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Professor Jiro IKEGAMI from Hokkaido University

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(* = In Japanese with English Summary.)

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北海道大学文学部附属

北方文化研究施設

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Some Tungus Etymologies

Karl H. MENGES

1. The Tungus word for "liver"

In the "Comparative Dictionary of the Mañčžu-Tungus Languages" (abbrev.: TgWB), II, 310 the word for "liver" is quoted in the following forms: Ewenki *hakin*, *hākin*, with loss of the initial, *akin* in Barguzin, North-Bajkal, Maja, Zeja, Tokko, Tokma, Totto, likewise in Solon, *āxi*; Lamut Ota, Penžinsk *hāqōn*, Bystraja *āqōn*, Kołyma-Omołon *hāqan*, Allaixa, Moma, Tompon *hākōn*, Sarqyryr *hakon*; Armañ *āqna*, *āq*, both meaning "stomach, belly"; Kur-Urmī *xaki*; Oroči *xāki(n-)* "liver, kidneys, entrails"; Udi *xā'i(n-)*; Oroki *pāqa*, *pāya*; Nānaj *pā*, Bikin *fā*; Olča *pā*, both the latter being contractions of an older *pāya*, *pāqa*; Manžu *fahun* "liver" and "felly (of a wheel)", Russ. обод колеса, probably a different etymon. For Korean, there is a reference to RAMSTEDT's "Studies in Korean Etymology" (abbrev.: SKE), 213: *p'at* in *k'oŋ-p'at* "the kidneys", tentatively put by RAMSTEDT to the above Tungus etymon; this is phonologically impossible since the Tungus root has *q/k* as final to which Kor. *-t* cannot be considered as being equivalent. But so far, there is one parallel in Altaic, namely Turkic *baγyr* "liver, heart; belly" and "friend; related, kin" (for the various forms in Turkic cf. RÄSÄNEN, EtWb, 55 s. v. where there is no etymology and no reference to the Tungus etymon). As common- and proto-Tungus forms, **pāqyn/paqyn* can be assumed. As Türkmen has *baγyr* without length (HAMZAJEV, "Türkmen Diliniñ Sözlügi", 65), the proto-Turkic form was *baγyr* which corresponds to Tung. *pāqyn/paqyn*; in view of Tk. *b-* and South-Tungus *p-/f-*, the proto-Altaic form was either **p'āqyn/paqyn* or **p'āqyr/paqyr* with intervocalic sonorization of the *q* in some Tungus languages and in Turkic; while in Tungus, this etymon is an *-n*-stem, in Turkic it has the secondary form of a collectivum in *-r*. Neither by RÄSÄNEN, nor by the authors of the TgWB the relationship of the Tungus and the Turkic words had been noticed.

Beyond this, the Altaic etymon has, especially in its more original Tungus form *pāqyn*, a most striking similarity in both form and meaning with Slavic, Old-Church-Slavic, Russian ПЕЧЕНЬ "liver". Usually, its etymology is traced back to the Indo-European root **peq̑-* "to cook, to bake", thus assuming

**peq-en-is* as underlying proto-Slavic **pek-en-is* > Old-Church-Sl., O.-Russ. ПЕЧЕНЬ, “*ἥπαρ*”, Čech *pečenka* but meaning “broiled steak”, the same Polish *pieczeń*; in the other Slavic languages this word for “liver” has been lost and replaced by other terms, as e. g. New Bulgarian дроб, properly “minced filling”, and джигер (< Osm. < Pers. *žigār*), Sb. -Kr. *džigerica* (< Osm.). Also VASMER, Russ. Etym. Wörterbuch, II, 352 derives it from OChSl. ПЕКЪ, ПЕЩИ, Russ. печь, печь “to bake, cook”, referring to MIKLOSICH, MLADENOV, MEILLET and PREOBRAŽENSKIJ, comparing with it the metathetic Lithuanian *kėpenos*, f/pl “liver”, likewise derived from the metathetic *kėpiù, kėpiù* “to bake” so that he assumes a semantic shift from an original “baked, fried liver” > “liver (in general)”, i. e. the loss of the original Indo-European appellativum for “liver”. For this assumption, there exists a good parallel in Romance where Late and Vulgar Latin *ficatum jecur*, the translation of the Greek *σικωτόν ἥπαρ* “(goose) liver stuffed with figs; fig-cured liver” > New Greek *σικώτι* “liver” and *ficatum*, also *ficatum*, in Romance finally came to mean the dish as well as the bodily organ: French *foie*, Italian *fegado*, Span. *hígado*, Provençal, Catal. *fetge*, Rhaeto-Rom. Engadin *fo*, Ruman. *ficat*, Serbo-Croatian (< Rom.) *pikat* “liver” (cf. MEYER-LÜBKE, Roman. Et. Wb., no. 8494). This, as it would seem, obvious semasiological parallelism is acceptable for the Romance development, in a Mediterranean cultural sphere of rather equal socio-economical conditions, with a high standard of living. But inasmuch as the Balto-Slavic world is concerned, this becomes more than doubtful, especially since larded liver instead of the Mediterranean fig-stuffed liver is hardly to be assumed to have been so usual a diet as in Romance countries where it finally became the general term for liver, also the liver as an organ. This semantic development presupposes a few, if not a number of centuries of a socio-economical development with rather high living standards, for which there is no proof from the Balto-Slavic peoples at the period when these latter entered their literary history and were in possession of the term *pečeny/kėpenos* for “liver”. It is hardly imaginable that the hunters and householders among the late proto-Balto-Slavic and early Baltic and Slavic peoples should have termed the liver as something baked or fried, while in the Mediterranean World of the late Roman Empire such a specific, singular semantic development from a culinary terminus technicus to a general appellativum is at least plausible. In some parallelism to the Romance development is that in Germanic where the ancient Indo-European word has early been replaced by Old Norse *lifr*, meaning also “brother” (cf. KLUGE & MITZKA, Deutsches Etym. Wb., s. v. “*Leber*”) which, according to POKORNY, “Indo-german. Etym. Wb.”, 504, is a cognate of *λιπαρός* “fat, greasy”, originally

Russian and Russian ПЕЧЕНЬ, etc. This has its Baltic equivalent in the metathetic Lith. *kēpenos*, f/pl, "liver" which, at its face value, could be derived, as it was done with the Slavic word, from *kepū*, *kēpti* "to bake", the unexplained metathetic form of the older **pek-ū*, **pēk-ti*. From the earliest times on, many peoples had some idea about the great significance of the liver in the functioning of the organism, of the body and soul of man. They imagined in it the existence of certain natural forces as well as the see of the spirits of life. In European antiquity, the view of the liver as receptacle of the soul and of the energy of life became dominant, and therewith originated the belief in liver-devouring hostile ghosts; sacrifices were offered and ensuing eating of the liver was practiced. Various ways of liver-eating in folklore found their expression in legends and myths. Thus, special rites of hepatomantics were instituted, as well-known from Sumer, Akkad/Babylon and the Etruscans and Romans, with the *haruspices* of the latter two (cf. in detail e.g. "Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens", edd. E. HOFFMANN-KRAYER and H. BÄCHTOLD-STÄUBLI, vol. V, Berlin 1932/3, pp. 976 ff. and the literature quoted there; further, G. WILKE, "Die Heilkunde in der europäischen Vorzeit", 1936, p. 32 f.; O. v. HOVORKA & A. KRONFELD, "Vergleichende Volksmedizin", II, 1909, pp. 104 ff.; O. v. HOVORKA, "Geist der Medizin. Analytische Studien über die Grundideen der Vormedizin, Urmedizin, Volksmedizin, Zaubermedizin, Berufsmedizin", 1915, p. 135; S. SELIGMANN, "Der böse Blick und Verwandtes", 1910, pp. 198, 202 f., 292; to all these Dr. Gabriella SCHUBERT kindly called my attention). The tabu, imposed upon the term for the liver as the center of the bloodstream and the see of soul and life might very well have been the reason for the metathetic forms in Baltic which as homonyms, so in Slavic, coalesced with the etymon **pek-ρ* "to bake" and a derivative thereof, without originally having been identical. Thus, this word for liver is well represented in Nostratic in Indo-European and Altaic, in neither family occurring in all subgroups. Since socio-economical conditions with concomitant development of culinary arts as typical of the Mediterranean cultures cannot be assumed for the early Balto-Slavs of a period when the term for liver originated, a derivation of this term, ПЕЧЕНЬ/*kēpenos* in the sense of *σικωτὸν ἥπαρ*, *ficatum jecur* from the root Indo-European **peǵ-* "to bake, cook" cannot be considered as maintainable. This does not exclude the probability of a later, secondary alignment of the word for liver on the basis of tabu and of therewith interferring popular etymology connecting it with the inherited Indo-Eur. root **peǵ-*. Thus, for proto-Balto-Slavic and for Indo-European alike, an independent etymon for liver, *peǵ-en-* or **peǵ-en-* which has its exact counterpart in Altaic is to be posited.

In the other Nostratic languages, Uralic Suomi *maksa* "liver", Lapp. *muok'se*, Mordv. *makso*, Mari *mokš*, Udmurt *mus*, Komi *mus/musk-*, Māñši *majt*, Xanty *mugəl, mugət*, Ung. *māj*, Samojed Ńeneć *mȳd, mūdā*, Ńan. *mita*, Eneć *muro, mudo*, Sölg. *mydā, mītā*, Kamaš *myt* "id." (COLLINDER, Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary, 2-nd ed., p. 53, common-Uralic, from the root **mak-/muk-* etc.) with various word-formation suffixes, offers itself as the equivalent, with the alternation *p/m* in initial position as typical of all East-Nostratic languages, and with a considerable ablaut variety, both vocalic and consonantic, in the root, probably not without the interference of tabu.

In Dravidian, nothing is so far clearly discernible. Here, Kannaḍa *baggari* and Koḍagu *baggare* "thorax" appears as possible parallel, esp. when formally and semantically compared with Turkic *baɣyr*, but proto-Dravidian and proto-Altaić **p-* would in Dravidian as a rule be preserved as *p-* and only in Kannaḍa and a few Central Dravidian languages appear as *h-* or zero, so that this word is a loan from Telugu or a Central Dravidian language as e. g. Gōṇḍi (cf. K. ZVELEBIL, "Comparative Dravid. Phonology", 85 ff.), while the origin of the geminates *-gg-* is not clear. Another, more reliable Dravidian parallel might be Telugu *pēgu/prēgu* "entrail, gut, bowel", Kōlāmi *pēgul*, pl. "intestines", Najki *pēgu!* "id.", Pārži *pirul, piruvul*, pl., "smaller intestines", Gadba *purug* "stomach, intestines", *puḍḍug* "stomach", Gōṇḍi *pīr, pīr* "belly, stomach", and maybe Brāhūi *piḍ* (Dravid. Etym. Dict., no. 3445), but also Najkrī (Čanda) *pigu, piggu* "intestine" (Drav. Et. Dict., Supplement, no. 3445). In these forms the *r/ɾ* seems to belong to the root, so that BURROW in BSOAS, XI, 345 equates this with Uralic Xanty *porax* "id." (cf. also CASTRÓN, Ostjakische Sprachlehre, 100) and with Samojed Sölgup *pārg, pārgä* (CASTRÓN, Samojed. Wörterverzeichnis, 165 f., 214 sub "Eingeweide"); COLLINDER, op. cit., 68, has Xanty *parək, porex* "(piece of) compression wood; breast (of a bird); stomach; entrails, intestines; trunk, body (without arms and the legs); the rounding of the shoulders; interior; inner self"; Māñši *por, perk* in *šām-por* "heart and stomach; soul", *simpor, šām-perk* "soul" (*šām, sim* "heart"), which, as COLLINDER says, "may be a Samojed loan-word", considering the whole etymology as doubtful. But in this case, originally two different etyma which later coincided might have been considered as being one.

The above Indo-European etymon **peq-* "to bake, cook" also has its cognates in Tungus and, besides that, in Uralic, so that it too, may be considered as Nostratic.

2. Tungus *pěku, hěku* "hot, горячий"

This etymon is listed in the TgWB, II, 362 from all Tungus languages except Žürčen: Ewenki, practically in all (known) dialects, *hěku/hěkū* "warm, hot; heat", metaphoric in Ilimpija for "brandy", and as verbal base, *hěku-/hěkū-* "to be, become warm, hot", in Barguzin (along with *hěkě-*), Sym, North-Bajkal, Ňerča, Tokma it is transitive, "согреть, to warm up", and derivatives; Solon has only the derivatives *ěxugdi, ěxūddi* "warm, hot" and *ěxū-lgī-* "разогреть, to warm up (trans.)"; Lamut has in Ota, Moma, Penžinsk, Sarqyryr, Tompon *hōk*, in Bystraja *ōk*, in Oxotsk *huk*, same meaning as in Ewenki, also as verb, with the usual great variety of forms and derivatives; Armañ has *uk* and *ukě*, Negidal *xěku, xěxu* "id." and as exclamation *xěko, xěxo*, and, for Negidal, a relatively large number of derivatives; for Oroči, only *xěku, xěkusi* "id." and *xěku-li-* "to become warm, hot" are listed; in Udi, the dialects of the Añuj and Xor have *xěku^{hi}* (<*xěku-si*), of the Bikin and Samarga *xukuj* (<*xuku^{hi}*<*xěku-si*) and *xěku-si-* "to warm oneself, become warm" in Xor, Bikin and Samarga; Nānaj has *pěku*, Bikin *fuku* and *fěku*, Kur-Urmī *feku*, with a number of derivatives; for Olča, *pěku* "heat", *pěkēuli* "warm, hot" and two derivatives are listed; for Oroki, only forms with *x-*, *xěkusi* and *xěkkuli* "hot" with two derivatives are listed, all being loans from North-Tungus with initial *x-* <**p-/p-* as still preserved in South-Tungus; Manžu has a rare type of ablaut in *fjakja-* "to heat, bake (sun); to dry up, bake in the sun; *вялится*", *fjakja-n* "warm, hot".

A close cognate with the ablaut *i* in the root is Ew. *hiγē-* "to put at the fire, hang up above the fire" and in Urmī "to be warmed (on the fire)", *hiγit-/hiγič-*, on the Stony Tunguska, Maja, Urmī, Učur, Čulman, Saxalin, and with further variants such as *hiγēt-/hiγēč-*, *hihit-/hihič-*, *hišit-/hišič-/hušit-/hušič-*, *išit-/išič-*, *isit-/isič-*, *ihit-/ihič-*, transitive as well as intransitive (TgWB, II, 322). Through palatalization, the *-γ-/-h-* in the position between the two *i* became *-s-* as in *isit-* or *-š-* as in *išit-/hišit-*, thus being treated, according to the sound rules of the Northern and Northwestern dialects, as being original *-h-*, not original *-γ-*. Lamut has *hiγōt-/hiγōč-* "id." and, as in Ewenki, the secondary forms *hihōt-*, *hisōt-* and *isōt-*, without further derivatives; Negidal has *xixēt-* "id.", and in Upper Negidal, nearer to the Ewenki dialects with preserved *-s-*, *xissēt-* with an unaccounted for gemination; Udi has in Xor *piki-lē-* "to bake". An influence from Turkic *isig/ysyγ*, also *issig/yssyγ* "warm" (RÄSÄNEN, TkĖtymDict., 173 f.) seems to be excluded, esp. since in neighboring Jakut this word has the form *iti*, vb. *itij-*

(PEKARSKIJ, Jak. -Russ. Dict., 981 f.) which seems to be rather old in Jakut. Sporadic cases of such "false" correspondences *s/h/x/0* do occur in Ewenki, e. g. *sulta*, Ajan, *suliktē* Аҕдан, Њорбокō "dried meat; meal, fish-meal", from *huli-* "to dry (meat), вялить", TgWB, II, 345, or in the term for the mammoth, Ew. *sēlī/sēlē* for the otherwise regular *hēli*, *helir* which against TgWB, II, 140 has nothing to do with Jakut *siäl* "mane, грива", cf. Eskimo Southwestern Alaska *kellūgwek*, East-Greenland *kiláffaq*, etc., "id." or in Ew. *hiṛin* "whirl-storm, 'twister'" < **piṛin* with disturbances (due to tabu, without doubt) in the Ewenki anlaut: *siṛin* Stony Tunguska, *siṛir* Tungir, and *kiṛin* Učur, Ajan, Saxalin, TgWB II, 322, for *h-/0* < **p-*: Nānaj *piugi-* "to howl (storm)", Olča *piwsulu-* "id.", Oroki *sii* "storm" being a loan from North-Tungus. Nānaj has the velar *piqi-* in Najḥin along with the palatal *fiki-* in Bikin beside *fiqi-či-* "to bake; warm up" and *fikia-* in Kur-Urmī; for Olča only *pēkki-* "to bake bread" — a loanword from, or contamination with, Russ. *pek-*, the stem of the inf. *peč'* "to bake" — and *piski-či-* "to warm up" are listed, where the unexpected length may have produced the geminates while the origin of *-sk-* in *piskiči-* is not clear at all (likewise interference from Russ. *pek-*, *peč'*?); as language contacts between Negidal and Olča occasionally do occur, it might be a hybrid formation after the pattern of Negd. *xissēt-*. Manžū has *fjaqu-* "to get warm (near the fire), to fry on the fire, in the sun, to fry meat on the fire", and the passive, *fjaqu-bu-* "to be heated, tanned, by the sun". In the TgWB no cross-reference to *hēku* is given, while sub *hēku* there is one to Middle-Mongolian *he'ūšije-* "to endure, undergo, suffer from, heat" and to two Korean etyma in SKE 116 and 215. The Middle-Mongolian form is given by HAENISCH, "Wörterbuch zu Manḡol un Niuca Tobca'an", 76 as *he'ūšiyegu*, the presumable correct phonetic reading being *he'ūšijegū* "not to suffer, tolerate, not to endure" scil. *xažar* "the country, climate"; this word apparently does not survive in later Mongolian, likewise, it has not survived in Turkic. As to Korean, RAMSTEDT, "Einführung in die altaische Sprachw.", I, 53, beside *p'uk xā-*, listed also in SKE, 116, and with *pugil pugil xā-* "to be boiling, wallowing" as "probably onomatopoeitic", proposed to connect Nānaj *pēku* etc. with Kor. *ḡyl-/ḡyr-* "to boil", reconstructed by him with question-mark as **pkyl-* with complete reduction of the root vowel and ensuing assimilation of the two root consonants, but he also put here *p'uk xā-* "to be warm" and *pugil pugil xā-* "to be boiling, wallowing", considered by him as "probably onomatopoeitic" (cf. supra). But notwithstanding the question mark, RAMSTEDT correctly compared Nānaj *pēku* and Kor. *ḡyl/ḡyr-* with M. -Mong. *he'ūšije-*, reconstructing proto-Mg. **pegū* "hot, warm", and with Tungus *pēku* "id." (SKE, 116, 215). His further comparison of this etymon with Turkic *isi-*,

ysy- (cf. supra) is to be dismissed. It would be desirable to have further derivatives in Korean of the root **peq̄-*, but there exists another etymon in favor of which it must have been lost, Old-Kor. *tēb-* "to be warm", Pajkče **tap/tēp* "warm" (cf. Bruno LEWIN, "Sprachkontakte zwischen Paekche und Yamoto in frühgeschichtlicher Zeit", *Asiatische Studien*, XXXIV, 1980, p. 173), New Kor. *tēp-/tēv-* "id." which, too, is Nostratic: Indo-Eur. **tep-* id., POKORNY, 1069 f., K'art'vel. Georgian *t̪p-/t̪b-* "to be warm", *t̪bili* "warm" (cf. K. H. MENGES, "Korean and Altaic", *CAJ*, XXVIII).

Thus, from proto-Tungus **pekū* and proto-Mongolian **pegu*, proto-Altaic **pekū* "hot, heat" can be reconstructed. Further parallels do not seem to be retrievable in Altaic.

Whether cognates of this etymon can be found in Dravidian is very doubtful, for, the forms which could be compared so far do not exactly agree phonologically. Sub no. 4540 (cf. also Supplement), in the Dravidian Etym. Dict. a great variety of forms from all Dravidian languages is listed the overwhelming majority of which has *v-* or *b-*, while the second stem consonant in many instances seems to be a derivative suffix. The following, however, might be acceptable as possible cognates: Malajālam *vēka* (*vent-*) "to be hot, burn, boil", *vekka* "heat; to cook", Koṭa *vek* "hot" (along with *vej-/vedj-* "to be burnt", similarly Toda *pōj-/pōd-* "to burn (intr.), be hot", but *pōkj* "lukewarm, warmth", Kannaḍa *bēju* "to be burnt" and *bēge* "fire, heat", similarly Koḍagu *bēj-* "to be warmed, burnt", *bekke* "warmness, heat", Tuḷu *bējuni* "to boil" (apparently intrans.), but *bēpini*, *bējipini* "to boil (trans.), be boiled", *beppu* "lukewarm(ness)", *bečča* "heat, hot, warm", Telugu *vēgu* "to be fried; grieve", *vēču*, *vēpu* "to fry", *vēki* "fever", *vēdi* "heat", *vekka*, *večča* "heat", Konda *vek-* "to fry" along with *vej-(vet-)* "to be burned", Maṇḍa *veh-* "to be hot", *veh-en* "hot", Kuwi *veh-* "to be hot", *ve-* (*-t-*) "to be burnt", — and many others. In none of those forms, as it must appear, an underlying root form such as **pVk-* can be ascertained. Although it might be the cognate of Altaic **pekū* and Indo-Eur. **peq̄-*, the following remains doubtful in view of its onomatopoeitic character, its semantics and apparent rarity in Dravidian: Tamil *paka-pakav-eṇal*, an onomatopoeitic expression of "making fire", Koṭa *bagn*, *bagbagn* "blazing with sudden flame", Kannaḍa *baga*, *baga бага* "sound used to express suddenly blazing up, the crackling of flames", and Tuḷu *bagabaga* "the crackling noise of conflagration", Telugu *bagguna* "suddenly (burning, flaming)", *baggumanu* "to burn, flame, catch fire suddenly" (*Drav. EtDict.*, 3149).

At least, one rather close Uralic cognate is extant in Samoied Ņanasan *fekagā*, *fekutea*, augmentat. *fekageikia* "warm", *fekūtem*, *fekuseam* "hot, to

be hot" (CASTRÉN, op.cit., 71, 233), going back to a root *feka-/feku-* < Ural. **pekV-/peku-* "warm, hot; to be warm, hot". While RAMSTEDT, "Einführung .", I, 53 sub Nānaj *pēku* lists Ijanasan *fekagā*, this as well as related Uralic forms are missing in COLLINDER's "Vocabulary".