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IS NON-RELATIONSHIP PROVABLE?
The case of "Altaic"

The relationship between the three languages Turkish, Mongolian and Tungus, which are generally called "Altaic", has been debated for a long time. Since 1750 their genetic relationship has been asserted (by von Strahlenberg), since 1820 it has been denied (by Rémusat). In this connection a theoretical argument has been put forward, which I may quote in Hamp's words (1970): "We can only demonstrate relationship, never non-relationship. We can detect loans in roughly only two situations, (1) when they are relatively recent and the source is obvious, regardless of the relations of the receiving language (e.g., French loans in Basque, Russian loans in Mongolian); and (2) when we already know the genetic relations or philologically attested historic forms of the language so that we may detect anomalies in the phonological or morphosyntactic features of the forms in question".

This statement practically meant (or was so interpreted) that words common to Turkish and Mongolian could only be recognised as loans after the Yüan period, i.e., the 13th century. For this reason Poppe conceived Mong. *tenggis* 'sea' to be a loan from Turk. *teñiz* because here Mong. -s corresponds to Turk. -z (and already the oldest Turk. texts of the 8th century show *teñiz*); on the other hand, Mong. *ekire* 'twin', comparable to Turk. *ekiz*, must be, according to him, a case of genetic relationship, because here Mong. -re corresponds to Turk. -z. And to assume two layers of loanwords, one of them in early times, so to speak among the proto-languages, was an unthinkable idea.

Now I want to present my objections.

(1) We know Turkish texts since about 688 (the Čoyren inscription), and we know Mong. glosses, found in Chinese texts, since about the 5th century. The language of the Sien-pi, although having a Mong. appearance, is not richly documented. But we possess 28 reliable glosses of Wei/Tabyač (4th-6th century) and 44 reliable glosses of Liao/Qitañ (10th-12th century). These languages display some dialectal features, but on the whole they are clearly Mongolian. I. e., the historic situation is not as it was formerly presumed to be.

(2) My second point is much more important. My honourable opponent Hamp is of the opinion that when comparable terms and morphs exist they must normally be taken for a proof of relationship and the burden of proof that they are due to borrowing lies on those who assume it (and, furthermore, that all these persons are in a bad situation, since only recent borrowing can be proved). Is that so?

Here is a general reflection. We know from the Chinese sources that since the earliest times Turks, Mongols and Tungus lived close to each other. We find Sien-pi and Wei reigning for a long time over the northern steppe and North China, while the Turks lived as their neighbours in the North, e.g., around the Baikal lake and in Tuva, and Tungus tribes lived in the East, close to the Mongols (but distant from the Turks). And all this lasted for many centuries, and anthropological, archaeological, ethnological and historic viewpoints show that this situation already existed before Christ. Is it imaginable, under these circumstances, that the "Altaic" nations had loan contacts only in recent times, but none in a remote past? I suggest that this assumption would contradict all our scientific experience. When peoples live close to each other for many centuries, loan contacts are *inevitable*.

Genetic relationship on the other hand *is* evitable: languages in contact need not be genetically related, as, e.g., American English is not related to the languages of the American Indian nations. But in case of a close contact borrowing is inevitable. This means that the one who asserts loan contacts is in the *better* position, a priori. And the burden of proof lies on him who asserts genetic relationship.

And this proof must, just as in Indo-European studies, satisfy strong, rigid and severe conditions. One cannot say, as Hamp does: "It would be foolish to claim that the Altaic relation was one of the generally accepted acquired truths ... it is clear that adequate formulations

of this level of quality are not yet available or accessible to make such a claim more than a hope. However ... the Altaic hypothesis seems to me entirely reasonable". This argument, which means that even small and dubious comparabilities are sufficient to prove the likelihood of genetic relationship, may be countered in Austerlitz's words: "To be sure, we can say that we believe that X and Y were once related and that the indices which A would normally be adduced to support such an originally systematic genetic relationship have disappeared in the course of time and have left only vague traces. This statement of course disqualifies itself".

We must see that the idea of several loan layers, put forward, e.g. by Sir Gerard Clauson, Ščerbak and myself, is reasonable. To give a parallel: we find older Roman (Latin) words in German, such as /štrāso/ < Latin *strata* (English *street*), a word which has undergone the second Germanic sound change /t/ > /s/ and we find recent loanwords, such as /strātum/ < Latin *stratum*, with a quite similar origin, but a preservation of /t/. That is to say, that an assumption that Mong. *tenggis* is a more recent loanword from Turk., and *ekire* is an older one, does not contradict probability: it finds parallels in other languages. It is furthermore confirmed by the fact that we may divide *ekire* into *eki* + *-re*; *eki* means 'two', but only in Turkish (Mong. has *qoyar* 'two' and *jirin*, originally meaning 'one of a pair, especially one woman of a pair of women in a polygamous marriage'), and Turk -z, in my opinion older **rie*, which has become *-re* in Mong., is a well-known Turkish (but *only* Turkish) suffix of paired things (existing, e.g., also in *köz* 'a pair of eyes, *bühüz* 'a pair of horns', *köküz* 'the bipartite breast'). Since both the root, *eki*, and the suffix are Turk., this word must be Turkish. It has been borrowed by twelve languages (all over Eurasia), also by Manchu, where 'two' is *juwe* and 'twin' is *ikiri*, a loan from (or rather via) Mongolian. Here we see a Turkish loanword in Mongolian, belonging to a time even before the earliest texts. On the other hand, we can also show that, e.g., *balbal* 'statue of a defeated and killed enemy', found in Turk. inscriptions of the 8th century, must be of Mong. origin. In Classical Mong. we find *barimal* 'statue', consisting of *bari*- 'to sculpture' + a well-known and typical Mong. suffix *-mal*. This must be a loan from Sien-pi or Wei. As we know, Wei had Mittelsilbenschwund, i.e., dropping of the middle syllable of words, e.g., *kelmörčün* 'interpreter' (Class. Mong. *kelemürči*), *saydagčün* 'quiver bearer' (Class. Mong.

sayadagčīn). We may assume a Wei form **barmal* or **barbal*, which could easily be transformed to Turk. *balbal*.

To summarize: clear proof exists that several layers of loanwords are found both in Mong. and Turkish. And this situation is inevitable since these nations lived from the earliest times in close contact. I may interpolate that I have found four different layers of Mongolian correspondences in Manchu, with different sound laws according to the age of borrowing. It is our *opponents*, the adherents of the "Altaic" theses who have to prove their assertion. I may adduce a comparison with the situation in law. Here, too, we have to prove evitable events. A murder, e.g., is an evitable event. (Nobody is forced to murder, and persons do not normally murder.) And when a man is accused of murder, the public prosecutor has to prove that the accused has committed the evitable criminal action; it is not his advocate's duty to prove that the accused is *not* guilty. It is the prosecutor's task to show that the assumption of the man's guilt is inevitable. And just so the one who asserts genetic relationship has to prove his thesis, and this cannot be done simply by alleging some words which are common to the investigated languages. Hence, the answer to the question "Is non-relationship provable?" is: "Non-relationship needs no proof".

We may confine ourselves to this general statement. But I want to show that the "Altaic" arguments put forward so far are rather weak and that even a remote and slight genetic relationship is unlikely. Of course, I cannot review the entire "Altaic" thesis in the course of these few lines. But I may give some hints which show my position. You may find further information in my books *Grundwort und Sprachmischung*, Stuttgart, 1988 and *Mongolo-Tungusica*, Wiesbaden, 1985; for those who take no pleasure in reading German, my article "The conditions for proving the genetic relationship of languages" *The Bulletin of the International Institute for Linguistic Sciences*, Kyoto Sangyo University 2:4, 1981, 39-58 may be of interest.

The adherents of the "Altaic" genetic relationship try to prove their thesis by several points, first of all, by words and suffixes, common to the "Altaic" languages. Rémusat has already remarked that these languages possess an enormous fund of common words, but that they are lacking basic words, "les mots qui désignent des objets de première nécessité, et qui constituent le fond des idiomes". However, the "Altaists" have shown that the "Altaic" languages *do* possess

common basic words, such as terms of body parts, e.g., Mong. *qilgasun* 'hair' = Turk. *qıl* 'hair', Chuvash-Turk., *xělēx* < **qīlīq*. But a more precise investigation shows that Mong. *qilgasun* has the specialised meaning 'horse hair'; 'human hair' is *hūsūn* in this language.

I agree with the "Altaists" that terms of body parts are basic words, since not all human beings possess telephones or cars or other objects of special civilisations, but all men possess bodies with their different parts. But the notion of "basic word" is too simple; we ought not to believe that all terms of body parts are on the same level and that terms of body parts cannot be borrowed. We must consider the fact that, e.g., English *stomach*, *muscle*, *face* are loanwords. We have to distinguish, at least, *fundamental basic words* and *periphereous basic words*; and periphereous basic words are almost as easily borrowed as terms of civilisation. As a norm, fundamental basic words refer to more important or impressive body parts, they occur more frequently in the texts, they are more frequently asked by language explorers, they show more psychological importance, they are better preserved in the languages, they are better known by bilingual persons and more rapidly answered when being asked and they are much less frequently borrowed; so to speak, they have a firmer seat in the brains.

The normal situation of related languages is a) that they possess a relatively high quantity of common terms for fundamental body parts; b) that some terms of fundamental body parts have changed their meaning, but go back to well-known roots, i.e., that the *roots* are identical, after all; c) that among the periphereous body parts loan-words are found rather frequently, but this is not so among the fundamental body parts.

As an example of a typical mixed language (in contact with Iranian dialects) I may adduce Khalaj, a Turkish language spoken in Central Iran. Let us compare the terms for 'eye' (fundamental body part) and 'eyelash' (periphereous body part). For 'eye' we always find the Turkish word *köz*, in all 28 dialects of Khalaj; for 'eyelash' we find both Turk. *kirpük* and Persian *muža*, Tati *mujja* and similar forms, even more frequently than the Turk. word.

What about the "Altaic" languages? I guess, you have already divined what I am going to say. The "Altaic" languages show the typical picture of mixed languages, of languages in contact. The terms for 'eye', e.g., are quite different: Turk. *köz*, Mong. *nidün*, and Tungus

**yāsa*, and none of these terms can be derived from a root to be found in one of the other languages. But we find common terms for 'eye-brow' (a periphrastic basic word) in Mong. and Tung., namely Mong. *kömösge* = Tung. **kömökte*. To give another example: for 'head' (a fundamental basic notion) we find Turk. *baş*, Mong. *teriyün*, Tung. **dili*, three different words; for 'forehead' (a periphrastic basic notion) we find different words, too, namely *hālīn*, *manglay*, **peye*, but Mong. *manglay* has been borrowed by many Turk. languages and by the Tung. language Solon.

So much for the body parts. Here is another problem. For a long time it has been pointed out that common terms for numerals do not exist in the "Altaic" languages. Hamp has tried to show (1) that "we may see possible cognate bases within Mongolian-Tungus for '2', '3' (?), '4', '6', and '9';" (2) the numerals of the decades show a common series of suffixes, namely **guan*. I must add (3) even Hamp was forced to admit that "the Turkic forms (which form a clearly defined set) a glance bear a different appearance"; for this reason he let the Turk. numerals aside – which fact might be warning enough. I do not want to discuss all numerals of Mong. and Tung. in detail, for two reasons: (1) it would take too much time, and (2) it would embarrass me continuously to contradict a scholar who has deserved well in Indo-European studies. Hamp neither considers the sound laws, nor knows the original forms of the languages in question, and, worst of all, for supporting his thesis invents forms which contradict all the results of "Altaic" studies (including those of scholars who are in favour of the "Altaic" thesis). To show that, I confine myself to the numeral 'four'. It is *dörben* in Mong. and, as far as the Tung. languages as concerned, *duin* in Manchu and Nanay, *digin* in Evenki. We find the following deficiencies in Hamp's arguments:

(1) It is not certain that the original Mong. form is *dörben*; Monguor *diēran* and *derben* in some Middle Mongolian sources, furthermore Monguor *tiejin* '40', Middle Mong. *deči* and Tung. *deki* (a loan from Mong. which may be the original Mong. form) cannot a priori be ruled out.

(2) Even if the original Mo. form were *dör-ben* it cannot be compared to the Tung. words quoted which do back to Proto-Tung. **dügin*. There is no sound law Mong. **ö* = Tungus **ü* or Evenki **u*. To Mong.

**ö* there ought to correspond **u* in Evenki, i.e., 'four' ought to be **dugin*, but it is *digin*.

(3) The correct Proto-Tungus form, won by a comparison of the several Tungus languages, is, in contrast to what Hamp supposes, not **dügün*, with an **ü* in the second syllable. Proto-Tungus **dügün* would have become **dun* in Manchu; Manchu *duin* can only be derived from **dügin*, with, an **i*. This already annihilates Hamp's thesis that the Tung. numerals up to ten contain a suffix -*guan* – which, by the way, is untenable also for other reasons; e.g., Evenki *ilan* 'three' cannot go back to Proto-Tungus **il-guan*, because -*g*- is retained in Northern Tungus.

(4) But to make the Mong. and the Tung. numerals somewhat more similar, Hamp even invents a Proto-Tung. form **dür-gün*. The insertion of -*r*- is not justified. If Hamp knew Tungus he would know that Proto-Tungus **dürgün* would have become **dujun* in Manchu (since there is a sound law Proto-Tungus -*rg*- > Manchu -*j*-).

(5) Finally, to save the "Altaic" thesis in general, Hamp even invents a Proto-Mong. form **dört-guan*, Proto-Tung. *dürt-guan*, with a -*t*-, similar to Turk. *tört* – although such a cluster as -*rtg*- has never been found before by anybody, either in Proto-Mong. or in Proto-Tungus.

Furthermore, in Hamp's opinion Turk. *tört* is a loanword from Mong.; it is therefore that he reconstructed Mong. **dört-guan* and Tung. **dürt-guan*. But this loanword, in contradiction to Hamp's own thesis (which I quoted before) is neither recent, nor reducible to a philologically attested historic form. That is to say, in this case Hamp admits an older loan. When does he admit older loans, and when does he reject them? Apparently as the need arises.

What is behind all these inventions? I think, it is Hamp's conviction (or bias) that the "Altaic" languages *must* be related and that any other possibility *must* be false a priori and has therefore not to be taken into account. This forms a typical vicious circle.

This is a position quite significant of "Altaic" linguistics. Every deeper investigation shows us its inadequacy in solving the problems. It is like a rug too small for a man. When his legs are covered his chest is bare, and when his chest is covered his legs are exposed, and he has always to freeze in the cold breeze of doubt.

The situation in morphology does not differ from that in etymology. The Old Turk. plural *tarxat* 'noblemen', e.g., from *tarxan*, shows a typical Mong. form and is presumably a loan from *Tabyač* or Sien-pi.

Let us express all this in a general form. When two languages A and B are genetically related, one expects for the fundamental basic elements X_1 either this picture:

$$A \quad X_1 \quad = \quad B \quad X_1$$

(the words go back to identical roots) or this picture:

$$A \quad X_1 \quad B \quad X_2 \\ (X_2) \quad (X_3)$$

That is to say, language A retains the old root X_1 for a fundamental basic notion, e.g., 'eye', it has, furthermore, (in brackets) an old root X_2 for a periphrastic basic notion, e.g. 'pupil of the eye' which in B has become the term for 'eye'. But the roots are identical, after all (X means: belonging to a common fund of a proto-language). Relationship is proved, not so much by common words, but by common roots. We find in this case a series, a chain of correspondences which form a *closed system*.

Languages in loan contact, on the other hand, show this picture:

$$A \quad X_{1a} \quad \neq \quad B \quad Y_{1a} \\ X_{1b} \quad \neq \quad B \quad Y_{1b} \\ X_{1c} \quad \neq \quad B \quad Y_{1c}, \text{ etc.}$$

This means: no correspondences are found, the terms for fundamental basic notions form an *open system* (however, identical words may exist for periphrastic basic notions X_{2a-n}).

Let us now check the sound system of the "Altaic" languages. Of course, languages, to be related, must not show an identical typological structure. The sound structures of the Germanic and Indo-Aryan proto-languages, e.g., are totally different, but they satisfy the essential condition of genetically related languages: these sound structures are reducible to a common Indo-European structure.

Now, when, e.g., Mong. had *m-* as the initial sound of many words, and in Turk. we find not *m-*, but many comparable words with *b-*, everything would be all right. Here, too, we do not need identity,

but a closed system of sounds reducible to a common ancestral sound. To give a scheme: this is not needed

$$\begin{array}{ll} \text{proto-language} & A \quad X_1 = \text{proto-language} \quad B \quad X_1 \\ & A \quad X_2 = \quad B \quad X_2 \\ & A \quad X_3 = \quad B \quad X_3 \\ & A \quad X_4 = \quad B \quad X_4 \\ & A \quad X_5 = \quad B \quad X_5, \text{ etc.} \end{array}$$

It will do when we find the following situation:

$$\begin{array}{ll} *A \quad X_1 & *B \quad X_1 \\ X_2 & X_a \quad (\text{the sounds } X_2 \text{ and } X_3 \\ X_3 & X_a \quad \text{have converged in } *B) \\ X_4 & X_b \quad (B \text{ has a different proto-sound}) \\ X_5 & X_5 \end{array}$$

The only indispensable requirement is that for every sound of $*A$ we must find a correspondence in $*B$; it can be the same sound, but it must not be, and sounds may coincide in a language or split up under certain conditions. But we cannot reconstruct a proto-language when we find the following state of affairs:

$$\begin{array}{ll} X_1 & X_1 \\ X_2 & \text{— (gap, no correspondence found)} \\ X_3 & X_a \quad (\text{other proto-sound, but correspondence existing}) \\ X_4 & \text{— (gap)} \\ X_5 & X_5, \text{ etc.} \end{array}$$

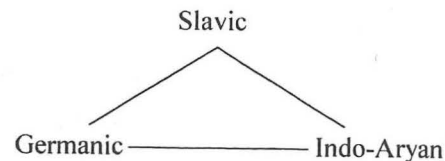
Also in this case we find an *open system*, the typical sign of non-relationship. But this is just the system of the "Altaic" languages. When Mong. words contain *m-*, *n-*, *y-* as initial sounds, we find no correspondence in Turkish. But Mong. has many fundamental basic words with these initial sounds, e.g., *mede-* 'to know', *modun* 'tree', *mayu* 'bad', *mör* 'way', *nidün* 'eye', *yayun* 'what', etc. When we check the 21 examples which Poppe adduces in order to prove the comparison Mong., Tung. *m-* = Turk. *b-*, all of them from "Altaic" $*m-$, we find that 15 of them are found only in Mong. and Tung.; 6 are examples where we must assume an original $*b-$ in Turk. and Mong. (in Mong. $*b-$ before nasal consonants becomes *m-* e.g., *ba* 'we', but *ma-n-dur* 'to us', surely going back to older $*ba-n-dur$); one example is evi-

dently false, namely Mong. *eriyen meriyen* 'colored', compared with Turk. *beze-* 'to adorn', this is a simple rhyme-word of a type which is well-known in Mong., cf., e.g., *qonin monin* 'sheep and the like' *meriyen* never appears alone; it is only the example Mong. *miqan* 'flesh, meat' = Turk. *biqin* 'hip, flank' which shows some semantic similarity. But one swallow does not make a summer, and one example is not enough to construct a sound law. How many examples are necessary? Sir Gerard Clauson once wrote me that in this respect one has to behave like a husband. When he comes home and finds his wife in his bed with a strange man this may be an accident or a misunderstanding. When he comes home a second time and finds the same situation this may be a great accident or a very regrettable misunderstanding. But when he comes home and finds her for a third time under these circumstances he may be allowed to doubt his wife's fidelity.

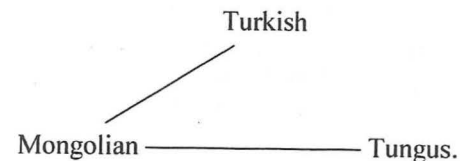
Another important problem is the linguistic geography of the "Altaic" languages. Rémusat remarked – as I told you, in 1820 – that Turk. and Mong. have many common words, and so do Mong. and Tung., but there are no terms common only to Turk. and Tung., excluding Mongolian. And this leads us to the idea of an old geographic distribution

Turkish – Mongolian – Tungus

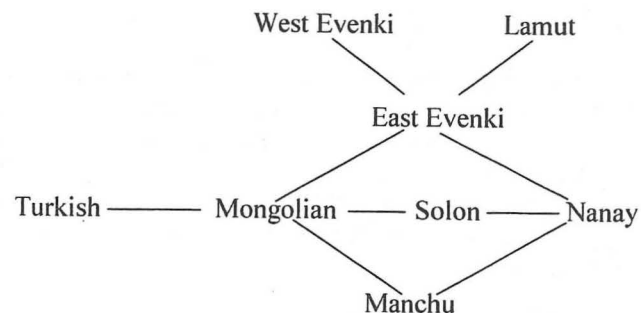
where Mong., being situated in the centre, has had many loan contacts with the two other language families, which, however, had no contacts among themselves. The adherents of the "Altaic" thesis have never cared for Rémusat's warning, they just shut their eyes. But this distribution of the three languages is, as we saw, documented in the ancient historic sources. Let us adduce the counter example of three Indo-European languages the relationship of which has been proved, namely Germanic, Slavic, and Indo-Aryan. They have many terms in common, such terms (also for fundamental basic notions) which appear in all three languages. But (since languages quite often lose original terms) we also find the combination Germanic-Slavic (i.e., the Germanic and Slavic proto-languages have words in common which have been lost in Indo-Aryan), but we also find the combinations Germanic-Indo-Aryan and Slavic-Indo-Aryan. To give a scheme, we find:



This is a *closed system*. Not so in the "Altaic" languages. There we find this *open system*:



And open systems, as we saw, are always typical of loan contacts. In my book *Mongolo-Tungusica* I have shown that the situation is still more sophisticated, namely so:



This means that, e.g., Mongolian has no words in common with Nanay, with exclusion of other Tungus languages, but that there are three "independent areas": East Evenki, Solon, and Manchu which have borrowed Mong. words independently from other Tungus areas and there are three "dependent areas" to which Mong. loans have been transferred via an independent area. E.g., when West Evenki shows a long. loan, we always find the same loan in East Evenki, but East Evenki has many Mong. loans not to be found in West Evenki; and this

proves that West Evenki has got its loans via East Evenki. By the way, only 7 words are known to exist which are common to Turk., Mong. and all six Tung. areas, and only two of these words belong to the oldest layer of borrowing. This is an extremely open system.

Furthermore, when Mong. shares a word with Tungus and simultaneously shows a form or a meaning deviating from Turk., Tung. always shows the Mong. status. Here are two examples. Turk. *anda* means 'oath', whereas Mong. *anda* means 'oath-brother, friend', and so does Evenki, Manchu and Nanay *anda*. Turk. *kōrük* 'bellows' is *köyerge*, pronounce *kōrge* in Mong., and it is just from this form, where *-k-* has become *-g-*, which we also find in Tung., e.g., Evenki *kūrge*, Manchu *xuju-ku*. Tung. always shares the Mong. meanings of words and follows the typical Mong. sound-laws. The normal status of three genetically related languages ought to be

A	B	C
X ₁	X _a	X _a
X ₂	X _b	X _β
X ₃	X _c	X _γ , etc.

i.e., that every language follows its own sound-laws and often shows special meanings; these facts prove its independence from the other languages and show that the comparable items are not due to loan contacts. When, furthermore, a common proto-system can be ascertained this is the decisive proof of a genetic relationship. In other words, two conditions must be satisfied: independence from each other and reducibility to a common system. Of course, also related languages may borrow from each other – but for the "Altaic" languages we find the following situation:

A (Turkish)		B (Mongolian)		C (Tungus)
X ₁	≠	X _a	=	X _a
X ₂	≠	X _b	=	X _b
X ₃	≠	X _c	=	X _c

This is an *open system* again, in no way leading to an original unity of these language families. Generally speaking, the "Altaic" families do not show any of the features which are characteristic of genetically related languages; they show all features characteristic of languages in loan contact.

Pure linguistics is poor linguistics. Good linguistics has to be completed by extralinguistic insight. In my book *Mongolo-Tungusica* I have shown that, e.g., fish terms have wandered from Tung. to Mong. – an indication of the original homesteads of the nations. A large number of facts, anthropological, ethnological, archaeological, and historical correspond with the linguistic data.

Adherents of the "Altaic" relationship seem to mean: "Altaistics" is a simple thing; one may summarise it in one sentence "The Altaic languages (although showing some loan contacts) are related". The summary of my *Mongolo-Tungusica*, on the other hand, covers 12 pages, but it takes account of many detailed and difficult facts. I may quote Albert Einstein: "Man soll die Dinge nicht einfacher machen, als sie sind" ('One ought not to make things simpler than they are').

I must admit: the (abstract) possibility that the "Altaic" language families are related does remain. But what kind of possibility is this? There are two kinds of possibility: full possibility and empty possibility. When I say "this room has ... seats" this is a full possibility; for the time being I cannot count the seats, so it's no proof, but there are some hints that my estimation may be correct, at least it can be falsified. When I say, on the other hand, "In galaxy X people prefer tacos to (excuse me) hamburgers" this is an empty possibility, since (1) we don't know if on galaxy X human beings exist, (2) we don't know if they have tacos and hamburgers, (3) we don't know if they prefer tacos to hamburgers. But we cannot refute this possibility. However, it is a possibility only for that reason that it cannot be refuted; on the other hand, there is no positive hint at it. And I may invent billions and trillions of empty possibilities. But it is not the task of science to refute empty possibilities. Rest assured that I will never try to prove that people in galaxy X prefer hamburgers to tacos. Clearly speaking, the "Altaic" relationship is an empty possibility which we may disregard.

After all this joking and debunking let me say an earnest word. Ramstedt and Poppe are the founders of the Altaic theory; but I esteem them highly and want to remark that their efficiency, their scientific performance is greater than all that I have written or may write in the future. These outstanding masters of Altaic studies, in spite of some faults, have discovered the fundamental indispensable sound laws which represent the indispensable basis of all our research. Without their activity we would not be able to accomplish anything, no matter

whether we stick to the thesis of genetic relationship or suppose loan contacts. In contrast to Poppe I have abandoned the Altaic thesis; but he will always be my admired ideal in his breadth of knowledge, investigation and exploration. In France there was in the 17th century "la querelle entre les anciens et les modernes" ('the quarrel between the ancient and the modern'), namely the dispute whether the classical literature of the Greeks and Romans was superior to French literature or the latter had reached a higher level. Fénelon ended this quarrel with an elegant formulation, which may hold also for Ramstedt and Poppe, on the one hand, and such persons as Róna-Tas, Clark and Doerfer, on the other hand: "They, the older scholars, were giants, and we are dwarfs; but we stand on their shoulders, and this means: a little bit above them".

JERZY HAUZIŃSKI

THE QUESTION OF THE ORIGIN OF SUFI SCHOOLS AT BALKANS

The part of Sufism and growing on its ground community organisations in the form of dervishes – tariqat¹ brotherhood of Balkan nations still requires more precise research. It is generally assumed that in the process of conquest and islamisation of Balkan nation, and then consolidation of Ottoman the value of tariqats was decisive².

¹ The word *tariqat* is Persian and Turkish version of Arabian noun *tariqa* pronunciation, ended with mute *t* (Arabian *ta marbuta*) denoting "the route", "the road". Therefore the usage of this version with reference to Turkish linguistic and cultural acreage is reasonable. On the ground of Sufism the term *tariqa* (Persian-Turkish *tariqat*) has got two denotations: 1) the second stage of individual self-realisation achieved under spiritual masters' direction; 2) the particular school or community of disciples, following its own esoteric tradition and instructions of their spiritual teachers.

² It was confirmed in revealing studies by Franz Babinger, see his *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, vol. I-II, München 1962-1966 (in series *Südeuropa-Schriften* no 8); in reference to Albania see: M. Hasluck, *The Non-conformist Moslems of Albania*, *The Muslim World*, vo. XV, 1925, pp. 392 ff.; N. Clayer, *L'Albanie pays des derviches*, Berlin 1990, pp. 77-79. Recognition of the integral character of Sufism in social and cultural dimension is quite common among scientists in so-called II Yugoslavia (before collapse in 1991), see A. Lopšič, *Islam in the Balkans*, Edinburgh 1979, pp. 50 ff.; H. Kaleši (Kaleshi), *Oriental Culture in Yugoslav Countries from the 15th Century till the End of 17th*