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OLD ENGLISH *AFIGEN*: OSSETE *FEZONAG*, *FIZONAG**

A gloss *a-figen* 'frixum' is recorded in the oldest English glossaries: Epinal 414, Corpus 918 *afigaen*; Erfurt *afigen*.¹ E. Lidén² suggests that this is the p. part. of an unrecorded OE. **ficgean*=Gk. *πέσσω*—hence a *jō*-present to the well-known root *peq^u*- 'cook, etc.'³ The past participle to such a verb should regularly have *e* not *i* in OE. (cf. p. part. *seten* to *sittan*, a *jō*-present from the root *sed*-) but Lidén explains the *i* in *-figen* as due to analogy with this infinitive **ficgean*; he compares p. part. *frigen* to *fricgean*, a *jō*-present from the root *prek̄*-.⁴ Lidén's suggestion rests upon the assumption of two abnormalities coincident with the case we are considering: (i) the existence of a *-jō*-present **ficgean* (=Gk. *πέσσω*) instead of a regular fifth class form corresponding to O.Bulg. *pekq* i.e. **fēon* (< **fexan* < **fexwan*-, cf. *sēon*=Goth. *saihwan*) and (ii) the formation of a p. part. *figen* (instead of **fegen* with Verner's Law change, cf. p. part. *gesegean* to *sēon*) by analogy with this infinitive **ficgean*. So that, not only does Lidén's suggestion involve us in the addition of one more to the set of OE. *-jō*-presents (proportionately a small one), but we must further assume an analogical process attested with certainty in only one of these *jō*-presents, viz. *fricgean*. Under these circumstances it seems advisable to reject Lidén's hypothesis

* The appearance of this number of LSE has been much delayed owing to the almost total destruction by fire of the original MSS. of this article and 'OE. *wēofod*' in an airmail accident near Malmö.

¹ H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, pp. 62, 65.

² *Indogermanische Forschungen* xviii, 412 ff.

³ A. Walde and J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* ii, 17 ff.

⁴ As an alternative Lidén suggests that the p. part. *-figen* may descend from a form with Pr. Gmc. *-ina-* instead of the regular *-ana-* (see R. Girvan, *Angelsaksisch Handboek* § 407). This alternative suggestion may be rejected; *afigaen* in the Epinal glossary renders a form with *-ana-* practically certain; in this text the vowels of the unstressed syllables are strictly etymological (see E. Sievers, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* viii, 324-33) and a form with Pr. Gmc. *-ina-* would appear with *-in* (cf. *forsleginum*), not *-aen*; replacement of an original *-in* by analogical *-aen* from other past participles is particularly unlikely in the case of an isolated form such as *afigen*.

and return to the view of E. Sievers⁵ who considered *-figen* as a *normal* past participle to a *normal* strong verb of the first class, **fīgan*. For this verb we should postulate an Ind.E. root *p(h)eiġh-*, *p(h)eigh-* (cf. *stīgan*, p. part. *stigen*, from the root *steigh-*).

It seems possible that *p(h)eiġh-* is also attested in Iranian: Ossete (Digor) *fēzōnäg*, (Iron) *fīzōnäg* 'Spießbraten'⁶ attest a verbal base **fēz-* < O.Iran. **faiz-* or **paiz-* < Ind.E. *p(h)eiġ(h)-*. *fēzōn-*, *fīzōn-* might be explained either as an adjectival derivative in *-ōn* to a noun **fēz* < O. Iran. **faiza-* or **paiza-* (cf. Oss. *arwōn* 'heavenly' to *arw* 'heaven'), or as a nomen actionis in *-ōn* to the verb **fēz-* (cf. Oss. *fändōn* 'wish' to *fändyn* 'to wish'). The suffix *-äg* would not change the meaning; cf. Oss. *χäräg* beside Mn.Persian *χar* 'ass'; Oss. *mägur* beside *mäguräg* 'poor.' In view of the sense the first explanation (*fēzōn* adj. 'connected with roasting') appears the more probable.

Note—B. Munkácsi (*Árja és kaukázusi elemek a finn-magyar nyelvekben*, p. 276-7) suggests that Hungarian *főz-ni* 'coquere' is an Iranian loan-word; he cites Oss. (Digor) *fic-* (Iron) *fy-* 'kochen (trans.)' as the etymon but H. Sköld (*Die ossetischen Lehnwörter im Ungarischen*, p. 21) rightly rejects this suggestion. Hung. *főzni* is usually regarded as native Finno-Ugrian: cf. Lappish *bivvat* 'calorem servare, vim frigoris suscinere' (J. A. Friis, *Lexicon Lapponicum* s.v.) and—particularly—Hung. *fő-ni* 'coqui' (see, most recently, T. E. Uotila, *Finnisch-ugrischen Forschungen* xxi, 83 ff., where references to further literature will be found). Nevertheless in concluding this article it may be of interest—purely as a formal point in the methodology of the study of the Iranian loan-words in Finno-Ugrian—to point out that Hung. *főzni* COULD represent a borrowing of the Iranian **fēz* discussed above. We should have to assume that the word was borrowed with Iran. *z* at a date when there was a *z* (< *t* : *ð*, as in Hung. *kéz* 'hand' beside Finnish nom. sg. *käsi* < **kāti* : gen. sg. *käden* < *kāden*—see J. Szinyei, *Magyar nyelvhasznítás*, 7th ed., p. 36) in Hungarian. There are admittedly some Iranian loan-words in Hungarian which were borrowed before the change *t* : *ð* > *z*, since in them an Iranian *ð* is represented by a Hungarian *z*; e.g. Hung. *bűz* 'stink': Oss. (Digor) *bōdā* (Iron) *būd* 'incense,' Avestan *baoidi-* Pahlavi *bōd* 'sweet smell,' Baluchi *bōd*, *bōð*, *bōz* 'balsam bush' (Sköld, *op. cit.* p. 17); Hung.

⁵ *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, ix, 277 and, later, *Angelsächsische Grammatik* (3rd ed.) § 382 Note 1a.

⁶ From information kindly placed at our disposal by Professor A. Freiman of Leningrad. For Digor *fēzōngutā* see also *Pamjatniki narodnogo tvorcestva Osetin* ii, 6-7.

fi-ét-ni 'pay': Oss. (Digor) *féd-* (Iron) *fid-* 'pay' (Sköld, *op. cit.* p. 20). But there are two clear examples of the representation of Iranian *z* by Hungarian *z*: (i) O. Hung. *ezwest* Mn. Hung. *ezüst* 'silver': Oss. (Digor) *äwžestä* (Iron) *äwžist* 'id.' (Sköld, *loc. cit.*); (ii) O. Hung. *kazdag*, *kazda* Mn. Hung. *gazdag* 'rich', *gazda* 'landlord, husbandman': Oss. (Digor) *γäzdug* (Iron) *gäzdyg* 'rich' (Sköld, *op. cit.* p. 22). A change of $\acute{e} > \delta$ (and $\acute{e} > \delta$) seems possible in Hungarian, though most of the examples adduced by Zs. Simonyi (*Die ungarische Sprache*, p. 206) can no longer be considered valid. But cf. *vörös* 'red' from *vér* 'blood' and further the change $\acute{e}ü > \delta$ (as in Mn Hung. *hő* 'warmth' beside O.Hung. *heu* —see Z. Gombocz, *Magyar Történelmi Nyelvtan*, *Alaktan* pp. 80-1); also early Hung. *szélé* (see G. Szarvas and Zs. Simonyi, *Magyar Nyelvtörténelmi Szótár* s.v. *szőlő*) beside Mn.Hung. *szőlő* 'bunch of grapes'. *főzni* would then afford another example of the change $\acute{e} > \delta$.

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