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THE "UGRIC-TURKIC BATTLE": A CRITICAL REVIEW

1. Introduction

In Uralic studies it is usually taken for granted that the uniqueness of the Finno-Ugric node, and therefore the existence of a unique Finno-Ugric family, was established in the final decades of the 19th century using systematic, scientific methods of analysis. This is based on supposedly compelling linguistic evidence, mainly from J. Budenz, a German linguist active in Hungary in the last decades of the 19th century.

J. Budenz is generally believed to have been the scientist who established the existence and uniqueness of the Finno-Ugric node and family beyond doubt. Much of the Uralic literature is based on this belief. However, there appears to be little discussion in the literature actually referring to the original works of J. Budenz. The purpose of this paper is to review this original work critically.

As we shall see, there are two problems with the evidence put forward by J. Budenz. Firstly, although J. Budenz claims to have adopted a systematic method of analysis (based on the Comparative Method), in fact he does no such thing. For example, he does not state the phonological criteria that are adopted for establishing the correspondences, so that it is not possible to ascertain their validity. In fact, 81% of a significant sample of his correspondences are no longer considered valid in the modern literature. Secondly, even if J. Budenz' conclusions had been supported by a testable method of systematic analysis, the reported evidence is in fact at variance with the modern assumption that the Finno-Ugric node is unique. In fact, J. Budenz recognises a significant number of Turkic/Hungarian correspondences, and concludes that some of these are indicative of a genetic relationship between Hungarian and Turkic!

1.1. Overview

It was known at the time of J. Budenz that the Mediaeval Chronicles¹ had indicated an unspecified Eastern homeland for the Hungarians. Between

¹ The main Mediaeval Chronicles that deal with Hungarian pre-history and history are: "Anonymus Gesta Hungarorum", written circa 1200 AD, and "Gesta Hungarorum", written by Simon Kézai between 1282–1285.

the 15th and 17th centuries it came to be taken for granted that this homeland could be identified with an area near the Ural mountains called *Yugria* (hence the terms "Uralic" and "Ugric"). This belief was based on the apparent similarity between the toponym *Yugria* and the ethnonym *hungarus*. This connection was supported by a later discovery that one of the populations in the area (the Voguls) called themselves *Mansi*, which, according to B. Kálmán "to the lay ear slightly resembles the name *magyar*" (1988 : 395).

The connection *magyar/Mansi* is still regarded today as strong evidence in support of the Finno-Ugric/Uralic theory, and it is still assumed to this day that Hungarian shares a privileged relationship with the languages in the *Yugria* area. Vogul, Ostyak and Hungarian are still held to form the conventional Ugric node, even though it is now generally recognised that Hungarian is radically different in phonology, morphology, lexicon and syntax from the other Ugric languages (Abondolo 1987; Sammallahhti 1988; Helimski 1984 : 253).

In a period of about thirty years to the end of the 19th century researchers began to apply Darwinian models to language development and to use the newly emerged Comparative Method. In the meantime, the Ugric theory, that is, the belief that Hungarian, Vogul and Ostyak are genetically related, was extended to include the languages of northern Europe (such as Finnish, Lapp, Mordvin, Zyrian etc.), and put on a supposedly scientific footing. In fact, J. Budenz first attempted to apply the Comparative Method to examine the correlations known at the time to exist between Hungarian and Turkic on the one hand, and between Hungarian and the "Ugric" languages (Vogul, Ostyak, Finnish, Lapp, etc.) on the other. Starting in the 1870s, J. Budenz, through a number of publications, argued that Hungarian was more closely related to the Ugric languages than it was to Turkic. Therefore, it was to be classified as Ugric. He supported this conclusion with a corpus of lexical Hungarian/Ugric correspondences.

However, as we shall see, in these original works the Comparative Method was either not applied correctly, or was not applied at all, for two basic reasons. Firstly, the Comparative Method was in its infancy at the time, which means that it could not have been applied systematically and scientifically in any case. In fact, this holds true not only of the Uralic languages, but also of the Indo-European languages, for the examination of which the method emerged and developed. As A. Fox says, "the forms of reconstructed Proto-Indo-European have changed out of all recognition as successive generations of scholars have refined and amended their predecessors' work" (1995 : 11).

Secondly, despite his correct programmatic and methodological intentions, J. Budenz did not specify the sound-rules by which he tried to establish his Hungarian/Ugric correspondences. Furthermore, arbitrary stretches of meaning were often accepted in order to establish the desired correspondence between Hungarian and a Ugric language, or to reject an undesirable Hungarian/Turkic correspondence. In a word, Budenz' corpus turns out to be of very poor quality, particularly in the light of modern linguistic knowledge.

In addition to this, it usually goes unmentioned in the literature that J. Budenz' conception of the (Finno-)Ugric family differs significantly from

the modern theory he is supposed to have scientifically established. At the end of the 19th century it was universally accepted among scholars that there was an overarching genetic relationship spanning all the languages that are now classified as Uralic and Altaic. J. Budenz, and the other scholars who took part in the 'Ugric-Turkic battle', embraced this view wholeheartedly. In particular, J. Budenz classified Hungarian as belonging to the extended Ugric branch, and, in his model, the Ugric branch, the Turkic branch and other Asiatic branches, all belonged to the wide Altaic family. As J. Budenz says (1869 : 375): "A nagy altaji [*sic*] nyelvcsaládot egyes nyelvcsoporthoz teszik: 1) mongol-mandsu-török-; 2) finn-ugor-; 3) szamojed [*sic*], melyek a szóalakulás jellemére, a származott szók és viszonyított nyelvalakok miképpen való képzésére, s a szók összeszerkesztésének néhány fővonásaira nézve egymással egyezőknak mutatkoznak."²

J. Budenz even supported this model by identifying specific correspondences that he claimed were indicative of a genetic relationship (from a higher level node) between Turkic and Hungarian.

In contrast to this picture, in the modern theory the Uralic languages are held to be completely unrelated to the Altaic languages. This is because at some point in the development of the paradigm (between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century), the Uralic languages came to be split off from the languages left behind in the Altaic family, although no original work to substantiate this assumed splitting-off can be found (Georg, Michalove, Manaster Ramer, Sidwell 1998). One consequence of this is that all the words of Turkic origin present in Hungarian are now classified as loan-words. Yet, J. Budenz made no such claim. J. Budenz simply intended to prove that, within the context of the wide Altaic family, Hungarian shares many more features with the Ugric languages than with the Turkic languages, and it is therefore to be definitively classified as Ugric.

Last but not least, it is worth observing that even the claim that Hungarian is more closely related to the Ugric languages than to Turkic turns out to be incorrect if one expects this 'closeness' to be substantiated by a significant number of shared features. In fact, as we shall see, within a given sample of J. Budenz' correspondences, the number of correspondences Hungarian shares with the Altaic languages (and Yukaghir) in fact nearly match the number of correspondences Hungarian shares with the (Finno-) Ugric/Uralic languages, according to modern knowledge.

As is evident from what said above, the term "Ugric" in J. Budenz' works does not have the same meaning as within the modern, conventional paradigm. In fact, J. Budenz did not even attempt to reconstruct either the conventional Ugric node (Hungarian, Vogul and Ostyak), or the conventional Finno-Ugric node, or those other intermediate nodes which represent a cornerstone of the modern family tree (notice however that the author occasionally mentions the definition "Finno-Ugric", for example in his article of 1869; see quote above). In other words, by using the term

² 'The wide Altaic language group is formed by various individual groups: 1) Mongolian-Manchu-Turkic; 2) Finno-Ugric; 3) Samoyed. These groups, judging from the nature of the development of the words, the formation of the derived words and the compared language forms, as well as some general tendencies of assembling the words, show similarities with each other' (our translation).

”Ugric” J. Budenz (1871–1873; 1878/1879) simply meant that the Ugric branch (of the Altaic family) was not divided into sub-groups or sub-nodes, but directly into main languages (*Hauptsprachen*). More precisely, in Budenz 1878/1879 : 196 the Ugric languages were divided into two major groups: a) North-Ugric, which includes: Lapp, Permian (Zyrian and Votyak), Ob-Ugric (Vogul and Ostyak) and Hungarian; b) South-Ugric, which includes Balto-Finnic, Mordvin and Cheremis. This division is motivated by the distribution of initial *ń-* (North-Ugric) *vs n-* (South-Ugric); for more detail on this topic and on other types of Uralic family tree see Sutrop 2000.

2. The ”Ugric-Turkic battle”

2.1. The presumed results

It is commonly claimed that the existence of the Finno-Ugric family (not the Uralic family as a whole yet) was first proven beyond doubt by a group of scholars, directed by the leading figure of József Budenz, as the result of an intense academic debate known as *Az ugor-török háború* (the Ugric-Turkic battle). The existence of the Finno-Ugric family is held to have subsequently been reinforced by the work of Otto Donner on the close and unique relationship between the Samoyed languages and the newly established Finno-Ugric family, thus giving rise to the Uralic family as it is traditionally conceived of. In fact, the conventional Uralic family tree dates back to O. Donner’s family tree outlined in his paper of 1879/1880.

One also often reads that, as a consequence of the outcome of the Ugric-Turkic battle, the competing thesis of the Turkic origin of Hungarian was definitively defeated. As M. Ruhlen (1987 : 68) says: ”In the final decades of the nineteenth century.... Budenz, [spent] the last 20 years of his life as the leading Finno-Ugric specialist in Hungary. In his major work, a comparative dictionary of the Finno-Ugric elements in Hungarian, Budenz proposed close to 1,000 correspondences between Hungarian and various Finno-Ugric languages, and laid to rest forever the erroneous notions concerning Hungarians closest relatives.”

Similarly A. Róna-Tas³ (1978 : 263–264) says ”In 1869 Á. Vámbéry published a paper on the Hungarian and ”Turkish-Tatar” word comparisons. The major but methodologically insufficiently gathered material was severely criticised by J. Budenz in 1871, and with this the so-called ”Turkish-Ugric⁴ battle” began. ”Ugric” in those times was used for what we now call Finno-Ugric. On the one side stood Vámbéry and his followers who tried to defend the thesis that the Hungarians and their language are of Turkish origin.... On the other hand J. Budenz and other scholars offered scientific arguments in favour of the Finno-Ugric origin of the Hungarian language. They insisted that the Turkish elements in the Hungarian language are loan-words from several periods.... Many Hungarians rejected the relationship with poor people with a ”fish fat smell” and enthusiastically

³ The quote is from footnote (7), starting at p. 263.

⁴ Note that the author uses the term ”Turkish”, which is in fact the correct English translation of the Hungarian word. However, given that the debate revolves around the correlations between Hungarian and the various Turkic languages, and not just Turkish, it is better to use the term ”Turkic”, as we do here.

cally "fought" for the "glorious Turkish origin". It was to the merit of Budenz, Hunfalvy, Munkácsi, Szinnyei and others that the up-to-date methods and sound facts slowly overcame the sentiments."

2.2. The real results

The real results of the Ugric-Turkic battle are quite different from what is generally propagated and believed. As we shall see, it is not true that J. Budenz considered a 11 of Á. Vámbéry's Hungarian/Turkic correspondences as incorrect. It is not true either that J. Budenz "insisted that the Turkish elements in the Hungarian language are loan-words from several periods", or that the works of J. Budenz and colleagues are based on "up-to-date methods and sound facts". Quite the contrary. The true picture is summarised in the following three points:

- J. Budenz recognised the existence of a certain number of correct correspondences between Turkic and Hungarian, among the many incorrect parallels proposed by Á. Vámbéry;
- most of these correct correspondences were considered by the author to be indicative of a remote, genetic relationship between Hungarian and Turkic (that this was the real situation is occasionally acknowledged in the literature, see for example Räsänen 1963/1964 : 184 and Pusztay 1977 : 95);
- as mentioned, the Comparative Method was not — and could not, in fact — be applied properly.

Recall at this point that J. Budenz does not take into account the Samoyed languages. In other words, he establishes correspondences only between Hungarian and one or other of the Finnic and/or Ugric languages. Notice also that we examine only the works by J. Budenz, and not the works by the other authors who also took part to the debate, for which see Pusztay 1977⁵.

3. Budenz corpus

In this paragraph we shall examine in detail a significant sample of J. Budenz' Hungarian/Ugric correspondences. These correspondences, which, according to the author, should prove beyond doubt the belongingness of Hungarian to the Ugric family, will in fact support the picture outlined in the three points above.

For the purpose of our analysis we have gone back to the original paper by Á. Vámbéry of 1869 and to the original paper by Budenz of 1871—1873, as well as to J. Budenz' dictionary: "Magyar-ugor összehasonlító szótár" (MUSz; 1873—1881). J. Budenz (1871—1873) argues that most, but not all, of the Hungarian/Turkic parallels proposed by his adversary are wrong. The author divides them into 4 classes:

- Class I contains correct correspondences; these can be considered testimony either of an original, genetic Ugric/Turkic relationship (34 words are classified this way), or of borrowing (8 words are classified this way). To quote his own words (1871—1873 : 75) "a szóegyezéseket négy csoportra osztva sorolom elé: I. Olyanokat, melyek helyeseknek fogadhatók el, vagy

⁵ Among the other authors who took part to the debate see for example P. Hunfalvy (1883). See also the dictionary by J. Szinnyei "Magyar nyelv hasonlítás" (1896—1927).

mint a törökből való magyar kölcsönvételek, vagy mint az "ugor-török ősrökonság" tárgyalásához tartozó adatok."⁶

- Class II contains correspondences which appear to be good at first sight, but are in reality incorrect (*látszatos egyezések* 'apparent correspondences').
- Class III contains correspondences which are clearly wrong (*helytelen egyezések* 'wrong correspondences').
- Class IV contains irrelevant correspondences in the sense that they are either clear recent borrowing, or onomatopoeic, or irrelevant for other reason.

For each of the incorrect Hungarian/Turkic parallels proposed by Á. Vámbéry and then listed in Classes II and III, J. Budenz proposes his (alternative) correspondences from one or the other Finnic or Ugric languages. He thus intended to prove, on the basis of phonological and/or semantic reasons, that the Hungarian/Finnic/Ugric parallels, and not the Hungarian/Turkic parallels, are correct.

We have analysed a sample of Budenz Corpus. We have selected a 11 the etymologies which can be classified as belonging to the core-Lexicon (which tends to be more resistant to the process of borrowing and more stable with regard to phonetic and semantic changes). More precisely, we have examined all the (core-Lexicon) items contained in Á. Vámbéry's paper⁷ of 1869, which have been subsequently reported and analysed by J. Budenz (first in his paper of 1871–1873 and then in his dictionary). We have analysed only the core-Lexicon parallels included in Classes I–III, which number a total of 123 items — the etymologies of Class IV have not been taken into consideration, being indeed irrelevant. We have examined the parallels of Class I, that is the 'correct' parallels, at first separately from the 'incorrect' parallels (included in Classes II and III), and afterwards together with them. We have also compared all of these 123 items against the modern "Uralisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch" (UEW), to verify what their status is in the light of modern knowledge.⁸

⁶ I will list the word correspondences dividing them into four groups: group I: those which are to be considered correct, either as loan-words from Turkic, or as data pertaining to the discussion of the "Ugric-Turkic original genetic relationship" (our translation).

⁷ Á. Vámbéry (1869) stated that Hungarian belongs to the (Finno-)Ugric language group and considered that the Turkic elements present in it are the effect of a relationship he classified as of second nature/degree. This relationship is in fact due to close, recent, intense contacts, basically to *összeolvadás* 'fusion'. However, in 1882 Á. Vámbéry published a book called: "A magyarok eredete; ethnologiai tanulmány", where he strongly claimed that the Hungarian people and language are of Turkic origin. He based his claim mainly on the following two elements: a) the historical sources, which consistently call the Hungarian Turks; b) the many lexical and structural similarities between the two languages.

⁸ It is acknowledged that the most comprehensive source for the Uralic languages is K. Rédei's UEW. Therefore, we have used this dictionary (the only Uralic dictionary available) as a reference point against which to compare Budenz corpus. we have also used UEW transcription (unless otherwise specified) except, of course, when examples are reported within a quote. The purpose of this is for the reader to retrieve the reference and compare the original languages, and it does not necessarily denote general acceptance of UEW reconstruction in the literature or by the authors of this paper. For a review of the general acceptance or otherwise of UEW reconstructions see Kulonen 1996. See also Marcantonio 2001, where it is argued that many of the Uralic etymologies listed in UEW could, in fact, also be the result of chance resemblance.

3.1. Class I: the "correct correspondences"

The first relevant factor which emerges from the analysis of the Hungarian/Turkic parallels classified by J. Budenz as belonging to Class I is that they turn out to be quite a good number. In fact, of the total number of 123 parallels examined, the correct correspondences number 42 items. Furthermore, the majority of these 42 good correspondences, exactly 34, are considered by J. Budenz as indicative of old, original genetic relationship between Turkic and Hungarian, whilst only 8 are considered to be the result of borrowing. This is, of course, a significant result, and one that is hardly ever reported in the literature. Notice, furthermore, that there does not seem to be any criteria (or at least, they are not specified), on the basis of which J. Budenz makes his judgement as to whether these correspondences are possible cognates or possible loan-words. J. Budenz himself seems to recognise this fact by marking with a question mark the one or the other sub-classification. Notice also that for most of these good Hungarian/Turkic parallels J. Budenz also reports correspondences from the Ugric languages.

In Table I at the end of the paper we have reported the 42 Hungarian words included in Class I, without, however, reporting the Turkic parallels as proposed by Á. Vámbéry (this being not relevant for the aim of this paper). For each of the listed words we have indicated the page number in J. Budenz' MUSz dictionary or, alternatively, in J. Budenz' paper of 1871—1873 (indicated as NyK), if the word in question is not reported in the dictionary. We have also indicated the classification of these words according to UEW, that is, we have indicated to which Uralic branch the word belongs and whether there are correspondences in non-Uralic languages. If the word under discussion is not recognised as being of Finno-Ugric or Uralic origin — and therefore is not reported — by UEW, the abbreviation *n.l.* 'not-listed' is used. If the Hungarian word (and related Uralic etymology) also has a non-Uralic parallel this is indicated by adding the symbol +. Table I has been divided into two sections: the first section, Table Ia, contains those 34 Hungarian parallels (of the Turkic words) which, according to J. Budenz, are indicative of an original relationship (*ősrokonság*); the second section, Table Ib, contains those 8 parallels believed by J. Budenz to be the result of borrowing.

The following comments may help evaluate the content of Table I. Regarding Table Ia the following holds:

- 11 Hungarian words are not listed in UEW, that is, they are not recognised as being of Uralic origin by the modern dictionary (items number 4, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 24, 31, 33, 34);
- 11 words are recognised as being of Uralic origin, but they also have a parallel in the Altaic languages and/or Yukaghir according to UEW (items number 1, 2, 8, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 28, 29, 30);
- 9 words are considered to be of Uralic origin only, that is, no parallels in non-Uralic languages are reported.

Regarding Table Ib, still according to UEW, the following holds:

- 2 Hungarian words are not listed (items number 2 and 8);
- 2 words are connected with Altaic languages, although with uncertainty (number 1 and 3);
- 1 word has good Uralic as well as Turkic correspondences (item number 6);

- 1 word is classified as an uncertain Hungarian parallel of an otherwise good Uralic etymology; a derivation from Turkic is considered possible (item number 4);
- 2 words are classified as having good correspondences in Uralic languages only (items number 5 and 7).

3.2. Class II and III: the "incorrect correspondences"

3.2.1. The list of the incorrect correspondences

Let us now discuss the incorrect correspondences as listed by J. Budenz in Classes II and III. They can be analysed together, despite the fact that J. Budenz divides them into two different groups, given that the difference between them is fictitious. The parallels in question, let us recall, are Hungarian words which, according to Á. Vámbéry, have good correspondences in the Turkic languages; according to J. Budenz, however, the proposed Turkic/Hungarian correspondences are incorrect, for phonological or semantic reasons, or both. Instead, J. Budenz proposes alternative Hungarian/Ugric parallels which he claims to be correct. These alternatives, supposedly good Hungarian/Ugric parallels — 81 in total — have been compared against the UEW dictionary, in the same way as the correspondences of Class I have, to verify their status in the light of modern knowledge. The results of this comparison are as follows:

- only 23 Hungarian words have good, purely Finno-Ugric/Uralic correspondences; that is, out of the 81 Hungarian words classified by J. Budenz as Ugric UEW establishes correspondences solely within the Uralic area for only 23 of them (the full list of these etymologies is reported in Table II at the end of the paper);
- 13 words have good Finno-Ugric/Uralic counterparts, but UEW also reports good correspondences with non-Uralic languages, mainly the Altaic languages, but also Yukaghir or, more rarely, some Indo-European languages;
- 11 words are considered to be part of an uncertain Finno-Ugric/Uralic etymological set (the etymologies are written in italics, which, according to UEW, indicates a high degree of uncertainty);
- in 3 cases, although the overall Uralic etymology is considered valid, the Hungarian parallel itself is considered uncertain;
- 30 Hungarian words are not listed in UEW at all;
- there is one duplicate.

3.2.2. The quality of the Ugric corpus

It is often the case that J. Budenz' choice of one or other of the Finnic or Ugric parallels is wrong, even if the overall Hungarian/Ugric connection is correct. For example, J. Budenz connects the Hungarian word for 'hunger, to be hungry', *éhség, éhes* (MUSz 771) with Finn. *hiuka* (Gen. *hiua-n, hiukais-ta* 'to feel hungry'), and Cher. *šuš-* 'to be hungry'. According to UEW 208 and 851, the Hungarian words are not at all connected to the Finnish and Cheremis equivalents, which are, in fact, not listed.

Similarly, J. Budenz connects Hun. *boka* 'ankle, heels' to Finn. *pahka* 'gnarl, protuberance, node', and Mord. *pov, povka* 'button, knob' (MUSz

460). However, Hun. *boka* is not listed in UEW, and is considered of old Turkic origin in TESz I 327. On the other hand, Finn. *pahka*, according to UEW 350, is connected to MordM *pakš* (< P-U **pakša*). In J. Budenz' opinion Hun. *orr* 'nose' is connected to Finn. *turpa* 'muzzle', Mord. *turva* 'lip', Zyr. *tirp*, Ost. *torip* (MUSz 842). According to UEW 801, the Finnish, Mordvin and Zyrian correspondences are valid, but the Hungarian and Ostyak parallels are wrong, the etymology being classified only as Finno-Permian. Hungarian *orr* might instead be connected to the F-U root **wgre* (**wōre*) 'mountain', from which Zyr. *vgr* and Vog. *wār-* 'forest' are derived (UEW 571), but with uncertainty, due to the switch of meaning.

In addition to this, in our opinion there is another, a more serious problem. Often the sound-shape and especially the meaning of a given set of parallels are stretched beyond any reasonable interpretation in order to try and establish a connection between Hungarian and another Ugric language. Conversely, Hungarian and Turkic parallels with basically the same meaning and similar sound-shape may be considered incorrect on the basis of difference in meaning (for example, 'hair (of body)' vs 'hair (of head)'). A few paradigmatic examples will suffice. In example 1 below J. Budenz rejects the connection between similar words in Hungarian and Turkic for 'navel' on the grounds that the semantic match is not present in all the Turkic dialects. Instead he makes an improbable connection between the Hungarian term for 'navel' with the Ugric term for 'tongue', 'dumb' or 'rope', despite the fact that Hungarian has its own term for 'tongue': *nyelv*, as recognised by the author himself.

1a. According to Á. Vámbéry (1869 : 161), Hun. *köldök* ~ *ködök*⁹ 'navel' corresponds to Cha. *köndük* / Osm. *köbek*, *göbek* 'navel'.

1b. According to J. Budenz (1871—1873 : 104), *köldök* belongs to Class II, that is, the Hungarian/Turkic connection is wrong. This is because Osm. *göbek* does not agree with the Hungarian form. The form containing *-l-*, in J. Budenz' opinion, is Ugric — no explanation is given as to why this should be the case.

1c. According to J. Budenz (MUSz 41—42), *köldök* is to be connected with Lapp *kiäl-dak* 'chorda, fides, nervus' / Finn. *kieli* 'tongue, language' / Mord. *käl* 'tongue, language' / Vog. *kal* 'dumb, mute, speechless', etc. This is because the real meaning of the Finnish word is held to be 'thin dangling body' ('fityegő vékony test'), as testified by the Finnish phrase *kello-n kieli* 'bell-of tongue, tongue of bell'. Similarly, the Hungarian word would not really mean 'navel', but 'navel cord' ('nabels schnur').

1d. *köldök* is not listed in UEW.

We are sure today that the Finnish term *kieli* 'tongue' derives from a totally different root, reconstructed as Uralic **kele* (**kēle*)¹⁰ by UEW 144. It has parallels in most Uralic languages, as well as in the Altaic languages and Yukaghir. It is also generally recognised that *köldök* is indeed connected to similar terms present in Mongolian, Turkic and Samoyed, and that the Hungarian term could have been borrowed directly from Turk. *kin-dik* (Róna-Tas 1988 : 744; Ligeti 1986 : 30, 81, etc.). Notice that J. Budenz is aware of the existence of words similar in sound and meaning present in the

⁹ *ködök* = *köldök*.

¹⁰ The Finnish dictionary SSA (1 1992 : 353) mentions the similarity between the Uralic and the Altaic forms, without taking position about the status of the similarity.

Turkic languages; for example, he mentions Tat. *kündük, kindik*; nevertheless, he simply states that one cannot doubt the Ugric nature of the word.

In example 2 J. Budenz rejects Á. Vámbéry's connection between the Hungarian and Turkic terms for 'to lay (eggs)' on the grounds that the Hungarian term is a transitive verb, whilst the Turkic verb is intransitive. Instead, he gives a forced interpretation of Est. *too-* 'to bring' as if it meant 'to lay eggs', on the grounds that this verb can co-occur with the noun *muna* 'egg'. 2a. According to Á. Vámbéry (1869 : 180) Hun. *tojni* 'to lay eggs', *tojás* 'egg', etc. are connected to Cha. *togmak* 'to be born', *togum ~ toχum* 'egg, seed, (child)-birth', etc.

2b. According to J. Budenz (MUSz 222—223) Hun. *toj-ni* and *tojás* (which belong to Class II) are to be connected to Est. *too-* 'to go and get, to bring', because this verb occurs in the phrase *muna too-* 'to lay an egg'. Within the same etymological set are also included Finn. *tuo-da* and Mord. *tuje-* 'to bring, get'. He argues that the Hungarian verbs *toj-* 'to lay eggs' and *hoz* 'to bring, carry' derive from the same Ugric form meaning 'to bring, carry'. The justification for the switch in meaning (from the more general 'to bring' to the more restricted 'to lay eggs') is to be found in the similar semantic switch that occurred in going from I-E **bhar-* and Lat. *fer-* to Ger. *gebären* 'to give birth'.

2c. According to UEW 528, the Hungarian verbs *toj-* and *hoz* are not connected. Finn. *tuo-* and Mord. *tuje-* can be derived from the reconstructed P-U root **toye-* 'to bring, get, give', to which *toj-* could be connected, but with uncertainty for several reasons, including the semantic switch. Compare also Yuk. *tadi* 'to give' / Old Ind. *da-dāti* 'he gives' / Lat. *dare* (UEW 529).

In example 3 J. Budenz rejects Á. Vámbéry's connection between the Hungarian word for 'stomach' and the similar Turkic words for 'internal cavity', because, in his opinion, this meaning is not present in all the Turkic dialects. Instead, J. Budenz connects the Hungarian word for 'stomach' with Ob-Ugric words meaning, variously, 'round' or 'egg'. The justification is that these objects all share a round form.

3a. According to Á. Vámbéry (1869 : 147) Hun. *gyomor* 'stomach' is to be connected to Cha. *tamur* 'internal cavity'.

3b. According to J. Budenz (1871—1873 : 118) *gyomor* belongs to Class III.

3c. According to J. Budenz (MUSz 171) this word is to be connected with Ost. *numir* 'round' / Vog. *numr* 'egg'. Such meaning association is justified by similar associations to be found in Indo-European languages.

3d. *gyomor* is not listed in UEW; the alleged Vogul and Ostyak correspondences are not listed either. This word is nowadays generally considered to be a loan from Turkic (see Ligeti 1986 : 21, 196, etc.).

In example 4 J. Budenz rejects the connection between the Hungarian and Turkic words for 'hair', on the grounds that the former relates to the hair of the head and the latter to the hair of the body. Instead, he connects the Hungarian 'hair of the head' with Ugric words meaning variously 'hair', 'fibre' or 'horsehair'.

4a. According to Á. Vámbéry (1869 : 149) Hun. *haj* 'hair (of head)' is to be connected to Cha. *kil* / Osm. *kil*, with the same meaning.

4b. According to J. Budenz (1871—1873 : 118), *haj* belongs to Class III; it cannot be connected to the Turkic forms, because their meaning is 'hair of body'.

4c. According to J. Budenz (MUSz 129), *haj* is to be connected to Vot. and Zyr. *si* 'hair (of head), fibre' / Finn. *hiukset* 'hair (of head)'.
4d. According to UEW 854, the Hungarian term derives from the Ugric form **kajɜ*, to be connected to Vog. *χōj*, *kōj*.

Note that Finn. *hiukset* does not seem to be related to any other word within Uralic (apart from Balto-Finnic, UEW 15). Furthermore, Vot. and Zyr. *si* derive from a totally different root, reconstructed as P-U **sije* (**sü-je*), which means 'annual ring of a tree, fibre' and to which Finn. *syy*, of the same meaning, belongs (UEW 443).

It can be seen from these examples that J. Budenz is highly unsystematic in how widely he is prepared to interpret the meanings in question: they may be unacceptably broad to prove one point, and unduly restrictive to prove another. It is on this kind of basis that the Hungarian/Ugric connection was in fact founded!

To conclude this list we would like to mention a single example of parallels which, according to J. Budenz, are only Ugric, but which nowadays are recognised to be widespread beyond the Uralic area.

5. Hun. *húgy* 'urine' (connected by Á. Vámbéry to Cha. *suduk* / Osm. *sīdīk*, etc. (1969 : 153)) / Finn. *kusi*, etc. J. Budenz (MUSz 120) correctly connected these two Hungarian and Finnish etymologies, rejecting Á. Vámbéry's Turkic/Hungarian connection. However, according to UEW, this term (< P-U **kuńće* ~ **kuće*) has parallels in all the Tungusic languages, compare, for example, Orok *χudugu* (UEW 210).

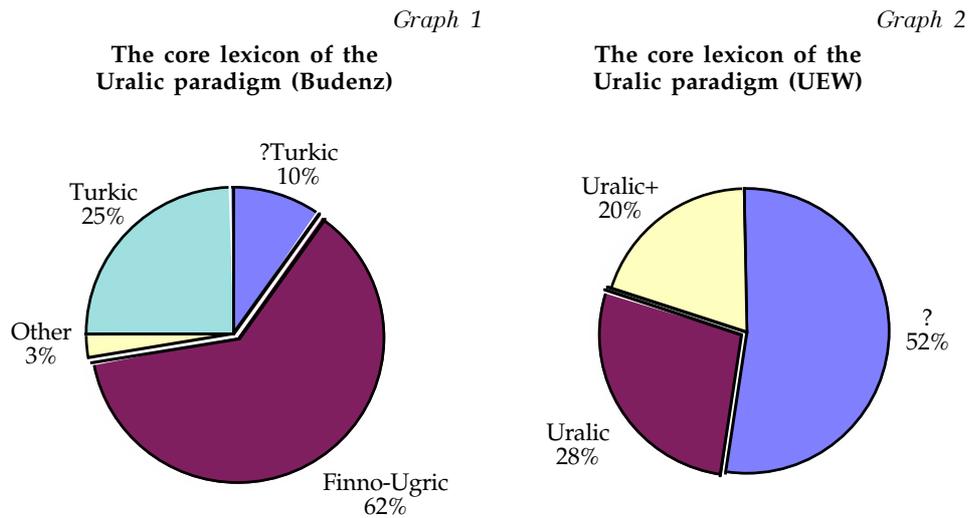
4. Statistical analysis

In this section we shall perform a statistical analysis of all the 123 Hungarian/Ugric parallels under discussion (actually reduced to 119 because of a few duplets), to verify the rate of agreement between J. Budenz' vs UEW classification. In other words, we aim to assess the validity of these Ugric correspondences in the light of modern knowledge. For comparison we have chosen the etymologies and reconstructions proposed by UEW dictionary, for the reasons expounded in footnote 8, even though the phonological and semantic criteria adopted by UEW in establishing its correspondences are rather lax (see again footnote 8).

The complete list of the parallels under examination is given in Table III at the end of the paper. The table is organized in the following way: the first column lists all the Hungarian items we have dealt with so far, that is all the core-Lexicon items proposed by Á. Vámbéry and commented by J. Budenz, with their meaning in the second column. J. Budenz' and UEW classification of these items are given in the third and fourth column respectively. The ? symbol in Budenz' column means that the author cannot decide whether the good correspondences between Turkic and Hungarian are indicative of borrowing or of an old, genetic relationship. One ? in UEW means that the classification is considered a bit uncertain by the dictionary, whilst double ?? means that the whole etymology is considered to be very uncertain. In the fifth column, labelled "Our classification", we have simplified the original J. Budenz' and UEW classifications, in order to have a manageable number of groups that can be analysed statistically in a meaningful way. As one can see, the three different categories found

in UEW — “not listed”, “uncertain etymology (?)”, “very uncertain etymology (??)” — have all been reduced and marked with one ? only. Similarly, any kind of uncertainty expressed by J. Budenz is simply marked with ?. Note that, within this fifth column, the format is as follows: ‘re-classification of J. Budenz / re-classification of UEW’. The last two columns provide the reference of the Hungarian word under discussion (that is, the page number), whereby in the UEW column we have also indicated the specific Uralic sub-branch the Hungarian parallel belongs to.

The following graphs illustrate the results of the statistical analysis.



The first graph represents J. Budenz’ classification of the 119 parallels, with the following results:

- 25% are considered testimony of an old, genetic relationship between Hungarian and Turkic;
- 10% are still considered good Hungarian/Turkic correspondences, but Budenz is unsure whether they are the result of borrowing or real cognates;
- 62% are classified as good, pure Hungarian/Ugric correspondences.

As one can see, the overall number of the good Hungarian/Turkic correspondences (whether believed to be borrowed or cognates) are 35%, against the 62% of the good Hungarian/Ugric correspondences. This is therefore, according to the author, evidence for a closer relationship between Hungarian and the other Ugric languages than between Hungarian and Turkic (but see below).

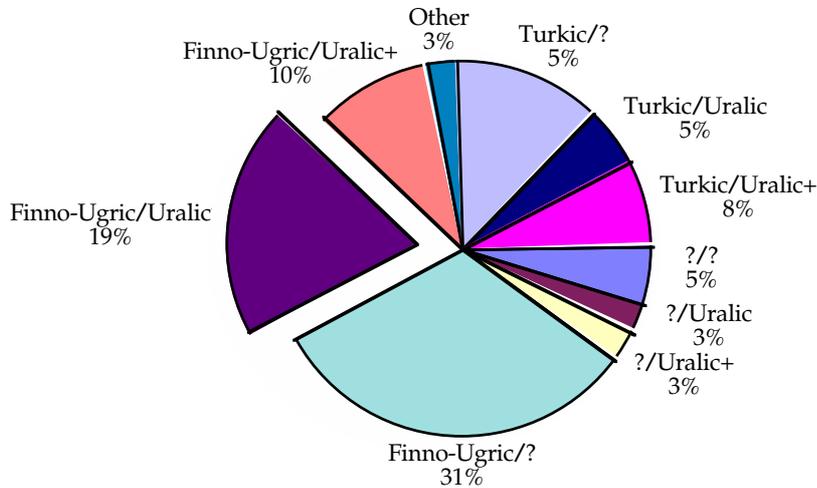
The second graph represents UEW classification of J. Budenz’ etymologies:

- only 28% of J. Budenz correspondences are recognised as good, purely Finno-Ugric/Uralic etymologies;
- 20% are classified as good Finno-Ugric/Uralic etymologies, but they have good correspondences also in non-Uralic languages, mainly Turkic, Mongolian, Tungus, Yukaghir, and, more rarely, in Indo-European languages (U+).
- 52% of the etymologies are not recognised as valid anymore.

As one can see, there is little difference between the etymologies classified as purely Uralic (28%) and the etymologies classified as ‘U+’ (20%).

Graph 3

The core lexicon of the foundation of the Uralic paradigm:
Closest relations according to Budenz/UEW



The third graph illustrates the degree of agreement between UEW and J. Budenz' classification. The calculation has been done on the basis of our re-classification, that is on the basis of the classification presented in the column labelled "Our classification" in Table III. The results are as follows:

- J. Budenz and UEW agree about the pure Finno-Ugric/Uralic nature of the parallels only with regard to 19% of them;
- 10% are classified as purely Ugric by J. Budenz, but as having good correspondences also in non-Uralic languages (U +) by UEW;
- 5% are recognised as good Ugric/Turkic correspondences by J. Budenz, but as pure Uralic etymologies only by UEW;
- 8% are recognised as good Ugric/Turkic correspondences by J. Budenz; similarly, UEW recognises that there are correspondences with other non-U languages (U +), in addition to Turkic;
- 31% of the parallels classified as Ugric by J. Budenz are classified as uncertain by UEW;
- 5% are considered as uncertain etymologies by both sources;
- 13% of the parallels are considered as good Turkic/Ugric correspondences by J. Budenz, but as uncertain by UEW;
- finally, absence of agreement is testified by the other minor classifications: other / ? (3%); ? / U (3%); ? / U + (3%).

As one can see, the number of the etymologies that are classified as being purely Ugric/Uralic and for which there is agreement between the two sources is very low, only 19%. This number is actually even inferior to the overall percentage of the good Uralic etymologies which are recognised as having good correspondences in non-Uralic languages, at least according to UEW: a total of 21%.

5. Summary and Conclusions

One can summarise the results of the analysis carried out in this paper as follows.

- A great deal of J. Budenz' correspondences are incorrect according to modern knowledge. In addition, the number of errors is higher than one would expect, even allowing for the historical and factual difficulties encountered in applying the Comparative Method to the languages under discussion (see Marcantonio 2001).
- The number of J. Budenz' as well as UEW good correspondences which do not have parallels beyond the Uralic context is not so much higher than the number of the good Finno-Ugric/Uralic correspondences for which a correspondence with another Asiatic language can be established. In other words, judging from these data only, one could not claim that there is conclusive, compelling evidence in favour of a clear-cut Finno-Ugric/Uralic family — assuming for a moment that the etymologies under investigation are all valid.
- As claimed by J. Budenz, there is indeed evidence for a (slightly) closer relationship between Hungarian and the other Uralic languages, rather than between Hungarian and Turkic. However, one must not forget that the data are heavily biased toward the Finno-Ugric/Uralic family. This bias holds true not only for J. Budenz' data (as we have seen through some examples), but also, obviously, for the data reported by UEW and utilised here for the purpose of comparison.

Our first conclusion is, therefore, that the existence and uniqueness of the Finno-Ugric node was not established scientifically and beyond doubt in the last decades of the 19th Century, as widely propagated and believed.

Our second conclusion is that, to borrow D. Sinor's words, "... Uralic, Altaic, and Uralo-Altaic comparative linguistics should shake themselves free from simplistic — black and white, yes and no — solutions" (1988 : 739) and that, therefore, the traditional approach to the Uralic and Altaic studies clearly demands a much needed revision.

Table I

**J. Budenz' Class I "correct correspondences"
(between Hungarian and Turkic)**

Table Ia

The correspondences indicative of genetic relations

Hungarian		Reference	UEW classification
<i>ángy</i>	'sister / daughter-in-law, aunt'	MUSz 746	U +, 10
<i>anya</i>	'mother'	MUSz 745	U +, 10 (?)
<i>apa</i>	'father'	MUSz 746	F-U, 14
<i>atya</i>	'father-in-law'	MUSz 760	n.l.
<i>öcs</i>	'younger brother'	MUSz 846	F-U +, 70
<i>agg</i>	'old man'	MUSz 717	F-U, 448
<i>gyerek</i>	'child'	MUSz 783	n.l.
<i>emő/emse</i>	'breast, mother / sow'	MUSz 783	U +, 74
<i>hát</i>	'back'	NyK 83	U, 225
<i>kar</i>	'arm'	MUSz 5	n.l.
<i>far(k)/farkas</i>	'tail, back-part, bottom / wolf'	MUSz 495	Ug., 407 (??)
<i>bor-ulni</i>	'to get cloudy'	NyK 78	n.l.
<i>csalit</i>	'scrub, bush'	NyK 79	n.l.

<i>domb</i>	'hill'	MUSz 256	Ug., 896
<i>felhő</i>	'cloud'	MUSz 511	F-U, 381
<i>fészek</i>	'nest'	MUSz 520	U, 357
<i>kova/kő</i>	'stone'	MUSz 40	F-U +, 163
<i>sár</i>	'mud'	NyK 87	n.l.
<i>szaj/zaj</i>	'thin ice'	MUSz 266	F-U, 29
<i>szál</i>	'thread / stalk'	MUSz 270	F-U +, 460
<i>alud-ni/ al-szik</i>	'to sleep'	MUSz 270	F-U +, 334
<i>em-ni</i>	'to suck'	MUSz 781	U +, 82
<i>fúj-ni</i>	'to blow'	MUSz 540	U +, 411
<i>gyűl-ni/ gyűjte-ni</i>	'to assemble'	MUSz 165-166	n.l.
<i>hat-ni</i>	'to act'	NyK 83	U, 130
<i>jár-ni</i>	'to go, walk'	MUSz 140	F-U, 102
<i>jön-ni, jöv-ők</i>	'to come'	MUSz 153	Ug., 109
<i>men-ni, megyek</i>	'to go'	MUSz 611-612	U +, 272
<i>vol(t), val(a), vagy</i>	'to be, become'	MUSz 592	F-U +, 580
<i>al, alatt</i>	'under'	MUSz 728	U +, 6
<i>alsó</i>	'lower, below'	MUSz 728	n.l.
<i>elő/előtt</i>	'pre / ahead, in front'	MUSz 778	F-U +, 71-72
<i>ért, érett</i>	'for, because of'	MUSz 794	n.l.
<i>csel-ekedni</i>	'to do, act'	MUSz 363	n.l.

Table Ib

The correspondences indicative of borrowing

Hungarian		Reference	UEW classification
<i>bőr</i>	'skin'	NyK 79	U +, 374
<i>csecs, csécs</i>	'breast, udder, nipple'	MUSz 374	n.l.
<i>daru</i>	'crane'	NyK 80	F-U +, 513
<i>hajó</i>	'boat'	MUSz 72-73	U +, 169-170(?)
<i>hangya</i>	'ant'	NyK 83	F-U, 209
<i>hód</i>	'beaver'	NyK 83	Ug +., 858
<i>köd</i>	'fog'	NyK 86	U, 158
<i>serte/sertés</i>	'bristle / pork, pig'	NyK 87	n.l.

Table II

J. Budenz' Class II and III Ugric correspondences recognised as good Finno-Ugric/Uralic correspondences and for which there are no parallels in other language families (according to UEW)

Hungarian		Budenz	UEW classification
<i>rokon</i>	'relative, related'	MUSz 668	F-U, 418
<i>epe</i>	'bile'	MUSz 791	F-U, 435
<i>fül</i>	'ear'	MUSz 548	F-U, 370
<i>haj</i>	'hair' (of the head)	MUSz 129	Ugric, 854
<i>nyál</i>	'saliva'	MUSz 406-407	F-U, 322

Hungarian		Budenz	UEW classification
<i>szív</i>	'heart'	MUSz 300	U, 477
<i>velő</i>	'marrow'	MUSz 571	F-U, 572
<i>éb</i>	'dog'	MUSz 764	Ugric, 836
<i>harkály</i>	'woodpecker'	NyK 83	Ugric, 855
<i>csillag</i>	'star'	MUSz 367-368	F-U, 46
<i>ég</i>	'sky, heavens'	MUSz 511	F-U, 435
<i>fű</i>	'grass'	MUSz 545	Ugric, 878
<i>gyökér</i>	'root'	MUSz 163	Ugric, 852
<i>hagyma</i>	'onion, bulb'	NyK 101	F-U, 164
<i>ősz</i>	'autumn'	MUSz 859	F-U, 443
<i>tavas</i>	'spring'	MUSz 187	F-U, 532
<i>ég</i>	'to burn'	MUSz 766	F-U, 26
<i>foly-ik</i>	'to flow, run'	MUSz 530	Ugric, 881
<i>fut</i>	'to run'	MUSz 544-545	U, 402
<i>iv- (i-, isz)</i>	'to drink'	MUSz 826-827	F-U, 103
<i>nyal</i>	'to lick'	MUSz 407- 408	U, 321
<i>éh, éhes</i>	'hungry'	MUSz 771	Ug., 851
<i>gyalog</i>	'by foot'	MUSz 160	F-U, 88-89

Table III

All J. Budenz' (Class I—III) correspondences and their classification according to UEW

Hungarian	Budenz	UEW	Our classification	Ref. Budenz	Ref. UEW
<i>daru</i>	'crane'	?Turkic (borrowed)	?Uralic&A	?Turkic/?	NyK 10, 80 F-U 513
<i>serte, sertés</i>	'bristle, pig/pork'	?Turkic (borrowed)	Not listed	? Turkic/?	MUSz 312
<i>ért, érett</i>	'for, pro'	?Turkic (genetic)	Not listed	? Turkic/?	MUSz 794
<i>fark/ farkas</i>	'tail/ wolf'	?Turkic (genetic)	Not listed	? Turkic/?	NyK 10, 81
<i>csalít</i>	'thicket, copse'	?Turkic (genetic)	Not listed	? Turkic/?	NyK 10, 79
<i>sár</i>	'mud'	?Turkic (genetic)	Not listed	?Turkic/?	NyK 10, 87
<i>fészek</i>	'nest'	?Turkic (genetic)	Uralic	?Turkic/ Uralic	MUSz 520 U 375
<i>zaj, szaj</i>	'thin ice'	?Turkic (genetic)	Uralic	?Turkic/ Uralic	MUSz 266 F-U 29
<i>hat</i>	'to act, be effective'	?Turkic (genetic)	Uralic	? Turkic/ Uralic	NyK 10, 83 U 130
<i>hód</i>	'beaver'	?Turkic (borrowed)	Uralic & A	? Turkic/Uralic+	NyK 10, 83 Ug. 858
<i>nyár</i>	'summer'	?Turkic (borrowed)	Uralic & Yuk	? Turkic/Uralic+	NyK 10, 106 U 324
<i>men-ni, megy</i>	'to go, travel'	?Turkic (genetic)	Uralic & Yuk	? Turkic/Uralic+	MUSz 611 U 272
<i>orr</i>	'nose'	Finno-Ugric	?Hungarian	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 824 F-U 571

Hungarian		Budenz	UEW	Our classification	Ref. Budenz	Ref. UEW
<i>férfi</i>	'man'	Finno-Ugric	?Uralic & A	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 517	F-U 84
<i>háj</i>	'fat/ lard'	Finno-Ugric	?Uralic & A	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 70	F-U 195
<i>úr</i>	'gentle- man'	Finno-Ugric	??	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 690	F-U 545
<i>bél</i>	'intestines'	Finno-Ugric	??	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 453	F-U 364
<i>csont</i>	'bone'	Finno-Ugric	??	Finno-Ugric/?	NyK 10, 79	F-U 45
<i>nyak</i>	'neck'	Finno-Ugric	??	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 405	U 328
<i>záp/ záp(fog)</i>	'rotten/ molar tooth'	Finno-Ugric	??	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 323	Ug 885
<i>far</i>	'bottom'	Finno-Ugric	??	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 495	Ug. 407
<i>nyúl</i>	'worm'	Finno-Ugric	??	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 428	Ug. 320
<i>toj-ik</i>	'to lay eggs'	Finno-Ugric	??	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 222	F-U 528-529
<i>falu</i>	'village'	Finno-Ugric	??	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 492	Ug. 351
<i>köröm</i>	'(finger-) nail'	Finno-Ugric	??Hungarian	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 44	F-P 677
<i>toll</i>	'feather'	Finno-Ugric	?Uralic & A	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 225	U 535
<i>bácsi</i>	'uncle'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	NyK 10, 94	
<i>húg</i>	'younger sister'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	NyK 10, 101	
<i>szajkó</i>	'jay/ parrot'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	NyK 10, 109	
<i>özön</i>	'stream, flood'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	NyK 10, 108	
<i>kölyök</i>	'young of animal'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 42	
<i>legény</i>	'young man'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 690	
<i>boka</i>	'ankle, heels'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 460	
<i>gyomor</i>	'stomach'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 171	
<i>koponya</i>	'skull, head'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	NyK 10, 120	
<i>köldök</i>	'navel'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 41	
<i>talp</i>	'sole'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 175	
<i>térd</i>	'knee'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	NyK 10, 125	
<i>gebe</i>	'nag, weak person'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	NyK 10, 99	
<i>kutya</i>	'dog'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 52	
<i>szöcske</i>	'grass- hopper'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	NyK 10, 110	
<i>beng [sic]</i>	'seed, bean (of some fruit)'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	NyK 10, 115	
<i>benge [sic]</i>	'bud'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	NyK 10, 95	

Hungarian	Budenz	UEW	Our classification	Ref. Budenz	Ref. UEW
<i>dér</i>	'(hoar-) frost'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 248
<i>derú</i>	'clear sky/ weather'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 249
<i>korom</i>	'soot'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	NyK 10, 104
<i>verem/ üres</i>	'hole/ empty'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 874
<i>gyúl</i>	'to catch fire'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	MUSz 190
<i>dél</i>	'south, noon'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	NyK 10, 97
<i>gyanánt</i>	'as, by way of'	Finno-Ugric	Not listed	Finno-Ugric/?	NyK 10, 100
<i>rokon</i>	'relative, related'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 668 F-U 418
<i>epe</i>	'bile'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 791 F-U 435
<i>fül</i>	'ear'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 548 F-U 370
<i>haj</i>	'hair (of the head)'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 129 Ug. 854
<i>nyál</i>	'saliva'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 406–407 F-U 322
<i>szív</i>	'heart'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 300 U 477
<i>velő</i>	'marrow'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 571 F-U 572
<i>éb</i>	'dog'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 764 Ug. 836
<i>harkály</i>	'wood-pecker'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	NyK 10, 83 Ug. 855
<i>csillag</i>	'star'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 367–368 F-U 46
<i>ég</i>	'sky, heavens'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 511 F-U 435
<i>fű</i>	'grass'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 545 Ug. 878
<i>gyökér</i>	'root'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 163 Ug. 852
<i>hagyma</i>	'onion, bulb'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	NyK 10, 101 F-U 164
<i>ősz</i>	'autumn'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 859 F-U 443
<i>tavas</i>	'spring'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 187 F-U 532
<i>ég-ni</i>	'to burn'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 766 F-U 26
<i>foly-ik</i>	'to flow, run'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 530 Ug. 881

<i>fut</i>	'to run'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 544–545	U 402
<i>iv-</i> (<i>i-, isz</i>)	'to drink'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 826–827	F-U 103
<i>nyal</i>	'to lick'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 407–408	U 321
<i>éh,</i> <i>éhes</i>	'hungry'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 771	Ug. 851
<i>gyalog</i>	'by foot'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 160	F-U 89
<i>út</i>	'way, road'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic	MUSz 869	U 546
<i>húgy</i>	'urine'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic & A	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic+	MUSz 120	U 210
<i>máj</i>	'liver'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic & A	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic+	MUSz 599	U 264
<i>hab</i>	'surf, foam'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic & A	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic+	NyK 10, 101	U 203
<i>ín</i>	'tendon, sinew'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic & I-E	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic+	MUSz 817	U 441
<i>fél</i>	'half'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic & I-E	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic+	MUSz 506	U 362
<i>ős</i>	'ancestor'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic & Yuk	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic+	MUSz 857	U 78
<i>hó</i>	'snow'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic & Yuk	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic+	MUSz 136	U 204
<i>en-ni,</i> <i>esz-ik</i>	'to eat'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic & Yuk	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic+	MUSz 802	F-U 440
<i>len-ni/</i> <i>lesz</i>	'to be, become/ will be'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic & Yuk	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic+	MUSz 698	F-U 243
<i>által/</i> <i>át</i>	'across/ through, by means of,'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic & A Uralic+	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic+	MUSz 740	U 332
<i>hegy</i>	'mountain, hill, top'	Finno-Ugric	Uralic & Yuk	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic+	MUSz 96	F-U 110
<i>hal</i>	'fish'	Finno-Ugric	Wanderwort	Finno-Ugric/ Uralic+	MUSz 77	U 119
<i>keczel</i>	'puppy'	Rumanian	Not listed	Other/?	NyK 10, 120	
<i>gerinc</i>	'spine, backbone'	Slavic	Not listed	Other/?	NyK 10, 117	
<i>csorda</i>	'herd'	Slavic	Not listed	Other/?	NyK 10, 116	
<i>hajó</i>	'boat'	Turkic (borrowed)	??Hungarian	Turkic/?	MUSz 73	U 169
<i>bőr</i>	'skin'	Turkic (borrowed)	?Uralic & A	Turkic/?	NyK 10, 79	U 374
<i>csecs</i>	'breast, udder'	Turkic (borrowed)	Not listed	Turkic/?	MUSz 374	
<i>jár</i>	'to go, to function'	Turkic (genetic)	? Hungarian	Turkic/?	MUSz 140	F-U 102
<i>öcs</i>	'younger brother'	Turkic (genetic)	? Uralic & A	Turkic/?	MUSz 846	F-U 70

Hungarian		Budenz	UEW	Our classification	Ref. Budenz	Ref. UEW
<i>domb</i>	'hill'	Turkic (genetic)	??	Turkic/?	MUSz 256	Ug. 896
<i>jön, jövök</i>	'to come'	Turkic (genetic)	??	Turkic/?	MUSz 153	Ug. 109
<i>elő, előtt</i>	'fore (part)'	Turkic (genetic)	??Uralic & A	Turkic/?	MUSz 778	F-U 72
<i>anya</i>	'mother'	Turkic (genetic)	?Hungarian	Turkic/?	MUSz 745	U 10
<i>atyá</i>	'father'	Turkic (genetic)	Not listed	Turkic/?	MUSz 760	
<i>gyerek</i>	'child'	Turkic (genetic)	Not listed	Turkic/?	MUSz 171	
<i>kar</i>	'arm'	Turkic (genetic)	Not listed	Turkic/?	MUSz 5	
<i>borul</i>	'to become' cloudy	Turkic (genetic)	Not listed	Turkic/?	NyK 10, 78	
<i>csele- (eksz-ik)</i>	'to do, act'	Turkic (genetic)	Not listed	Turkic/?	MUSz 363	
<i>gyűjt-</i>	'to assemble, gather'	Turkic (genetic)	Not listed	Turkic/?	NyK 10, 82	
<i>köd</i>	'fog'	Turkic (borrowed)	Uralic	Turkic/ Uralic	NyK 10, 86	U 158
<i>hangya</i>	'ant'	Turkic (borrowed)	Uralic	Turkic/ Uralic	NyK 10, 83	F-U 209
<i>apa</i>	'father'	Turkic (genetic)	Uralic	Turkic/ Uralic	MUSz 746	F-U 14
<i>agg</i>	'old man'	Turkic (genetic)	Uralic	Turkic/ Uralic	MUSz 717	F-U 448
<i>hát</i>	'back'	Turkic (genetic)	Uralic	Turkic/ Uralic	NyK, 10,83	U 225
<i>felhő</i>	'cloud'	Turkic (genetic)	Uralic	Turkic/ Uralic	MUSz 511	F-U 381
<i>ángy</i>	'sister-in-law'	Turkic (genetic)	Uralic & A	Turkic/ Uralic+	MUSz 746	U 10
<i>em-ni, emik</i>	'to suck'	Turkic (genetic)	Uralic & A	Turkic/ Uralic+	MUSz 781	U 82
<i>fúj</i>	'to blow'	Turkic (genetic)	Uralic & A	Turkic/ Uralic+	MUSz 540	U 411
<i>vol-, vala etc.</i>	'to be, become'	Turkic (genetic)	Uralic & A	Turkic/ Uralic+	MUSz 592	F-U 580
<i>al-, alatt</i>	'[space] under'	Turkic (genetic)	Uralic & A	Turkic/ Uralic+	MUSz 728	U 6
<i>kő</i>	'stone'	Turkic (genetic)	Uralic & Yuk	Turkic/ Uralic+	MUSz 40	F-U 163
<i>szál</i>	'thread, stalk'	Turkic (genetic)	Uralic & Yuk	Turkic/ Uralic+	MUSz 270	F-U 460
<i>emő[sic]/ emse</i>	'breast/ sow'	Turkic (genetic)	Uralic & A	Turkic/ Uralic+	MUSz 783	U 74
<i>alud-, alsz-ik</i>	'to sleep'	Turkic (genetic)	Uralic & A	Turkic/ Uralic+	MUSz 737	F-U 334

Languages and language-groups abbreviations

A — Altaic; **Cha.** — Chagatay; **Cher.** — Cheremis; **Est.** — Estonian; **Finn.** — Finnish; **F-U** — Finno-Ugric; **Ger.** — German; **Hun.** — Hungarian; **I-E** — Indo-European; **Lat.** — Latin; **Mord.** — Mordvin; **MordM** — Mordvin (Moksha); **Old Ind.** — Old Indian; **Osm.** — Osmanli (Turkish); **Ost.** — Ostyak; **P-U** — Proto Uralic; **P-F-U** — Proto-Finno-Ugric; **Tat.** — Tatar; **Turk.** — Turkic (languages); **U** — Uralic; **Ug.** — Ugric (= Ugric languages according to current meaning: Vogul, Ostyak, Hungarian); **Vog.** — Vogul; **Vot.** — Votyak; **Zyr.** — Zyrian; **Yuk.** — Yukaghir.

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«УГОРСКО-ТЮРКСКАЯ БОРЬБА»: КРИТИЧЕСКИЙ ОБЗОР

В последние десятилетия XIX века в уралистике с помощью научных методов анализа было установлено существование уникальной финно-угорской языковой семьи. Эта теория в основном базировалась, как предполагалось, на сравнительных исследованиях немецкого ученого Й. Буденца, работавшего в Венгрии в конце XIX века.

Принято считать, что Й. Буденц установил уникальность финно-угорской семьи и на его выводах основаны многие исследования. Однако до сих пор в литературе не обсуждались сами оригинальные труды Й. Буденца. Предлагаемая статья посвящена их критическому пересмотру.

Две наиболее важные проблемы, на которых хотелось бы остановиться: во-первых, Й. Буденц, несмотря на свои утверждения, сам упомянутым сравнительным методом не пользовался в своих трудах; во-вторых, его выводы об уникальности финно-угорской семьи не совпадают с предположениями современных исследователей. Установленные Й. Буденцем многочисленные турецко-венгерские аналогии свидетельствуют скорее о генетических связях венгерского и турецкого языков!