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(*=In Japanese with English Summary.)

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北海道大学文学部附属

北方文化研究所

1985
Some Tungus Etymologies

Karl H. Menges

1. The Tungus word for "liver"

In the "Comparative Dictionary of the Mañču-Tungus Languages" (abbrev.: TgWB), II, 310 the word for "liver" is quoted in the following forms: Ewenki ḥakín, ḥaκín, with loss of the initial, aki in Barguzin, North-Bajkal, Maja, Zeja, Tokko, Tolma, Totto, likewise in Solon, aži; Lamut Ota, Penžinsk ḥaqun, Bysteria ḥaqun, Kołyma-Omoton ḥaqun, Allaixa, Moma, Tompon ḥačun, Sarqyr r ḥakun; Armañ āquina, āq, both meaning "stomach, belly"; Kur-Urmi xaki; Oroči xaki (n-) "liver, kidneys, entrails"; Udi xa'í (n-); Oroki pāqa, pāra; Nánaj pā, Bikin fā; Olča pā, both the latter being contractions of an older pā'ya, pāqa; Manṣu fahun "liver" and "felly (of a wheel) "; Russ. oboj kolec, probably a different etymon. For Korean, there is a reference to RAMSTEDT's "Studies in Korean Etymology" (abbrev.: SKE), 213: p'at in Koy-p'at "the kidneys", tentatively put by RAMSTEDT to the above Tungus etymon; this is phonologically impossible since the Tungus root has q/h as final to which Kor. -t cannot be considered as being equivalent. But so far, there is one parallel in Altaic, namely Turkic bājyr "liver, heart; belly" and "friend; related, kin" (for the various forms in Turkic cf. RÄŠÄNEN, 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 baqyr without length (HAMZAjian, "Türkmen Diliniň Sölzügi", 65), the proto-Turkic form was baqyr which corresponds to Tung. pāqyn/ paqyn; in view of Tk. b- and South-Tungus p- fiz-, the proto-Altaic form was either *p'aqyn/paqyn or *p'aqyr/paqr 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 RÄŠÄNEN, 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 ṑečen "liver". Usually, its etymology is traced back to the Indo-European root *pēh- "to cook, to bake", thus assuming
*peq-en-is as underlying proto-Slavic *pek-en-is > Old-Church-Sl., O.-Russ. ПЕЧЕНЬ, “жарта”, Čech pečenka but meaning “broiled steak”, the same Polish pieczena; 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 дъ́жар (Osm. Pers. джар), Sb. Kr. джигерика (Osm.). Also VASMER, Russ. Wörterbuch, II, 352 derives it from OChSl. ПЕКЪ, ПЕЩА, Russ. пекъ, печь “to bake, cook”, referring to MIKLO- SICH, MLADENOV, MEILLET and PREOBRAŽENSKIJ, comparing with it the metathetic Lithuanian kēpenos, f/pl “liver”, likewise derived from the metathetic кепа, кепти “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 σωκός ἥπαρ “(goose) liver stuffed with figs; fig-stuffed liver” > New Greek σωκός “liver” and ficatum, also ficatum, in Romance finally came to mean the dish as well as the bodily organ: Italian foie, Italian fegato, Span. hígado, Provençal, Catal. fetge, Rhaeto-Rom. Engadin fio, Ruman. fical, 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 pečenya/kēpenos 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 congnate of ἁπασσός “fat, greasy”, originally
figuring as ἐπιθυμοῦ of the inherited etymon, but later being used, like ściatum, as the only term, as POKORNY, 504, probably correctly assumes. The reason for this with the Germanic peoples seems rather to be not one of culinary art, but of tabu. KLUGE & MITZKA, i.e., mention the fact that prior to the discovery in medicine of the circulation of the blood, the blood has been considered as the product of the liver, and the heart as the see of life which both authors and POKORNY, 504, see illustrated by the Old Norse poetical term lifr “brother”, lifra “sister” as “the one stemming from the same liver.” A view similar to this is found with the Turks in a much larger semantic spectre: baryr “liver” may also designate relatives and even friends, cf. RADLOFF, WB IV, 1451, baryr, Osm., Az., Qrm., Tkm. “liver; front part of something”, baur Qn., Qq. “liver; relatives, brothers and sisters; relations, friendship” (IV, 1431 f.), Qq. baur kisi “relative(s)”, paryr, Küürük, Şor “id.” (IV, 1134: “the liver is in view of the Turks the see of love and compassion”), pär, Altaj, Teleut “id.” (IV, 1365), baryr, Uýur, “liver, belly, heart; (probably consanguinary) relatives” (cf. baryr bösüki “his close relatives” or the like, properly “his ‘liver’ and his cradle” in TTVI, 105), Drevne-tjurkij sl., 78. Jakut byar “id.; the middle of something”, often in ӱńg greeting with süräx (< jüräk) “heart” (PEKARŠKIJ, Jak.-Russ. Dict., 608 f.), Täväx, with transition to the palatal series, pëver “liver”. In Osman literary texts, baryr may have the meaning of “liver, lungs, heart, breast, bosom” (Tarama Sözlügü, 1963, pp. 366 ff., where no meaning of “relatives, etc.” has been noted; the same in REDHOUSE, Tk.-Engl. Dict., p. 329 f.) In the Turkic as well as in the Old-Scandinavian meanings of this etymon of “liver > relationship” ancient animistic views on consanguinary relationship, “blood-relationship”, as a relationship by or through blood, from liver to liver, is living on far into historical times, the blood being the mightiest mystical bonds of consanguinity. Similar, but much less outspoken is the Mongolian expression in the Jüan–Čao đa-Šy busu heligeta “fremdrassig; of alien race” (HAENISCH, “Wb. zu Manghol un Niuca Tobc’alan”, 75), properly “having another, a different, liver”, heligen, Lit.-Mg. > eligen “id.” < *päli-gän. This might be linked to the Indo-European root *pele-, płe- “broad and flat; to stretch out, to beat or press flat” (POKORNY, 805 f.), or to Indo-Eur. *pel-, pel-, plè- “to fill; fullness” (POKORNY, 799 f.).

The common-Indo-European word for “liver” is *jeqt(−), heteroclitic, gen. *jeqt-ino (POKORNY, 504) which survives in Arian, Greek, Latin, and Baltic, in the latter, in Old Lithuanian jeknos, jekanas, Lith. jeknos, Latv. akins, akins, and in Prussian, iagno, while in Slavic it has been lost since there existed the other etymon, *peq-en-is, f., surviving in Old-Church-Slavic, Old-
Russian and Russian ΠΕΧΕΝβ, etc. This has its Baltic equivalent in the metathetic Lith. kėpenos, f/pl, "liver" which, at its face value, could be derived, as it was done with the Slavic word, from kepù, këpti "to bake", the unexplained metathetic form of the older *pek-ù, *pëk-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, Urmmedizin, 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-. It is interesting that 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, ΠΕΧΕΝβ/kēpenos in the sense of σικωτόν ἡπατα, fricatu jecūr from the root Indo-European *peh- "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 interfering popular etymology connecting it with the inherited Indo-Eur. root *peh-. Thus, for proto-Balto-Slavic and for Indo-European alike, an independent etymon for liver, pek-en- or *peh-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 mugol, mugol, Ung. māj, Samojed Ėneneč mūd, mūdā, Ėļan. mita, Ėneč muro, mudo, Sölq. mydā, mīṭā, Kamaš myt “id.” (COLLINDE, Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary, 2nd ed., p. 53, common-Uralic, from the root *mēk-/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, Kannada baggari and Koḍagu baggare “thorax” appears as possible parallel, esp. when formally and semantically compared with Turkic barər, but proto-Dravidian and proto-Altaic *p- would in Dravidian as a rule be preserved as *p- and only in Kannada 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 “entail, gut, bowel”, Kōḷamī pēgu, pl. “intestines”, Najki pēgu “id.”, Pāršī pirul, piruvul, pl., “smaller intestines”, Gadha purug “stomach, intestines”, būḍug “stomach”, Gōṇḍi pīr, pir “belly, stomach”, and maybe Brāhūḍi pīḍ (Dravid. Etym. Dict., no. 3445), but also Najkṛ (Čanda) pigu, pīggu “intestine” (Drav. Et. Dict., Supplement, no. 3445). In these forms the r/r seems to belong to the root, so that BURROW in BSOAS, XI, 345 equates this with Uralic Xanty poraz “id.” (cf. also CASTR´N, Ostjäckische Sprachlehre, 100) and with Samojed Sölqup pārg, pārgā (CASTRÉN, Samojed. Wörterverzeichnisse, 165 f., 214 sub “Eingeweide”); COLLINDER, op. cit., 68, has Xanty parok, 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 *pēk- “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 pēku, hēku "hot, горячий"

This etymon is listed in the TgWB, II, 362 from all Tungus languages except žūrčen: Ewenki, practically in all (known) dialects, hēku/hēkā "warm, hot; heat", metaphor in Ilimpija for "brandy", and as verbal base, hēku-/hēkā-/ "to be, become warm, hot", in Barguzin (along with hēkē-), Sym, North-Bajkal, Nerča, Tokma it is transitive, "corporal, to warm up", and derivatives; Solon has only the derivatives ēxugdi, ēxuḍdi "warm, hot" and ēxu-lgi- "passorpet, to warm up (trans.)"; Lamut has in Ota, Mona, Penžinsk, Sarqyryr, Tompon hōk, in Bystraja ōk, in Oxotsk hōk, same meaning as in Ewenki, also as verb, with the usual great variety of forms and derivatives; Arman has uk and ukē, Negidal xēkū, xēku "id." and as exclamation xēko, xēko, and, for Negidal, a relatively large number of derivatives; for Oroch, only xēku, xēkusi "id." and xēku-li- "to become warm, hot" are listed; in Udi, the dialects of the Ańuj and Xor have xēkū'ī (<xēkū-si), of the Bikin and Samarga xukuj (<xukuj'ī<xēkū-si) and xēkū-si- "to warm oneself, become warm" in Xor, Bikin and Samarga; Nánaj has pēku, Bikin fuku and fēku, Kur-Urmi fēku, with a number of derivatives; for Olča, pēku "heat", pēkēliu "warm, hot" and two derivatives are listed; for Oroki, only forms with x-, xēkusi and xēkkuli "hot" with two derivatives are listed, all being loans from North-Tungus with initial x- <"p/-p- as still preserved in South-Tungus; Manju has a rare type of ablaut in fjafka- "to heat, bake (sun); to dry up, bake in the sun; vniititsa ", fjafka-u "warm, hot".

A close cognate with the ablaut i in the root is Ew. hičē- "to put at the fire, hang up above the fire" and in Urm "to be warmed (on the fire)"; hičit-/hičič-, on the Stony Tunguska, Maja, Urm, Čūr, Ĉulman, Saxalin, and with further variants such as hičet-/hiččč-, hičit-/hičč-, hičit-/hičč- / hučč- / hučč-, isit-/išč-, isit-/išč-, ičit- / ičč-, ičit- / ičč-, 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 iščit-/hiščit-, thus being treated, according to the sound rules of the Northern and Northwestern dialects, as being original -h-, not original -γ-. Lamut has hičet-/hičč- "id." and, as in Ewenki, the secondary forms hičet-, hičč- and isit-, without further derivatives; Negidal has xīčet- "id.", and in Upper Negidal, nearer to the Ewenki dialects with preserved -s-, xissčč- with an unaccounted for gemination; Udi has in Xor pīki-lē- "to bake". An influence from Turkic isig/yṣy, also issig/yṣṣyr "warm" (RĀSĀNEN, TkEtymDict., 173 f.) seems to be excluded, esp. since in neighboring Jakut this word has the form iti, vb. iti-
(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. *sulja, Ajan, sulitk' A'dan, Norbolok "dried meat; meal, fish-meal", from huli- "to dry (meat), вялить", TgWB, II, 345, or in the term for the mammoth, Ew. selt/selä for the otherwise regular hèli, helir which against TgWB, II, 140 has nothing to do with Jakut sial "mane, гриба", cf. Eskimo Southwestern Alaska kelagweh, East-Greenland kilaffaq, etc., "id." or in Ew. kiriin "whirlstorm, 'twister'") {*piyin with disturbances (due to tabu, without doubt) in the Ewenki anlaut: siriin Stony Tunguska, siriir Tungir, and kiriin Učur, Ajan, Saxalín, TgWB II, 322, for h-/0- {*p-: Nănjaj pugi- "to howl (storm)", Oiča piwsulu- "id.", Oroki sii "storm" being a loan from North-Tungus. Nănjaj has the velar pici- in Najhin along with the palatal fiki- in Bikin beside fqi-či- "to bake; warm up" and fkiia- in Kur-Urmî; for Oiča only pëkkî- "to bake bread" - a loanword from, or contamination with, Russ. pek-, the stem of the inf. peč- "to bake" - and psiki-či- "to warm up" are listed, where the unexpected length may have produced the geminates while the origin of -sk- in piskici- is not clear at all (likewise interference from Russ. pek-, peč?); as language contacts between Negidal and Oiča occasionally do occur, it might be a hybrid formation after the pattern of Negd. xissèt-. Mançu 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'ushije- "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 Manghol un Nuča Tobca'an", 76 as he'ushiyegu, the presumable correct phonetic reading being he'ushiegü "not to suffer, tolerate, not to endure" scil. xágar "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 pu'k xá-, listed also in SKE, 116, and with pugil pugil xá- "to be boiling, wallowing" as "probably onomatopoietic", proposed to connect Nănjaj pēku etc. with Kor. kil/-kýr- "to boil", reconstructed by him with question-mark as *phyl- with complete reduction of the root vowel and ensuing assimilation of the two root consonants, but he also put here pu'k xá- "to be warm" and pugil pugil xá- "to be boiling, wallowing", considered by him as "probably onomatopoietic" (cf. supra). But notwithstanding the question mark, RAMSTEDT correctly compared Nănjaj pēku and Kor. kyl/kýr- with M. -Mong. he'ushije-, reconstructing proto-Mg. *pegu "hot, warm", and with Tungus pēku "id." (SKE, 116, 215). His further comparison of this etymology with Turkic isi-,
xyy- (cf. supra) is to be dismissed. It would be desirable to have further derivatives in Korean of the root *peh-*, but there exists another etymon in favor of which it must have been lost, Old-Kor. tēh- “to be warm”, Pajkče *tap/tēp “warm” (cf. Bruno LEWIN, “Sprachkontakte zwischen Paekche und Yamato in frühgeschichtlicher Zeit”, Asiatische Studien, XXXIV, 1980, p. 173), New Kor. tēpk/-tēv- “id.” which, too, is Nostratic: Indo-Eur. *tep- *id., POKORNY, 1069 f., K’art’vel. Georgian t’ll-/*l’b- “to be warm”, t’bili “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: Malajalam vēka (vent-*) “to be hot, burn, boil”, vēka “heat; to cook”, Koṭa vēk “hot” (along with vej/-vedj- “to be burnt”, similarly Toda pēj/-pōd- “to burn (intr.), be hot”, but pēki “lukewarm, warmth”, Kannada bēju “to be burnt” and bēge “fire, heat”, similarly Koṭagu bēj- “to be warmed, burnt”, bēke “warmness, heat”, Tulu bējuni “to boil” (apparently intrans.), but bēpinī, bējipini “to boil (trans.), be boiled”, bēppu “lukewarm (ness)”, beča “heat, hot, warm”, Telugu vēgu “to be fried; grieve”, vēcu, vēpu “to fry”, vēki “fever”, vēdi “heat”, vēkha, vēča “heat”, Koṭa vek- “to fry” along with vej-(vet-) “to be burned”, Manḍa veh- “to be hot”, veh-en “hot”, Kuwi vēh- “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. *peq-, the following remains doubtful in view of its onomatopoetic character, its semantics and apparent rarity in Dravidian: Tamil paka-pakar-enal, an onomatopoetic expression of “making fire”, Koṭa baga, bagbagna “blazing with sudden flame”, Kannada baga, baga baga “sound used to express suddenly blazing up, the crackling of flames”, and Tulu bagobaga “the crackling noise of conflagration”, Telugu bagguna “suddenly (burning, flaming)”, baggunamu “to burn, flame, catch fire suddenly” (Drav-EtDict., 3149).

At least, one rather close Uralic cognate is extant in Samojed Ijanašan fekāgā, fekutea, augmentat. fekageikia “warm”, fekutem, fekuseanu “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 peku lists ṫanasan fekagā, this as well as related Uralic forms are missing in COLLINDER's "Vocabulary".