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## RECONSTRUCTION AND THE SUBSTANCE OF PROTOLANGUAGE \*

The major or minor formal differences between PU — PFU reconstructions are constantly met with in Uralic linguistics. Doubts arise from the hypothetical essence of reconstruction, and the reasons are to be found in the various linguistic methods and trends as a result of which sometimes even one and the same linguist is compelled to take two or more alternatives for reconstruction into account. I would like to demonstrate the present practice in two tables based on arbitrarily selected material. In Table 1 twelve items can be found which compare the differences between Janhunen (J) and the Uralisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch (UEW) reconstructions but refer to other reconstructions as well. In Table 2, however, under numbers 13—43 examples for variational-alternative solutions within UEW are given.

The dualities and ambiguities that manifest themselves in the reconstructions could be explained by several reasons. Referring only for the time being to UEW reconstructions, they can be qualified as 'conceptual compromises' since they reflect the theoretical views ('conception') of the editor on the phonological system of the Uralic protolanguage which differ in many respects from the views of E. Itkonen, W. Steinitz, B. Collinder and even from the approach practised in «A magyar szókészlet finnugor elemei». (In the latter work we can only speak of practice, for the differences in theoretical views between the editors frequently result in proposing contradictory proto-forms.) Considering it from another standpoint, the UEW reconstructions can be the results of compromise, for the editor had intended to make use of the mutually accepted and acceptable elements of previous arguments on historical phonology integrating them with his own views. In this sense compromise is a necessity, because it is only with this method that diverse actual data of certain sister languages can be traced back to one common and hypothetical proto-form.

The validity or plausibility of these reconstructed stems can nevertheless be overturned by coming across a single hitherto unknown new fact: it could modify the formal representation of the proto-form or its chronological interpretation.

There is nothing to be disputed in the method UEW had decided to follow, but there are uncertain and improbable reconstructed stems reappearing in the dictionary, probably the consequence of contradictory actual forms (or which can be interpreted as such) within sister languages. This is the reason why UEW in several cases displays two or more reconstructed stems, even in the case of Ugric protolanguage (PUG.) as well: e. g. PUG. \*ākz, \*āyz od. \*āwz 'Tochter,

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			Table 1
(1) J-2 PS *kājå- ~ PFP *kađa-	< PU *kådā-	= UEW *kaδ'a- 'lassen'	H-227 POU *kūδ'- ~ *kīδ'-
(2) J-12 PS *kämpå ~ PFP ? *kompa	< PU *kompå	= UEW *kumpa 'Welle'	H-271 POU *kūmp
(3) J-15 PS *jākā ~ PFP *juka	< PU *jukå	= UEW *joke 'Fluß'	Coll. *jōkɜ, H-178 POU *jīγ, *jīγɜ
(4) J-16 PS *jāptå ~ PFP *lupsa ~ ? *lūpšå	< PU *lupså	= UEW *lupša 'Tau'	
(5) J-25 PS *weså ~ PFP *wāškå	< PU *wāškå	= UEW *waške 'Metall'	
(6) J-59 PS *nir ~ PFP *nüdi	< PU *nüdi	= UEW *niδɜ (*nüde) 'Stiel'	Coll. *nü(η)δɜ, H-419 POU *nāδ ~ *nēδ ~ *nōδ
(7) J-126 PS *pā ~ PFP *puxi	< PU pɜxi (*pā-, *po-, *pī- + xi)	= UEW *puwe	Coll. *pu
(8) J-117 PS *sejå ~ PFP *šüdām(i)	< PU *šādā, *šüdå	= UEW *šiδä(-mɜ)/ *šüdä(-mɜ) 'Herz'	H-593 POU *sim
(9) J-81 PS *keāj ~ PFP *kēli	< PU *kåxli	= UEW *kele (*kēle) 'Zunge'	
(10) J-83 PS *ñeāj ~ PFP *ñōli	< PU *ñxl	= UEW *ñele (*ñōle) 'Pfeil'	Coll. *ñōlō (*ñōlō), H-459 POU *ñīlɜ
(11) J-88 PS *ñādmå ~ PFP *ñoma- + -la	< PU *ñoxmå	= UEW *ñoma(-lɜ) 'Hase'	
(12) J-80 PS *kåāt ~ PFP *kosi	< PU *kåxsi	= UEW *kuse <sup>1</sup> ~ *kose 'Tanne'	Coll. *kowse, HP *kowese, H-236 POU *kōγθɜ, (UEW: «w Sekundärlaut»!)



- (13) \**niwa-* (\**niŋa-*) 'enthaaren' U  
 (14) \**lsmz* od. \**δ'smz* 'kleine Fliege' U  
 (15) \**kuńće* ~ \**kuće*<sup>1</sup> 'Ameise' FU  
 (16) \**kuńće* ~ \**kuće*<sup>2</sup> 'Harn' U  
 (17) \**kuńće* ~ \**kuće*<sup>3</sup> 'Stern' U  
 (18) \**kuńće* ~ \**kuće*<sup>4</sup> 'Birke' FU  
 (19) \**kenčz-* (~ \**kečz-*) 'suchen' FU  
 (20) \**kinče* (\**künče*) (~ ? \**kiče* (\**küče*)) 'Nagel' FU, ?U  
 (21) \**čančz-* ~ \**čačz-* 'schreiten, gehen' U  
 (22) \**čačz-*<sup>2</sup> ~ \**čančz-* 'geboren werden' U  
 (23) \**čęčz* ~ *čęńčz* 'Wildente' FU  
 (24) \**junča* ~ \**juča*<sup>1</sup> 'Einschnitt, Weg' FU  
 (25) \**junča* ~ \**juča*<sup>2</sup> 'Mitte' U  
 (26) \**končz* (\**kāńčz*) ~ \**kočz* (\**kačz*) 'Muster' FU  
 (27) \**końčz* ~ \**kočz* 'Baumrinde' FU, ?U  
 (28) \**końčz* ~ \**kočz* 'lang' U  
 (29) \**kunčz* ~ \**kučz*<sup>1</sup> 'Wurm' FU  
 (30) \**wačz*<sup>1</sup> ~ \**wančz* 'Wurzel' U  
 (31) \**weńčz* ~ \**wečz* 'ganz, all' U  
 (32) \**pańče-* ~ \**pače*<sup>1</sup>- 'aufmachen' FU  
 (33) \**pańčz* ~ \**pačz*<sup>2</sup> (\**pončz* ~ \**počz*) 'Schwanz' FU  
 (34) \**puńča*<sup>2</sup> ~ \**puča*- 'drücken' FU  
 (35) \**sŋńčz* (\**seńčz-lz*) ~ \**sčz* (\**sčz-lz*) 'Eidechse' FU, U  
 (36) \**piŋse-me*, \**pise-me*, ? \**pipse-me* 'Lippe' U  
 (37) \**korz*<sup>4</sup> ~ (\**korwz-*) 'reiben' FU  
 (38) \**ku-* (\**ko-*) 'wer' U  
 (39) \**kuse*<sup>1</sup> ~ \**kose* 'Tanne' U (= 12!)  
 (40) \**lačke-* ~ \**laške-* 'lassen' FU  
 (41) \**lapčz* (\**lapšz*) 'Wiege' U  
 (42) \**šälä-* (? \**čälä-*) 'schneiden' FU  
 (43) \**täje* 'Laus' !! FU, etc.

Mädchen'; \**arz*<sup>2</sup> (\**urz*) 'Kante, Seite, Richtung'; \**kāńčz* ~ *kāčz* 'mager; abmagern'; \**mańčz* ~ \**mačz* 'Märchen; erzählen'; \**tüps-tz* od. \**tüwz-lz* 'Feuer' etc. These alternative possibilities are presented by the dictionary in several ways: if the concept demands or allows two different reconstructions, the less probable form is put in parantheses behind the more favoured form; when alternatives based upon linguistic facts within protolanguage are also considered, the alternating pairs are separated from one another by tildes in the dictionary.

The reason for the UEW undertaking to illustrate the variants in two different combinatory ways is less clear; some of the entries (e.g. No. 26, 33, 35) display four proto-forms (parentheses and tilde combination). The editor at times does not see the difference in probability between the reconstructed stems and this could also be the reason why he chose to use the conjunction 'oder' (or 'od.') between two proto-forms (No. 14). Equal probability can be expressed by the comma between two alternative forms (No. 36). For marking the least probable ones the question mark is used besides parentheses together (No. 20, 36, 42). The multi-stage system in presentation (or qualification) might contain subjective elements of decision as in example No. 43 when the alternative proto-forms are not given despite the fact that on the basis of Ugric and Lapp dialect variants mentioned in the dictionary even three alterna-



tives are possible in the following way:  $*t\ddot{a}je + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -k_3 \\ -t_3 \\ -m_3 \end{array} \right\}$ , where the different order of suffix combinations in parentheses could be the subject of choice (No. 43).

Technical matters are of less importance than the cases where consonant clusters containing nasal elements alternate perforce with elements without nasals. There are several reasons for justifying the entry of such alternate forms:

- a) Finnougric linguistic facts point to the existence of nasals, in Samoyed there is no such reference (No. 20).
- b) Reconstruction of nasals is necessitated by Samoyed data, but there is no trace of any nasal present in Finnougric languages (No. 22, 23, 30, 31).
- c) There are one or two Finnougric languages besides Samoyed that would prove the existence of nasal elements, but another Finnougric language either contradicts this, or does not give any information from the above mentioned point of view (No. 21, 28, 35).
- d) Some Finnougric languages underline the existence of nasals while other FU languages do not (like the occasional Samoyed words, not significant but perhaps relevant in this case: No. 16, 17, 27, 29).
- e) There is only one FU language that gives evidence to the existence of nasals, but there is no sign of it in any other Ob-Ugric languages, and on the basis of Samoyed material  $*-p-$  and not a nasal can be reconstructed as the first component of the consonant cluster (No. 36).
- f) There is no Samoyed data but there are some FU languages containing nasals while others do not — according to a totally irregular distribution (No. 15, 18, 19, 23, 32, 33, 34).
- g) Contrary to point (f) a language group (the Ob-Ugric in this case) displays a nasal, while another language group (Permic) does not (No. 26).
- h) The Ob-Ugric group does not display any nasal, yet the nasal can be documented in other FU languages that Ob-Ugric had been compared with (No. 24).

Getting back to Table 1, contrary to the practice of the UEW the PU reconstructions of Janhunen are characterized by contrasting PFP and PS reconstructed stems where the analysis of combinatory possibilities of vowels are also considered. This reconciliatory («bridging the gap») method seems to be more plausible than the former ones, since the confrontation between PS which can be reasonably well reconstructed and PFP forms renders a comparatively more solid — if not exact — basis. The final result shows several conceptual differences when compared with UEW proto-forms, especially when PFP long vowels are contrasted with PS diphthongs as in the explanation given about their PU antecedents (No. 9–12), or in illustrating some PU vowels in an unusual way ( $*\ddot{a}$ ,  $*\ddot{ä}$ ,  $*\ddot{ü}$ ).

The long-awaited PU reconstructions would certainly be more accessible if they were more solidly based on three pillars, i. e. if the PUg proto-form were also drawn in to help in the so-called reconciliatory solution. Analysing the more plausible forms seems only to be a humble wish for the time being from a methodological aspect, for there is still something 'fishy' about Ugric reconstruction in theoretical and practical terms, independently of the deliberate catachresis; proceeding from our current knowledge this cannot be achieved, and research in this field does not seem to offer many quick and promising results. The



consequences and the expected trends are illustrated in Honti's Proto-Ob-Ugric (POU) reconstructions which are included in the 'Notes' to Table 1 (under the letter H). Some of them harmonize with the proto-forms of Janhunen or partially harmonize with UEW items (No. 2, 10, 12), others draw our attention to the hazy background of sound changes (No. 1, 3, 6, 8) and one can only hope that the cloud surrounding Proto-Hungarian (PH) will one day disappear and further research will be urged, but at present this seems to be a rather hopeless affair. In theory a PH reconstruction is deemed possible and if it could be carried out in practice, establishing groundwork for four pillars (PH — POU — PFP — PS) instead of the three mentioned above would seem necessary.

The classification of etymologies into certain and uncertain ones depending mainly on strict sound laws, i. e. on formal-external criteria, was a further problem, thus semantic points of view remained in the background or did not even appear, making it a sore spot of recent Uralic research. I would like to repeat Mikola's arguments I agree with in this connection, i. e. meaning seems occasionally more static than the variable phonetic form undergoing at times unexpected changes. From the examples he mentioned (*Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* 89:211) I would like to cite the case of *Fi. sulka* and *Md. érams*, the first of these words beginning with a sibilant, the second having an internal *ř* and excluded for this reason from PU *\*tulka* 'Feder, Flügel', or the *\*elä-* 'leben' family of words, despite the fact that words belonging to this concept comprise the oldest layers of language, their meaning is extraordinarily constant. There is only one phonological reason against grouping them into the Uralic etymologies according to which one or two phonemes do not act conformly to the set of rules comprising sound laws. The irregular changes of such phonemes are sporadic transformations due to the influence of a change in phonetic environment and various phonotactic reasons. In any case, the fact that UEW — unlike MSzFE, Coll. and others — holds the Uralic origin of the Mordvin word possible is encouraging, although no reference to Mikola is made. Unfortunately it does not accept *Fi. sulka* as a member of the PU *\*tulka* etymology, unlike SKES which takes this possibility into consideration.

The studies of Bakró-Nagy (e. g. *NyK* 80, 81, 83) also draw attention to the unresolved state of affairs in semantic analysis by discussing semantic features and attempting to reconstruct the relevant meaning of some etymologies in the protolanguage. The initiative is encouraging but on account of the scanty results I do not wish to comment on whether the method recommended can be adequately applied for our purposes.

Besides demanding urgent semantic analysis and development I also wish to point to a certain territory where determining the original meaning of a word will remain a mere illusion. The fish-nomenclature for instance, previously considered as of decisive importance in solving problems of Uralic 'Urheimat'. I had the opportunity in the past and recently to explain (in: *Specimina Sibirica* 1: 63:69) that the various meanings of fish names evinced by existing daughter languages do not make it possible to deduce the original meaning of these aquatic creatures either from the point of view of species, genus, or family, yet they are a decisive factor. Names used for fish today allow us to make a general conclusion as to the highest taxa (phylum, order and class). It is only in very exceptional cases that perhaps conclusions can be made concerning the family as well, but lower ranking (subgeneric) systematic units can never be deduced. This is the reason why I had not approved of the way UEW had endeavoured to define the protolanguage genus, species and variety of fish the names referred to: *\*šampe* 'Acipenser



sturio', \**totka* 'Cyprinus tinca', \**jekz* 'Perca fluviatilis', \**säkä* 'Silurus glanis?', etc. Fortunately these are rare cases. In such a dictionary a more general solution is recommended: the reconstructed stems could be defined as 'eine Fischart' or 'eine Art Fisch'. Similar problems have to be dealt with in the case of bird names, lower animals or plants.

The authenticity of these reconstructions is relative and hypothetical (and as seen above, misleading). There should be nothing disturbing about it since the incertitude derives from the characteristics of the concept of protolanguage itself.

According to Ravila's formula the value of the concept of protolanguage is in inverse proportion with the time component: the older we date protolanguage, the less operational value it will possess. Let me remark that this assertion was validated for non-natural protolanguages. In reference to natural protolanguages like Latin or Old Church Slavonic Ravila's theory does not hold true. The theory, logical as may seem, is debatable in connection with reconstructed protolanguages as well, especially if numerous secondary (intermediary) languages are placed between PU and the daughter languages of today. The validity of PU reconstructions is undeniably a great deal more uncertain than Proto-Finnic or Proto-Permic, languages closer in time to the present, and this argument is in favour of Ravila's theory. PS, however, which is even a longer distance away from us in time was relatively easily reconstructed while no such luck had been found reconstructing the contemporaneous PUG. or POU evolving somewhat later, not to mention Volga-Finnic and Proto-Hungarian.

Nevertheless Hungarian has the greatest number of literary remains despite the fact that in our family of languages there is a lack of written records. The latter contradiction is peculiar since contrary to the established principles it leads us to believe that etymologists are faced with an even more difficult task when in possession of literary records. This is definitely not the case since it is the pronunciation of Old Hungarian literary remains that has not yet been completely clarified and there have been so many linguistic events, transformations during the thousand year history of Proto-Hungarian due in part to external events which make language development of that significant period difficult to see clearly. Therefore, the speed of the changes and the reliability of the reconstruction do not so much depend on the time elapsed as on geographical migration and the changes which have taken place under external circumstances.

Reinterpreting reconstructions from time to time is demanded by the concept itself. Perhaps it would be useful to demonstrate my standpoint by opposing reconstruction to construction.

Constructions are always comprised of components and their value without which no function is possible. If we take Jean Tinguely's functional mobile in a public square as an example, we find that it is a construction built on iron scrap: gears, steel axles, spiked bars, spirals, trundles, steel balls moving along a set course, spinning, ascending and descending circular quadrate figures assembled from luminous bodies with the spare parts doing programmed movement, receiving power from an electronic source. The components of the structure (wheels, pulleys, handles, rolling parts etc.) carry out planned, repetitive multi-directional movement which are accompanied by sound and light effects. One can gaze at such a mobile and evaluate it from an aesthetical point of view, for the «work» completed is of social and artistic interest, although its function is to no concrete purpose: still, it determines the atmosphere of a public place or the atrium of a department store in a unique and



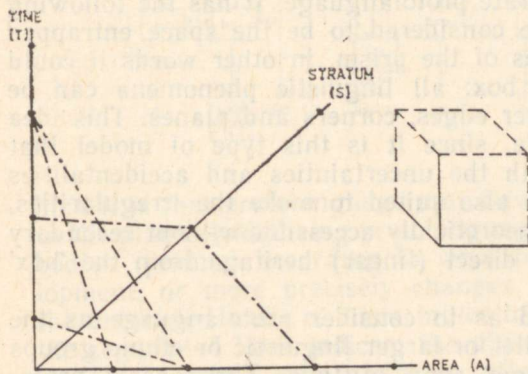
characteristic way. If one of the components starts malfunctioning, the construction, just like any other industrial robot, is no longer a system that functions.

Reconstruction on the other hand is characterized to a greater extent by the absence of composing elements rather than their presence. Construction is reality, but reconstruction cannot be identified with reality as such (and this is what makes it different from restoration as well). PU protolanguage does not carry any realistic significance, it is a logical system with a function and existence which cannot be considered as real. Contriving to build such a hypothetical logical structure is necessary because with it the results of research on the prehistoric sister languages can be summarized, while it can prove to be a starting point towards comparative analyses with its metalanguage features which might ultimately demand the modification of the elements of such a reconstruction.

One must take into consideration that the elements of reality within a reconstruction are limited, but we cannot claim that reality can be discarded in any way from reconstruction. On the contrary, the purpose of each reconstructional operation is to approach reality in the best possible way although reality can never be achieved. Its sense and value are determined by the estimated degree of proximity attained. It is probable therefore, that besides or instead of the traditional comparative methods other modes of research (e.g. typological conclusions taking into account language universals) can enrich or alter our knowledge of protolanguage. Information gained through other methods could diversify our picture of protolanguage but cannot alter it completely to an extent that would create a synchronically functioning system of network. According to the basic principles above, this would be an impossible, hopeless and unnecessary attempt. We must remain content with practical linguistic activity only capable of synthesizing actual results concerning protolanguage gained with the assistance of up-to-date operations.

When we are the participants of such an activity, we cannot rely on protolanguage being merely an artificial creation which cannot exist in reality the way we strive to recreate it. Proceeding from the above principles, the fact that the language system we wish to get to know never existed in its reconstructed form means that it can be looked upon as one or several natural languages spoken by the ancestors of the society of that early period becoming the predecessors of daughter languages born later. PU possessed the features of natural languages but it did not possess a standard, a koine. It was presumably inhomogeneous, perhaps the related set of sister languages of smaller tribal clans.

Table 3



The main reason for the heterogeneity of protolanguage is not only the lack of koine but that its linguistic features can be approached — like all natural languages — from three dimensions: space, time and social strata. The creation of a linguistic model of protolanguage is possible on such a basis, with the coordinates arranged according to time (T), space (A = area) and social stratum (S) outlined on three axes (Table 3).



How can these three points of view be applied to the Uralic protolanguage? The dialects and local varieties of protolanguage should be placed on the spatial (areal) axis. This seems to be the most realistic axis since the dialects of protolanguage have always been considered to exist in theory, even certain attempts were made to establish it as a fact (see: Bárczi's historical-dialectological research on Proto-Hungarian). The existence of the time axis is also incontestable despite the generally widespread idea that reconstructed forms belong to the time of the dissolution of protolanguage. This restriction, on the one hand, does not clarify the meaning of «dissolution» (had there ever been anything of the sort in the traditional linguistic sense of the word?); on the other hand, the problem of chronological events within protolanguage is totally excluded although such events must have taken place. It is therefore probable that in some of the linguistic discrepancies or 'irregularities' of today we witness the survival of alternative features from different time zones. Neither the synchronic varieties of dialects nor the variations caused by the time factor in protolanguage can be disregarded. The most puzzling phenomena can be placed on the social stratum axis. Can the sociolinguistic aspect of early societies be mentioned at all in connection with natural peoples? I would answer this question albeit a theoretical one affirmatively. There exists a communicational practice in different partly aboriginal communities far from each other with the help of which linguistic differences determined by society can be supposed to have existed in PU as well: e.g. ritual vs. profane, folkloristic vs. popular, old vs. young, man vs. woman, leader vs. follower and other binary oppositions.

The three-dimensional protolanguage model could serve usefully for placing the reconstructed forms and their varieties (based on sister languages) along with their irregularities and contradictions on any of the axes of the coordinate system demonstrated in Table 3, or in any of the points of intersection between the axes. In consequence of the above I do not find genetically descended models natural, nor plausible, since there is only one solitary starting point mechanically bifurcating and eventually leading to modern daughter languages. The Finnish Heureka's language cone (kielikartio) is one of such models in spite of its imposing and ingenious qualities because if the superficies of the plane are folded appropriately, a cone will be obtained the tip of which can be interpreted as a point, and according to the afore mentioned basic principles, originating any language from one point is untenable.

Contending that protolanguage is three-dimensional I trust the condition of protolanguage demonstrated in Table 3 to be more to the purpose. This diagram can be folded into a geometrical figure of a rectangular or prismatic shape to illustrate protolanguage. It has the following advantage: protolanguage can be considered to be the space entrapped between the base, cover and sides of the prism, in other words it could be looked upon as an ordinary box: all linguistic phenomena can be originated from its inner and outer edges, corners and planes. This idea might seem bizarre but plausible, since it is this type of model that gives an opportunity to deal with the uncertainties and accidentalities reconstructed forms involve. It is also suited to make the irregularities, the problems of revival/survival theoretically accessible without secondary and tertiary protolanguages, i.e. direct (linear) heritage from the 'box' can also be taken to be possible.

The theory can be interpreted as to consider protolanguage as the inhomogeneous continuity of smaller or larger linguistic or ethnic groups existing side by side for a longer span of time. These early proto-

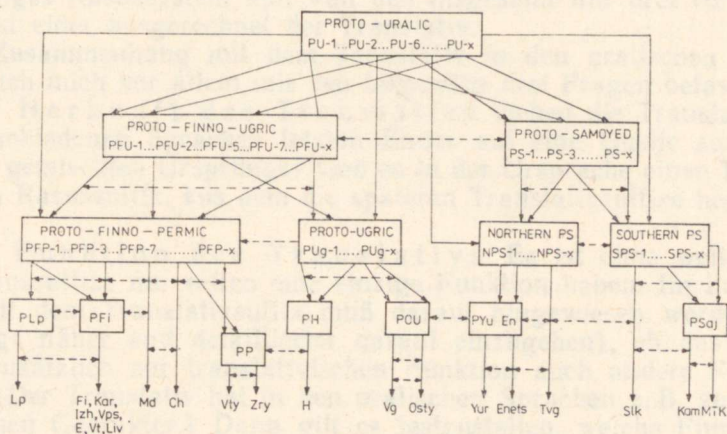


languages had had contact with one another, probably limited to neighbouring populations keeping linguistically in touch with each other and understanding each other. The flexibility and receptivity of language was probably larger than it is today and because of the possibility of constituting a chain between successive idiolects which were mutually intelligible a pandemonium in communication between two extreme poles of a larger territory did not necessarily exist. The variety of the idioms and their adaptability induce the languages in close contact with each other to cluster into language families, language groups where 'cluster' figuratively means an instable unity. The process can be traced back in time to the Paleolithic and Mesolithic period.

The rearrangement of linguistic groups into larger units presupposes an ethnic upheaval characterized by continuity, dissolution-diffusion and densification-fusion, into which foreign elements had integrated like an inclusion. The formation of the Uralic family of languages conjectures a boundless period of time, a large areal environment and a certain amount of stratification.

Finally, considering the Uralic protolanguage as a complicated structure unsupported by concrete data and for this reason rendering it as artificial does not make the graphical and traditional demonstration of the evolution of Uralic languages a futile effort. As long as the views expounded in this article cannot be presented convincingly by a hologram of protolanguage, the demonstrated graphs will do for practical purposes along with the modernised versions of the family-tree model. Heureka's 'kielikartio' seems to be one of the most attractive models, since it can also be formed into a geometrical shape although not in the way I had mentioned. In addition to these models I wish to present the picture of a plane (Table 4), a revised version of an earlier model. The theory be-

Table 4



hind it is that protolanguage may have had several forms. The rectangles in the plane symbolizing protolanguages could be regarded as rectangular bodies (prisms) according to what has already been said above. Development, or more precisely changes, transformations are illustrated by the entangled webs of lines indicating several points of origin, whereas the segmented lines indicate the different idioms bound to separate later yet for a certain time mutually influenced by each other. The drawing



like all illustrations simplifies things, but it also exemplifies the complications that arise from all that has not yet been discovered alluding to direct (linear) origination, with the help of data on modern languages, from protolanguage.

#### Sources and abbreviations

**Coll.** — B. Collinder, Comparative Grammar of the Uralic Languages, Stockholm 1960; **H** — L. Honti, Geschichte des obugrischen Vokalismus der ersten Silbe, Budapest 1982 (The number is the serial number of etymology); **J** — J. Janhunen, Uralilaisen kantakielen sanastosta. — JSFOu 77 1981; **UEW** — Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch I—II. Hrsg. von K. Rédei, Budapest 1986—1988.

Note: I did not use P. Sammallahti, Historical phonology of the Uralic languages. — The Uralic Languages. Ed. by D. Sinor, Leiden 1988, or Gy. Décsy, The Uralic Protolanguage: a Comprehensive Reconstruction, Bloomington 1990 for these studies appeared after I had completed my own compilation and they did not alter in any way the essence of what I had wished to convey.

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#### РЕКОНСТРУКЦИЯ И СУБСТАНЦИЯ ПРОТОЯЗЫКА

Исходя из материалов К. Редей (UEW) и реконструкций Ю. Янхунена, Б. Коллиндера, Л. Хонти и др., автор рассматривает проблемы уральского праязыка.