that the word stands nearer to the Digorian form χwarz than to the Ironian form χorz. In Abaev's opinion, it is usually the Digorian dialect that represents the older phonemic stage; consequently, if the phonemic form of the Alanic word is closer to the Digorian form, this would prove clearly, on the one hand, that there is direct historical connection between Alanic and Ossetian, and, on the other, that the Ironian phonemic form must have been, formerly, the same. Meanwhile, Abaev fails to notice that it is impossible to deduce the present Digorian and Ironian forms from Alanic χας (ɔ: χas, χaš, χaz, etc.), so that this word, instead of lending support to, actually refutes the theory of direct historical connections between Alans and Ossetes. Similarly, in connection with the Alanic word χσινα the only thing Abaev notices is the presence of the final -a phoneme which appears also in the Digorian form äχsinä (in contrast to Ironian 'χsin). In this case both the Digorian and the Ironian forms may be derived, without any special difficulty, from Alanic χσινα: but the Hungarian word asszony (Old Hungarian achscin, ɔ: aχsin), borrowed

---

[21] With regard to Abaev's conclusions see also D. Gerhardt's detailed review, amounting practically to a translation, in ZDMG XCIII (1939), 33 foll.

from Alanic before the tenth century, definitely points to a form, *aχsin*. It follows from this that, as early as the tenth century, two forms, *aχsin* and *χsina*, must have been in living use, i. e. the present dialectal differences in Ossetian must have already existed then. These examples show clearly that Abaev's conclusions should be subjected at many points·to a thorough revision.[22]

In contrast to Miller's view, according to whom Alanic-Ossetian was in direct historical connection with the language of the Scythians and Sarmatians, Andreas had previously expounded his theory that the Alans were not Sarmatians, but later immigrants into Southern Russia from their Eastern Iranian home in Xwārizm.[23] Andreas' arguments, unfortunately, did not appear in print, so that his conception had no serious response for a long time. Meanwhile Charpentier, too, started advocating the theory of the Eastern descent of Alans and Ossetes, deriving his arguments from historical sources. He conjectured that the original tribal name of the Alans was *as-* or *os-*, so that the Alans may be regarded as being identical with the ῎Aσιoι who, according to Strabo, had conquered Bactria, with the *Asiani* of Trogus Pompeius, and the *Wu-sun* of Chinese sources.[24] Charpentier's conclusions would have had, of course, far-reaching linguistic consequences if only they could have been verified. But the necessary linguistic material was missing at the time. The eastern linguistic contacts of Alanic-Ossetian could be tackled, with any hope of succes, only after Chorasmian texts had come to light in considerable quantities, i. e. when it became possible to form some idea of the language of Xwārizm, the territory from which Andreas had long ago sought to derive the Alans and Ossetes.

It was Zeki Validi who first succeeded in discovering Chorasmian texts in any quantity, and who found a passage in Bīrūnī (in the Introduction to the *taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin*) which seems to be of decisive importance in forming a judgment about the language of the Alans. According to Validi, the passage in Bīrūnī informs us that the ,,Alans or *Āṣ* ,,had formerly lived, together with the Pechenegs, around the lower reaches of the Amu-darya (the Uzboy), and later, after the river had changed its course, they migrated

---

[22] Abaev proves to be an adherent of the family-tree theory even in his latest book: Осетинский язык и фольклор. Т. I. Изд. АН СССР М.—Л. 1949, which has so far been inaccessible to me. Cp. in any case ИАН СССР VIII (1949), 507: ,,В этой книге В. И. Абаев, полностью отступая от установок своего учителя, излагает историю осетинского языка и трактует скифскую проблему с откровенно ,,праязыковых" позиций".

[23] See A. Christensen, *Die Iranier: Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*. III, Abt. I. Teil, III, Bd. III. Abschn. 1. Lief. München 1933, 249, note 2. Andreas himself gave a brief outline of his position in *Verhandl. d. XIII. Intern. Orientalisten-Kongresses*. Leiden 1904, 103.

[24] *ZDMG* LXXI (1917), 357 foll. Of the nations identified by Charpentier we have to exclude, in any case, the Wu-sun, for historical and geographical reasons; see G. Haloun, *ZDMG* XCI (1937), 252.

to the coast of the Sea of the Khazars"; Bīrūnī also tells us that „the language of these Alans is a compound of Chorasmian and Pecheneg-Turkish". Validi takes this to mean that the Chorasmians spoke an Iranian language related to Ossetian; he thinks it likely, at the same time, that the language of these Alans, who had migrated to the land of the Khazars, must have differed in some measure from the language of the Caucasian Ossetes.[25]

It was Henning who first subjected to linguistic scrutiny the Chorasmian texts discovered by Validi; he came to the conclusion that, although the Chorasmian language shares many important characteristics with Ossetian, nevertheless, on the whole it is nearer to Sogdian, while it also has a number of characteristic features found neither in Sogdian nor in Ossetian. The features shared with Ossetian consist, according to Henning, chiefly of the phonetic changes $š > s$ and $č > c$, though the change from $š > s$ was not entirely completed in Chorasmian.[26]

Thus the scrutiny of Chorasmian texts has for the time being failed to supply linguistic facts that might be regarded as a decisive proof of the theory affirming the Chorasmian origin of the Alans. This circumstance obviously influenced Validi's mind when he came to the conclusion that the language of the Alans, who had migrated to the land of the Khazars, must have been somewhat different from that of the Caucasian Ossetes. This is, naturally, equivalent to admitting that the Chorasmian origin of the Alans-Ossetes (a conjecture based on considerations of history) cannot be proved as a linguistic proposition.

These negative linguistic conclusions, which contradict the evidence of historical sources, were, naturally, far from reassuring to those advocating the eastern origin of the Ossetes; hence several new attempts were made recently to try and prove the close contact of Ossetian with the languages of North-Eastern Iran or its eastern origin. Among these attempts let us first consider Freiman's works. He discovered a considerable quantity of fresh Chorasmian linguistic material, and in elaborating it touched several times on the question of the relation between Ossetian and Chorasmian. Freiman's investigations have established that correspondences between Ossetian and Chorasmian are not restricted to the phonetic changes $š > s$ and $č > c$, pointed out by Henning, but extend to a number of phenomena of different kinds. Thus Freiman has shown that the phonetic change $-ti > -ci$ is found both in Ossetian and in Chorasmian: see e. g. Chorasmian $akic$ 'делает' ~ Ossetian $känənc$ 'делают'; in some cases the Old Iranian $-ϑr$-group of phonemes has similar corresponding forms in both languages, e. g. Chorasmian $arcīvak$ 'third' ~ Ossetian $ärtä$ 'three'; Old Iranian initial h-

[25] See ZDMG XC (1936), *26* foll. and also Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht, Leipzig 1939, 14, 125 foll., 137.
[26] ZDMG XC (1936), *30* foll.

has disappeared in many cases both from Ossetian and Chorasmian, e. g. Chorasmian *iβdac* 'seventy' ~ Ossetian *ävdai* 'seventy' ~ Old Iranian *haptāti ;* the plural suffix *-tä* characteristic of Ossetian is found also in Chorasmian, e. g. *niγōsic* 'слушатели', *nikanc* 'колья', *sparc* 'щиты'.[27] Freiman attributes very great importance to these correspondences when pronouncing judgment on the origin and place of the Ossetian language. He states emphatically that „the transference to the West of our knowledge concerning the linguistic Middle Ages of Eastern Iran (this is Freiman's description of the discovery and elaboration of the Chorasmian linguistic material) has made it possible to lay a firm foundation for those linguistic bridges which connect more closely the Chorasmian language with the language of the Alan-As, i. e. with the language of the Ossetes, those emigrants who had their homes in Xwārizm".[28] In one instance Freiman makes the attempt to trace back the connections of the Ossetian and Chorasmian or Saka languages, as far as the fifth century B. C.: he tries to explain the name *Skunxa*, the Saka chieftain defeated by Darius, from the Ossetian verb *sk'uänxun* 'отличаться'.[29]

Tolstov has called attention to another interesting proof of the Chorasmian origin of the Alans-Ossetes. He pointed out that one of the Turkmen tribes of South-Eastern Turkmenia bears the name *Alan*, a name which denotes also one of the subsidiary tribes of the Salyrs. According to Tolstov, the Alan Turkmen tribe differs in a number of ethnographic peculiarities from the surrounding Salyrs: one may observe among them, for instance, a strong tendency toward tribal endogamy and marriage within the clan; they wear white clothing, etc. It is especially noteworthy that a tradition has been preserved among them, according to which they migrated to their present habitation from the Mangyšlak Peninsula where, they say, there used to be „a large fortress known by the name of Alan". The interesting point is that there exist, in fact, ruins of a fortress known as *Alan-kala* („Alan fortress") on the north-western borders of Xwārizm, between the Sea of Aral and the Mangyšlak Peninsula. So there can be not doubt that the tradition of the Alan Turkmen tribe has a historical value, and that we may regard this tribe as Turkicized descendants of the Alans who used to live on the territory of Xwārizm and on the plateau of Ust-Urt.[30]

It was Tolstov, again, who pointed out that the name of one of the Chorasmian rulers appearing on his coins as *wrϑwmχ*, while in Bīrūnī it figures

---

[27] See А. А. Фрейман, СВ IV (1947), 157 foll., СВ V (1948), 191 foll., СВ VI (1949), 63 foll.

[28] See ИАН СССР Отд. лит. и языка, VII (1948), 238 foll.

[29] *Ibid.* 239.

[30] See С. П. Толстов, ВДИ 1948, I, 197. Similar data with regard to the Alans near the Sea of Aral, as e. g. Firdūsī's *Diž-i Alānān* and the place-name *Qīzīl-Alan* in the Turkmen steppes, have been earlier pointed out by Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen: AGGW* XIII, Berlin 1914, 106 foll. and by Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, London 1937, 481.

in the form *'rθmwχ*, bears a close resemb'ance to the name of *Uruzmäg*, a well-known hero in the Nart-sagas of the Ossetes.[31] This correspondence — if it can be linguistically verified — supplies another interesting datum for the historical contacts between Alans-Ossetes and Chorasmians. We may establish, at all events, that the passage in Bīrūnī and the reading of the Chorasmian coins give two different forms of the name: 1. *warθumaχ* and 2. *arθamuχ*. But the same duality appears also in Ossetian as, beside *Uruzmäg*, there also occur the forms *Wäräzmäg*, *Oräzmäg*, and *Wərəzmäg*.[32] On the basis of these and the Abadzech form *Urzames* we may suppose the existence of an earlier form **Warzəmag* ∼ **Warzumag* which is quite close to the *Warθumaχ* form of the Chorasmian ruler's name.

There is no doubt that Freiman's observations and Tolstov's data have brought forward a lot of important new material to the question of Alanic-Ossetian history and language. But we must not ignore the fact that, while Freiman's researches have considerably increased the number of linguistic correspondences between Ossetian and Chorasmian, they have also revealed more fully that Chorasmian stands much closer to Sogdian than to Alanic-Ossetian. For this reason we need not be surprised that some scholars, e. g. Altheim, continue to regard the passage in Bīrūnī about the language of the Alans and Chorasmians just as problematical as before. According to Altheim, Bīrūnī could certainly not mean that the Chorasmian and Ossetian languages were especially close to each other with regard to their origin: the meaning of the passage is that the Alans or As took over certain linguistic peculiarities from the Chorasmians, in whose neighbourhood they once lived, and that the same applies also to the Pechenegs.[33] For the rest, Altheim accepts the identity of the present Ossetians with the medieval As and the ancient Ἄσιοι the conquerors of Bactria, i. e. he accepts the thesis of the eastern origin of the Ossetes[34]. His attempt, however, to interpret the passage in Bīrūnī in the light of late historical contacts between Chorasmians and Ossetes, instead of assuming an identity of origin or linguistic community between these two peoples, must be, therefore, ascribed to a negative estimate of the linguistic connections between Alanic-Ossetian and Chorasmian.

Parallel with the linguistic research on the relations of Ossetian and Chorasmian there also emerged several historical combinations which tried to solve the origin of the Ossetians and the Alans in the direction indicated by Charpentier. One of these combinations is Vernadsky's. He has renewed the conjecture about the supposed identity of the Wu-sun and the Ἄσιοι,

[31] See Древний Хорезм. Москва 1948, 189. По следам древнехорезмийской цивилизации. Москва-Ленинград 1948, 161, foll.
[32] See В. И. Абаев, Язык и мышление V (1935), 281.
[33] F. Altheim, *Literatur und Gesellschaft im ausgehenden Altertum*. Halle/Saale 1950, II, 210.
[34] See *Der Hellenismus in Mittelasien: Saeculum* I (1950), 281.

as well as the Asiani, the As, and the Ossetes. He has, moreover, introduced new elements into this combination by trying to prove that the names *Anti*, ῎Αντες, and *Yen-ts'ai* belong to the same group of peoples' names.[35] But these combinations of Vernadsky's raise very serious historical and linguistic difficulties.[36]

Maenchen-Helfen also follows in Charpentier's footsteps with regard to the origin of the Ossetians and the As,[37] but by utilizing the results of recent investigations he is able to set this problem into a much wider framework. Under the influence of Haloun's arguments, Maenchen-Helfen rejects the identification of the Wu-sun and the Asiani, and proposes a new, wider combination in its stead. He tries to prove that the name *Arśi* used by the Tokharians about themselves is identical with Pliny's *Arsi*, Ptolemy's 'Αροῖτις as well as with the *Aorsi* who came to be called A'ans later on. These peoples or peoples' names, to which he adds the *al-(l)ārisiya* mentioned in Mas'ūdī, are, in his view, identical with *As*, the old name of the Ossetes and its different varieties. All these peoples are, at the same time, Tokharians, i. e. the Yüeh-chih of the Chinese, since *Arśi* is the name used by the Tokharians for themselves. In Maenchen-Helfen's opinion the name *Tokhar*, itself, is found among the Ossetes in the tribal name *Digor*. Maenchen-Helfen, himself, must have felt that these identifications of peoples and peoples' names raise a host of historical difficulties. For this reason he tried to render them more probable by assuming the presence of a number of historical layers. According to his account, the tribal name of the *Yüeh-chih* was *Togar*, while their ruling group bore the name of *Kusha* (transcribed as *Yüeh-chih* by the Chinese). This people came under the rule the Sacae who called themselves *Arśi* (= Aorsi, Arsi, ῎Ασιοι, Asiani, As, etc.). The people, formed as the result of this Togar-Arśi stratification, was later divided into several groups. One group migrated towards the West, and became the ancestors of the *As-Digūr* among the present Ossetes. Maenchen-Helfen distinguishes, moreover, the Alans from the As. The upshot of these identifications is that, while the Tokharian problem becomes over-simplified, the formation of the Ossetes turns out to be the result of a very complex ethnical stratification.

There is no doubt that, even with the assumption of these historical strata, Maenchen-Helfen's conclusions contain many elements that are hypothetical or entirely unsupported. His attempt, however, to explain the formation of the present Ossetian people as the result of repeated ethnical stratifi-

[35] G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*,[3] New Haven 1946, 82 foll., *Byzantion* XVI (1942—44), 81 foll.

[36] See my remarks in *RHC* N. S. V (1947), 230 foll.

[37] *JAOS* LXV (1945), 71 foll. Maenchen-Helfen himself refers to Charpentier but he exaggerates in connecting the identification of *Arśi-Asiani* with Charpentier (79), since the word *Arśi* was introduced into the Tokharian controversy only by Sieg *SBAW* 1918, 560 foll.

cations, in contrast to former conjectures based on the family-tree theory, deserves close attention, in any case.

H. W. Bailey's recent investigations in the study of the origin of Ossetian vocabulary have a very important bearing on the contact of Ossetian with the Eastern Iranian languages as well as on the eastern origin of the Ossetes. Since the studies of Hübschmann (Etymologie und Lautlehre der ossetischen Sprache) and Miller, Bailey's works may be regarded as the most important step forward in the study of the origin of the Ossetian vocabulary. Bailey does not connect the Wu-sun with the Asiani; he even dismisses the name Arśi which he regards simply as the Tokharian equivalent of the north-western Prākrit form of the Sanskrit word ārya- 'beggar monk'. Thus he ultimately identifies the old As and the present Ossetes only with the ''Aσιοι At the same time, he derives the name As, Ossetian Asi ~ Assi from an earlier form *ārsya-, and connects this with the al-(l)ārisiya found in Mas'ūdī as well as with the names Arsi and 'Αρσῖτις. Thus Bailey regards the Ossetes as the descendants of the ''Aσιοι, an Eastern Iranian tribe which conquered Bactria; he attempts to support this view with the results of his study in the field of the Ossetian vocabulary. He tries to prove the presence in Ossetian of a considerable number of words, the exact equivalent of which can be demonstrated only in Sogdian and Saka. In Bailey's view, these corresponden-ces indicate that the ancestors of the As were in close contact with the Choras-mians, Sogdians, and the forebears of the Afghans. This symbiosis is put by Bailey to the third century B. C. since the Iranian names in the Greek inscriptions of South Russia, and the earliest linguistic remains of the Sogdians, (both types going back to the second century A. D.,) reveal, in Bailey's opinion, clearly defined linguistic individuality, so that the state of symbiosis must have existed several centuries before.[38] This train of thought shows also that, during the period of symbiosis of the Ās, Sogdians, Chorasmians, etc., Bailey assumes the linguistic community of their respective languages, otherwise he might just as well have assumed the existence of a state of symbiosis at a later period when these tongues developed into fully-fledged separate lan-guages. Thus, it would seem that, ultimately, Bailey sees the relation of these languages to one another from the angle of the family-tree theory.

Bailey's works have considerably enriched our knowledge concerning the Eastern Iranian contacts of the Ossetian language, in general, and the Ossetian vocabulary, in particular. But while stressing this, we cannot fail to remark that his conclusions cannot, in all respects, be regarded as final, either from the historical or the linguistic point of view. First of all, there is no need whatever to assume linguistic unity, for a period, when peoples speaking different languages are living together. We have seen above that

[38] See H. W. Bailey, TPhS 1945, 1 foll., TPhS 1946, 202 foll., TPhS 1947, 142 foll., 150 foll., BSOAS XIII (1949—50), 135.

the *As* and the Chorasmians were living together as late as the tenth century A. D. — yet there is no question of a linguistic unity between Ossetian and Chorasmian. So there is no inevitability, either, in Bailey's deduction, according to which Ossetian must have been living together or at least have been in contact with the other languages of Eastern Iran about the third century B. C. From the methodological angle, too, Bailey's procedure of trying to determine the relation of Ossetian to the Eastern Iranian languages, on the basis of vocabulary, is open to objection, especially if we have to count in Ossetian with a complex Eastern Iranian stratification. Thus it is clear that the problems raised and discussed by Bailey are still waiting to be examined from a number of different angles.

After this survey of recent research on the position of the Ossetian language, we see clearly those major groups of problems which it is necessary to solve if we wish to attain a certain degree of certitude with regard to the Eastern Iranian connections of Ossetian, or the problem of the North Iranian group of languages as a whole. These groups of problems may be summed up as follows:

1. The relation of Ossetian to the ancient Iranian languages of South Russia. The clarification of this problem is indispensable if we want to see clearly the relation of Ossetes, Alans, Sarmatians, and Scythians

2. Within the above group of problems the question of plural formation with -ται requires a separate examination since it has always been a pivotal question in research and the available material is considerable. In the eyes of the majority of scholars this method of forming the plural is one of the decisive proofs for the close connection of Scythian-Sarmatian-Alanic-Ossetian on the one hand, and of the Eastern Iranian languages, on the other. The question, however, is whether this plural suffix really existed in Scythian, and whether one is justified in regarding this morphological peculiarity of the language as a dialectological criterion.

3. It is absolutely necessary to clarify the mutual relations of Alanic and Ossetian. This work requires, of course, a thorough re-examination and re-valuation of the linguistic remains of the Alans.

4. The solution of the same problem also requires the re-examination and re-valuation of the Alanic loanwords in Hungarian. As we have seen above, Abaev ascribed a very important role to these loan-words in clearing up the relation of Alanic and Ossetian. Their testimony was regarded as decisive by Sköld, too, in the question of Ossetian dialects.

5. The relation of Ossetian to the Eastern Iranian languages. The discovery of the Chorasmian texts, the results of historical research, as well as the works of Henning, Freiman, and Bailey on the subject, have made the clarification of this problem one of the most pressing tasks of Ossetian linguists.

6. The stratification of the Iranian elements in the Ossetian vocabulary. This question was raised by the possibility that the Ossetian people were formed by various Iranian tribes being superimposed, one upon the other. The existence of such a possibility was clearly demonstrated by Maenchen-Helfen's results, even if the latter require substantial corrections in many respects. Moreover, if we have to count with different ethnical strata in the case of the Ossetian people, this must find a reflection in their vocabulary, too. Thus, this question is one of the most exciting tasks of future research.

Of these groups of problems, we are going to discuss in this essay the relations of the ancient Iranian languages of Southern Russia to one another, and to Ossetian.

II

PROTO-IRANIAN AND OSSETIAN

If we wish to clarify the problems connected with the language of the Sarmatian tribes of Southern Russia and its relation to Ossetian, we have to bear in mind, first of all, two considerations. We have seen above that, in judging this question, the great majority of scholars, e. g. Miller, Vasmer, Lommel, Kretschmer, Sköld, and Abaev, started from the theory of the family-tree of languages. This manifested itself chiefly in the fact that, the earlier the stage of language they examined, the less inclined they became (often flying in the face of practically palpable linguistic facts) to assume even a slight degree of linguistic differentiation. The result was that they regarded the language of the Scythians and Sarmatians as uniform, and considered even the present Ossetian dialectal differentiation to be an entirely new development. Since the family-tree theory has thus exercised a decisive influence on research concerned with Ossetian and the language of the Iranian tribes of South Russia we have to raise the question whether it is right to accept this theory as a basis of our investigations. In order to answer it, we will examine the application of the family-tree theory in some examples taken from linguistic history.

One of the chief aims of comparative linguistics, based on the family-tree theory, was to try and reconstruct the homogeneous linguistic status or parent language from which later dialects and languages were to develop. Says Edgar Sturtevant in ,,An introduction to linguistic science", 154: ,,Comparative grammar reconstructs certain features of the language spoken by the original, unseparated community, on the basis of corresponding features of the descendent languages." In order to attain this objective, scholars used to compare the different languages belonging to the same group or family of languages, noting their identical features and regarding these as characteristic of the ancient, homogeneous linguistic status. Thus in reconstructing the Proto-Iranian linguistic condition which, in its turn, was preceded by

the Aryan linguistic condition, Bartholomae utilized those correspondences existing between Old Persian and the language of the Avesta as well as those existing between the language of the Avesta and some modern Iranian language, chiefly Modern Persian[39]. But the adequacy of this method is very questionable. Following a critical hint by J. Schmidt, Kretschmer has pointed out long ago that certain linguistic phenomena, though present in all separate languages, must not, in every case, be regarded as characteristic of the fundamental language, while conversely, it is sometimes only one language that preserves ancient linguistic traits.[40] But it is not only the linguistics methods of the family-tree theory that have aroused grave doubts: its historical assumptions, too, have proved untenable. There is no doubt that one cannot assume the existence of populous societies possessing a unitary organization and speaking a homogeneous language in the early periods of history[41] — though this assumption is implicit in the family-tree theory. There is an increasing body of evidence, derived especially from archeological research, which shows that the idea of homogeneous linguistic communities, and of corresponding homogeneous peoples, has to be dropped entirely.[42] But even if we refrain from discussing the whole problem of the

[39] *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I, 1. Strassburg 1895—1901, 3.
[40] *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, Göttingen 1895, 7 foll. Recent criticism of the family-tree theory is contained in Шор—Чемоданов, Введение в языковедение, Москва 1945, 185 foll., Десницкая ИАН СССР ОЛЯ. VII (1948), 241 foll., and in Bonfante: *Language* XXIII (1947), 350 where he expounds the neo-linguist position with regard to the family-tree theory. Recent pronouncements in favour of the family-tree theory are by Sturtevant: *Language* XXIII (1947), 376 foll. and Lane: *Language* XXV (1949), 333 foll.
[41] See Altheim's telling remarks in *Italien und Rom*, Amsterdam-Leipzig 1941, 152 foll. and *Literatur und Gesellschaft im ausgehenden Altertum*, II, Halle/Saale 1950, 113 foll.
[42] See Paret, *WaG* VIII (1942), 53 foll., Kühn, *IPEK* XV (1941—42), 256 foll. Especially characteristic is Pittioni's statement in *Erasmus* II (1949), 296: „Die archäologische Forschung der letzten Jahre hat uns eben zum Umlernen gezwungen. Noch vor kurzer Zeit der Meinung verfallen, dass die einzelnen indogermanischen Völker wie Zweige gleichzeitig aus dem Stamme spriessen, wobei die Wurzeln dieses Stammes im norddeutsch-skandinavischen Raum gelegen sein sollen, lernen wir nun immer deutlicher, dass nicht die Filiation uns das Werden der indogermanischen Einzelvölker erschliesst, sondern nur die Agglutination oder die Substrattheorie, also die Tatsache, dass von den wichtigen oberpaläolitischen Kulturen aufwärts Schicht auf Schicht gelegt wird, wobei diese über weite Strecken hin gemeinsamen Schichten Verwandschaften und Beziehungen erzeugen, die in ihrer Abfolge Gleichzeitiges und Aufeinanderfolgendes verbinden und damit ein mehr als kompliziertes Bild einer Kultur- und Völkerentfaltung erweisen". — Recently, even the most devout adherents of the family-tree theory have started admitting that the parent language or fundamental language could not have been homogeneous. See e. g. Sturtevant's following words: „We must admit the existence of dialectic differences within Proto-Indo-European. At present we cannot do very much about such features; but it is important to recognize their existence". (An Introduction to Linguistic Science[3], New Haven 1948, 167.) This means, of course, giving up the idea of the parent language and the attempts at its reconstruction; so Sturtevant hastens to add: „In theory, at least, a period of dialectic differentiation preceded the final separation of the Indo-European languages from the parent stock". Thus he succeeds in finding a formula combining the idea of a parent language with dialectal differentiation. But the only concrete basis of the whole theory is the actual existence of dialectal differentiation.

family-tree theory, and do not go beyond the reconstruction of the Proto-Iranian linguistic state, the deficiencies of this method are obvious.

We must raise, first of all, the problem of sources. By setting the two Old Iranian languages (Old Persian and the language of the Avesta) against the Middle Iranian and Modern Iranian languages, one may easily create an impression that seems to be in perfect harmony with the family-tree theory. The Modern Iranian languages are, undoubtedly, much more numerous than the Middle Iranian ones, while the latter considerably exceed in number the two Old Iranian languages. This temporal distribution of independent languages and dialects is apt to rouse, at first sight, the idea of a progressive linguistic differentiation in the mind of the spectator. One must not forget, however, that this idea of progressive differentiation is due only to the scantiness of material. We have a certain amount of data about practically all the modern Iranian languages and dialects; of the medieval Iranian languages (in spite of the splendid discoveries of recent decades) there exist data of only a few, while of the Old Iranian languages only two are known to us. We must also bear in mind that there is a qualitative difference between these data. Those dating from the present age derive in part from languages or dialects that are not written down, while the languages known to us from the Middle Ages, or from antiquity, are almost entirely of a literary or written character. If we take these facts into consideration, we have to admit that there is absolutely no evidence to show that linguistic differences, among the tribes and peoples speaking Iranian languages, were considerably less in antiquity than in the Middle Ages, or at the present time. Thus it would be an entirely unwarrantable assumption to regard, for instance, the language of the Old Persian inscriptions as the homogeneous language of the Persians, taken as a body of people. Herodotus enumerates in his work ten Persian tribes (I 125) which lived scattered over a wide area and showed considerable differences in their material culture.[43] Bearing this in mind, one would certainly hesitate to identify the language of the Old Persian inscriptions, let us say, with the language of the nomadic Persian Asagartiya tribe. The same applies also to the Medes. Herodotus enumerates six different Median tribes (I 101): even if one of these names denotes a social stratum rather than a tribe, there can be no doubt as to the tribal divisions of the Medes.[44] Thus, there is no ground whatever for assuming the existence of a homogeneous Median language at the time. On the contrary, there are certain features in the investigations conducted hitherto which lend full support to the view that in the case of both Persians and Medes we have to count, at the very

[43] See Christensen, *Die Iranier*, 236.
[44] See Christensen, *Die Iranier*, 233. H. S. Nyberg, in *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, Leipzig 1938, 335, regards the *Boudioi*, too, as a caste of priests; with regard to the other data, however, he himself bears witness to the authenticity of Herodotus' account.

outset of their appearance in history, with a linguistic differentiation that
accords with their division into tribes. Already, Geiger hit upon the idea
of a dialectal differentiation among the Medes, when asking the question
whether the Old Persian word *farnah-* is not borrowed from one of the Median
dialects[45]. The investigations of Andreas, Lentz, Ted sco, and Herzfeld
have contributed to the development of this suggestion. Following a hint
by Andreas, Lentz has pointed out that the Old Persian *farnah-* is certainly
an old loan-word from Median; but among the present dialects it is only in
Sīwandī that we find the correspondence of *f-* to initial χ^v-, while in the
northern dialects the usual corresponding group of phonemes is $v\chi$-, vh-.
Since, according to the testimony of the Old Persian word, the development
χ^v- > *f-* must have taken place in Median as early as the sixth century B. C.,
while over the larger part of the linguistic area the initial χ^v- has been preser-
ved, there can be no doubt that there already existed a considerable dialectal
differentiation in Median at this time[46]. Tedesco's investigations concerning
the dialectology of the West Iranian Turfan texts led to the same result.
Tedesco has demonstrated that in the north-western Turfan texts some
phonemes and groups of phonemes have a double correspondence: thus e. g.
intervocalic *d (δ)* is usually preserved but in some words it has a corresponding
-h-, etc. Since in the south-western Turfan texts it is the phoneme *y* that
corresponds to intervocalic *d*, this double correspondence may be explained
only by assuming that the language of the north-western Turfan texts is
based, not on one dialect, but on *several north-western* dialects[47]. This dialectal
differentiation must reach back into far antiquity, as is clearly shown by
the juxtaposition of two data: the name *Fraδāta* was transcribed in ancient
sources, as early as the second century B. C., in the forms *Phraates* or *Phrahates*
which reflect already an Iranian form *Frahāta;* at the same time, Ptolemy
gives the name of Isfahān in the form Ἀσπάδανα as late as the second
century A. D.[48] Thus in the north-western territory dialectal differentiation
may be traced back to sixth century B. C., if no further, and the same is
true also of the Persian territories. It is again Tedesco's investigations which
have demonstrated that the language of the Old Persian inscriptions could
not have been the direct antecedent of Middle and Modern Persian dialects:
'Altechtpersisch', i. e. the Old Iranian antecedent of the south-western Turfan
texts, must have been a different dialect[49]. These linguistic observations
show clearly that there is no ground whatever for supposing the existence
of a homogeneous Median or Old Persian language. On the contrary, there
are indubitable linguistic facts indicating that, in the case of both Medes and

[45] *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I 2, 423.
[46] Lentz, *ZII* IV (1926), 288. See also Herzfeld, *AMI* VII (1935), 40 foll.
[47] Tedesco, *MO* XV (1921), 195, 205 foll., 246, 253.
[48] Tedesco, *MO* XV (1921), 195; Herzfeld, *AMI* VII (1935), 15.
[49] Tedesco, *MO* XV (1921), 248.

Persians, one has to deal with different dialects right at the outset of their historical career; it is extremely likely that this dialectal differentiation was connected with a division into tribes.

In this case, however, the reconstruction of the Proto-Iranian linguistic stage, and even the concept of a Proto-Iranian linguistic state, have to be subjected to a thorough revision. According to Bartholomae's theory, the Aryan Parent Language split up into two essentially homogeneous languages one of which he simply called 'Proto-Iranian'. This 'Proto-Iranian language' was, however, a purely formal linguistic concept, the contents of which were determined by the changes which took place in 'Proto-Iranian' from the time of its separation from the Aryan parent language until its disintegration. On these premises Bartholomae acted quite logically when he utilized, in reconstructing the Proto-Iranian linguistic state, those changes which he found both in Old Persian and in the language of the Avesta, since, according to his theory these common changes must have occurred in Proto-Iranian while changes peculiar to one of them must have taken place in the separate Old Iranian languages.[50] This theory is entirely logical; yet historically — even apart from its unproved and unsubstantiated premises — it is extremely unlikely. As we have pointed out above, only two of the Old Iranian languages supply us with a fair number of linguistic remains; of these, the language of the Avesta has undergone considerable distortion during the process of transmission, so that its value as a source for the history of phonemes is frequently open to doubt; while the language of the Old Persian inscriptions only gives us some insight into the language of a single Persian tribe. It follows that, actually, we have only data about an insignificant proportion of Old Iranian languages or dialects; this circumstance — even if one were ready to accept the premises of the family-tree theory — makes the reconstruction of a 'Proto-Iranian language' an ardous and rather hopeless task. There is no evidence whatever to show that the changes, common to the Old Persian inscriptions and the language of the Avesta, took place also in the numerous other Old Iranian languages and dialects unknown to us; consequently, the changes determining the 'Proto-Iranian language' necessarily elude our grasp. Similarly, there are no indications whatever to show whether some, or even a considerable part, of the changes peculiar to one language alone, do not go back to Proto-Iranian times. To take only one example: one of the most definite features of the reconstructed 'Proto-Iranian language' is the change of initial $su > hu > \chi^v$-; see e. g. Old Indian $svarnara$- ~ Avestan $\chi^v arənah$-. But it is precisely this word which we find already in Old Persian, in the form $farnah$-, as an Old Median loan-word. Thus the development of the Aryan initial group of phonemes su- was already different in the dialects

---

[50] See *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I 1, 1 foll.

of Median, one of the Old Iranian languages; there is no evidence whatever as to the date when these differences developed. There is no evidence, either, to show that the form *farnah-* developed, through an intermediate form *$\chi^v arnah$-*, from Aryan *$svarnas$-*: one may easily suppose that in one part of the Median linguistic territory there was a direct phonetic development $s\underline{u} > f$-. This would naturally imply that the phonetic development $s\underline{u} -> \chi^v$- was not characteristic of the whole Proto-Iranian language, i. e. that 'Proto-Iranian' was not a homogeneous language, but was divided into different languages or dialects. This idea leads to the obliteration of boundaries between Proto-Iranian and Old Iranian; hence the question arises whether one had not better drop, or entirely reinterpret, the concepts of a 'Proto-Iranian language', or a Proto-Iranian linguistic state.

There is no doubt that, from the angle of the family-tree theory, the chief distinctive mark of the 'Proto-Iranian language' was precisely its homogeneity, the uniformity of the changes separating it from Aryan; owing to the emergence of features peculiar to some languages only, this uniformity gave place to the diversity of the Old Iranian languages. If the existence of such a homogeneous state of the language is not capable of demonstration, there is, in fact, no need to adhere to the concept of a 'Proto-Iranian language'. We have to point out, too, the essential difference that exists between the concept of 'Proto-Iranian', on the one hand, and the designations of 'Old Iranian', 'Middle Iranian', and 'Modern Iranian', on the other. 'Proto-Iranian', together with 'Aryan' and 'Indo-European', is a purely formal linguistic concept denoting a homogeneous unit. 'Old Iranian', 'Middle Iranian', and 'Modern Iranian' are, on the other hand, historical concepts which do not admit of a clear linguistic definition. It has never yet occurred to anybody to reconstruct a homogeneous Old Iranian or Middle Iranian language which would possess common distinctive marks: these expressions are used to denote the Iranian languages known to us from different periods of history. Hence, even within one and the same Iranian language, these expressions do not usually denote stages of development admitting of clear linguistic delimitation. It follows that there is no road leading from the historical concept of the 'Old Iranian languages' to the formal linguistic concept of the 'Proto-Iranian language'. We have seen above, moreover, that the concept of a 'Proto-Iranian language', or Proto-Iranian linguistic state, is linguistically untenable; hence we must reinterpret it from a historical angle, or drop it entirely.

The data supplied by Herodotus about the Persian and Median tribes date from the fifth century B. C. There is no doubt, however, that the formation of both the Median and the Persian tribes must be assigned to a considerably earlier period. Hence it is obvious, too, that the linguistic differences, observable among the Median and Persian tribes in the sixth and fifth centuries, may be traced back into earlier times. An examination of the Iranian names

found in the cuneiform sources leads us to the conclusion that a considerable part of the linguistic differences observable in the sixth century may be traced back to the ninth. As early as 712 we come across a prince called *Auarparna;* from the beginning of the seventh century we know the names of princes *Šitirparna* and *Eparna:* in these names the element *-parna* is a transcription of the word *farnah-* which we have discussed above.[51] Hence the double correspondence of $\chi^v \sim f$- to Aryan *su-* goes back to the eighth century. During the reign of Salmanassar there is mention in 854 of a prince called *Kundašpi,* about 740 of a prince bearing the name of *Kuštašpi.* The corresponding forms of these two names in other parts of the Old Iranian linguistic territory would be **Vindāspa-* and **Vištāspa-;* hence the phonetic change of initial *vi > gu- ∼ ku-* may be traced back, in this case, to the ninth century[52]. All this combines to show that the differences in the Old Iranian languages or dialects reach back, in fact, into the Proto-Iranian period, i. e. into the age preceding the historical appearance of the Iranian tribes[53]. If we wish to continue employing the concept of 'Proto-Iranian' as a historical designation in linguistics, it is most apposite to our purpose to mean by it the linguistic facts, languages, dialects, and linguistic condition of the period preceding the historical emergence of the Medes and Persians and the foundation of a state by them. The only question is whether the time limit of this historical period may be clearly defined, and whether it may be organically connected with the period of the 'Aryan language', a concept known to us from linguistics. According to the testimony of archaeology[54] and of historical sources, the migration of the Medes and Persians to the territory of Iran may be assigned to the end of the second millennium, or the beginning of the first millenium B. C.[55] This is also the conjectural date established by Herzfeld for the occurrence of those changes which separate Iranian (or 'Proto-Iranian'

---

[51] See e. g. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran,* 334; Herzfeld, *AMI* VII (1935). 28 foll. Herzfeld's contention that the *p* of the Akkad script stands in these names for *vh* is without any foundation. First, the example quoted by him — Iranian *Gundofarr* ∼ Indian *Guduvhara* — illustrates quite a different point (here *f* is transcribed as *vh,* not *vh* as *p*); secondly, the word *farnah-* is transcribed even in later cuneiform texts as *parna-:* **Frādafarnah-* = ᵐ*Ip-ra- (a-) du-par-na-',* **Dādafarnah-* = ᵐ*Da-da-par-na-'* (see W. Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen in der keilschriftlichen Überlieferung,* I, Leipzig 1940, 97).

[52] See Kretschmer, *KZ* IV (1928); Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran,* 333.

[53] This was clearly realized, with regard to Median, by Herzfeld, *AMI* VII (1935), 23 foll.: „In einem so grossen gebiet kann von anfang an nicht nur ein dialekt gesprochen sein: medisch bedeutet eine ganze gruppe. Die assyrischen, babylonischen, elamischen, aramaeischen und griechischen umschreibungen medischer orts- und personennamen lassen davon allerhand erkennen ... Die aufgabe ist, was da zu erkennen ist und was die heute noch lebenden dialektreste bewahrt haben, mit den grossen unterteilen Mediens in verbindung zu bringen, in denen sich uralte stammesunterschiede ausprägen".

[54] See Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk,* II, Paris 1939; the results are summed up by Altheim: *Saeculum* I (1950), 294 foll.

[55] See e. g. Herzfeld, *AMI* VIII (1937), 46 foll., *AMI* IX (1938), 164 foll., *Archaeological History of Iran,* London 1935, 9 foll.

in Bartholomae's terminology) from Aryan.[56] Herzfeld's argument is supported, for the time being, by a single linguistic fact.[57] Additional corroboration may be derived from the Aryan names found among the Hurri.[58] According to the testimony of these names, on the western borders of later Iran, there lived in the 14th century B. C. certain ethnic elements whose language does not yet show those changes which distinguish the Old Iranian languages from Old Indian. Thus, historically, one may speak of Proto-Iranian languages during the period that extends roughly from the migration of the Iranian tribes into the territory of Iran, to the formation of the Persian state. But this Proto-Iranian period of history cannot be organically connected with the period of the 'Aryan language'. 'Proto-Iranian', precisely like 'Old Indian', is a historical-geographical concept, while 'Aryan' is a formal linguistic designation. This qualitative difference in the ideas is reflected also in the attempts to determine the Aryan linguistic elements found among the Hurri. There were some scholars who, on the basis of their phonemic characteristics, regarded them as Old Indian.[59] Others, feeling that 'Old Indian' is essentially a historical and geographical concept which can hardly be applied to linguistic remains from the Near East, consider them to be Aryan[60]. In fact, if one wanted to express the relation of these elements to the later Old Iranian languages from the angle of history, it would be appropriate to call them Pre-Iranian[61]. At present it would obviously be premature to give a historical revaluation to the concept of the Aryan linguistic state; moreover, an examination of the Pre-Iranian elements in the Hurri language, from the angle of Old Iranian or Proto-Iranian languages, would take us far from our subject. Hence we only wish to state our conviction that the idea and reconstruction of a homogeneous Proto-Iranian language, conceptions born of the spirit of the family-tree theory, must be given up. This naturally does not mean giving up, at the same time, the idea of a Proto-Iranian stage in the history of Iranian phonemes, or the reconstruction, in general, of Old Iranian and Proto-Iranian forms. Nevertheless we have to realize that one may reconstruct, with a greater or lesser degree of probability, the Old Iranian or Proto-Iranian forms of only such words that are in use in certain definite, individual languages:

[56] *AMI* VIII (1937). 46 foll., *Altpersische Inschriften*, Berlin 1938, 183 foll.
[57] This is obviously the reason why Herzfeld's conclusions are regarded as premature by Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen in der keilschriftlichen Überlieferung*, 117.
[58] See e. g. Christensen, *Die Iranier*, 209 foll., Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, 330 foll.
[59] See e. g. A. Götze, *Kleinasien: Handbuch der Altertumwissenschaft*, III. Abt. I. Teil. III. Bd. 3. Abschn. 1. Lief., München 1933, 59, where fuller bibliography is given.
[60] See e. g. Christensen, *Die Iranier*, 210; Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, 332. — Herzfeld himself felt that he was 'anticipating' when applying the names 'Old Indian' and 'Indo-Iranian' to the Hurri Aryans: see *Archaeological History of Iran* 9.
[61] The closest approximation to this view is Oldenberg's conception in *Die Religion des Veda*³⁻⁴, Stuttgart-Berlin 1923, 24 foll.

the reconstruction of forms pretending to be of universal validity, equally applicable to all Iranian languages, is a hopeless task; therefore, in the course of this essay, phonemic reconstruction will be employed only in the sense outlined above; conjectural Old Iranian or Proto-Iranian forms will mean only forms that may be supposed to have existed in the Old Iranian or Proto-Iranian stage of a particular language, or, in general, forms that may have existed in any Old Iranian or Proto-Iranian language.

Thus, in investigating the language of the Iranian tribes in South Russia, as well as their relation to Ossetian, one must not be influenced by the presuppositions of the family-tree theory. Actually, we have to point out that these languages lend important support in two respects to the criticism of attempts at reconstructing the 'Proto-Iranian language'. First, there is Bartholomae's suggestion that the initial group of phonemes si- in Proto-Iranian lost the element i through an intermediate grade $\check{s}$-, and was ultimately reduced to the phoneme s-; e. g. Avestan $sa\bar{e}n\bar{o} \sim$ Old Indian $\acute{s}yenas$, Avestan $s\bar{u}mahe$ 'des schwarzen' $\sim$ Old Indian $\acute{s}y\bar{a}mas$, Ossetian $sau \sim$ Old Indian $\acute{s}y\bar{a}vas$[62]. Since the formulation of Bartholomae's theory, the Middle Iranian linguistic material at our disposal has been considerably enriched and partly supports Bartholomae's point of view. Thus e. g. in Sogdian we find the form $\check{s}'w$ 'schwarz' which seems to justify the intermediate grade $\check{s}$- conjectured by Bartholomae. Of course, even in this case, the utmost one is ready to admit is that the first part of the supposed process si- $> \check{s}$- $> s$- was accomplished in Proto-Iranian, while the second part was a development in individual languages. But the Iranian names in the inscriptions of South Russia have established it beyond doubt that Bartholomae's suggestion is untenable even in this form. Among these names we find the following forms: Σεαύαγος Panticapaeum, Σιάουος Olbia, Σιαυάκος Tanais[63]. These names which date from the second century A. D. reflect the forms $sy\bar{a}v$, $sy\bar{a}vay$, $sy\bar{a}vak$[64]. This makes it clear that the language of some of the Iranian tribes in South Russia retained the initial group of phonemes si- until late historical times; actually, even in the late Middle Ages, the word $sy\bar{a}v$ was taken over from Ossetian in the form $\check{s}au$ by the Balkars[65]. Thus, these Iranian linguistic data from South Russia show clearly, together with Avestan $sy\bar{a}va$- and Modern Persian $siy\bar{a}h$, that even the first part of the phonemic change si- $> \check{s}$- $> s$- cannot be regarded as going back to Proto-Iranian times.

Another important point in Bartholomae's Proto-Iranian reconstruction was the thesis that Aryan palatal $\acute{k}$- developed into $\check{s}$- before i, and that this group of phonemes $\check{s}i$- was simplified to $\check{s}$-; see e. g. Avestan $\acute{s}ava^it\bar{e} \sim$

---

[62] *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I 1, 37.
[63] See Vasmer, *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, 51 foll.
[64] See also Schaeder, *Iranica*, Berlin 1934, 51.
[65] See Miller, *Die Sprache der Osseten*, 4. Cp. also Georgian $\check{s}av$-i < Ossetian *$\check{s}au$.

~ Old Indian c̦avati, Avestan š́ā ~ Modern Persian š́ād, etc[66]. The Sogdian data do not contradict this conjecture; see e. g. šw- 'gehen'. In Ossetian, however, there is a very interesting correspondence to the Proto-Iranian conjectural initial group of phonemes š́i-: Avestan savaᵗē ~ Ossetian cäyən, Avestan sāᵗti- ~ Ossetian äncad. Thus in Ossetian we find c- instead of Proto-Iranian š́i-, or, more precisely, in western and eastern Ossetian we find c-, while in the Javian dialect of Southern Ossetian, we find č̓- or š́-[67]. According to Abaev's suggestion, however, it is not the Old Iranian palatal affricate that has been preserved in the phoneme č̓- of the Javian dialect (actually, such a conjecture was not put forward, as even in Bartholomae's view the Aryan ḱ- had developed, already in Proto-Iranian, into š́- if followed by i), but the development of this phoneme is a secondary phenomenon[68]. We will disregard, for the time being, the first part of this suggestion, viz. the question of the phoneme corresponding in Old or Proto-Iranian to present Javian č̓-, and will discuss the second part. There are several serious objections to regarding the phoneme č̓-, in the Javian dialect, as a secondary phenomenon. First of all, Abaev himself points out that, according to Yalguzidze's data, deriving from 1802, the phoneme č̓- was still extant at that time in the Javian dialect, though to-day it has already been replaced by the palatal spirant š́-[69]. If were to accept Abaev's theory of the Javian č̓- being a secondary phenomenon, we would have to regard the palatal spirant š́- as its predecessor, a phoneme which is actually found in most Iranian languages. In this case, however, phonemic development would run along the line š́- > č̓- > š́- which does not seem probable at all. Moreover, one must not examine the Javian dialect by itself, in complete isolation. According to Yalguzidze's data, around 1800 the phoneme č̓- was still pronounced in Javian, instead of the c- in the western and northern dialects. There is no doubt, however, that in the latter dialects, too, the phoneme c- had developed from an earlier č̓-. This is shown by the fact that in the place-names of the territory once inhabited by Ossetes, present Western and Eastern Ossetian c- is represented by č̓-; see e. g. šauč̓ik = Ossetian sau-äfcäg 'Schwarzer Pass'[70]. According to Munkácsi's notes, this latter word has the following phonemic values in the various Ossetian dialects: Eastern Ossetian äfcäg, Southern Ossetian əfš́äg, əfš́äk, Western Ossetian afcäk 'zur Sommerweide geeignete bergige Gegend'[71]. Since, according to the testimony of place-names, the Western and Eastern Ossetian c- goes back to an earlier č̓-, and since in Southern Ossetian they still pronounced č̓-,

[66] *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I 1, 7, 38; Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, Heidelberg 1909, 45.
[67] With regard to South Ossetian see Абаев, О языке южных осетин, 89.
[68] О языке южных осетин, 97.
[69] О языке южных осетин, 89.
[70] See Миллер, Осетинские э юды. III, 8, *Die Sprache der Osseten*, 5.
[71] *KSz* XX (1923—1927), 63.

instead of the present š, it is clear that the Javian č cannot be secondary, unless the phoneme č, which had originally existed in the phonemic system of Ossetian, was a secondary development in the rest of the Ossetian dialects, too, i. e. in the whole of the Ossetian linguistic territory. But such a supposition lacks any foundation, because in Ossetian the palatal spirant š-, whether old or of secondary origin, has been equally replaced by the dental spirant s-. Consequently, if the predecessor of the present Eastern and Western Ossetian c- ~ Javian č- > š- had been š- or ši- (whether in Proto- or Old Iranian, or at any other period) we would find to-day the phoneme s- in its place. Thus we have to regard it as certain that the predecessor of present Ossetian c- ~ č- > š- was č- both in Old Iranian and in Proto-Iranian. This fact has a double consequence for the reconstruction of Proto-Iranian. First, it is impossible to prove that the group of phonemes ši- has already developed in Proto-Iranian into š-. Secondly, the thesis that the Aryan palatal ǩ-, if followed by i, developed into š-, in Proto-Iranian, is also refuted. Ossetian offers clear testimony to the effect that the Aryan palatal ǩ might develop into č- in some Proto-Iranian languages, even if followed by i. Thus we have proved, from yet another angle, the impossibility of assuming the existence of the 'Proto-Iranian language'.

III

THE SARMATIAN DIALECTS OF SOUTH RUSSIA

Thus, in examining the Iranian names preserved in the Greek inscriptions of South Russia, we have to disregard the presuppositions of the family-tree theory when attempting to clear up the question as to whether these names really reflect a homogeneous language, and whether this language may really be regarded as the predecessor of Ossetian. The question is, what criteria have we to employ in attempting to solve this problem. Miller's proofs, as we have seen above, are partly of phonemic, partly of morphological character. As to the two morphological proofs, i. e. the presence of the suffix -*äg* and -*gin* in the names of the inscriptions, undue importance need not be attached to them. Miller himself has pointed out that the suffix -*äg* is found also in Persian, in Baluchi, and in Afghan.[72] One may add that it has since been discovered in Sogdian, too; cp. e. g. *šm'r'k* 'qui a des scrupules, qui hésite', from the verb *šm'r-*; *np'yš'k* 'qui écrit' from the verb *np'yš-*, etc.[73] The same applies also to the suffix -*gin*, equivalents of which have been found by Benveniste in Persian and Sogdian.[74] Thus these morphological elements cannot be utilized to prove the existence of direct genealogical connections between the language of the Iranian tribes in South Russia and Ossetian. In order to clarify the relation between the Iranian names in the Pontic Greek inscriptions and Ossetian, we shall have to rely on phonemic criteria. This implies, no doubt, a certain degree of one-sidedness, but this one-sidedness is the direct consequence of the linguistic material at our disposal. Moreover, if we have to count with the existence of several dialects among the Iranian tribes of South Russia, these differences may be best determined on the basis of phonemic criteria. The differences might become even sharper if we were able to define

[72] *Die Sprache der Osseten, 89.*
[73] See Benveniste. *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, **II, 55.**
[74] *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, **II. 97.**

the phonemic system of the languages or dialects used by the various Iranian tribes of South Russia; but the one-sided linguistic material, preserved only in Greek transcription, does not make this feasible. Hence in the rest of this issay we shall have to limit ourselves to the demonstration and systematization of phonemic differences.[75]

If we examine the Iranian names preserved in Greek inscriptions as well as the Sarmation names figuring in the works of classical antiquity, we shall find that names dating from roughly the same period show different developments for certain Old Iranian phonemes or groups of phonemes. This fact is of outstanding importance, since the most obvious explanation of the phenomenon is that names, showing different lines of phonemic development but dating from the same period, derive from different dialects. This, in turn, leads us to the conclusion that the language of the Iranian (Sarmatian) tribes in South Russia was not homogeneous, but that these tribes spoke dialects or languages more or less different from one another. These languages and dialects were, of course, probably more closely connected among themselves than with any other Iranian language. The most characteristic cases of this type are the following:

1.

The Old Iranian initial group of phonemes *ar-y- has four different developments: 1. ar-(y)-, 2. al-, 3. ir-, 4. il-.

Old Iranian *ar-y- > ar-(y)-.

Arii 'name of a tribe in South Russia' in Epiphanius (4th cent. A. D.), De lapide ligyrio V. IV, p. 190 Dind. (Латышев, Известия древних писателей, I, 712): < Old Iranian *arya- ~ Avestan airya- (Vasmer, *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, 33).

Arraei Sarmatae, quos *Areatas* vocant: Pliny, Nat. Hist. IV 41 (1st c. A. D.). Thus Pliny gives two names for this Sarmatian tribe living south of the Danube. In the ending of the second name we recognize the plural suffix -t, -tä, found also in Ossetian, Sogdian, and Yagnobi. The remaining first part of the name *(Area-)* may be compared again with the Old Iranian name *arya-. The difference that appears in the second syllable of the two forms

---

[75] On the classification of dialects see Gy. Laziczius, *A magyar nyelvjárások*, Budapest 1936, 44 foll. For the criticism of earlier methods see Шор-Чемоданов, Введение в языковедение, 228 foll.

(-ea- ∼ *-ya-)* may be explained in two different ways. First, taking into consideration the fact that in the transmission of Pliny's text the names of peoples are to a varying degree, and sometimes hopelessly, corrupt, we may easily suppose that *Area-tas* is a corruption of an earlier form *Aria-tas. This form would correspond precisely to a possible Sarmatian form *arya-ta. The second, more likely possibility is that the spelling *Area-* reflects a form *arẹa-* which is simply a variation of the word *arya-*. There is a parallel among the names preserved in the inscriptions: the name Σιαύακος known from two inscriptions of Tanais, the nearest possible transcription, in Greek letters, of an Iranian form *syāvak* (∼ Avestan *syāva-* 'schwarz') appears in the variation Σεαύατος in an inscription of Panticapaeum (see Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 51 foll., Schaeder, *Iranica*, 51). This latter datum makes it clear that the spelling *Area-* may be also a transcription of the word *arya-* or one of its variations (? *arəya-* or *arẹa-*). If we take into consideration that the form *Areatas* contains an Iranian morphological element (the plural suffix *-t)*, it seems very likely that this name was used by the Sarmatian tribe in question, to describe itself. It is possible that this name is somehow connected with the one discussed above. The most natural assumption would be that this, in its turn, is a Latinized (or, if Pliny took his datum from a Greek source, Grecized) form of the word *arya-*. In this case, however, we must regard it as a corruption of the form *Arii or *Arei. To show that such a distortion might easily occur in the transmission of Pliny's text, it is enough to quote the manuscript variants of the name *Pangaei: pangaei, pangei, paegiae, pegei, peie.*

Ἀριφάρνης ᾽βασιλεὺς τῶν Σιρακῶν᾽ Diod. Sic. XX. 22, 4 < **arya-farnah-* (Vasmer, loc. cit.).

Old Iranian **ar-y-* > *al-* .

Ἀλανοί 'Iranian tribe of Southern Russia' Flav. Joseph. VII 7, 4. The name of the Alans is known from other sources, too; e. g. Chinese sources: *A-lan* (Hou-Han-shu, 118, Wei-lüe, fragm. 22, see Junge, *Saka-Studien*, 77); Latin authors: *Alani* and *Halani ;* Arabic and Persian sources: *al-Lān ;* recently the name has been discovered also in Mingrel, one of the Caucasian languages: *alani-koℱi* 'человек-алан, т. е. сильный, храбрый, молодец' (see Абаев, ИАН СССР ООН 1935, 883). All data in the sources point to the form *alan*. The name *alan* admits of two acceptable interpretations. According to Sköld *(Die ossetischen Lehnwörter im Ungarischen*, 68) it goes back to the plural genitive form *aryānām* of the Old Iranian word *arya- ;* hence, morphologically, it is ultimately identical with the Persian name *Ērān, Īrān*. According to the other interpretation, also, the name *alan* goes back to the Old Iranian word *arya-* 'Arier' (more correctly, perhaps, to *ārya-*, see Tedesco, *ZII* II (1923) 46); not, however, to the genitive plural but to the form *āryăna-* formed

with the suffix -*na*-.[76] From the angle of phonetics, assuming the development
-*ry*- > -*l*-, both interpretations are irreproachable; yet, owing to semantic
considerations, the second explanation must be preferred. The name *Ērān*,
Īrān is the *name of a country* and probably developed from the construction
āryānām χšaϑram > *ērān šahr* 'das Reich der Arier'. All our data, however,
which refer to the name *alan* (with the exception of the Chinese sources,
the testimony of which, in this respect, is by no means decisive) agree in
indicating that this name was the *name of a people*. The word *ărya*- and its
derivation *ăryăna*- were used to denote a tribe or a tribal federation. An enlight-
ening parallel to this use may be found in the tribal names discussed above
(Arii and *Arraei* ∼ *Areatae)* as well as in the name the Eastern Ossetes use
about themselves, viz. the name *ir* 'Ironer (Ostosseten)' which may also be
traced back to the Old Iranian form *ărya*-. The form *ăryăna*- itself is found
in the Avesta: *airyana*- 'arisch', *airyanəm χvarənō, airyanəm vaējō* (Bartho-
lomae, *AirWb.* 198). Recently, the from *ăryăna*- has also been traced in
Sogdian in the construction *ăryănam vaijah:* '*ry'nwyjn* ɔ: *aryān vēžan* (see
Henning, *ZDMG* XC [1936], 5). Since, however, the above word does not
occur otherwise in Sogdian, we may possibly have to do with a borrowing
from Persian in this case. With regard to the origin of the name *alan* it is
very important to know that the word *ărya*-, or rather its suffixed form,
is known also in Saka, in the expression *īrīnā gari* 'Iranian mountains'. This
word *īrīnaa*- < 'Iranian or Aryan' in the Saka language may be either the form
*īra-, a development of Old Iranian *ărya*-, with the suffix -*īnaa* appended
(for the suffix see Saka *raysa* < 'Saft, Essenz' ∼ *raysīnaa*- 'aus rasa bestehend'),
or a direct development of Old Iranian **ăryănaka*- (for the epenthesis see
Saka *ysīḍaa*- < Old Iranian **zaritaka*-; for the development of intermediate
-*yā*- > -*ī*- see Saka *jī*- 'schwinden' ∼ Avestan *jyā*- 'debilitare, minuere',
Saka *jsınū*- 'Lebezeit' < Old Iranian **jyānā*-, cp. Avestan *jyātav*- 'Leben'
etc.). We have to point out, however, that none of these data testifying to
the existence of the word *ăryăna*- are used to denote the name of a people, or
the name of a definite tribe. For this reason, from the angle of deriving the
word *alan* as the name of a people from the form **ăryăna*-, decisive importance
attaches to the fact that in Ossetian we actually find the word *ărya*-, with
the suffix -*na*- appended, used to denote an ethnical unit: *iron* 'Ironer
(Ost-Ossete), ost-ossetisch' < Old Iranian **ăryăna*-.

The derivation of the name *alan* from the form **ăryăna*- was earlier
regarded with some scepticism by Vasmer;[77] later, however, he came to accept
this interpretation[78]. In the eyes of those advocating the identity of Alans

---

[76] According to Andreas, quoted by Gauthiot, *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*,
I, III.; Jacobsohn, *Arier und Ugrofinnen*, 234.
[77] *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, 31.
[78] *RLV* XII, 242.

and Ossetes, the most surprising feature in this derivation of the name *alan* from the form *ā̆ryā̆na-*, was the need to suppose the presence of the phonetic change *-rᵧ- > -l-*, a change that cannot be shown to have taken place in Ossetian. In Ossetian the Old Iranian initial group of phonemes **ā̆ry-* does not develop into *al-*, as one would expect on the basis of the name *alan* and the supposed identity of Alans and Ossetes: it develops into *ir-* or *īr-* (cp. Eastern Ossetian *ir* 'Ironer (Ostosseten)', Western Ossetian *īrä* 'осетинская порода, осет. народ' see Munkácsi, *KSz* XXI (1932), 86, < Old Iranian **ā̆rya-* ; Eastern Ossetian *iron* 'Ironer (Ost-Ossete), ost-ossetisch' < Old Iranian **ā̆ryā̆na-*[79]). Hence the name Ἀλανοί can in no wise be regarded as Ossetian because its phonemic form cannot be brought into line with the phonemic correspondences between Old Iranian and Ossetian. Nor does the situation change if we reject the view of Andreas discussed above, and suppose that the name Ἀλανοί goes back only indirectly to **arya-na-*[80], because, even assuming this, we cannot explain the presence of the initial *a-* from Ossetian. The fact that the name *Alan* cannot be interpreted from Ossetian has a decisive importance on our judgment about the relations of Alans and Ossetes. It would be an obvious assumption, of course, that the name *Alan* was not applied by the Alans-Ossetes to themselves. This possibility, to which there can be no objection in principle, is, however, excluded by the fact that the change *-ry- > -l-* may be demonstrated also in the case of another name, precisely on the linguistic territory of the Alans (see the following item).

Ἀλέξαρθος Phanagoria, Latyshev, *IOSPE* II, 363 (307 A. D.): Vasmer, in *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, 31 explains this form as deriving from Old Iranian **arya-χšaϑra-* through dissimilation, in *RLV* XII 244 as deriving from the same form, through popular etymology, under the influence of Ἀλέξανδρος. But the names of the inscriptions do not furnish any examples for such dissimilation (cp. Ἀριαράϑης, Ἀριαράμνης Vasmer, *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, 33); as to connecting this word with the Greek name Ἀλέξανδρος, by way of popular etymology, this could have occurred only after the change *ary- > al-* had taken place: hence it seems certain that, as in the case of the people's name Ἀλανοί, here, too, we have to do with the change *ary- > al-*, having the force of a phonetic law. Old Iranian **arya-χšaϑra-* developed into **ala-χsarϑ* and this form may have turned, being connected in popular etymology with the Greek word ἀλέξω or Ἀλέξανδρος into Ἀλέξαρθος. Another possibility is that the form Ἀλέξαρθος does not owe anything to Greek popular etymology but simply reflects a form **aläχsarϑ*. One is justified in supposing the existence of such a form, on the analogy

[79] Hübschmann, *Etymologie und Lautlehre der ossetischen Sprache*, 41.
[80] Vasmer, *loc. cit.*

3

of parallel form like Καινάξαρθος < Old Iranian *kainaχšaϑra- and Κηνέξαρθος ɔ: kēnäχsarϑ.

Μάλδαγος Phanagoria, Latyshev, *IOSPE* II, 389. If this, in fact, is the correct form of the name (it does not seem quite certain), then the word reflects an Iranian form *malday* which, in turn, may have developed from an Old Iranian form *maryataka-*, under the operation of the change -*ry*- > -*l*-. The element *marya-* in this word may be regarded as the exact equivalent of the Old Indian word *marya-* 'Jüngling, flotter junger Mann', while the second part -*taka-* may stand for a group of suffixes. This latter can probably be divided into the elements -(*a*)*t-a-ka*-. With regard to the suffix -*at*-, -*t*-, cp. Avestan *brvat-* 'Augenbraue' ∼ Old Indian *bhrū* 'Augenbraue' and Avestan *hū-zāmit-* 'leicht gebärend' ∼ Avestan *hu-zāmay-* 'leichte Geburt' (H. Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, 152); as to the juxtaposition of the suffixes -*t*- and -*t-a*-, cp. Old Indian *harit-* 'falb' ∼ *harita-* 'gelb, grün', from the word *haray-* 'gelb, falb', and the corresponding juxtaposition of the suffixes -*it*- and -*ita-* in Old Iranian, e. g. Avestan *masit-* 'ausgedehnt, gross' ∼ *masita-* 'gross, umfangreich', from the word *mas-* 'lang, ausgedehnt, gross'. As to the suffix -*ka*-, this is one of the most frequent elements of word-formation in the Iranian languages, occurring very often also in combination with numerous other suffixes. It appears e. g. in Sogdian in the following groups of suffixes: -(*'*)*n'k* < *-(*a*)-*na-ka*-, -*'nyk* < *-anayaka-*, -*'yχk* < *-aiχaka-*, -*'yk* < *-ayaka-*, -*'yn'k* < *-ainaka-*, etc. (see Benveniste, *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, II, 95 foll.). The situation is precisely the same in the Saka language. Here, too, the suffix -*ka*- is very frequent („sehr verbreitet und bis in die Spätzeit lebendig" — says Konow in his *Khotansakische Grammatik*, 67), and is used also in combination with several other suffixes; see e. g. -*naa*- < *-naka-*, -*laka-*, -*līka-*, etc. (Konow, op. cit., 68, 70). Traces of the group of suffixes -*taka-* are found, too, in one or two Ossetian words. Thus, the word *säftäg* 'Klaue, Huf' which is connected with the Avestan word *safa-* 'Huf' (see Miller, *Die Sprache der Osseten*, 94), goes back undoubtedly to an Old Iranian form *safa-taka-* and contains the compound suffix -*taka-* supposed to be present in the name *Malday* < *Maryataka-*. Thus the derivation of the name Μάλδαγος from the Old Iranian form *maryataka-* becomes very probable, and this supplies another example of the phonetic change -*ry*- > -*l*-.

Old Iranian *ar-y- > ir-.

Ἡρακᾶς ἀρχιερμηνεὺς Ἀλανῶν, Panticapaeum (193—208 A. D.). The name certainly has to be read as *irak-* because, on inscriptions dating from the same period, we often find η instead of ι: < Old Iranian *arya-ka-* (Vasmer, *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, 39 foll., *Iranisches aus Südrussland*, 368).

῎Ιρβις Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 195 (188 A. D.). This name was regarded by Miller as a compound of the Ossetian words *ir* and *vidag* (*ir* 'Ironer (Ostosseten)' < **ărya-*; *vidag*, Munkácsi: *KSz* XXI (1932), 83: *u̯idag, u̯i^edagä* 'Wurzel', the approximate sense of the whole name being 'von arischer Wurzel'); Vasmer was right, however, in pointing out that the earlier meaning of the word *vidag* was probably 'Weide' (cp. e. g. Avestan *vaētay-* 'Weide, Weidengerte', and that with this meaning the name does not give any acceptable sense (Vasmer, *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, 41). With regard to 'Ιρ-, the first element in the name, Miller's interpretation may be accepted in any case. As to the second element -βις (stem: βιδ-), there are two possible explanations: 1. ~ Avestan *vaēdah-* 'Besitz', 2. ~ Avestan *vaēday-* 'Gestalt, Form'. In the first case the Old Iranian form of the name would be **ărya-vaiδah-*, meaning 'der den Besitz der Arier ergriffen hat', or 'der einem Arier gebührenden Besitz hat'; in the second case, we may assume the existence of an Old Iranian form **ărya-vaiδay-*, meaning 'von arischer Gestalt'. An exact semantic parallel to this second compound is found in the name of the Scythian king 'Αριαπείθης which goes back to an Old Iranian form **ărya-paisa-* and has also the meaning 'von arischer Gestalt' (see Vasmer, *op. cit.* 12). Whichever interpretation we accept, the name ῎Ιρβις shows the development of the initial group of phonemes *ary-* into *ir-*.

῎Ιργανος Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 196 (beginning of third c A. D.). This name, hitherto unexplained, may be traced back to an Old Iranian form **ăryakāna-*, i. e. the word *ărya-* supplied with the well-known patronymic suffix *-(a)kāna* > *-(a)g·n-* (see e. g. Armenian *Boyekan* < Middle Persian *Bōi* + *ak·in* Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*. I, Leipzig 1895, 33. Middle Persian *'rdw'ng'n* ɔ: *ardawānagān* 'Ardawanian, deriving from Ardawān, etc.). Thus the meaning of the name *īryān* may have been 'deriving from Aryan' or 'deriving from *Ir*' (= an ancestor bearing the name of *īr* < *ărya-*). The assumption of the latter meaning is obvious, on the basis of names like 'Ηρακᾱς < *īrak*, Φορήρανος < *furīran*, etc.

'Ιράμβουστος Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 195 (188 A. D.): the first element in the name goes back to Old Iranian **ăryana-* or **ărya-* (cp. ῎Αμβουστος Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 31).

'Ιραύαδις Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 194 (225 A. D.): 'Ιρ- < *ărya-* (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 41, *Iranisches aus Südrussland*, 368).

Φορήρανος Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 386 (225 and 212—229 A. D.) < Old Iranian **paru-ăryana-* 'viele Arier beherrschend' (Vasmer, *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, 55, *RLV* XII, 245).

Old Iranian *ar-y- > il-.

῎Ηλμανος Olbia, Vasmer, *Die Iranier in Südrussland*, 39. This name, hitherto unexp'ained, probably goes back, assuming the development *ar-y- > il-*, to an Old Iranian form *aryaman-* which may be compared with Avestan *airyaman-* 'Genosse' ~ Old Indian *aryaman-* 1. 'Genosse', 2. 'Name eines *Āditya*' (see on this point Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 198 foll., Benveniste: *JA* CCXXI (1932), 124 foll.) as well as with Middle Persian *ērmān* and Modern Persian *īrmān* 'Gast' (with regard to the latter see Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, 32 foll. and Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, Strassburg 1895, 20 foll.).

Names like ᾿Ιράμβουστος, ᾿Ηρακᾶς, etc. indicate that we have to do here with an *i*-epenthesis; so the line of development is *ir- < *air- < *ary-*. The other two groups of names show, however, that this development was not general, but was restricted to a definite dialect or group of dialects. Thus one cannot derive, for instance, the element ᾿Αλε- in the name ᾿Αλέξαρθος from the Iranian form *airya-*, as Vasmer did, (*RLV* XII, 244), because the regular development of this form is *ir-* or *il-*. This would be all the less justified as the *i-* and *u-*epenthesis can be shown to have existed, among the Old Iranian languages, only in the Avesta[81], and even here it is probably due only to the carelessness of Persian and Parthian scribes[82]. There can be no question of an *i-* or *u-* epenthesis common to all Iranian languages or going back to Proto-Iranian. On the other hand, the testimony of these names indicates that epenthesis must have been a fairly early phenomenon in some of the dialects and the existence of such dialects must, in fact, be assumed. Accordingly, one may actually suppose that the phenomenon did, in fact, exist in the language of the Avesta, in the first centuries A. D., as Reichelt *(loc. cit.)* assumes on other grounds. In any case, the dialect which supplies us with these names is connected, by means of this phenomenon, with those Northern and Eastern Iranian dialects in which the *i*-epenthesis can be shown to have existed: Saka *ysīḍaa- < *zaritaka-*, Afghan *šil* ~ Avestan *visaiti*, Ossetian *innä < *anya-*, Shigh. *nir < *narya-*[83].

2.

The Old Iranian diphthong *au* developed along two lines: 1. *au* (ao), 2. *ō* (ω).

---

[81] Bartolomae, *Grd. d. i. Ph.* I, 176.

[82] Reichelt, *Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft*, 278. This view is represented by Bartholomae and his followers. A fundamentally different approach is seen in Andreas and his school, recently also in Bailey's theory *(Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, Oxford 1943, 1 7 foll.) Neither theory does however, envisage epenthesis in Common or Proto-Iranian. For a recent view on the whole subject see Altheim, *Literatur und Gesellschaft im ausgehenden Altertum*, II, 189 foll.

[83] With regard to these dialects see Reichelt, *loc. cit.* and *Grdr. d. idg. Sprach- und Altertumskunde*, II, 4², 33.

Old Iranian *$au > au$.

''Αορσοι 'Sarmatian tribe'. This name has been interpreted in different ways. Jacobsohn thought that the word *āryana-* was somehow concealed behind it; later, however, he gave up this conjecture (*Arier und Ugrofinnen*, 234, 257). Miller (ЖМНП 1886 October 235 — article inaccessible to me) and Tomaschek (*SWAW* CXVII [1888], 37, *PW-RE* I, 2660) connected the name ''Αορσοι with Avestan *auruša-* 'weiss', Ossetian *ors, urs* 'weiss'; this interpretation was later accepted by Vasmer (*Die Iranier in Südrussland*, 32) and Altheim, too (*WaG* II [1936], 319). Against this interpretation Marquart has tried to explain the name in a new way. The starting point of his new interpretation is the existence of historical contacts between Alans and Aorsi. According to the testimony of Chinese sources, *Yen-ts'ai* whom Marquart, following Gutschmid and Hirth, identifies with the ''Αορσοι, changed his name to *A-lan*. Since, however, Greek and Latin sources inform us that in Eastern Europe the name Aorsi was replaced by Alan, Marquart comes to the conclusion that the name ''Αορσοι is but the earlier name of the Alans. He now attempts to establish the meaning of the name Alan, calling to aid the series of epithets applied to an Armenian nobleman's family in Faustus Byz. (4, 2): *alanazgik' alanadrawšk' arcowēnšank' waržnakanišk'*. The last of these four epithets, in Marquart's view, goes back to an adjective **waržnak* which may be a borrowing of a Middle Persian form **waržϵnak* or **waržēnak* (derived from Middle Persian *warž*, Modern Persian *warj* 'Grösse, Würde'): hence the meaning of the word is 'würdig'. The expression *arcowēnšank* is purely Armenian, with the meaning 'Adlerstandarten führend'. The second element in the first epithet is the Armenian word *azg* 'Geschlecht, Nation', hence the compound probably means 'aus alanischem Geschlecht stammend'. Finally, the second element in the second epithet is the Armenian word *drawš* (< Iranian *drafš*) 'Banner', so that the meaning of the compound is 'alanische Banner führend'. Since thus all the epithets express worth and dignity and are closely related in meaning, Marquart was justified in concluding that the word *alan*, i. e. the initial element in the first two epithets must mean 'siegreich, ruhmvoll, würdig'. Hence, according to him, „der Volksname *Alanen* wird demrach ein Ehrename sein, den sich das Volk selbst beilegte und der eine Gruppe verschiedennamiger iranischer Nomadenstämme der kaspisch-pontischen Steppen zu einer politischen Einheit zusammenfasste". Regarding the word ''Αορσοι as the former name of the Alans, Marquart then proceeds to look for a similar meaning behind it. For the purposes of interpretation he distingu'shes, first of all, two forms of the name: 1. *Arsoae* (Tab. Peut. IX 5, X 1), **Arzoae* (*Abzoae:* Pliny, Nat. Hist. 6, 38) — 2. ''Αορσοι (Strabo, Ptolemy), *Aorsi* (Pliny Nat. Hist. 4, 80) Of these, Marquart derives

the form *Arsoae, Arzoae* from the Iranian form **arž-awa-* (cp. Modern Persian
arj 'Wert', Avestan *arəjah-*. Middle Persian *arj*, etc.); as to the form "Αορσοι,
Aorsi, he interprets it ɪ s the Iranian compound **hu-arž-* (with the appro-
ximate meaning 'guten Wert habend'?). Thus Marquart concludes that „der
Name Aorser, ebenso wie die Alanen, eine ehrenvolle Sebstbezeichnung ist,
welche sich das Volk bezw. der führende Stamm wahrscheinlich bei der
Begründung einer grösseren politischen Einheit beilegte" (*Untersuchungen
zur Geschichte von Eran*, II, 82—86.)

Marquart's explanation is, both historically and linguistically, so well-
grounded that one cannot simply pass it by. The first question in this con-
nection is whether we really have to do with two forms of the name. In support
of his conjecture, Marquart refers to the parallel forms *Su-gambri ∼ Gambrivii*
and *Wisi-gothae ∼ Gutones*. But these parallels only demonstrate, in a general
way, the possibility of a tribe or a people having two names, differing only
in an element implying comparison. The question whether this applies also
to the name "Αορσοι can be decided only after a careful investigation of the
data containing the name. An examination of the ancient sources referring
to the name "Αορσοι yields the following result: of the two forms, separated
by Marquart, it is only the "Αορσοι, *Aorsi* that can be substantiated by sound
textual tradition. Textual tradition supports unanimously the form "Αορσοι
in Strabo and Ptolemy, and nearly unanimously the form · *Aorsi* in Pliny
(Nat. Hist. 4, 80). In the case of Tacitus (Ann. XII 15, 16 and 19), the *MSS*
give the forms *adorsorum, adorsi*, and *aduorsorum*. These forms are obviously
due to the circumstance that the scribes wanted to impart some meaning
to a name unintelligible to them. But these particular forms of 'rationalization'
may all be traced back to the form *Aorsi*, not to *Arsoae*. Thus the data in
Tacitus, too, are organically connected with the form "Αορσοι, *Aorsi*. As to
the other form distinguished by Marquart, we have to point out, first of all,
that the Plinian form *Arzoae* is only Tomaschek's conjecture: the *MSS* give
Abzoae which is probably a corruption — yet there is no material proof
whatever to show that the name *Aorsi* is hiding behind it. Hence this conjecture
may be left out of account. But if this is so, the forms *Arsoae* in the Tabula
Peut., by themselves, do not possess any special significance. The Tabula
is full of corrupt forms, so that it would be contrary to all rules of scientific
methods if one were to regard the form *Arsoae* as authentic as the forms
"Αορσοι, *Aorsi* found in Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny, and Tacitus. Moreover,
judging from the character of textual corruption due to the copying of *MSS*,
one may demonstrate almost palpably the corrupt nature of the form *Arsoae*
as well as the causes of its origin. The deviation in the endings of the two
forms *Arsoae* and *Aorsi* may be easily explained by the supposition that,
parallel with the Latinized form *Aorsi* of the name "Αορσοι, the geographical
literature of the Romans also used the form *Aorsoe*, a transcription of the

Greek name. There are plenty of examples in Roman authors for such parallel usage in names taken over from Greek geographical literature. Thus, e. g., the name Νευροί appears in Mela (II, 1) as *Neuri*, while in Pliny we find the form *Neuroe* (Nat. Hist. 4, 88); conversely, the name Ἀμαξόβιοι is transcribed by Mela (II, 1) as *Hamaxobioe*, by Pliny (Nat. Hist. 4, 80) as *Hamaxobii*; similarly, the name Ἀριμασποί occurs in Mela (II, 1) as *Arimaspoe*, while in Pliny (Nat. Hist. 4, 88) we find *Arimaspi*. It may be observed that such un-Latinized names, transcribed from Greek, often have their ending -*oe* distorted, or rather Latinized, to -*oae* in the course of *MS* transmission. Thus, e. g., in some *MSS* of Pliny the name *Enoecadioe* (Nat. Hist. 4, 83) appears as *enocadloae*, *enoae.adioae*. In the latter form both Greek diphthongs -*oe*-have been 'corrected' to -*oae*- by the copyist. Similarly, some *MSS* of Pliny give the form *neuroae* for the name *Neuroe* (Nat. Hist. 4, 88). Thus the ending of the form *Arsoae* in the Tabula Peut. may be easily explained as the result of a secondary Latinization of the name *Aorsoe*. As to the deviation in the initial sounds of the word *(Aor-* ∽ *Ar-)*, the omission of one of two juxtaposed vowels is a frequent phenomenon in the transmission of *MSS*. Thus the name of the people given by Mela as *Choamani* is found in several of Pliny's *MSS* as *comani* (Nat. Hist. 6, 48). Another example from the transmission of Pliny's text is the distortion of the word *Bactros* (Nat. Hist. 6, 47), first, to *baotros*, then its further corruption to *botros*. On the basis of these examples we are justified in taking it practically for granted that the form found in the Tabula Peut. is a distorted form of the Latin transcription of the name Ἀορσοι. The process of its origin may be outlined as follows: **Aorsoe* > **Aorsoae* > *Arsoae*.

Thus the thesis which forms the base of Marquart's edifice of explanations — viz. the existence of two forms for the name of the Aorsi — has proved to be unacceptable. The other fundamental question which has to be posed in connection with Marquart's theory, is whether the name Ἀορσοι may, in fact, represent the transcription of an Iranian form **hu-arš-*. Since the Greek letter *o* stood for a definitely close *o*-sound (= ọ), it is most probable that the name Ἀορσοι represented a foreign form **aurs*. Such a form is, of course, very far from Marquart's **hu-arž-*, the Greek transcription of which would be Ὀαρζοι or Χόαρζοι. Marquart himself was aware of the grave difficulties which arise in this connection: hence he gave several parallels to illustrate the possibility of transcribing as Ἀορσοι the conjectural form **hu-arž-*. His examples are as follows:

Ἀορνος < Iranian **hu-warna-*, 'wohlbewehrt', from the stem *war-* 'wehren'.

Ἀτοσσα = Avestan *hutaosā-* 'EN. der Schwester und Gemahlin *Vištāspas'*

Ἀμύρτιοι, Ἀμόρτης, Lycian *Humrkkā* = Old Persian *haumavarka-*.

Finally, Marquart quotes several names beginning with Αὐτο-, in which the first element represents Old Persian *wāta-; e. g. Αὐτοφραδάτης = Old Persian wātafraẟāta-.

But these examples are either not suitable parallels to the transcription of Iranian *hu-arž- as Greek Ἄορσοι or have to be interpreted in a way different from Marquart's.

The name Ἄορνος is certainly not the transcription of an Old Iranian form *huvarna-: it may either stand for *ᵊurn, a conjectural development of this form; or it may be connected (as Tomaschek suggested in PW-RE I, 2659) with a quite different word, viz. Old Iranian āvarana- 'Schutzwehr', the existence of which may be conjectured on the basis of Old Indian āvaraṇa- 'verhüllend; Verhüllung, Hülle, Decke, Gewand'; in this case the Greek form would transcribe the development *āurn.

The name Ἄτοσσα may also represent the transcription of *ᵊtōsā-, a later development from Old Iranian *hutausā-.

Greek Ἀμύργιοι, Ἀμόργης and Lycian Humrkka reflect different developments of Old Iranian *haumavarka-: 1. Ἀμύργιοι, Ἀμόργης < *ᵊmurgi, *ᵊmurg < *haumavarkah; 2. Humrkkā < *hūmūrga < *haumavarkah.

From the angle of phonemics, the correspondence Αὐτοφραδάτης ∼ Vātafraẟāta- implies quite a different problem from that represented by Ἄορσοι ∼ *hu-arž-. This is a case of the Greeks replacing a group of sounds (va-, u̯a-) absent from the phonemic system of their language, by another phoneme or group of phonemes (αυ-). Similar cases are very frequent in the Greek transcription of Iranian names (see e. g. Harmatta, Ant. Hung. II, 35).

We may thus establish that the Greek form of the name Ἄορσοι cannot represent the transcription of an Iranian form *hu-arz-. The latter may have developed into *hvarž, *χvarz, *varz, *χarz, *χaz: but all these are far from the foreign form *aurs, the existence of which may be conjectured on the basis of the spelling Ἄορσοι. Thus the form *aurs hiding behind the name can hardly be anything else but an intermediate stage in the following development: Old Iranian *aruša- > *aurusa- > Ossetian ors, ūrs. We may also remark that the name Ἄορσοι shows u-epenthesis, a phenomenon which connects it with names like Ἡρακᾶς, etc. showing i-epenthesis.

Γάος Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 79 (225 A. D.). According to Vasmer, the word may be an abbreviated form of a person's name like Avestan gaodāyah- 'das Rind hegend und pflegend' or gavayan- 'der Rinder hat' (see op. cit. 36, RLV XII, 244) Since the group of phonemes -ava- is usually transcribed in the names of the inscriptions as -αυ- or as -αυα-, -αυο- (e. g. Φορίαυος: -ιαυο- ∼ Avestan yava- 'Getreide', Vasmer, Die Iranier in Südrussland. 55; G. Σάυατος ∼ Avestan syāva- 'schwarz', Vasmer, op. cit., 51, etc.), probably only the first possibility has to be taken into account.

Old Iranian *au > ō.

ʿΡωξάνη Panticapaeum, Latyshev, *IOSPE* II, 107 ∼ Avestan *raoxšna-* ²licht, glänzend' (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 49).

Γώσακος Tanaʾs, Книпович, Танаис No. 85 (220 A. D). According to Vasmer (*op. cit.*, 37) this word has been obtained by suffixation from the short form of a name derived from *gōš, the equivalent of the Avestan word *gaoša-* 'Ohr'. Besides Vasmerʾs conjecture there is also the possibility that this name has simply to be regarded as an equivalent of Old Persian *gaušaka-* ²Horcher', Parthian *gōšak* (> Armenian *gušak* 'Angeber, Denunziant')⁸⁴.

ʾΙώδας Panticapaeum, Latyshev, *IOSPE* II, 29: the word represents the short form of a name like Avestan *aspāyaoδa-* 'zu Rosse kämpfend' (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 41). A similar name has recently been found in Sogdian: *ywδrzmk-* ɔ: *yōδarazmak-* (see Reichelt, *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums,* II, 56).

3.

The Old Iranian group of phonemes *-sp-* has three different developments: 1. *-sp-*, 2. *-fs-*, 3. *-sf-*.

Old Iranian *-sp- > -sp-.

ʾΑμώσπαδος Olbia, Latyshev, *IOSPE* I, 67 ∼ Avestan *ama-* 'stark' + *spāδa-* 'Heer' (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 32).

ʾΆσπακος Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 85 (220 A. D.). In Vasmerʾs view (*op. cit.*, 34) the word has been obtained by suffixation from the short form of a name formed from *aspa-* (like *aspačanah-, paruaspa-*).

ʾΆσπαρ Procopius, *De bello Vandalico* I 3, 8 < Old Iranian *aspabāra-* ²Reiter' (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 34).

Βαιόρασπος Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 68 (220 A. D.) < Old Iranian *baivaraspa-* '10 000 (viele) Pferde habend' (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 35).

Βανάδασπος 'King of the Jazygians' Dio Cass. 71, 16, 1: < Old Iranian *vanataspa-* 'siegreiche Pferde habend' (Vasmer, *loc. cit.*).

Βόρασπος Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 76 (193 A. D.): ∼ Ossetian *bor* 'gelb', Modern Persian *bōr* 'color ruber' (Vull. I, 274) + *aspa-* (Vasmer *op. cit.*, 36).

Σπαδάγας 'King of the Sanigae' Arrian. *Peripl.* 11, 3.

Σπάδακος Olbia, Latyshev, *IOSPE* I, 84: names formed from the Old Iranian word *spāδa-* 'Heer', analogous to names derived by suffixation from the short forms of Avestan *pouruspāδa-, srutōspāδa-* (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 52 foll.).

⁸⁴ With regard to these see Schaeder, *Iranica,* 5.

Old Iranian *-sp- > -fs-.

Ψευδαρτάκη · λόφος ἐν Σκυθίᾳ μετὰ τὸ λεγόμενον ὄρος ἅγιον Steph. Byz. According to Marquart's very probable conjecture the correct form of the name is *Ψενδαρτάκη, to be explained as a compound of the words *fsänd (∼ Avestan spənta- 'heilig') and ātr- (∼ Avestan ātar- 'Feuer').[85] This view was accepted by Vasmer (op. cit., 57 and Iranisches aus Südrussland, 371 foll.) who would, however, assign the change sp > fs to a period later than the third century A. D. and hence concludes that Stephanus Byzantius must have derived this datum from a later source. This view, however, is by no means probable. The sources used by Stephanus Byzantius are mostly geographical works dating from a period a n t e r i o r to the second century A. D.;[86] hence there is a strong likelihood at the very outset that this particular datum comes from the same sources. Moreover, we can define more closely the origin of this particular datum. The phrase ἅγιον ὄρος cannot be separated from the place-name Ἅγιον concerning which Stephanus supplies the following information: Ἅγιον · τόπος Σκυθίας ἐν ᾧ Ασκληπιὸς ἐτιμᾶτο, ὡς Πολυίστωρ. Hence it seems indubitable that both data derive from Polyhistor[87]. Since, however, Stephanus had no direct access to the work of Alexander Polyhistor[88], it would be an obvious assumption that the mediator, as in many other cases, was Philo of Byblus. But even in the absence of such a fairly precise delimitation, the name Ἀσπαρ which appears in Procopius would still prove that the development of the group of phonemes sp was not homogeneous because the datum supplied by Stephanus could in no case derive from a time later than the fifth century A. D. It does not, in fact, matter very much whether we assign the parallel groups sp∼fs to the third or the fifth century. But since it seems certain that Stephanus Byzantius took the datum *Ψενδαρτάκη from a considerably earlier source, we may assume that, as early as the first century A. D., the Old Iranian group of phonemes sp was replaced in the language of some Iranian tribes of South Russia by fs.

Βωρόψαζος Olbia, Latyshev, IOSPE I, 64: in Miller's view it is the same name as Βόρασπος but it shows a later development of phonemes (sp > fs). Vasmer doubts this (op. cit., 36) since, in his opinion, the phonetic change sp > fs had not yet taken place at the time. But having established the chronological position of the name Ψευδαρτάκη this argument loses its force. Hence the name Βωρόψαζος may safely be regarded as the transcription of the form *borəfsa- 'having a roan horse'. The final element -ζος may probably be compared with the suffix -tca- or -ca- known from Saka (cp. pätajsa- 'kräftig', rrätajsa- 'löcherig', Konow, Khotansakische Grammatik, 68).

[85] Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von 'Eran, II, 88.
[86] Honigmann: RE II, R. III, 2379.
[87] Harmatta, Ant. Hung. II, 32.
[88] Honigmann, op. cit., 2384.

"Αψαχος Tanais, Книпович, Танапс No. 63 (220 and 236 A. D.). This name, too, may be regarded as the transcription of a form *afsaχ ∼ Ossetian äfsä 'Stute'. Thus it corresponds exactly to the name "Ασπακος but it comes from a dialect in which the Old Iranian group of phonemes *sp had developed into fs.

'Αψώγας Olbia, Latyshev, *IOSPE* I, 81. This name probably also hides a form *afsâγ, so that — like the preceding name — it corresponds to Old Iranian *aspaka-. It is worth noting that this name comes from the same district as Βωρόψαζος, viz. from Olbia.

Old Iranian *-sp- > -sf-.

Σφαρόβαις Panticapaeum. In Vasmer's view (*op. cit.*, 53) the word corresponds to the Old Persian name vayaspāra-, with the elements of the compound in the reverse order. The chief difficulty about this interpretation is that the etymology of the Old Persian name has not been satisfactorily explained. Bartholomae (*AirWb.*, 1358) divides it into vayas-pāra- and gives it the meaning 'der der Verfolgung ein Ende macht'. But this interpretation is by no means certain; in fact, one may divide the word also into vaya-spāra-, as Vasmer does. In this case the second element in the compound may be compared with Old Persian *spāra-, Middle Persian spar 'Schild' (see on this point Horn, *Grdr. d. neupers. Etym.*, 155); the first element, however, remains unexplained. The best course seems to be, therefore, to disregard the Old Persian word altogether and to try interpreting the name by itself. There are two possibilities for dividing the word: either as Σφαρο-βαις or as Σφα-ροβαις. In the first case, the element Σφαρο- may be compared with the above-mentioned Old Iranian word *spāra- 'Schild', while the second element βαις ɔ: baya- may be compared with either of the following words: Avestan bay- 'erschrecken' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.*, 927) or bā- 'scheinen' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.*, 952). The compound yields, in either instance, a satisfactory meaning: the sense is either 'one who inspires terror with his shield' or 'one shining with his shield'. On the other hand, if we divide the word into Σφα-ροβαις, the first element may be compared with Avestan spā- 'Gedeihen, Glück' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.*, 1616), while the element -ροβαις ɔ: *raβaγa- may be compared with Avestan rap- 'Unterstützung gewähren — finden' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.*, 1508); the sense, in this case, would be 'one supported by good fortune'. Whichever possibility we accept the initial group of phonemes sf- corresponds in any case to Old Iranian *sp-.

'Ασφώρουγος Olbia, Latyshev, *IOSPE* I, 118. Miller and Justi (*Iranisches Namenbuch*, 47) connect this word with the name "Ασπουργος which, in its turn, is interpreted by Justi as corresponding to the Armenian name Aspūrak, while Miller and Tomaschek (*RE* II, 1738 foll.) thought to recognize the word aspa-

in the first part of the compound. This latter suggestion is certainly correct but the second element of the name needs to be explained. The most obvious solution is to regard the name ῎Ασπουργος as a transcription of the compound *asp-urg < *aspa-urga-, the second element of which, viz. -urga-, may be compared with Avestan ugra- 'stark, kräftig'. For the development of the Old Iranian group of phonemes -gr- into -rg- there are numerous examples; in Ossetian, too, -rγ- is the regular development of Old Iranian -gr-: Ossetian círγ < Old Iranian *tiγra- etc. (see Miller, *Die Sprache der Osseten*, 36). Thus the name ῎Ασπουργος is a fairly clear compound which it is relatively easy to interpret: but this interpretation does not help one at all in explaining the sense of the name ᾿Ασφώρουγος because the element -ρουγος in this latter name obviously cannot be identified with the element -ουργος which admits of a clear interpretation. Yet, while we have to give up the identification of the name ᾿Ασφώρουγος with the name ῎Ασπουργος, the interpretation of the former is by no means a hopeless task. In the final -ουγος element we may recognize the suffix -ug which exists in Modern Ossetian (-ug, -ig, -əg, see Miller, *op. cit.*, 90) and which used to exist also in the language of the Jazygians of Hungary (-uh, see Gombocz. *Ossetes et Iazyges*. Repr. 5). The remaining stem ᾿Ασφωρ- may be regarded without any difficulty as the equivalent of the Old Iranian word *aspabāra- 'Reiter'. Hence it seems to be identical with the name *Aspar* discussed above. only the Old Iranian group of phonemes -sp- has here been replaced by -sf-, while the group of phonemes -abā- > aβā- > -avā- has been contracted to the labial phoneme -å- (ω). Thus the name ᾿Ασφώρουγος ɔ: *asfår-ug*, too, shows the development of the Old Iranian group of phonemes *-sp- into -sf-.

4.

The Old Iranian initial phoneme *p-* has two different developments: 1. *p-*, 2. *f-*.

Old Iranian *p- > p-.

Πίδανος Tyras, Latyshev, *IOSPE* I, 2 (181 A. D.): ∼ Avestan *pitar-* 'Vater' (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 48); the name comes from the form *pita-na-*.

Πιτοφαρνάκης Tyras, Latyshev, *IOSPE* I, 2 (181 A. D.): ∼ Avestan *pitar-* + φαρνάκης (Vasmer, *loc. cit*).

Πουρθαῖος Olbia. Latyshev, *IOSPE* I, 62: ∼ Avestan *puϑra-* 'Sohn' (Vasmer, *loc. cit*).

Πουρθάκης Olbia, Latyshev, *IOSPE* IV, 15: < Old Iranian *puϑra-ka-*.

Πίδεις Olbia, Latyshev, *IOSPE* I, 61: < *pita-*.

Πάτεις Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 302 (220 A. D.): < Old Iranian *pati-* 'Herr'.

Old Iranian *p- > f-.

Φίδας Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 485 (103--203 A. D.): ~ Ossetian *fidä* 'Vater' < Old Iranian *pita- (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 55).

Φιδάνους Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 380 (236 A. D.): < Old Iranian *pita-na-

Φηδάνακος Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 379 (beginning of 3rd cent. A. D): in Miller's view = Ossetian *fedavinag* 'friedliebend'; this, however. is phonetically impossible. The word has to be regarded simply as the result of further suffixation from *fida- < Old Iranian *pita-, formed with the group of suffixes -na-ka-, known to us from Sogdian and Saka (cp. Sogdian -(')n'k: pwt'n'k 'bouddhique', Benveniste, *Essai de grammaire sogdienne*, II, 95 and Saka -naa-: *āyīnaa-* 'Spiegel', Konow, *Khotansakische Grammatik*, 68).

Φοργάβακος Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 411 (175—211 A. D.): < Old Iranian *parugav- 'rinderreich' (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 55).

Φορήρανος Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 386 (225 and 212—229 A. D.): see above.

Φορίαυος Tanais, Latyshev, *IOSPE* II, 447; < Old Iranian *paru-yava- 'viel Getreide besitzend' (Vasmer, *loc. cit.*).

Φόδακος Phanagoria, Latyshev, *IOSPE* II, 364, Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 384 (211—219 A. D): Miller tried to explain this word from Ossetian *fudag 'ausgelassen, Schlingel'[89]. But there is no evidence of this word being used as a proper name. It is conceivable as a nickname, but this is contradicted by the widespread use of the name Φόδακος. It seems to have been the name of a large family or tribal unit, part of which lived in Phanagoria, part in Tanais. Thus it seems a likelier suggestion that the stem of the name Φόδακος which, after separating the suffix -k (-κος), appears as Φοδα- ɔ: *fuda-* corresponds exactly to Avestan *puδa- 'Name einer iranischen Familie' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.*, 909). If this explanation is correct, we have here a second instance of an exact equivalent to one of the names in the Avesta among the Iranian tribes of South Russia. The importance of the first instance and the historical significance implied in the exact correspondence between the Avestan *fryāna- 'Name einer gläubigen tūrischen Familie' and the name Φλίαυος from Olbia have recently been emphasized by Nyberg (*Die Religionen des alten Iran*, 251).

Φόρος Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 388 (228 A. D.): ~ Ossetian *fur 'Hammel' (Miller, Осетинские этюды III, 80). The Ossetian word is, however, of unknown origin, so that it is probably more correct to assume,

---

[89] Miller's interpretation is known to me only from Vasmer's work. The form *fudag* given by Vasmer is probably derived from the word *fud* 'das Böse' by means of the adjectival suffix -ag. In the dictionary of Miller-Freimann we find, however, the word *fudẓag* 'ausgelassen etc.': hence it seems very likely that Miller actually had this word in mind. In this case his interpretation is unacceptable for phonetic reasons, too.

with Vasmer, that this name, too, is the short form of a compound containing the word *fur which corresponds to Old Iranian *paru- 'viel'. (see Vasmer, op. cit., 55).

Φόσακος Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 389 (228 A. D.). Probably obtained by suffixation from the short form of a name belonging to the Old Iranian type *parupasu-.

Φούρτας Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 390 (228 A. D.): ∼ Ossetian furt 'Sohn' < Old Iranian *puϑra- (Vasmer, loc. cit.).

<center>5.</center>

The Old Iranian group of phonemes *fri- has also a twofold development 1. fli-, 2. li-.

<center>Old Iranian *fri- > fli-.</center>

Φλείμναγος Olbia, Latyshev, IOSPE I, 24: Vasmer (loc. cit.) regards this word as the equivalent of the Ossetian word limän 'Freund' and traces back both words to the Old Iranian form *friyamāna-. The antecedents of this view were that Hübschmann (Etymologie und Lautlehre der ossetischen Sprache, 46) connected the Ossetian word limän with Avestan frya- ɔ: friya and Old Indian priya-, both the latter meaning 'lieb, wert, freund', and suggested the idea of an exact correspondence between Ossetian limän and Old Indian priyamāṇa-. Miller, too, (Осетинские этюды, III, 83) sought to derive the Ossetian word from the Iranian stem *fri-, without defining, however, more closely the Old Iranian form to which it might have correspon- ded. It was on the basis of the Old Indian form priyamāṇa- conjectured by Hübschmann that Vasmer constructed his Old Iranian form *friyamāna- which would correspond exactly to the name Φλείμναγος as well as to the Ossetian word limän. But this conjecture raises many difficulties. First of all, it is open to doubt that the group of phonemes -iya- developed into -i- ∼ -ə- in Ossetian (limän — ləmän). On the basis of the correspondence between Western Ossetian liyun ∼ Old Indian riyate (see Miller, Die Sprache der Osseten, 17) one would rather expect the development -iy- or -iyu- (the position is particularly clear in the 3rd person plural: liyuncä < Old Iranian *riyanti). But even if one were to disregard this difficulty, it is certain that the form -māna- would have developed in Ossetian into -mon, not into -män (cp. Osse- tian bon 'Tag' < Old Iranian *bānu-, Miller, op. cit., 20). Thus the probable development in Ossetian of the Old Iranian form conjectured by Vasmer would be *liyumon ∼ *liumon, perhaps *limon. But the difficulties belong not only to the category of phonetics but also of semantics. The Old Indian form given by Hübschmann is the participle of the verb priyate 'befriedigt, froh sein, Gefallen finden an'; hence its meaning is 'glad, satisfied'. From this

meaning it would be fairly difficult to deduce the meaning 'friend'. All these difficulties disappear, however, if we regard the name Φλείμναγος and the Ossetian word *limän* as developments of the Old Iranian compound **friya-manah-*. The first part of this compound would correspond to Avestan *frya-* 'lieb, wert, freund', while the second part to Avestan *manah-* 'Sinn, Geist; Denken, Gedanke'. The meaning of the compound would thus be 'freundlichen Sinn habend, freundlich gesinnt'. Similar compounds are very frequent in the Avesta: *naire.manah-*, *hamō.manah-*, *hu.manah-*, etc. There exists also the compound expressing the exact antonym of **friya-manah-*: *duš-manah-* 'des Denken übel ist, des Denken feindlich ist, feindselig' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.*, 753—4). The Modern Persian *dušmän* which is the development of the Old Iranian compound *duš-manah-*, as well as the Greek word δυσμενής 'feindlich gesinnt, feindselig' which present a close parallel, later came to mean 'Feind'; in the same way the Old Iranian compound **friya-manah-* 'freundlich gesinnt' which developed into *limän* in Ossetian, came to acquire the meaning 'Freund'.

Φλιμάνακος Olbia. See the foregoing.

Φλίανος Olbia, Latyshev, *IOSPE* I, 64: < Old Iranian **friyāna-* ∼ Avestan *fryāna-* 'Name einer gläubigen tūrischen Familie' (Vasmer, *loc. cit*). It is worth noting that all the three available forms which show the development *fri-* > *fli-* com from the same district, viz. Olbia.

Old Iranian *fri-* > *li-*.

Λείμανος Panticapaeum, Latyshev, *IOSPE* II, 29A, Tanais, Latyshev, *IOSPE* II, 446; < Old Iranian **friya-manah-*.

Λίμνακος Gorgippia, Latyshev, *IOSPE* II, 402: ɔ: *limᵛna-k*. Same as the preceding, with the suffix **-ka-*.

6.

Old Iranian *r* before an *i* has also a twofold development: 1. *-l-*, 2. *-r-*.

Old Iranian *ri* > *l*.

Φαλδάρανος Tanais, Книповнч, Танапс No. 364 (175—211 and 220 A. D.). The interpretations hitherto attempted are as follows: in Miller's view the word is a compound meaning 'aufhaltend, beseitigend'; the elements in the compound (Φαλ- and -δαραν-) correspond to Ossetian *fäl* ∼ Avestan *pairi* and to Avestan *darəna-* 'haltend, tragend' respectively. Justi tried to explain the word from Avestan *pāϑra-* while Vasmer suggested a possible connection with the Ossetian word *fäldar* (the correct form is *faidär*) 'weiter' (see Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 54). None of these explanations is, however, acceptable

Vasmer's interpretation is unsatisfactory from the standpoint of semantics, while that of Justi (besides phonetic difficulties) leaves the ending -ρανος unexplained. Miller's solution is open to grave semantic objections, quite apart from the legitimate doubt whether the compound with the sense given by him may be used as a person's name. The meaning of the Avestan word *darəna-* is not 'haltend, tragend' (as Miller suggests) but 'Befestigung; Aufenthalt; Aufenthaltsort, Wohnsitz, Schlupfwinkel' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 692—3). True, the corresponding Old Indian word *dharaṇa-* does mean 'tragend, erhaltend'; but even if one were to assume a similar meaning in Old Iranian, the sense of the compound could at best be only 'erhaltend, aufrechterhaltend'. Thus the solution must be sought on other lines. Phonetically, the name Φαλδάρανος ɔ : *faldaran-* may be traced back not only to the form *pari-darana-* but also to **pari-tarana-*. The element -*där* in the Ossetian word *faldär* quoted by Vasmer also goes back to an Old Iranian form **-tara-* (see Miller, Осетинские этюды III, 156 and Hül schmann, *op. cit.*, 35). This Old Iranian **pari-tara-(na)-* may be regarded as having been obtained by suffixation (by means of the comparative suffix -*tara-*) from the adverb and preposition **pari* ∼ Avestan *pairi* meaning 'vorne; zuvor, früher' and 'um — herum, über-, über — hin'. Similar suffixed forms of adverbs and prepositions are very frequent in the language of the Avesta: *an-tara-* 'der innere, innen befindlich' *(an-* = Greek ἐν*)*; *aiwi-tara-* 'aussen (um das Land)herum gelegen, fremd' *(aiwi* 'zu, gegen — hin, gegen', etc); *apāχ- tara-* 'rückwärts, hinten gelegen' *(apānk-* 'nach hinten, rückwärts gewendet'); *fra-tara-* 'der räumlich vordere, weiter vorn befindliche' *(fra* 'vorwärts, voran'); *niš-tara-* 'der äussere' *(niš* 'hinaus, weg'); *vī-tara-* 'der seitlichere; der weitere' *(vī* 'auseinander, abseits, getrennt von —'); see Bartholomae, *Air Wb*, 132; 90, 87; 79, 82; 979, 974; 1087; 1439, 1435. Thus new words may be formed from nearly every adverb and preposition by means of the comparative suffix -*tara-*. The from **pari-tara-*, conjectured on the basis of the name Φαλδάρανος fits well into this series, and probably means 'one in front, first'. Thus, semantically, the name Φαλδάρανος is the exact equivalent of the Alanic name *Paria* < Old Iranian **parvya-* 'erster'. It only remains to remark that the Ossetian word *faldär* 'weiter' cannot be a development from this conjectured Old Iranian form **pari-tara-*, since the regular development in Ossetian would be **fäldär;* the first element in *faldär* — as Miller has pointed out correctly — corresponds to the Avestan word *para* 'fort, weg, zur Seite', so that the word must be traced back ultimately to the Old Iranian form **para-tara-*.

Old Iranian **ri* > *r*.

Παρσπάνακος Olbia. In Miller's view, this name is a compound of the words corresponding to Avestan *pairi* and Old Indian *sphāna-* 'fett' (see in Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 48). But as Vasmer has already pointed out, the word corres-

ponding to Old Indian *sphāna-* is missing from Iranian, so that some other interpretation must be sought for the second part of the name. This element -σπαν in the name Παρσπάνακος (-ακος is a wellknown suffix) may be compared with the Sogdian word *spn* ɔ: *span*. This word occurs in the compound *spnčyr-spn* (F. W. K. Müller, *Soghdische Texte* I, 40, 42, 43) which appears in the Greek text as οἰκονόμος. Hence the meaning of the word *spnčyr* must be 'household' while that of *spn* must be 'manager, administrator'. Thus the compound **par-span-ak* < **pari-spana-ka-* must have meant approximately 'manager, inspector, administrator of a household'.

<div align="center">7.</div>

We see also a twofold development in the case of the Old Iranian groups of phonemes **-ǎn-* and **-ǎm-*. In Modern Ossetian the corresponding groups of phonemes are usually *-on, -om* (see Miller, *Die, Sprache der Osseten*, 20); this, however, is the result of a fairly recent development, because in the Ossetian place-names which survived in the Balkar, etc. territories formerly inhabited by Ossetes we usually find *a* instead of *o*; the same position is revealed also by the other Ossetian loan-words in Balkar and Karachay (see recently Abaev, *IAN SSSR OON* 1935, 890). The names in the inscriptions, too, still preserve largely the group of phonemes *-ǎn-*, *-ǎm-* where there is the same group in Old Iranian; it is very important to note, however, that we already come across names here which show the correspondence *-on-*, *-om-*.

<div align="center">Old Iranian **-ǎn-*, **-ǎm-* > *-ǎn-*, *-ǎm-*.</div>

'Αλανοί see above: < Old Iranian **aryana-*; ~ Ossetian *iron*.

'Ανδάνακος Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 14 (220 A. D.): ~ Ossetian *andon* 'Stahl' (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 32).

Βάνας Panticapaeum, Latyshev, *IOSPE* II, 29: < Old Iranian **bānu-:* ~ Ossetian *bon* 'Tag'.

Ζάρανδος Tanais, Книпович, Танаис No. 223 (228 A. D.): ~ Ossetian *zärond* 'alt' (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 39).

Νάμγηνος Olbia, Latyshev, *IOSPE* I, 55: ~ Ossetian *nomgin* 'namhaft' (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 45).

Πίδανος see above: ~ Ossetian *fidon* 'väterlich'.

Σάναγος Olbia, Latyshev, *IOSPE* I, 75: ~ Saka *sāna-*, Sogdian *s'n*, Ossetian *son* 'Feind' (Harmatta, *Ant. Hung.* II, 35).

Sangibanus 'Prince of the Alans' Jordanes, *Getica*, 37: ~ Avestan *saṅha-* 'Spruch, Gebot, etc.' + *bānu-* 'Lichtstrahl, Strahl' = 'durch Gebote glänzend' (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 50): ~ Ossetian *bon* 'Tag'.

Φιδάνους see above: ~ Ossetian *fidon*.

Φορήρανος see above: ~ Ossetian *iron*.

Old Iranian *-ắn-, -ắm- > -ōn-, -ōm-.

'Αρθάμων Olbia, Latyshev I, 52: according to Justi *(op. cit.*, 39) ∼ Ossetian *art + mon* 'Feuergeist'. This interpretation is rendered unacceptable by the fact that Ossetian does not possess the word *mon* 'Geist'. The form quoted by Justi is only an etymological abstraction from the words *dälimon, däluimon*, etc. given by Miller *(op. cit.*, 35); but these words must probably be divided as *däl-uimon*, etc. (On this point see Schmidt, *FUF Anz.* XVIII 95—6, XIX, 19; Abaev, *IAN SSSR OON* 1935, 885), ·Vasmer compares the name with the Avestan word *arǝϑamant-* 'Kläger'; this should have developed however, into the form 'Αρθάμωνδος. The difficulties disappear, however, if we regard the name 'Αρθάμων as the development of the Old Iranian compound **arta-mana-*, the elements of which correspond to the Avestan words *arǝta-* 'Gesetz, Recht, heiliges Recht' and *mana-* 'Art und Weise' ('dessen Art und Weise das heilige Recht ist').

Μαιτώνιον 'a town beside the river Tyras' Ptolemy III 5, 15: ∼ Avestan *maēϑana-* 'Aufenthaltsort, Wohnung, Haus' (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 63).

Σιώμαχος Tanaïs, Книпович, Таналс No. 333 (beginning of 3rd cent. A. D.). Jacobsohn *(KZ* LIV, 273) has tried to explain this name from an Old Iranian form **syāvamaka-:* this interpretation seems, however, unconvincing since we cannot demostrate the phonetic change *-āva-* > *-ō-* from the names in the inscriptions. On the other hand, the word seems to be an exact equivalent of the Avestan name *syāmaka-* 'Name eines Bergs oder Gebirgs' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.*, 1931). The corresponding form is known also from Old Indian: *śyāmaka-* 'dunkelfarbig' while the form *śyāma-* (without the suffix *-ka-)* is used also as a proper name. Thus the name Σιώμαχος may be regarded as the development of a supposed Old Iranian word *syāmaka-* 'dunkelfarbig' and may be read as *syōmaχ*.

8.

The Old Iranian group of phonemes **-gr-* developed also along two different lines: 1. *-gr-*, 2. *-rg-*.

Old Iranian *-gr- > -gr-.

῎Αγροι 'tribe beside the Maeotis' Strabo, XI 2, 11, ῎Αγαροι Appianus, Mithr. 88: < Old Iranian **agra-* ∼ Avestan *aγra-* 'der erste, oberste'. Semantically, this tribal name corresponds exactly to the people's name Πάριοι (Strabo XI 9, 3) < Old Iranian **parvya-* 'der erste'.

Old Iranian *-gr- > -rg-.

῎Ασπουργος Gorgippia, Latyshev, *IOSPE* IV, 435: see above: < Old Iranian **aspa-ugra-*.

Οὔργιος Panticapaeum, Latyshev, *IOSPE* IV, 366, Tanais, Latyshev, *IOSPE* II, 443: this name, hitherto unexplained, may be also regarded as an equivalent of Old Iranian *ugra-* 'stark, kräftig'.

Οὔργβαζος Olbia, Latyshev, *IOSPE* I, 64: after the preceding two names this one can be solved almost automatically. Οὔργ- < Old Iranian *ugra-*, -βαζος ~ Avestan *bāzu-* 'Arm': thus the whole name corresponds to an Old Iranian compound *ugra-bāzu-* 'strong-armed', i. e. a *bahuvrīhi*-type of compound.

9.

The Old Iranian group of phonemes *vi-* also shows a twofold line of development: 1. *vi-*, 2. *i-*.

Old Iranian *vi-* > *vi-*.

Βιδάκης Panticapaeum, Latyshev, *IOSPE* II, 29B: ~ Avestan *vīd-* 'teilhaftig'; probably obtained by suffixation from the short form of a name belonging to the type of Avestan *vīdat-gav-*.

Βίστης Panticapaeum, *Latyshev*, IOSPE IV, 255: in Vasmer's view, the name may be connected either with the Avestan word *višta-* 'Kämpfer' or is the short form of a name which belongs to the *Vištāspa*-type. Since, however, the *AirWb.* does not know of the word *višta-* and, moreover, since in the name *Vištāspa-* the element *višta-* has never been explained, it seems a likelier explanation that the name Βίστης developed from the Avestan word *vista-* or the short form of some compound in which this word is a constituent element (as e. g. *vistō.fraorǝtay-* 'der das Glaubensbekenntnis kennt').

Old Iranian *vi-* > *i-*.

Ἰνσάζαγος Olbia, Latyshev, *IOSPE* I, 65: ~ Avestan *vīsaiti*, see above.

10.

A twofold development may be also observed in the case of the Old Iranian group of phonemes *ha-*: 1. *ha-*, 2. *a-*.

Old Iranian *ha-* > *ha-*.

Χανάκης Panticapaeum: ~ Avestan *hana-* 'alt' (Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 56).

Old Iranian *ha- > a-.

'Αζαρίων Tanais, Книпович, Танапс No. 4 (220 A. D.), 454: ~ Avestan hazaŋra- 'tausend' (Vasmer, op. cit. 30).

'Αβδάρδα 'Alanic name of Theodosia' Anonym. Peripl. Ponti Eux. 77: 'Αβδ- ~ Avestan hapta 'sieben' (Vasmer, op. cit., 72).

'Αφθαίμακος, 'Αφθείμακος Tanais, Книпович, Танапс No. 63 (236 and 220 A. D.): ~ Ossetian ävdäimag 'der siebente' (Vasmer, op. cit. 32).

11.

The Old Iranian group of phonemes *χš-, too, has two different developments: 1. χš- or χs-, 2. š- or s-.

Old Iranian *χš- > χš-.

'Αλέξαρθος see above: -ξαρθος ~ Avestan χšaθra- 'Herrschaft, Reich'.

Διδυμόξαρθος Tanais, Книпович, Танапс No. 106 (189 A. D.): -ξαρθος see above.

Δοσυμόξαρθος Tanais, Книпович, Танапс No. 261 (220 and 228 A. D.): -ξαρθος see above.

Καινάξαρθος Olbia, Latyshev, IOSPE I, 54: -ξαρθος see above.

Κηνέξαρθος Olbia, Latyshev, IOSPE IV, 17: see the preceding.

Ξάρθανος Zanais, Latyshev, Книпович, Танапс No. 264 (beginning of 3rd cent. A. D.): ~ Old Iranian *χšaθra-na- (Vasmer, op. cit., 45).

Ξάρταμος Olbia, IAK 18, 103 No. 4: ~ Old Iranian *χšaθra- 'Herrschaft' + ama- 'stark, kräftig' combine to form a compound the meaning of which is 'durch seine Herrschaft kräftig'.

Ξόβας Panticapaeum, IAK 10, 41 No. 35. This name, hitherto unexplained, may be regarded as the equivalent of an Old Iranian word *χšauba- 'excitable', a present participle formed with the suffix -a- from the verb χšaub- (~ Avestan χšaob- 'in Aufregung geraten', Bartholomae, AirWb, 542).

Old Iranian χš- > š-.

Σαιταφάρνης 'King of the Saii' Olbia, Dittenberger, Syll.³ No. 495. This name was interpreted by Tomaschek (see Justi, op. cit., 279) as a compound consisting of equivalents of the Avestan words šaēta- 'Geld, Vermögen' and χʷarənah- (Old Persian farnah-) 'Ruhm, Ruhmesglanz, Herrlichkeit,

Hoheit, Majestät' (see Bartholomae, *AirWb*. 1704, 1870). This explanation is unimpeachable both from the semantic and the phonetic points of view. Hence the name Σαιταφάρνης must be read as *šaitafarn* and its meaning is 'der durch Vermögen Herrlichkeit besitzt'. The initial phoneme *š*- in the Avestan word *šaēta*- goes back to the group of phonemes χš- (< *χšaita-) ; see Bartholomae, *AirWb*. 1704; Kuiper, *ZII* VIII, 245.

Σαῖοι 'Sarmatian tribe in the district of Olbia', Olbia, Dittenberger, *loc. cit.* This people's name was compared by Tomaschek, *Thraker* I. 99 with the Avestan word χšaya- 'Herrscher, Fürst, König' (Bartholomae, *AirWb.*, 550). This interpretation was, however, called in question by Vasmer *(op. cit ,* 50), on the ground that we find the phoneme *š*- instead of χš- in initial position. Under the influence of Vasmer's arguments I myself rejected Tomaschek's explanation and connected the name Σαῖοι with the Avestan word *sāy-* 'ungleichmässig gefärbt, scheckig' (e. g. in the proper name *sāyuždrī*-, the real meaning of which is 'des weibliche Zugtiere scheckig sind'; see Bartholomae, *AirWb*. 1569, 1572). In this case this people's name would belong to the same type of names as Turkish *bulaq, ala yontlu,* etc , meaning 'piebald, having pied horses' (see *Folia Ethnographica* I, 130). Although this interpretation cannot be objected to either on phonetic or on semantic grounds, and is still a possible alternative, we have to point out that Tomaschek's explanation is by no means improbable — in fact, in some respects it seems more likely. Vasmer's objection with regard to the initial phonemes falls to the ground, since in the name of Saitapharnes, King of the Saii, we find precisely the same correspondence of *š*- to the Old Iranian initial group of phonemes χš- (the correctness of the interpretation of the king's name can hardly be doubted). Thus we are justified in comparing the people's name Σαιο with the Avestan word χšaya- 'Herrscher' as well as its Modern Iranian equivalents, viz. Vakhi *šai* 'fat, rich' and Sughni *šayēn* 'khans' (see Morgenstierne, *Indoiranian frontier languages,* II, 541), the phonemic forms of which show a perfect correspondence. Compared with the former explanation, this interpretation of the people's name Σαῖοι is rendered more likely by the circumstance that the Saii — judging from the data in the Protogenes-inscription — were probably the leading tribe or ruling class in a tribal federation. In this respect they may be compared with the leading or ruling tribes of other nomadic Iranian tribal federations or nomadic empires, e. g with the 'royal' Scythians or the 'royal' Sarmatians, etc. whose names expressed precisely their outstanding social position. Among the names of such 'royal' tribes we find e. g. the people's names Ξάνδιοι = χšayant- 'herrschend' and Πάριοι = *parvya-* 'erster' (on these various points see Harmatta. *ESIR* II, 29); the name Σαῖοι = χšaya- 'Herrscher' fits well into this series. Thus, from the sociological angle, this latter interpretation of the name of the Saii seems preferable to the former.

CONCLUSIONS

If we sum up the results of our observations we get the following picture

O.d Iranian	Iranian of South Russia				Ossetian	
	1	2	3	4	Western	Eastern
*ar-y-	ar-(y)-	al-	ir-	il-	ī͎r-	īr-
*au	au	ō			ō	u
*sp	sp	sf	fs		fs	fs
*p-	p-	f-			f-	f-
*fri-	fli-	li-			li-	lə-
*ri	r	l			l	l
* ă̆n ă̆m	-ă̆n -ă̆m	-ŏ̆n -ŏ̆m			-on -om	-on -om
*gr	gr	rg			rγ, lγ	rγ, lγ
*vi-	vi-	i-			i-	∅
*ha-	ha-(χa-)	a-			χa-, a-	χa-, a-
*χš-	χš-	š-			χš-	χš

Thus the examination of the Pontic Greek inscriptions and the Iranian names preserved in classical sources on South Russia clearly shows that, as early as the first centuries A. D., the language of the Iranian tribes inhabiting the steppes of Eastern Europe was by no means homogeneous. The phonemic

differences appearing in the names amply prove that these tribes spoke several dialects, obviously corresponding to the nature of their tribal division. This fact is important to us for several reason. First of all, the picture which we derive, after examining these names, about the linguistic condition of the Iranian tribes in South Russia is in entire harmony with the observations made by us above concerning the language of the Median and Persian tribes. Secondly, this result enables us to approach the examination of the relationship between the Finno-Ugrian and the Iranian languages from a new angle: the realization that there existed several Iranian languages or dialectes in South Russia will make it possible to interpret several phonemic features, hitherto unexplained, in the Iranian loan-words of the Finno-Ugrian languages.

Naturally, it would be extremely important, both for clearing up the dialectology of the Iranian languages and the historical background of Finno-Ugrian and Iranian linguistic connections if we could give a precise ethnical delimitation to the various Iranian dialects. But this is a very difficult task. At present most of the names cannot be assigned to any definite tribes nor do we know how the various phonemic differences crystallize into structural features which separate the dialects from one another. But the problem is not insoluble. First of all, we can gather some indications from the names themselves. Thus e. g. those dialects which give us the names Πουρθαῖος and Φούρτας, in spite of the difference in the development of Old Iranian initial *p-, are nevertheless united by certain common features since they show a similar development of the Old Iranian group of phonemes -θr-. The same development of the Old Iranian group of phonemes -θr- is seen, however, also in the name Ἀλέξαρθος < *Ἀλάξαρθος, so that we may assume its close connection with the former dialects. Moreover, since in the people's name Ἀλανοί we see the same development of the Old Iranian initial group of phonemes *ary- as in the name Ἀλέξαρθος, this word, too, must be included in this group. Thus we are beginning to see the outlines of a group of dialects which, on the strength of certain phonemic criteria, is connected with Ossetian though it is clearly distinguishable from the latter by other phonemic phenomera. At the same time, there are some Sarmatian dialects which are fairly distant from either group (cp. e. g. Jazygian Βανάδασπος and Sirak Ἀριφάρνης) Besides these phonemic connections arising from the names themselves, a careful comparison of the geographical distribution of the names with the historical sources, as well as the examination of the historical and ethnical conditions in the various Greek settlements, a task recently attempted by Knipovich in his book on Tanais (Танаис, Историко-археологическое исследование. Москва-Ленинград 1949) — all this will make possible the ethnical and historical evaluation of the linguistic differences established in this essay. This much we may safely say, in any case, that on the ground of phonemic criteria alone one may distinguish at

least four languages or dialects: through the various concatenations of phonemic peculiarities this number will at least be doubled.

The fact that the Iranian tribes of South Russia spoke several languages or dialects, clearly distinguishable from one another, as early as the first centuries A. D., has important consequences in clearing up the linguistic relations between Sarmatians, Alans, and Ossetes. Although this question may be solved only by a close examination of Alanic linguistic remains and the history of Ossetian phonemes, we may confidently state that the simple historical identity of the language of the Sarmatians, Alans, and present-day Ossetes is not a probable proposition, nor is it possible to bring them direct genealogical connection. Since the names hailing from the territory of the Alans as well as of the other Sarmatian tribes point to the existence of several dialects, it is obvious that neither the language of the Sarmatians nor that of the Alans may be simply regarded as being Old Ossetian. Moreover, some of the Sarmatian dialects show certain phonemic peculiarities (e. g. $-\bar{a}n > -\bar{o}n$) which are quite recent developments in Ossetian. The same situation prevails also in Alanic. Thus e. g. the name Σαυάνων (Tanais, 225 A. D., Книпович, Танаис No. 327) shows already the change from Old Iranian $sy\bar{a}va$- to the form sau which is characteristic of Ossetian. At the same time, however, we see in this word also the change $-\bar{a}n > -\bar{o}n$ which is a much later development in Ossetian. Thus this Alanic name from Tanais (ɔ: $s\bar{a}\underset{\smile}{u}an\bar{o}n$ < Old Iranian *$sy\bar{a}va$-$n\bar{a}na$-), together with other names pointing in the same direction, is a clear proof that Ossetian cannot be brought into direct genealogical connection either with Alanic or with Sarmatian if we regard the latter as homogeneous languages.[90]

---

[90] Sent to press in July 1950.

О ЯЗЫКЕ ИРАНСКИХ ПЛЕМЕН В ЮЖНОЙ РОССИИ

(Резюме)

Из обзора новейших исследований, относящихся к положению осетинского языка, почти автоматически вырисовываются проблемы, разрешение которых является необходимым для выяснения восточно-иранских связей названного языка, равно как и для освещения взаимоотношений языков северо-иранской группы. Эти проблемы обнимают следующие темы:

1. Отношение осетинского языка к южно-российским иранским языкам древнего века. Разработка этого вопроса исключительно важна для определения соотношений осетин, аланов, сармат и скифов. В виду величины относящегося материала и большого значения, приданного теме исследователями, особого изучения требует:

2. Вопрос множественного числа на -тӕ в южно-российских иранских языках древнего века. По мнению большинства ученых это является важнейшим доказательством того, что скифский, аланский, сарматский и осетинский языки с одной стороны, а восточно-иранские языки с другой, тесно связаны между собой. Но в то же время возникает вопрос: встречается ли это явление и в скифском языке и вообще можно ли применить его качестве важного диалектологического критерия.

3. Требуется выяснение взаимоотношений аланского и осетинского языков. Это может быть осуществлено только после повторной обработки и переоценки письменных памятников аланского языка. Здесь напрашивается необходимость решения:

4. Проблемы заимствований венгерским языком из аланского, так как их важность для определения соотношений аланского и осетинского языков была признана еще Абаевым. Их большое значение с точки зрения диалектологии осетинского языка было подчеркнуто и Шкельдом.

5. Вопрос связи между осетинским и восточно-иранским языками. Открытие письменных памятников хорезмийского языка, равно как и работы Геннинг, Фрейман и Бейли превратили этот вопрос в центральную проблему осетинской лингвистики.

6. Расслоение иранских элементов осетинской лексики. Вопрос былвыдвинут в связи с происхождением осетинского народа наслоением различных иранских племен. Это считается — по исследованиям Maenchen-Helfen — фактом, хотя работы названного ученого в некоторых местах нуждаются в значительных поправках. Но если в отношении этногенеза надо считатся с разными слоями, то это должно отразиться и в словарном составе языка. Таким образом, этот вопрос представляет собой одну из интереснейших тем для будущих исследований.

Из вышеприведенных проблем в статье разрабатывается вопрос взаимоотношений южно-российских иранских языков в древности и их отношения к осетинскому языку.

Если мы просмотрим иранские собственные имена, сохранившиеся в греческих надписях, найденных в южной России, равно как и сарматские, обнаруженные в записях античных писателей, то становится очевидным, что они часто показывают различное соответствие того же самого иранского звука или звуковой группы, несмотря на то, что они происходят из той же эпохи. Этот факт весьма просто объясняется принадлежностью названных собственных имен к различным наречиям. Из этого следует, что язык южнороссийских иран-

ских (сарматских) племен не был однородным, а подразделялся на особые наречия. Эти диалекты, конечно, ближе были один к другому, чем к любому другому иранскому языку. Самые характерные различия приведены на стр. 54.

Отмеченный факт имеет большое значение во многих отношениях. Во-первых, картина, получающаяся путем изучения собственных имен для обсуждения языковых соотношений иранских племен в Южной России, вполне совпадает с наблюдениями, произведенными в отношении состояния языков мидийских и персидских племен. Во-вторых, на основании этого результата открывается возможность освещения связей угро-финских и иранских языков, так как познание различий иранских языков, или наречий, будет способствовать выяснению доселе непонятных звуковых соответствий, встречающихся в словах, заимствованных угро-финскими языками.

Учитывая обе точки зрения интересно было бы установить этническую принадлежность того или другого иранского наречия или языка. Это является весьма трудной задачей, так как в большинстве случаев неизвестно, к каким языкам принадлежат отдельные собственные имена и как группируются звуковые особенности по отдельным наречиям. Но несмотря на значительные трудности, вопрос разрешения этой проблемы не безнадежен. Прежде всего, собственные имена сами представляют некоторые отправные пункты, способствующие решению Например те наречия, из которых произошли имена Πουρθαῖος и Φούρτας, вопреки различию, проявляющемуся в развитии начального древнеиранского звука *p-, в некотором отношении имеют общие черты, связывающие их между собой, так как древнеиранская группа звуков -ϑr- отражается в них одинаково. Но имя Ἀλέξαρθος < Ἀλάξαρθος показывает то же самое соответсвие, поэтому его тесная связь с вышеприведенными именами является весьма вероятной. В виду того, что развитие древнеиранских звуков *ary- в начале названия народа Ἀλανοί привело к тому же результату, как и в случае собственного имени Ἀλέξαρθος, то принадлежность этого названия к той же самой группе имен не подлежит сомнению. Из этих характерных черт вырисовываются перед нами контуры группы диалектов, которые на основании некоторых звуковых явлений примыкают к осетинскому языку, отступая от него в ряде других соответствий. В то же время встречаются и явления, которые резко отличаются, как от осетинского языка, так и от названной группы наречий (см. язугское Βαναδαστος и сиракское Ἀριφάρνης). Помимо этого, установление территориального распределения географических названий и сравнение их с историческими источниками, равно как и обработка исторических и этнических данных отдельных греческих поселений, в роде недавно опубликованной монографии Книповича (Танаис. Историко-археологическое исследование. Москва-Ленинград 1949 г.) дадут наш возможность для исторической и этнической фиксации языковых различий.

Из составленного нами материала видно, что на основании лишь *одного* звукового критерия можно различить, по крайней мере, четыре языка или диалекта, но разные сочетания звуковых явлений по меньшей мере удвоят это число.

Обстоятельство, что иранские племена, проживавшие в первых веках нашей эры в степной зоне Восточной Европы, различались между собой в отношении особенностей языкового или диалектического характера, оказывается важным и для выяснения языковых соотношений аланов, сармат и осетин. Хотя эти соотношения могут быть выяснены в окончательном виде только с учетом аланских письменных памятников, равно как и с применением данных из истории осетинского языка, но и теперь уже является неоспоримым то факт, что языки аланов, сармат и осетин с исторической точки зрения не были идентичны и осетинский язык не может быть рассматриваем, как непосредственный преемник языков аланов и сармат. Собственные имена, происходящие из территории населенной аланскими и другими сарматскими племенами, показывают различия, которые могут быть объяснены только существованием нескольких наречий, вследствие чего язык аланов и сармат не может быть идентифицирован с древнеосетинским языком. В то же время в сарматских именах видны

следы звуковых собственностей (например -*ān* > -*ēn*), которые только в последнее время появились в осетинском языке. То же самое относится и к аланскому языку. Например, аланское имя Σαυάνων (Танаис, с 225 г. н. э., см. Книпович ук. соч. № 327) отражает древнеиранское *syāva*- своим началом (*sau*-), характерным для осетинского языка. Но вместе с тем в нем заметен и результат развития -*ān* > *ōn*, которое произошло только недавно в осетинском языке. Это имя (аланское *sāυanōn* < древнеир. *syāvanāna-) наряду с собственными именами, показывающими подобные явления, вполне доказывает, что язык осетин не может быть идентифицирован целиком ни с языком аланов, ни с языком сармат.

CONTENTS