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OLD ENGLISH AFİGEN: OSETE FEZONAG, FİZONAG*

A gloss a-figen 'frixum' is recorded in the oldest English glossaries: Epinal 414, Corpus 918 afigaen; Erfurt afigen.¹ E. Liden² suggests that this is the p. part. of an unrecorded OE. *ficgean = Gk. πίςω — hence a jō-present to the well-known root *peq- '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 Liden 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 *prek-.⁴ Liden'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. πίςω) instead of a regular fifth class form corresponding to O.Bulg. peko i.e. *fēon (< *fēxan < *fexw-, cf. sēon = Goth. saihwan) and (ii) the formation of a p. part. figen (instead of *fegen with Verner's Law change, cf. p. part. gesegen to sēon) by analogy with this infinitive *ficgean. So that, not only does Liden'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 Liden'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. weofod' in an airmail accident near Malmö.

² Indogermanische Forschungen xviii, 412 ff.
³ A. Walde and J. Pokorny, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen ii, 17 ff.
⁴ As an alternative Liden 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. forselegen)um, 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. Sievers who considered -figen as a normal past participle to a normal strong verb of the first class, *figan. For this verb we should postulate an Ind.E. root \( \acute{p}(h)\)eigh-, \( \acute{p}(h)\)eigh- (cf. stigan, p. part. stigen, from the root steigh-).

It seems possible that \( \acute{p}(h)\)eigh- is also attested in Iranian: Ossete (Digor) fezônâg, (Iron) fiônâg 'Spiessbraten' attest a verbal base *fêz- < O.Iran. *faiz- or *paiz- < Ind.E. \( \acute{p}(h)\)eigh(h)-. fiôn-, fiôn- might be explained either as an adjectival derivative in -ôn to a noun *fêz < O. Iran. *faiza- or *paiza- (cf. Oss. arwôn 'heavenly' to arw 'heaven'), or as a nomen actionis in -ôn to the verb *fêz- (cf. Oss. fândôn 'wish' to fândyn 'to wish'). The suffix -âg would not change the meaning; cf. Oss. xârâg beside Mn.Persian xâr 'ass'; Oss. mâgur beside mâgurâg 'poor.' In view of the sense the first explanation (fezôn adj. 'connected with roasting') appears the more probable.

Note—B. Munâcsi (Arja és kaukâzusi elemek a finn-magyar nyelvekben, p. 276-7) suggests that Hungarian fôz-ni 'coquere' is an Iranian loan-word; he cites Oss. (Digor) fic- (Iron) fyc- 'kochen (trans.)' as the etymon but H. Sköld (Die ossetischen Lehnwörter im Ungarischen, p. 21) rightly rejects this suggestion. Hung. fôzni is usually regarded as native Finno-Ugrian: cf. Lappish biuvaat 'calorem servare, vim frigoris sustinere' (J. A. Friis, Lexicon Lapponicum s.v.) and—particularly—Hung. fô-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. fôzni could represent a borrowing of the Iranian *fêz discussed above. We should have to assume that the word was borrowed with Iran. a at a date when there was a \( t : \dot{\alpha}, \) as in Hung. kész 'hand' beside Finnish nom. sg. käsi < *kâti : gen. sg. käden < käden—see J. Szinneyei, Magyar nyelvhasonlítás, 7th ed., p. 36) in Hungarian. There are admittedly some Iranian loan-words in Hungarian which were borrowed before the change \( t : \dot{\alpha} > z, \) since in them an Iranian \( \dot{\alpha} \) is represented by a Hungarian \( z; \) e.g. Hung. bûz 'stink': Oss. (Digor) bóda (Iron) bûd 'incense,' Avestan bacoiti- Pahlavi bûd 'sweet smell,' Baluchi bûd, bûd, bûz '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 fêzöngûlâ see also Pamjatniki narodnogo tvorchestva Osetin ii, 6-7.
fiz-e-t-ni 'pay': Oss. (Digor) féd- (Iron) féd- 'pay' (Sköld, *op. cit.* p. 20). But there are two clear examples of the representation of Iranian z by Hungarian z: (i) O. Hung. csüst Mn. Hung. õzsüst 'silver': Oss. (Digor) őztéstü (Iron) őzsüst 'idl.' (Sköld, *loc. cit.*); (ii) O. Hung. kazdag, kazda Mn. Hung. qazdag 'rich,' qazda 'landlord, husbandman': Oss. (Digor) qásdyg (Iron) qázdyg 'rich' (Sköld, *op. cit.* p. 22). A change of ő > ö (and ő > ő) 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 eu > ö (as in Mn Hung. hő 'warmth' beside O.Hung. heu —see Z. Gombocz, *Magyar Történeti Nyelvtan*, Alaktan pp. 80-1); also early Hung. szélé (see G. Szarvas and Zs. Simonyi, *Magyar Nyelvőrténeti Szótár s.v. szőlő*) beside Mn.Hung. szőlő 'bunch of grapes'. őszni would then afford another example of the change ő > ö.

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