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**Atalialu Serapheim and the Turkophone Orthodox Christians of Anatolia:
A study of eighteenth-century Turkish texts in the Greek alphabet
(Karamanlidika)**

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Traces of the dialect: graphematics, phonetics and phonology

Moving on to the second chapter and to a more structural aspect, an attempt will be made to identify the writing system, phonetics and phonology in Serapheim's books that point to certain Turkish dialectal phenomena. Of course, this does not mean that all three point explicitly to dialectal elements, but they give a good picture of where to classify the language of the books.

2.1. Basic graphemes

All the books under examination are written in the Greek alphabet. The books belong to the same author and my intention is to deal with them as a corpus. Although there are differentiations in the writing system from one book to another, they do not deviate greatly. In an earlier publication I suggested that Serapheim used a largely random orthographical system.³²⁹ Looking at his work as a whole, one realises that there certainly is some sort of system in it, even if it is something that cannot be proven by Table 1 that follows. The author did have a sense of orthography that derived mainly from his knowledge of Greek language as discussed in 2.2.1., and in some cases he tried to be systematic with certain conventions. Unfortunately, this can be only proven by quantitative research, which will be possible after the digitalisation of the sources. The issue of orthography will be addressed more thoroughly in the chapters to follow.

Concerning phonemes that are present in Turkish but not in Greek, in the corpus under examination there is no clear distinction in the grapheme–phoneme relation between /i/ and /ı/, /c/ and /ç/, /o/ and /ö/, /u/ and /ü/, /s/ and /ş/. Moreover in the case of phonemes being present on both languages but written by digraphs in Modern Greek such as /d/, /b/ and /g/ in relation to /t/, /p/ and /k/ accordingly, most of the times no clear distinction is made.

The velar nasal /ŋ/ is clearly represented in the entire corpus, though not in every word. The author uses all the graphemes of the Greek alphabet and those that do not appear in the Turkish text, are used in the parts written in Greek language.

There are indications that the typesetters used what was available to them, since on many occasions letters of different fonts or of other alphabets appear. This leads

³²⁹ Irakleous, "On the development of Karamanlidika writing systems," 69.

to a hypothesis that there was a basic system of transliteration that Serapheim used, but which was then adapted when convenient, either because of existing ‘weightier’ spellings, or because of the lack of available letters during printing (e.g., as in the case of BH1783 where the grapheme <j> serves as <i> a.o.) or they adopted anomalous conventions for Greek texts, like the use of <ηο> in just two of the books CSK1756 and RAB1782, something that makes the effort to create a standardised system impossible. On the other hand, the systematic use of <ι> before other vowels (e.g., <ιο>, <ιου>, etc.), like in many Karamanlidika texts of all periods, show a trend to systematisation. These are proofs pointing at two directions. First it might be possible that, at least concerning Karamanlidika the feeling of orthography is there and they were making efforts for a more standardised writing. Another second explanation might be the choices of the printers and type setters. It is possible that their implication in the procedure was not the usual, namely typesetting letters the same letters they were seeing in the manuscript, but rather making random choices because of the lack of systematised writing conventions for Karamanlidika books or even because of the shortage on certain types. Therefore the role of the typesetters and the printing procedures used in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika is something that needs more attention and research.

2.2. Diacritics

The Greek polytonic system is used for the whole corpus with all its elements³³⁰, the two breathings (δασεία (´) or rough breathing and ψιλή (˘) or smooth breathing) and the three accents, the acute (´) (οξεία), the grave (`) (βαρεία) and the circumflex (ˆ) (περισπωμένη). The diaeresis (¨) (διαλυτικά) is also used, and is still in use in monotonic Modern Greek writing.³³¹

The breathings have no phonological value whatsoever, and their usage is only

³³⁰ The greek polytonic system was invented around 200 BC; see Yorgos Babiniotis, *Συνοπτική Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας*, (Αθήνα, 1986), 133–135.

³³¹ Regarding the polytonic system and its rules, see Peter Mackridge, *The Modern Greek language, A descriptive analysis of standard Modern Greek*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 16–17.

of historical importance in modern Greek texts.³³² Their use in the Karamanlidika corpus used for this research follows the rules of Greek orthography (i.e., every initial vowel takes a smooth breathing and <ρ> takes a rough breathing when in initial position). This does not apply to the accents and the diaeresis, which seem to serve their purpose, which is showing the stress of word and reading digraphs as two separate letters respectively. In other eighteenth-century Karamanlidika the accents were not always used correctly, especially the use of the grave,³³³ which here seems to be used correctly taking into consideration basic rules. Nevertheless, this issue should be dealt with in more detail at a later time, through a new project that will deal thoroughly with the use of breathings in Karamanlidika texts.

2.3. Graphematics

In this section, the use and the distribution of the various graphemes of the Greek alphabet will be presented along with examples from the respective editions. The discussion of graphemes is organised according to the Latin alphabetical order and confined only to those cases where more than one grapheme is used to render the same phoneme. The discussion is followed by a table (Table 1: Distribution of graphemes in the corpus) which provides a picture of how the various graphemes are used in Serapheim's texts.

01. /a/ : Rendered by <α> in all editions.

02. /â/ : This long /a:/ is rendered by <α> and <ια> in all editions except KŞ1758 (e.g., κιαμιλ [kâmıl] KIN1753:3, ἐσκιαρὲ [eşkâre] IpK1753:viii, ρουζκιὰρ [rüzgâr] NTh1756:140, PsD1782:ix, ρουσκιὰρ [rüs-gâr] SBD1783:50, BH1783:109, οὐρουσκιὰρ [ürüs-gâr] HNK1756:13, CSK1756:55, ὀρουσκιὰρ [örüs-gâr] NvB1776:96, RAB1782:123, APK1782:xxii. As can be seen from the examples, the insertion of <ι> in front of a back vowel often shows the palatalisation of <k>.

03. /b/: This phoneme is rendered by <π> in all positions (e.g., πασµαγιᾱ [basmaya] KIN1783:32, APK1782:fp, καπούλ [kabal] IpK1753:5, PsD1782:3 πογιούκ [böyük] NTh1756:15, HNK1756:32, CSK1756:ix, KŞ1758:16,

³³² Mackridge, *The Modern Greek language*, 17. David Holton, Peter Mackridge, Irene Filippaki Warburton, *Γραμματική της Ελληνικής γλώσσας* (Αθήνα, 2010), 36–37.

³³³ Gavriel, “Η Τουρκική με το Ελληνικό αλφάβητο, 182–183.

NvB1776:17, RAB1782:vii, SBD1783:xi, BH1783:4), the digraph <μπ> only in initial position (e.g., μπεάν [bean] KIN:iii, IpK1753:vi, NTh1756:iii, HNK1756:fp, CSK1756:iii, KŞ1758:3, NvB1776:fp, PsD1782:iii, RAB1782:iii, APK1782:fp, SBD1783:fp, BH1783:5), in certain cases <ϖ> in all positions, which is only a typographical variant of <π>, without any function in Greek as well (e.g., νασϖ [nasb] KIN1753:34, IpK1753:124, σαϖρ [sabr] NTh1756:17, PsD1782:VII, SBD1783:53, ϖρακμάκ [brakmak] HNK1756:11, RAB1782:15, κισϖέτ [kisbet] BH1783:251) and <ππ> (e.g., κιταπποῦ [kitabu] KIN1753:90, ππας [baş] HNK1756:14, ππέλκι [belki] CSK1756:iii).

04. /c/: Rendered by <τζ> all editions and by <τζι> in some occasions (e.g., σετζιτά [secda] KIN1753:ii, IpK1753:17, NTh1756:29, HNK1756:17, CSK1756:4, NvB1776:70, PsD1782:30, RAB1782:183, APK1782:21, SBD1783:4, σετζιτά [secda] KŞ1758:6, BH1783:4). Furthermore, rendered also by <ντζι> in medial position (e.g., μεντζιλίς [meclis] IpK1753:20, NTh1756:33, HNK1756:13, CSK1756:20, KŞ1758:7, NvB1776:79, RAB1782:51, SBD1783:x, BH1783:25).

05. /ç/: Rendered by <τζ> in most editions (e.g., ιτζήν [için] KIN1753:iii, IpK1753:vi, NTh1756:2, HNK1756:fp, CSK1756:2, KŞ1758:3, NvB1776:4, PsD1782:iv, RAB1782:fp, APK1782:v, SBD1783:vi, BH1783:1), while <τσ> appears rarely in two editions (e.g., ιτσίντε [içinde] IpK1753:119, ιτσήν [için] RAB1782:39).

06. /d/: It is rendered by <τ> (e.g., τοβλετλοῦ [dövletü] KIN1753:31, IpK1753:59, τοβλét [dövlet] NTh1756:fp, KŞ1758:70, PsD1782:v, APK1782:xiv, BH1783:2, τεβετλί [devletli] NvB1776:12, τοβλετλή [tövletli] HNK1756:15, CSK1756:viii, RAB1782:28, SBD1783:2) and <ντ> (e.g., ντεϊ [dei] KIN1753:48, IpK1753:vi, NTh1756:1, HNK1756:38, CSK1756:16, PsD1782:viii, RAB1782:iv, BH1783:30, ντοά [doa] SBD1783:61, NvB1776:3, ντεμέκ [demek] APK1782:viii, ντάγ [dağ] BH1783:70). More rarely we come across <ττ> (e.g., ττεϊ [dei] CSK1756:iii, KŞ1758:13, RAB1782:8, NvB1776:3, APK1782:iv, ττούρ [dur] PsD1782:1, ττολού [dolu] IpK1753:49, ττάγ [dağ] HNK1756:13, ττέρ [der] SBD1783:9, ττίς [dis] BH1783:5) and on just one occasion we see <δ> (e.g., μερδιβέν [merdiven] IpK1753:174).

07. /e/: Usually rendered by <ε>, or by <αι> appearing on several occasions (e.g.,

ἴτμαι [itme] KIN1753:12, φαινὰ [fena] IpK1753:39, NTh1756:1, CSK1756:46, γκαῖρῖ [geri] KŞ1758:35, BH1783:28, ναῖρετε [nerede] NvB1776:135, ναί [ne] PsD1782:2, RAB1782:5, APK1782:iii).

08. /f/: Rendered by <φ> in all editions. The digraph <αυ> for /af/ occurs in some editions (e.g., χαυτὰ [hafta] KIN1753:26, HNK1756:16, χαυφτὰ [hafta] NTh1756:17).

09. /g/: Rendered by <γκ> (e.g., γκιονοῦλ [gönül] KIN1753:91, γεκετζέ [gece] IpK1753:33, NTh1756:17, HNK1756:64, KŞ1758:24, NvB1776:28, PsD1782:1, RAB1782:30, SBD1783:128, BH1783:5, γκελίπ [gelip] CSK1756:fp, γκετηρῖρ [getirir] APK1782:17) and <κ> (e.g., μπουκιοῦν [bügün] KIN1753:10, κιονοῦλ [gönül] IpK1753:50, NTh1756:7, HNK1756:42, CSK1756:3, RAB1782:iii, APK1782:iv, SBD1783:19, BH1783:21, κιπή [gibi] PsD1782:2, NvB1776:11, κερèκ [gerek] KŞ1758:ii). The digraph <κκ> can be found in several editions (e.g., κκιρτιλάρ [girdilar] IpK1753:48, κκηρτι [girdi] NTh1756:31, KŞ1758:22, NvB1776:5, κκιρμèκ [girmek] HNK1756:11, κκελτι [geldi] CSK1756:23) while the digraph <γγ> is found only in NvB1776 on very few occasions (e.g., γγιονοῦλ [gönül], γγιελέν [gelen] NvB1776:3).

10. /ğ/: Rendered by <γ> in all editions (e.g., ιγβὰ [igva] KIN1753:10, ιγβὰζ [igvaz] IpK1753:19, NTh1756:17, CSK1756:21, KŞ1758:3, PsD1782:22, òγραμάκ [oğramak] HNK1756:77, SBD1783:9, òγοῦτ [oğut] NvB1776:10, μαγφρηèt [mağfired] RAB1782:75, APK1782:xvi, BH1783:99).

11. /h/: Rendered by <χ>

12. /ı/: Rendered by many graphemes randomly, namely by <υ> (e.g., σακῖν [sakın] KIN1753:33, NTh1756:57 νάσιλ [nasıl] IpK1753:64, Κύπριζ [Kıbrız] CSK1756:ii, Κύπριζλί [Kıbrızlı] KŞ1758:vi, πασιλτεῖ [basıldı] NvB1776:fp, αρασιντά [arasında] PsD1782:7, κκιζ [kız] APK1782:xiii), <η> (e.g., χαφβλανμάηλαν [hafvlanma ılan] KIN1753:55, γιαρτιμτζή [yardımcı], NTh1756:21, ιλατζλή [ilacı] HNK1756:18, καρσισηντά [karşısında] SBD1783:3, èτραφηντά [etrafında] CSK1756:1, àλτι [altı] KŞ1758:22, τατλή [tatlı] NvB1776:10, χαζήρ [hazır] PsD1782:iv, παγλαντή [bağlandı] RAB1782:75, ιχτικατλή [ihtikatlı] APK1782:17, ταχή [dahı] BH1783:ii), <ει> (e.g., τοναττεῖ [donattu] IpK1753:21, γιαζτεῖ [yazdı] NTh1756:137, àλτεῖ [altı] HNK1756:17, òγραματεῖ [oğramadı] CSK1756:63,

κιλττεῖ [kıldı] KŞ1758:v, βάρισαγίται [varısayıdı] NvB1776:13, βάρµαται [varmadı] PsD1782:1, πρακτεῖ [braktı] RAB1782:15, τζηκτεῖ [çıktı] APK1782:22, σακίνιται [sakınıdı] BH1783:ii), on few occasions <υ> (e.g., ὄνλαρῦ [onları] KŞ1758:21, αγύρ [ağır] PsD1782:4), and on just one occasion <οι> (e.g., κοιζῖλ [kızıl] HNK1756:63).

13. /i/: Similar to the previous phoneme, it is rendered randomly, by <ι> and <η> (e.g., ἱτζήν [için] KIN1753:iii, IpK1753:vi, NTh1756:2, HNK1756:fp, CSK1756:2, KŞ1758:3, NvB1776:4, PsD1782:iv, RAB1782:fp, APK1782:v, SBD1783:vi, BH1783:1). Also we come across <ει> (e.g., κετιρτεῖ [getirdi] KIN1753:48, κεγτιρτεῖ [geydirdi] IpK1753:119, εἱγυρῖ [iyirmi] NTh1756:358, HNK1756:73, KŞ1758:13, NvB1776:5, PsD1782:261, RAB1782:46, SBD1783:43, ἐττεῖ [etti] BH1783:5, βερύλτεῖ [verildi] APK1782:fp), <υ> (e.g., κυπή [gibi] KIN1753:17, μιιασέρ [miaser] NTh1756:3, HNK1756:371, κκυρετζέκ [girecek] NTh1756:41, μύρ [bir] NvB1776:2, φακκὺρ [fakır] PsD1782:5, μυσκίν [miskin] BH1783:ii). It should be noted that the Modern Greek uses five graphemes for rendering the phoneme /i/, which are <η>, <ι>, <υ>, <ει> and <οι>.

14. /k/: Rendered by <κ> and <κκ> in all editions (e.g., κκιλιτζ [kılıç] KIN1753:90, IpK1753:28, NTh1756:70, HNK1756:14, CSK1756:50, NvB1776:30, PsD1782:66, RAB1782:8, SBD1783:16, BH1783:13, κκερέμ [kerem] KŞ1758:iii, κκιρκ [kırk] KŞ1758:29, κκιζ [kız] APK1782:viii, φακκὺρ [fakır] PsD1782:5).

15. /l/: Rendered by <λ> in all editions.

16. /m/: Rendered by <μ> in all editions.

17. /n/: Rendered by <ν> in all editions.

18. /ŋ/: The velar phoneme /ŋ/ appears in all editions and it is rendered by <νγ>, (e.g., τανγρί [taŋrı] KIN1753:27, IpK1753:50, NTh1756:18, PsD1782:70, RAB1782:24, APK1782:20, BH1783:31, ἔνγ [eŋ] HNK1756:10, γάνγια [yaŋia] CSK1756:vii, ὄνγ [öŋ] NvB1776:13, SBD1783:8), also <γγ> (e.g., ἀγγιλιρ [aŋılır] KIN1753:40, NTh1756:20, KŞ1758:12, PsD1782:ix, RAB1782:4, ταγγρι [taŋrı] IpK1753:26, CSK1756:3, NvB1776:128, APK1782:9, BH1783:51, σόγγ [soŋ] HNK1756:5, κεγγίς [geŋiʃ] CSK1756:vi) and <γ> (e.g., σόγγρα [soŋra] KIN1753:ix, IpK1753:vi, NTh1756:4, HNK1756:5, CSK1756:iii, KŞ1758:8,

NvB1776:4, PsD1782:iv, RAB1782:9, APK1782:xix). In just two editions we come across the digraph <γκ> which is also used for rendering <g> (e.g., σογκρά [soŋra] NTh1756:149, ταγκρί [taŋri] NTh1756:89, KŞ1758:3).

19. /o/: Rendered always by <ο> while <ω> appears in some editions (e.g., τωστ [dost] KIN1753:88, Ρώμα [Roma] NTh1756:34, ρώμτζα [romca] CSK1756:fp, SBD1783:fp, ρώμ [rom] NvB1776:6).

20. /ö/: Rendered by <ο> and <ιο> in all editions (e.g., ὄϊλε [öyle] KIN1753:27, ΙρΚ1753:13, ΝΘ1756:6, ὁμοῦρ [ömr] HNK1756:19, ὀβουνμέκ [övnmek] CSK1756:15, BH1783:64, ὀβκὲ [övke] KŞ1758:80, ὀφκὲ [öfke] NvB1776:15, τοκιοῦλ [dökül] PsD1782:2, τοπέ [töbe] RAB1782:vi, ὀνγιουνὲ [öñüne] APK1782:23, SBD1783:8). See also (e.g., κιοβεργτῆν [gövercin] NTh1756:104, CSK1756:74, KŞ1758:50, RAB1782:134, κιογ [gög] KIN1753:iii, ΙρΚ1753:13, HNK1756:32, KŞ1758:23, PsD1782:2, APK1782:xv, SBD1783:8, BH1783:31, κιοζέλ [gözel] NvB1776:14, γκιοστερμέκ [göstermek] RAB1782:15), while very rarely we see <ηο> (e.g., γκηορε [göre] CSK1756:425, γκηὸζ [göz] RAB1782:22).

21. /p/: Rendered in all editions by <π>, while <ϖ>³³⁴ appears rarely (e.g., τοπράκ [toprak] NTh1756:18, PsD1782:ix) and the digraph <ππ> in just one edition (e.g., καππῆ [kapı] KŞ1758:26).

22. /r/: Rendered by <ρ> in all editions.

23. /s/: Rendered by <σ> and <ς>³³⁵ in all editions.

24. /ş/: Rendered mainly by <σ> (e.g., πατισάχ [padişah] KIN1753:34, ΙρΚ1753:86, ΝΘ1756:4, HNK1756:76, μπούσεκιλ [buşekil] CSK1756:33, PsD1782:2, SBD1783:11, σέγ [şey] KŞ1758:24, NvB1776:19, RAB1782:4, APK1782:38, σῆμτη [şimdi] BH1783:155), and <ς> (e.g., σαρχὸς [sarhoş] KIN1753:88, ταςρά [taşra] ΙρΚ1753:66, CSK1756:323, ττὰς [taş] NTh1756:35, KŞ1758:15, μεσφαρέτ [meşfare] HNK1756:18, SBD1783:111, καλκμῖς [kalkmı] PsD1782:3), πολυοὺς [buluş] RAB1782:17, κιομυοὺς [gümü] APK1782:15, πὼς

³³⁴ The current character was not long lived in printing due to its cursive form, which made it unsuitable for type. See John H. Bowman, *Greek Printing Types in Britain*, 52. Its rare appearance in Karamanlidika books might be an indication of the fact that they were not paying the same attention or effort to these books due to the absence of a standardised writing system.

³³⁵ Concerning the ligatures for <στ> and difficulties in distinguishing from <ς> see Bowman, *Greek Printing Types in Britain*, 54.

[boʃ] NvB1776:6, γετιςμεκ [yetiʃmek] BH1783:4). The digraph <σσ> occurs quite often (e.g., σσοῦ [ʃu] KIN1753:47, γιάσσο [yaʃ] IpK1753:13, σσαχήτ [ʃahit] NTh1756:iv, BH1783:fp, σσέγ [ʃey] KŞ1758:v, σσεχήρ [ʃehir] NvB1776:9, κισσή [kiʃi] PsD1782:2:1, APK1782:iii, σσαράπ [ʃarap] RAB1782:vii, σσεχήτ [ʃehit] SBD1783:15), while on some occasions we come across the insertion of a vowel <σι> (e.g., σιεκληγέτ [ʃekliyet] NvB1776:6, σιεῖρῖφ [ʃerif] NvB1776:5, πατισσιὰχ [padiʃah] NvB1776:14, SBD1783:10, BH1783:209).

25. /t/: Rendered by <τ> in all editions. The digraph <ττ> is found in three editions (e.g., ττάς [taʃ] NTh1756:35, KŞ1758:65, SBD1783:105).

26. /u/: Rendered by <ου> in all editions.

27. /ü/: Rendered by <ου> (e.g., οῦλοῦμ [ülüm] KIN1753:75, KŞ1758:8, RAB1782:3, SBD1783:3, BH1783:22, οῦλουμέ [ülüm] IpK1753:8, HNK1756:5, CSK1756:18, NvB1776:16), ὀλοῦμ [ölüm] NTh1756:20, τζούμλε [cümle] PsD1782:7) and <ιου> in all editions (e.g., μπογιούκ [böyük] KIN1753:19, IpK1753:5, NvB1776:10, PsD1782:14, APK1782:xi, πογιούκ [böyük] NTh1756:15, HNK1756:32, CSK1756:ix, KŞ1758:16, RAB1782:vii, SBD1783:xi, BH1783:4).

28. /v/: Rendered by <β> in all editions. The digraphs <ευ> (e.g., εὐλάτ [evlat] KIN1753:83, IpK1753:65, KŞ1758:70, PsD1782:III, RAB1782:33, SBD1783:43, BH1783:11, εῦβ [ev] NTh1756:2, CSK1756:iv, εὐλενμέκ [evlenmek] NvB1776:83) and <αυ> also occur often (e.g., σαυκ [ʃavk] KIN1753:vi, IpK1753:vi, NTh1756:3, HNK1756:10, CSK1756:fp, PsD1782:VIII, RAB1782:3, APK1782:v, SBD1783:9, σιαυκ [ʃavk] NvB1776:1917).

29. /j/: Rendered in a variety of ways, including graphemes that represent consonants such as <γ> (ἐγλετί [eyledi] KIN1753:xi, IpK1753:x, NTh1756:3, HNK1756:3, CSK1756:vii, KŞ1758:4, NvB1776:5, PsD1782:6, ἐγλέ [eyle] RAB1782:34, APK1782:41, SBD1783:viii, BH1783:4) or <γι> (e.g., ὀγίλε [öyle] KIN1753:76, κεγίμ [geyim] IpK1753:120, NTh1756:31, HNK1756:46, CSK1756:80, KŞ1758:23, NvB1776:67, PsD1782:29, BH1783:14, γιοκαρί [yokarı] KIN1753:11, IpK1753:199, NTh1756:19, CSK1756:43, KŞ1758:32, NvB1776:24, PsD1782:256, APK1782:1, SBD1783:9, BH1783:44), and <ιγ> (e.g., κολᾱίγ [kolay] KIN1753:89, IpK1753:49, HNK1756:21, CSK1756:ix,

PsD1782:101, SBD1783:x, *σαραΐγ* [saray] KŞ1758:17, RAB1782:139, APK1782:xxi, BH1783:220). It is also rendered by vowels such as <ι> (e.g., *εἵλετι* [eyledi] KIN1753:39, *ὄyle* [öyle] IpK1753:13, *μεῖβα* [meyva] NTh1756:98, HNK1756:84, CSK1756:17, RAB1782:iv, APK1782:xxi, *οκουΐούσσουν* [okuyuşsun] PsD1782:iv), and <η> (e.g., *σεητὰν* [seytan] KIN1753:60, KŞ1758:60, NvB1776:118, *κολάη* [kolay] NTh1756:41).

30. /z/: Rendered by <ζ> in all editions.

Table 1: Distribution of graphemes in the corpus

	KIN 1753	IpK 1753	NTh 1756	HNK 1756	CSK 1756	KŞ 1758	NvB 1776	PsD 1782	RAB 1782	APK 1782	SBD 1783	BH 1783
/a/	<a>	<a>	<a>	<a>	<a>	<a>	<a>	<a>	<a>	<a>	<a>	<a>
/â/	<a> <ia>	<a> <ia>	<a> <ia>	<a> <ia>	<a> <ia>	<a>	<a> <ia>	<a> <ia>	<a> <ia>	<a> <ia>	<a> <ia>	<a> <ia>
/b/	<π> <μπ> <σ> <ππ>	<π> <μπ> <σ>	<π> <μπ> <σ>	<π> <μπ> <σ> <ππ>	<π> <μπ> <ππ>	<π> <μπ>	<π> <μπ>	<π> <μπ> <σ>	<π> <μπ> <σ>	<π> <μπ>	<π> <μπ> <σ>	<π> <μπ> <σ>
/c/	<τς> <τςι>	<τς> <τςι> <ντςι> >	<τς> <τςι> <ντςι> >	<τς> <τςι> <ντςι> >	<τς> <τςι> <ντςι> >	<τς> <τςι> <ντςι> >	<τς> <τςι> <ντςι> >	<τς> <τςι>	<τς> <τςι> <ντςι> >	<τς> <τςι>	<τς> <τςι> <ντςι> >	<τς> <τςι> <ντςι> >
/ç/	<τς>	<τς> <τσ>	<τς>	<τς>	<τς>	<τς>	<τς>	<τς>	<τς> <τσ>	<τς>	<τς>	<τς>
/d/	<τ> <ντ>	<τ> <ντ> <ττ>	<τ> <ντ>	<τ> <ντ> <ττ>	<τ> <ντ> <ττ>	<τ> <ντ> <ττ>	<τ> <ντ> <ττ>	<τ> <ντ> <ττ>	<τ> <ντ> <ττ>	<τ> <ντ> <ττ>	<τ> <ντ> <ττ>	<τ> <ντ> <ττ>
/e/	<ε> <αι>	<ε> <αι>	<ε> <αι>	<ε>	<ε> <αι>	<ε> <αι>	<ε> <αι>	<ε> <αι>	<ε> <αι>	<ε> <αι>	<ε>	<ε> <αι>
/f/	<φ> <αυ>	<φ>	<φ> <αυ>	<φ> <αυ>	<φ>	<φ>	<φ>	<φ>	<φ>	<φ>	<φ>	<φ>
/g/	<κ> <γκ>	<κ> <γκ> <κκ>	<κ> <γκ> <κκ>	<κ> <γκ> <κκ>	<κ> <γκ> <κκ>	<κ> <γκ> <κκ>	<κ> <γκ> <κκ>	<κ> <γκ>	<κ> <γκ>	<κ> <γκ>	<κ> <γκ>	<κ> <γκ>
/ğ/	<γ>	<γ>	<γ>	<γ>	<γ>	<γ>	<γ>	<γ>	<γ>	<γ>	<γ>	<γ>
/h/	<χ>	<χ>	<χ>	<χ>	<χ>	<χ>	<χ>	<χ>	<χ>	<χ>	<χ>	<χ>
/ı/	<ι> <η>	<ι> <η> <ει>	<ι> <η> <ει>	<ι> <η> <ει> <οι>	<ι> <η> <ει>	<ι> <η> <ει> <υ>	<ι> <η> <ει>	<ι> <η> <ει> <υ>	<ι> <η> <ει>	<ι> <η> <ει>	<ι> <η> <ει>	<ι> <η> <ει>
/i/	<ι> <η> <ει> <υ>	<ι> <η> <ει>	<ι> <η> <ει> <υ>	<ι> <η> <ει> <υ>	<ι> <η>	<ι> <η> <ει>	<ι> <η> <ει> <υ>	<ι> <η> <ει> <υ>	<ι> <η> <ει>	<ι> <η> <ει>	<ι> <η> <ει>	<ι> <η> <ει>
/k/	<κ> <κκ>	<κ> <κκ>	<κ> <κκ>	<κ> <κκ>	<κ> <κκ>	<κ> <κκ>	<κ> <κκ>	<κ> <κκ>	<κ> <κκ>	<κ> <κκ>	<κ> <κκ>	<κ> <κκ>

[illegible]

2.3.1. *Greek orthography*

It has already been mentioned many times before that Serapheim knew Greek. The language of his Karamanlidika books makes it evident that not only did he know Greek, but that he was also aware of the archaic Greek language used in religious circles and its writing conventions (orthography). We should not forget that he published numerous books in Greek as well.³³⁶

As regards the Karamanlidika editions, all of them contain Greek words or extensive passages in the Greek language. Some of them even have chapters solely in Greek (e.g., NvB1776:54-64, RAB1782:184-191, BH1783:280-304) and all follow the writing conventions of the Greek language. Throughout the books we observe the usage of the Greek language writing conventions in Turkish words, as well. For example, regarding place names we see the correct usage of <υ>, <ει> and <ι>, e.g., κυπρις [Kibris] ‘Cyprus’ (KIN1753:33, APK1782:8) using the Greek writing convention of Κύπρος. Furthermore, we see Κουτάχεια σεχερί [Kütahia şeheri] ‘Kütahya’ (NTh1756:79), as well as Σαξωνία βιλαετι [Saksonia vilaeti] ‘the province of Saxony’ (HNK1756:65), following, in both cases, the Greek writing tradition for these foreign place names.

Names which use digraphs are also used correctly. The digraph <αι> is used for rendering the sound /e/ and <ψ> for /ps/ (e.g., Ἐφραιμ [Efrem] ‘Ephraim’ (KIN1753:37), φιλισταῖος [Filisteos] (Philistine) (IpK1753:16)) or <ω> for /o/ (e.g., σαμψών [Sampson] (Samson) (IpK1753:16, ναζωραῖοζλου ἱησοῦς [Nazoreoz-lu İsus] ‘Jesus of Nazareth’ (IpK1753:123).

The Greek writing conventions are not restricted to place names or personal names, which one might argue that the author knew from heart, but are also used in nouns followed here by Turkish suffixes (e.g., Μάρτυροζλαρ [Martiroslar] ‘martyrs’, Greek μάρτυρος (NTh1756:19), αἰρέσειςλερ [eresis-ler] ‘sects/heresies’ Greek αιρέσεις (NTh1756:22) (CSK1756:1) αἰρέσιλικ [eresis-lik] ‘heresy’ Greek αίρεση (HNK1756:20), αἰρετικὸζλαρ ‘heretic/sectarian’ [eretikos-lar] Greek αιρετικός (HNK1756:72) (CSK1756:46) (KŞ1758:27) (SBD1783:48) (BH1783:51), ἄσωτος κυριακησι [asotos Kiriakisi] ‘The Sunday of Prodigal Son’ Greek Κυριακή του Ασώτου (CSK1756:ix), ἀσκητῆς κουβούκλιονα [askitis

³³⁶ For a list of Serapheim’s Greek editions, see the Appendix in References.

kuvuklion'a] 'in ascetic's canopy' Greek κουβούκλιο του ασκητή (BH1783:41), KIN1753:30), διορθῶς ὀλουνημάκ [diorthos olunmak] 'to be corrected' Greek διορθώνω (NTh1756:fp)).

In conclusion, it is certain that Serapheim knew Greek well, and used its spelling conventions as could be expected from a learned priest of the eighteenth-century.

2.3.2. Regarding the digraph <ει>

The aforementioned digraph <ει> is used in Karamanlidika texts to render the phonemes /i/ and /ɪ/. Its use by Serapheim for the past tense {DI} in the third person SG and its primary use mainly as verbal ending in the Greek language led previous research to suggest a link between the two.³³⁷ This still remains a matter of controversy, but some new elements will be added here.

As already mentioned, Serapheim's texts do not use a standardised writing system and the writing of third person SG for the past tense {DI} varies from <ι> (e.g. ιττι [itti] (KIN1753:52) (IpK1753:vi) (KIN1753:54) (CSK1756:2), γκελτι [geldi] (NTh1756:31), ἐττι [etti] (HNK1756:15), παζλατί [başladı] (KIN1753:54), γκιρτι [girdi] (IpK1753:121)), to <η> (e.g. ἐττη [etti] (CSK1756:iv)), and <ει> (e.g. ἐττει [etti] (KŞ1758:10) (NvB1776:5) (APK1782:v) (SBD1783:xi) (BH1783:5), (RAB1782:55), ἄλτει [aldı] (HNK1756:17)) without a distinction between the phonemes /i/ and /ɪ/. The usage and co-existence of different graphemes for writing of the third person SG for the past tense {DI} (e.g., γκελτι [geldi] (NTh1756:31) ~ γκελτη [geldi] (NTh1756:77) ~ γκελτει [geldi] (NTh1756:fp)) is present until KŞ1758 when we see the exclusive usage of <ει>. In HNK1756 we already see an extensive usage of the digraph, but not exclusively. In the editions that follow, no other grapheme is used for the third person SG of the past tense {DI} so we can argue in favour of a deliberate choice of the digraph made by Serapheim.

The new information regarding the use of this digraph comes from the writing convention for the word ἱγirmi [iyirmi] 'twenty': the Greek numeral 'twenty' is actually spelt εἴκοσι thus <ει> in initial position. The word iyirmi with <ει> in

³³⁷ Concerning this, see Kappler, "Note a propositio," 337.

initial position appears for the first time in NTh1756:358 and from then onwards it is used extensively (e.g., εἰγῖρμι [iyirmi] (NTh1756:358) (HNK1756:1415) (KŞ1758:13) (NvB1776:5) (PsD1782:261) (RAB1782:46) (SBD1783:43) (BH1783:1)).

This small but interesting issue is far from a solution yet, but for the time being it seems that the use of the digraph <ει> in texts written by Serapheim has its roots in the interference with Greek writing conventions as already argued by Kappler (2003).

2.3.3. *Comments on the graphematics*

Writing in general, writing conventions and calligraphy are not mere symbols put on paper (and elsewhere) but have meanings over and above the mere representation of phonemes. They have their own special meaning when it comes to the expression of opinion, ideology or authority.

In the fifteenth-century Italy, Rome and Florence were rivals for power and their differences in ideology were expressed by the use of different styles in calligraphy and script. The Byzantines had adopted a cursive writing style with vertical ligatures in opposition to the straight lines of the gothic style used by Romans and the Vatican – styles which varied in the correspondence between them depending on the socio-political situation³³⁸ – while the Ottomans had different writing styles for bureaucracy, economics, religion, etc.³³⁹ Diachronically, depending on their objectives people perceive writing in very different ways. Summarising part of Morison's work on scribes in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy, we could argue that while some people perceive writing as a medium of visual communication that should be clear and readable, others perceive it as something that should be used and understood only by a closed group of people.³⁴⁰

In the case of our corpus, every edition uses the types of the respective printer. So far, there do not seem to be significant differences with regard to orthography

³³⁸ Morison, *Politics and Script*, 264, 286, 277.

³³⁹ Regarding the various the various writing styles in the Ottoman period see Jan Reychman & Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomats*, ed. Tibor Halasi-Kun (Mouton, The Hague, Paris 1968), 104-128.

³⁴⁰ Morison, *Politics and Script*, 269.

between the various printers. We should consider that perhaps both the author and the printer did not entirely ignore the setting of the Karamanlidika part of the books, but certainly paid less attention to it than they did to the Greek in terms of writing conventions, for several reasons. First, Karamanlidika was something new to the printing tradition and had no previous standards to rely on or be compared with; second, their purpose was far different from teaching orthography or setting the norm for writing conventions and third, as far as the printers are concerned, they usually did not know Turkish. This becomes evident not only from the aforementioned correct use of Greek orthography but also from the types used in the Turkish part of BH1783.

The intermediate stage of type setting, in the procedure of book printing between the manuscript and the final product, was crucial, the choices of the type setters often created situations that puzzle researchers today, and often we do not know to which link of the printing chain to attributed the finding that draws our attention. In BH1783, which has a considerable number of pages in the Greek language, after page 137 in the Turkish text, the type <j> from the Latin alphabet is used for rendering initial /ı/ and /i/. This does not happen for the Greek part, which sticks to the Greek alphabet. What makes this interesting is that the frequency of the grapheme in the text shows a conscious choice and its transformation from page 157 onwards. Since initial vowels in Greek always take breathings and sometimes accents (see 2.1.), the dot of <j> was in the way for the extra types, so the printer cut the dot from the type in order to fit the breathings and accents. This choice probably served as an emergency solution in the lack of enough <ι> types and later was customised in order to fit Greek spelling conventions. This would not be possible nowadays, since a reading public trained in specific spelling conventions responds much more slowly to changes and differentiations,³⁴¹ but back then, when Karamanlidika printing was in its infancy, such a convention seemed to be possible.

Regarding the use of the rest of the graphemes, some books illustrate some individual choices worthy of mention. The author uses the grapheme <δ> mostly in Greek words copying the writing conventions (e.g., *αδαμ* (Adam) (IpK1753:185),

³⁴¹ Morison, *Βασικές Αρχές της Τυπογραφίας*, 17.

δαβιδ (David) (IpK1753:98) (NTh1756:20)) and very rarely for rendering /d/ (e.g., μερδιβεν [merdiven] (stares) (IpK1753:174), καδδης [kaddis] (judge) (PsD1782:39). Since the phoneme /ð/ is absent from Turkish language it could be used more often for rendering /d/, instead of using <τ> for rendering more than one sound, thus creating a confusion between /t/ and /d/.

Lastly, although there is no standardised writing system, the author tried on some occasions to set some rules. In HNK1756 we observe extensive usage of <ππ> and <μπ> for rendering /b/ in an effort to create the distinction between /p/ and /b/, which are often rendered by <π>. In PsD1782 we observe again the effort for standardisation of <μπ> for rendering /b/ and <γκ> for rendering /g/ (most of the time rendered by <κ>), both in initial position, and in almost all editions the role of the digraph <ει> already discussed in 2.3.2.

2.4. Phonetics and phonology

Moving on to phonetics and phonology, an attempt will be made to trace the dialectal elements in Serapheim's texts through the study of changes in the phonology of words compared to their MST forms. The changes will be discussed and identified with previous research conducted on Karamanlidika material (Eckmann 1950a, Kappler 2002, Gavriel 2010b) and with research conducted on the phonetics on the dialects of South West and Inner Anatolia (Korkmaz 1956, 1977) in an effort to classify the language of Serapheim's book on the dialectal map. Taking into consideration that when dealing with eighteenth-century "spoken Ottoman", as noted by Hazai (1973), we are facing a form of language more similar to New Ottoman rather than Middle Ottoman, the Redhouse dictionary will be used as the source for nineteenth-century word forms. For each case the example is written in bold letters with the transcription being in square brackets. The word as found in the Redhouse dictionaries is provided at the end of each example in italics followed by the English translation. Examples marked with an asterisk illustrate single or rare appearances in the respective source.

2.4.1. Phonetics

The phonetics chapter is divided into three subchapters, phonetic changes in vowels, in consonants and in suffixes, where the attested phenomena are presented and discussed with respect to the relevant, aforementioned sources.

Phonetic changes in vowels

ASSIMILATION

PROGRESSIVE ASSIMILATION

1. **a ~ e**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 184 (*alav*), Gavriel 2010b: 211 (*acap*) and in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 102 (*alâ*).

ἀλᾰβ [alav] (KIN1753:46) (IpK1753:21) (NTh1756:7) (HNK1756:38)

(CSK1756:iv) (NvB1776:11) (BH1783:42) ~ *alev* ‘flame’, **καρτάς** [kardaş] (KIN1753:66) (IpK1753:x) (NTh1756:22) (HNK1756:11) (CSK1756:2) (SBD1783:1) ~ *kardeş* ‘brother/sister’.

2. **i ~ ü/u**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 185–186 (*mücüzət*) and Gavriel 2010b: 214 (*murusiyle*).

κιουλλουγέτ [küllüyet] (KIN1753:xi) (IpK1753:9) (NTh1756:1) (HNK1756:9) (CSK1756:6) (KŞ1758:37)(NvB1776:20) (PsD1782:iv) (RAB1782:107) (BH1783:51) ~ *külliyat* ‘complete’, **οὐμπουτουγέτ** [ubuduyet] (KIN1753:v) ~ *ubudiyet* ‘devotion’, **μουτζουζέτ** [mucüzet] (KIN1753:33) (IpK1753:23) (CSK1756:101) (KŞ1758:7) (BH1783:25) ~ *μουτζεζέτ* [mucezet] (BH1783:22) ~ *μουτζουζάτ* [mucüzat] (PsD1782:109) (APK1782:iv) (BH1783:27) ~ *mu’cizat* ‘miracle’.

REGRESSIVE ASSIMILATION

1. **a ~ e**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 186 (*esker*).

ἔσκηρ [esker] (HNK1756:21) (BH1783:3) ~ *asker* ‘army’.

2. **i ~ e**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 186 (*hekmet*) and Gavriel 2010b: 213 (*zeyinet*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 108 (*belmeyorlar*). Also in Korkmaz 1977: 61 (*hekalar* [hikayeler], *keleme*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

χεκμέτ [hekmet](KIN1753:27) (NTh1756:15) (HNK1756:fp) (CSK1756:2) (KŞ1758:9) (NvB1776:14) (PsD1782:10) (APK1782:fp) (SBD1783:ix) (BH1783:6) ~ *χικμέτ* [hikmet] (APK1782:2) ~ *hikmet* ‘wisdom’, **μεχνέτ** [mehnet] (NTh1756:17) (CSK1756:33) ~ *μαχνέτ* [mahnet] (RAB1782:94) (APK1782:xx) (SBD1783:vi) (BH1783:10) ~ *mihnet* ‘torment’.

πετζαρὲ [beçare] (HNK1756:79) ~ *biçare* ‘poor’, **τετζαρὲτ** [tecaret] (KIN1753:66) ~ *ticaret* ‘commerce’.

μαρεφὲτ [marefet] (KIN1753:87) (RAB1782:163) (NvB1776:18) ~ *μαραφὲτ* [marafet] (KIN1753:v) (NTh1756:1) (HNK1756:36) (CSK1756:51) (NvB1776:98) (RAB1782:59) (APK1782:vii) (SBD1783:viii) (BH1783:32) ~ *μαρουφετλή* [marüfetli] (NTh1756:65) ~ *μαριφὲτ* [marifet] (NvB1776:104) (SBD1783:44) ~ *ma’rifet* ‘skill’.

DISSIMILATION

PROGRESSIVE DISSIMILATION

1. **a ~ e**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:333 (*adem, kabahet*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 186 (*gazep, karer, cemaet, melahet*) and Gavriel 2010b: 213 (*semaveti, hakiket*).

καρέπ [karer] (KIN1753:65) ~ *karar* ‘decision’.

ζεναέτ [zenaet] (KIN1753:v) (NTh1756:2) (CSK1756:107) (KŞ1758:34) (APK1782:vii)(SBD1783:26) ~ *ζεναὰτ* [zenaat] (NTh1756:49) ~ *zenaat* ‘craft’, **τζεμαέτ** [cemaet] (KIN1753:ix) (IpK1753:x) (NTh1756:iv) (HNK1756:74) (KŞ1758:25) (NvB1776:70) (PsD1782:29) (RAB1782:30) ~ *τζεμαὰτ* [cemaat] (PsD1782:17) (APK1782:v) (BH1783:15) ~ *cemaat* ‘cogregation’, **μελαχέτ** (KIN1753:9) (IpK1753:viii) ~ *melahat* ‘beauty’, **καναέτ** [kanaet] (KIN1753:15) (IpK1753:170) (CSK1756:2) (NvB1776:38) (PsD1782:158) ~ *καναὰτ* [kanaat] (NTh1756:45) (RAB1782:52) (SBD1783:17) ~ *καναχὰτ* [kanahat] (NTh1756:60) (NvB1776:13) (APK1782:9) ~ *kanaat* ‘conviction’.

2. **e ~ a**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 185 (*kıymatlı*).

χισμὰτ [hismat] (KIN1753:xi) (NTh1756:8) (HNK1756:11) (CSK1756:6)

(KŞ1758:23)(NvB1776:125) (RAB1782:17) (APK1782:xvi) (SBD1783:vii) (BH1783:10) ~ *χιζμετ* [hizmet] (KIN1753:77) ~ *hizmet* ‘service’, *κιγμὰτ* [kıymat] (KIN1753:10) (IpK1753:18) (NTh1756:6) (HNK1756:4) (CSK1756:iv) (KŞ1758:79) (RAB1782:75) (APK1782:xxi) (PsD1782:6) (SBD1783:xi) (BH1783:140) ~ *κυγιμετ* [kıymet] (NTh1756:21) (NvB1776:19) (SBD1783:192) ~ *kıymet* ‘value’.

REGRESSIVE DISSIMILATION

1. **a ~ e:** In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:333 (*ehval*, *emma*, *zeman*, *heyat*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 186 (*emma*, *eza*, *ezamet*) and Gavriel 2010b: 211, 219 (*ehval*, *zeman*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 101–102 (*ehpap*, *zeman*). Also in Korkmaz 1956: 43 (*beyan*) in twentieth-century south-west dialects and in Korkmaz 1977: 57 (*zeman*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

ἐχβὰλ [ehval] (NTh1756:77) (NvB1776:32) (RAB1782:14) (BH1783:3) ~ *ahval* ‘conditions’, *ἐμμα* [emma] (KIN1753:75) (IpK1753:91)(NTh1756:15) (KŞ1758:45) (HNK1756:16) ~ *amma* ‘but’, *ζεμὰν* [zeman] (KIN1753:54) (IpK1753:iv) (HNK1756:3) (NTh1756:4) (CSK1756:iii) ~ *ζαμὰν* [zaman] (IpK1753:46) (NTh1756:15) (KŞ1758:12) (NvB1776:13) (APK1782:ix) (BH1783:60) ~ *zaman* ‘time’, *ζεράρ* [zerar] (KIN1753:15) ~ *zarar* ‘damage’, *χεγιὰτ* [heyat] (KIN1753:8) (IpK1753:103) (NTh1756:5) (HNK1756:5) (CSK1756:vi) (NvB1776:11) (PsD1782:vi)(RAB1782:2) (APK1782:xi) (SBD1783:xiii) (BH1783:fp) ~ *hayat* ‘life’.

ἐλαμετ [elamet] (KIN1753:ii) ~ *alamet* ‘sign’.

ἐτζαγιπ [ecayip] (NvB1776:37*) ~ *ἀτζαϊπ* [acaib] (KIN1753:v) (IpK1753:x) (NTh1756:21) (HNK1756:3) (CSK1756:11) (KŞ1758:19) (NvB1776:43) (APK1782:iv) (SBD1783:ix) (BH1783:5) ~ *ἀτζαγιπ* [acayip] (NTh1756:43) (NvB1776:23) (RAB1782:140) ~ *acayip* ‘strange’, *γεπαντζι* [yebancı]

(KIN1753:13) (RAB1782:62) ~ *γιαπαντζι* [yabancı] (KIN1753:12) ~ yabancı ‘stranger/foreigner’.

2. **a- ~ i/ı:** In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:334 (*ilaka*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 103 (*çığırma*). Also in Korkmaz 1956: 43 (*tancira*) and in twentieth-century south-west dialects and in Korkmaz 1977: 57 (*çığır-*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

ihβāl [ihval] (SBD1783:10) (BH1783:10) ~ *ahval* ‘conditions’.

3. **e ~ a:** In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:329 (*seadet*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 188 (*meşferet*, *zenaet*) and Gavriel 2010b: 211 (*ejdarlar*). Also in Korkmaz 1977: 58 (*ötaçe [öte-geçe]*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

μεσφαρέτ [meşfaret] (KIN1753:61) (IpK1753:59) (HNK1756:18) (SBD1783:111) ~ *μεσφερετ* [meşferet] (BH1783:176) ~ *meşveret* ‘consultation’, **μπερακέτ** [beraket] (KIN1753:32) ~ *bereket* ‘abundance’, **μετρεσά** [medresa] (CSK1756:v) ~ *medrese* ‘school’.

4. **i ~ a:** In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:329 (*hedayecik*).

χεταγέ [hedaye] (KIN1753:iii) (IpK1753:x) (HNK1756:26) (CSK1756:90) (KŞ1758:4)(NvB1776:97) (RAB1782:50) (APK1782:xxii) ~ *χετυγέ* [hediye] (PsD1782:69) (RAB1782:25) (SBD1783:xiii) (BH1783:26) ~ *hediye* ‘gift’.

5. **i ~ e:** In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:334 (*kefayet*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 187 (*pencire*) and Gavriel 2010b: 213 (*eyiyi*, *ehtiar*, *zeynetlendirdi*, *geyim*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 108 (*fegan*). Also in Korkmaz 1956: 47 (*etiyar*) in twentieth-century south-west dialects and in Korkmaz 1977:61 (*geydir*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

ἐγὶ [eyi] (KIN1753:11) (IpK1753:16) (NTh1756:16) (HNK1756:3) (NvB1776:4) ~ ἐγιοῦ [eyü] (KIN1753:11) (IpK1753:6) (NTh1756:18) (RAB1782:3) (PsD1782:213*) ~ *iyi* ‘good’.

ἐχτικὰτ [ehtikat] (KIN1753:44) ~ itikat ‘belief’, ἐχτισαμ [ehtisam] (NTh1756:77) (HNK1756:87) ~ *iktisam* ‘sharing’, ἐχτιὰρ [ehtiar] (HNK1756:23) (RAB1782:182) ~ ἐχτηγιάρ [ehtiyar] (NvB1776:14) ~ *ihtiyar* ‘aged’.

κεῖμ [geim] (KIN1753:v) (IpK1753:14) (CSK1756:35) (RAB1782:25) (APK1782:xii) (SBD1783:85) (KŞ1758:4) ~ *giyim* ‘coat’.

κεφαγιετ [kefayet] (NvB1776:13) (RAB1782:160) ~ κεφαετ [kefaet] (IpK1753:x) ~ κιφαετ [kifaet] (KIN1753:vii) (IpK1753:vi) (NTh1756:8) (HNK1756:fp) (CSK1756:3) (KŞ1758:5) (NvB1776:fp) (PsD1782:v) (RAB1782:3) (APK1782:xvi) (SBD1783:fp) (BH1783:1) ~ κιφαῖτ [kifait] (KIN1753:19) (IpK1753:13) ~ *kifayet* ‘sufficiency’.

πεντζιρέ [pencire] (HNK1756:44) (KŞ1758:21) (BH1783:84) ~ *pencere* ‘window’.

LABIALISATION

1. **e ~ ö:** In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:335 (*dövlet*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 177 (*dövlet*), in Korkmaz 1956: 47 (*çözmek*) in twentieth-century south-west dialects and in Korkmaz 1977: 62 (*övel, dövlet*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

τοβλêτ [dövlet] (KIN1753:31) (IpK1753:59) (NTh1756:fp) (HNK1756:15) (CSK1756:viii) (KŞ1758:70) (PsD1782:v) (APK1782:xiv) (RAB1782:28) (BH1783:2) (SBD1783:2) ~ τεβλêτ [devlet] (KIN1753:46) (APK1782:9) (NTh1756:42) (NvB1776:12) ~ *devlet* ‘state’.

2. **e ~ ü:** In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 177

(*mürdümek*) and in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika in Gavriel 2010b: 213 (*göstürdü*). Also in Korkmaz 1977: 62 (*mötüre [metre]*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

οὐπιούρ [üpür] (KIN1753:62) (RAB1782:41) (APK1782:52) ~ οὐπέρ [üper] (IpK1753:24) (IpK1753:54) ~ ὀπέρ [öper] (CSK1756:22) ~ *öper* ‘to kiss’.

3. **ı ~ u:** In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:3335 (*kapuci, fundukli*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 177 (*sufat*) and Gavriel 2010b: 213 (*sufat*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 1010–112 (*burakma*). Also in Korkmaz 1977: 62 (*merduvan*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

σουφάτ [sufat] (KIN1753:xi) (IpK1753:viii) (HNK1756:27) (CSK1756:47) (KŞ1758:58)(NvB1776:15)(SBD1783:18) (BH1783:17) ~ σιφάτ [sıfat] (PsD1782:64) ~ *sıfat* ‘quality’, **φουρσάτ** [fursat] (BH1783:97) ~ *fırsat* ‘opportunity’, **σαποῦρ** [sabor] (IpK1753:26) (PsD1782:162) (BH1783:2) (NvB1776:33) ~ σαπίρ [sabır] (IpK1753:29) ~ *sabır* ‘patience’, **ἀτζοῦκ** [açuk] (IpK1753:18) ~ *açık* ‘open’, **χαζοῦρ** (IpK1753:61) (CSK1756:9) ~ *hazır* ‘ready’, **άρτοῦκ** [artuk] (KIN1753:ix) ~ *artuk* ‘remaining’, ἀῖροῦ [ayru] (KIN1753:7) ~ *ayrı* ‘separate’, **νάσουλ** [nasul] (KIN1753:30) ~ νὰσυλ [nasıl] (KIN1753:40), **χαπούς** [hapus] (KIN1753:13) ~ *hapis* ‘confinement’, **άλτοῦν** [altun] (APK1782:xix) (BH1783:95) ~ *altın* ‘gold’.

μουσαφῆρ [musafir] (NvB1776:3) (PsD1782:60) (RAB1782:13) (APK1782:xii) (SBD1783:vii) (BH1783:13) ~ *misafir* ‘guest’, **κουλαούς** [kulaus] (KIN1753:39) (CSK1756:iv) ~ κουλαοῦζ [kulauz] (NTh1756:28)(NvB1776:70) (PsD1782:5) (RAB1782:100) (APK1782:6) (HNK1756:74) (CSK1756:19) ~ κυλαοῦζ [kılauz] (NTh1756:71) ~ κουλαβοῦζ [kulavuz] (PsD1782:121) (RAB1782:70) (SBD1783:29) (BH1783:51) ~ κουλαβοῦς [kulavus] (PsD1782:127) (SBD1783:7) (BH1783:70) ~ *kılavuz* ‘guide’.

γιαλαπούκ [yalabuk] (NvB1776:26) ~ *yalabık* ‘shining’.

σάπουκα [sabuka] (NTh1756:235) (SBD1783:4) ~ **σάπικα** [sabıka] (PsD1782:fp) ~ *sabıka* ‘former’.

DE-LABIALISATION

1. **ü/u ~ i:** In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:329 (*biyûk*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 177 (*cima, micazat*) and Gavriel 2010b: 213 (*mibarek*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 108 (*bitün, vicud*).

μιναφίκ [minafik] (KIN1753:72) ~ *münafık* ‘hypocrite’, **μινασίπ** [minasib] (NTh1756:39) ~ *münasib* ‘suitable’, **γιμουρτὰ** [yimurta] (NTh1756:66) ~ *yumurta* ‘egg’.

μεβτζίτ [mevcid] (KIN1753:v) ~ *mevcud* ‘existing’, **μαχρήμ** [mahrım] (HNK1756:4) (KŞ1758:4) (NvB1776:53) (BH1783:67) ~ **μαχρούμ** [mahrum] (NvB1776:76) ~ *mahrum* ‘deprived’, **μαχλίκ** [mahlık] (HNK1756:3) (CSK1756:17) ~ *mahluk* ‘creature’, **γκιονίλ** [gönıl] (IpK1753:49) ~ *κιονοῦλ* [gönül] (IpK1753:50) (NTh1756:7) (HNK1756:42) (CSK1756:3) (KŞ1758:69) (NvB1776:3) (RAB1782:iii) (APK1782:iv) (PsD1782:viii) (SBD1783:19) (BH1783:21) ~ *γκιογγούλ* [göñül] (NTh1756:36) (HNK1756:60) (CSK1756:31) (NvB1776:81) ~ *gönül* ‘heart’, **γιαγμίρ** [yağmır] (NTh1756:62) ~ *yağmur* ‘rain’, **πιτοῦν** [bitün] (NTh1756:16) (HNK1756:22) ~ *πουτοῦν* [bütün] (CSK1756:3) (PsD1782:29) (APK1782:iii) ~ *bütün* ‘entire’, **βιτζούτ** [vicud] (KIN1753:xi) ~ *vücut* ‘human body’.

HIGH > LOW

1. **u ~ o:** In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:328-329 (*doa, dova, yokarda, yahod*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 175–176 (*boğday, yokarı, doa*) and Gavriel 2010b: 213 (*yokarı, doa*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 111–112 (*onutma, doa*). Also in Korkmaz 1956: 44 (*šo, yokarı*) in twentieth-century south-west dialects and Korkmaz 1977: 62 (*boğün [bu gün]*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

ντοῦ [doa] (KIN1753:xi) (KIN1753:10) (IpK1753:x) (NTh1756:1) (CSK1756:vii) (HNK1756:9) (KŞ1758:80) (NvB1776:3) (RAB1782:fp) (PsD1782:12) (APK1782:33) (SBD1783:xiii) ~ ντοβῦ [dova] (KIN1753:10) (CSK1756:4) (NvB1776:83) (PsD1782:iii) (RAB1782:fp) (APK1782:xix) (SBD1783:v) (BH1783:xii) ~ ντουᾶ [dua] (KIN1753:13) (IpK1753:161) (NTh1756:242) ~ *dua* ‘prayer’, **ρόχπᾶν** [rohban] (KIN1753:46) (HNK1756:15) (RAB1782:26) (SBD1783:fp) (BH1783:248) ~ ρουχπᾶν [ruhban] (PsD1782:x) ~ *rohban* ‘monks’, **ρόμτζα** [romca] (KIN1753:vii) (IpK1753:iv) (NTh1756:9) (CSK1756:fp) (NvB1776:5) (RAB1782:27) (SBD1783:193) (BH1783:25) ~ *rumca* ‘greek’.

γιοκαρι [yokarı] (KIN1753:11) (IpK1753:199) (NTh1756:19) (CSK1756:43) (KŞ1758:32) (NvB1776:24) (PsD1782:256) (APK1782:1) (SBD1783:9) (BH1783:44) ~ yukarı ‘high’, **μπογτάϊ** [boğday] (PsD1782:5) (SBD1783:53) (BH1783:39) (RAB1782:10) (BH1783:244) ~ πουγταϊ [buğday] (NTh1756:192) (CSK1756:299) (NvB1776:4) ~ *buğday* ‘wheat’, **ρόχανι** [rohani] (KIN1753:iii) (HNK1756:3) (CSK1756:iv) (NvB1776:4) (PsD1782:iii) (RAB1782:iii) (APK1782:iii) ~ ρουχανι [ruhani] (KIN1753:iii) (IpK1753:200) (CSK1756:29) (NvB1776:3) (SBD1783:v) ~ *ruhani* ‘spiritual’, **μοχαπέτ** [mohabet] (KIN1753:65) (IpK1753:57) (NTh1756:6) (HNK1756:61) (CSK1756:iv) (KŞ1758:5) ~ μουχαπέτ [muhabet] (KIN1753:81) (IpK1753:89) (NTh1756:8) (HNK1756:71) (KŞ1758:5) (PsD1782:v) ~ *muhabbet* ‘love’, **μοχαλιφét** [mohalifet] (IpK1753:118) ~ μουχαλιφét [muhalifet] (IpK1753:117) ~ *muhallefat* ‘inheritance’.

γιαχòτ [yahot] (KIN1753:vii) (IpK1753:8) (NTh1756:1) (HNK1756:71) (CSK1756:iii) (KŞ1758:4) (NvB1776:135) (PsD1782:9) (RAB1782:7) (APK1782:xiii) (SBD1783:1) (BH1783:1) ~ *yahut* ‘or, otherwise’.

2. **ü ~ ö**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:329 (*köheylan*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 176 (*gövercin, böyük, cöreetlik, höküm*) and Gavriel 2010b: 213 (*böyük, höküm, hökümet*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 1010–112 (*bölbül,*

böyük). Also in Korkmaz 1956: 44 (*yörümek*) in twentieth-century south-west dialects and Korkmaz 1977: 61 (*hökümet*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

μπογιούκ [böyük] (KIN1753:19) (IpK1753:5) (NTh1756:15) (HNK1756:32) (CSK1756:ix) (KŞ1758:16) (NvB1776:10) (PsD1782:14) (APK1782:xi) (RAB1782:vii) (SBD1783:xi) (BH1783:4) ~ *büyük* ‘big’, **κιοζέλ** [gözel] (NTh1756:16) (RAB1782:34) (APK1782:vi) (SBD1783:7) ~ *güzel* ‘beautiful’, **τζορεετλίκ** [cöreetlik] (KIN1753:50) (IpK1753:viii) (HNK1756:65) (CSK1756:viii) (PsD1782:vii) (RAB1782:46) (APK1782:xi) (SBD1783:5) (BH1783:17) ~ *cüre’tli* ‘insolent’.

χοκουμέτ [hökumet] (NTh1756:35) (CSK1756:18) ~ *hükümet* ‘government’, **κιοβεργτζίην** [gövercin] (NTh1756:104) (CSK1756:74) (KŞ1758:50) (RAB1782:134) (PsD1782:81) ~ *güvercin* ‘pigeon’.

LOW > HIGH

1. **o ~ u**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:329 (*yulurmuş*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 176 (*sufra, buğa*) and Gavriel 2010b: 215 (*sufra*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 113 (*buyunda, dostu*). Also in Korkmaz 1956: 44 (*uya*) in twentieth-century south-west dialects.

τουγμάκ [duğmak] (KIN1753:41) (IpK1753:30) (NTh1756:6) (CSK1756:3) ~ *doğmak* ‘to be born’.

2. **ö ~ ü**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:331 (*börek, ülmek, ümür*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 177 (*ülüm, ümür*) and in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 113–114 (*ülüm, gübek*).

οὐλοῦμ [ülüm] (KIN1753:15) (IpK1753:8) (NTh1756:28) (HNK1756:5) (CSK1756:18) (NvB1776:16) (KŞ1758:8) (RAB1782:3) (SBD1783:3)

(BH1783:22) ~ ὀλοῦμ [ölüm] (KIN1753:15) (NTh1756:20) ~ *ölüm* ‘death’, **οὐμοῦρ** [ümür] (KIN1753:iii) ~ *ömür* ‘hope’, **τουβμέκ** [düvmek] (HNK1756:38) ~ [dövmek] **τοβμέκ** (HNK1756:38) ~ *dövmek* ‘to beat’.

VOWEL DROP

1. **i ~ ø**: The vowel /i/ drops in initial, medial and in final position. The phenomenon is also attested in seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:338-339 (*brakmak, stambol, spahi, hazne*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 181 (*radet, Stanbol, fazlet, hazne, çünk*) and Gavriel 2010b: 217–218 (*radet, brakma*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 115–116 (*radet, brakma*).

σταμπόλ [stambol] (KIN1753:41) (NTh1756:iii) (HNK1756:19) (CSK1756:45) (KŞ1758:29) (SBD1783:43) (BH1783:38) ~ Ἰσταμπόλ [İstambol] (NTh1756:54) (APK1782:7) < *Istanbul*, **ῥατετλή** [radetli] (NTh1756:1) ~ *iradetli* ‘strong willed’.

φαζλέτ [fazlet] (KIN1753:ii) (IpK1753:vi) (NTh1756:8) (HNK1756:17) (CSK1756:45) (KŞ1758:7) (NvB1776:122) (APK1782:xiii) (SBD1783:25) (BH1783:3) ~ *fazilet* ‘virtue’, **χαζνέ** [hazne] (IpK1753:62) (NTh1756:fp) (HNK1756:12) (CSK1756:10) (RAB1782:iv) (APK1782:viii) (SBD1783:viii) ~ *hazine* ‘treasure, reservoir’, **κελσα** [kelsa] (KIN1753:iii) κιλσά [kilsa] (IpK1753:x) ~ *kilise* ‘church’, **πράκμακ** [brakmak] (KIN1753:30) (IpK1753:33) (HNK1756:11) (CSK1756:11) (KŞ1758:4)(RAB1782:vii) (APK1782:iv) (PsD1782:iv) (BH1783:4) ~ **μπρικμάκ** [bırıkmak] (IpK1753:vi) (NTh1756:16) ~ **μππρακμάκ** [bırakmak] (IpK1753:50) (NTh1756:15) (PsD1782:18) (SBD1783:53) (BH1783:4) ~ *birakmak* ‘to leave’.

τζοὺνκ [çünk] (KIN1753:38) (IpK1753:viii) ~ τζοῦνκί [çünki] (NTh1756:15) ~ *çünki* ‘because’.

PROTHESIS

1. **ø ~ i/i:** The phenomenon of vowel prosthesis in initial position is very common

in stems with initial /r/ and /l/ in Serapheim's texts. Likewise, in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 178–179 (*ilazım, ilevent, iliman, irahmet, irahya, ireng, irical*) and Gavriel 2010b: 213 (*ilazım, irahat, irica*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 117 (*ilazım*). In Korkmaz 1956: 52 (*ilazım, irahat*) in twentieth-century south-west dialects and Korkmaz 1977: 65 (*ilazım, irahat, irica*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect. Also in seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:339 (*ipşır*).

ἰρετ [ired] (HNK1756:82) (CSK1756:24) (KŞ1758:10) (PsD1782:vi) (RAB1782:47) (APK1782:iii) ~ **ῥèt** [red] (IpK1753:71) (NTh1756:7) ~ *redd* 'rejection', **ἰρεζιλ** [irezil] (KIN1753:15) (IpK1753:14) (HNK1756:10) (CSK1756:6) (KŞ1758:24)(NvB1776:20) (RAB1782:47) (APK1782:2) (SBD1783:x) (BH1783:149) ~ **ἰρεσιλ** [iresil] (NvB1776:45) ~ **ῥεζιλ** [rezil] (NTh1756:45) (HNK1756:90) (CSK1756:31) ~ *rezil* 'vile', **ἰριζᾶ** [iriza] (NTh1756:2) ~ **ῥιζᾶ** [riza] (NTh1756:34) ~ *riza* 'consent', **ἰριτζᾶ** [irica] (NTh1756:31) (HNK1756:11) (NvB1776:24) (RAB1782:69) (APK1782:xvi) (SBD1783:xii) (BH1783:11) ~ **ἰριτζᾶλ** [irical] (NvB1776:43) (BH1783:227) ~ **ῥιτζᾶ** [rica] (NTh1756:109) (CSK1756:vii) (KŞ1758:63) (NvB1776:19) ~ *rica* 'request', **ἰρενκ** [irenk] (KIN1753:39) (IpK1753:8) (KŞ1758:58)(APK1782:32) ~ *renk* 'colour', **ἰρεϊζ** [ireiz] (HNK1756:19) (KŞ1758:64) (APK1782:xviii) ~ *reis* 'chief', **ἰραχμετλή** [irahmetli] (APK1782:xviii) ~ *rahmetli* 'deceased', **ἰραχᾶτ** [irahat] (HNK1756:46) (CSK1756:v) (KŞ1758:83) (NvB1776:43) (PsD1782:27) (RAB1782:2) (APK1782:xix) (SBD1783:xiii) (BH1783:13) ~ **ῥαχατ** [rahat] (KIN1753:50) ~ *rahat* 'ease', **ἰρᾶστ** [irast] (RAB1782:86) (APK1782:xx) (SBD1783:39) (BH1783:10) ~ *rast* 'straight',

ἰλεβέντ [ilevend] (NvB1776:137) (RAB1782:118) (APK1782:xviii) (SBD1783:7) (BH1783:31) ~ **λεβέντ** [levend] (NTh1756:79) ~ *levend* 'free, handsome', **ἰλιμᾶν** [iliman] (BH1783:164) ~ *liman* 'harbour', **ἰλαζοῦμ** [ilazum] (NTh1756:31) ~ **ἰλαζήμ** [ilazım] (NTh1756:362) ~ *lazım* 'necessary', **ἰλαήκ** [ilaık] (NTh1756:45) (HNK1756:4) (CSK1756:iv) (RAB1782:7) (SBD1783:2) (BH1783:30) ~ **ἰλαγικ** [ilayık] (HNK1756:19) (KŞ1758:7) (NvB1776:51) (PsD1782:12) (RAB1782:39)

(APK1782:v) (SBD1783:46) (BH1783:1) ~ *layık* ‘suitable’.

ἰσιτζῶκ [ısıcak] (HNK1756:73) (PsD1782:ix) (BH1783:137) ~ sıcak ‘heat’.

2. **ø ~ ü/(ö):** In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 179 (*örüskâr, örüsker, ürüskâr, ürüzgâr*) and in Korkmaz 1977: 67 (*ölüzgâr*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

οὔρουσκιάρ [ürüskar] (HNK1756:13) (CSK1756:55) ~ **όρουζκιάρ** [örüzgar] (NvB1776:96) (RAB1782:123) (APK1782:xxii) ~ **όρουσκέρ** [örüsker] (IpK1753:14) (CSK1756:35) (KŞ1758:6) ~ **ρόυζκιάρ** [rüzgar] (NTh1756:140) (PsD1782:ix) (APK1782:8) ~ *rüzgar* ‘wind’.

όρουσφάϊγ [örüsfaıγ] (KŞ1758:53) ~ **οὔρουσφάγι** [ürüsfaıγı] (NvB1776:89) ~ **οὔρουσφάϊ** [ürüsfaı] (BH1783:84) ~ **ρόυσφάϊğ** [rüsfaığ] (SBD1783:142) (BH1783:2) ~ **ρόυσφάϊ** [rüsfaı] (BH1783:47) ~ *rüsfaı* ‘infamous’, **οὔτζουρέτ** [ücüret] (NTh1756:64) (KŞ1758:4) ~ *cü’ret* ‘boldness’.

3. **ø ~ u:** In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:338 (*urumeli*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 179 (*uruba, urum, urumca*) and Gavriel 2010b: 216 (*urumlar*). Also in Korkmaz 1977: 65 (*uruba*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

οὔρούμελι [urumeli] (SBD1783:52) ~ *Rumeli*, **οὔροῦμ** [urum] (NTh1756:34) (APK1782:8) ~ *Rum* ‘Greek’, **οὔροῦχ** [uruh] (KŞ1758:76) ~ *ruh* ‘soul’, **οὔρουπῶ** [uruba] (CSK1756:43) (NvB1776:19) (RAB1782:17) ~ *ruba* ‘clothes’.

Phonetic changes in consonants

-VOICE > +VOICE

1. **z ~ s:** In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:346 (*papaslari, bis, temis*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 190–191

(*zabah, zenahat*) and Gavriel 2010b: 200 (*stavroza, kabz*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 124 (*hazret, emzal*).

τοκούς [dokus] ~ **τοκουζῶν** [dokuzan] (KIN1753:57) ~ *dokuz* ‘nine’, **πεχρίς** [pehris] (CSK1756:11), **πεχρισλεροῦ** [pehrislerü] (KIN1753:12), **πεχριστέ** [pehriste] (KIN1753:25) ~ **πεχριζιντέ** [pehrizinde] (KIN1753:25) (CSK1756:ix) ~ *perhiz* ‘diet’, **Κῦπρις** [Kıbrıs] (KIN1753:33) (NTh1756:51) ~ **Κῦπριζα** [Kıbrıza] (KIN1753:45)(APK1782:8), **Κῦπριζα** [Kıbrısza] (KIN1753:45) ~ **Κῦπριζτα** [Kıbrısta] (KIN1753:45) ~ *Kıbrıs* ‘Cyprus’.

ἄρτος [artos] ‘bread’ ~ **ἄρτοζα** [artoza] (KIN1753:31) **ἄρτοζλαρί** [artosları] ~ **ἄρτοζα** [artoza] (NvB1776:65), **χριστός** [hristos] ‘Christ’ (HNK1756:12) (CSK1756:35) ~ **χριστοζοῦ** [hristozu] (HNK1756:12) (CSK1756:54) (KŞ1758:10) ~ **χριστοζουμοῦζ** [hristozumuz] (KIN1753:37).

ἰησοῦς [iisus] ‘Jesus’ (IpK1753:52) ~ **ἰησουζοῦμου** [iisuzumu] (IpK1753:39), **σταυροζτῶ** [stavrosta] ‘on the cross’ ~ **σταυροζοῦν** [stavrozun] (NTh1756:15) (CSK1756:63) (NvB1776:65), **ἀσκητής** [askitis] ‘ascetic’ (KIN1753:51) ~ **ἀσκητιζέ** [askitize] (KIN1753:50), **εικονομάχοζουν** [ikonomahozun] (KIN1753:41) ~ **εικονομάχος** [ikonomahos]).

2. **k ~ g**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:341 (*gendi, gauga*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 89–190 (*gadar, giz, gendi, gişi*) and in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 120, 123 (*güçük, bugi*). Also in Korkmaz 1977: 106 (*Cenab-i Hag*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect. However, as seen in the graphematics chapter, the author does not make a clear distinction in many grapheme–phoneme relations, therefore <κκ> could also stand for the velar /q/, but it is almost certain that the phenomenon occurs. The first group of examples (all regularly starting with unvoiced consonants) illustrate the use of <κκ> for /g/. This assumption is reached through the study of the second group of examples, where we see again the use of <κκ> for /g/ but this time for stems that do have a voiced consonant in initial position.

κκιλῖτζ [gılıç] (KIN1753:86) (KIN1753:90) (IpK1753:28) (NTh1756:70) (HNK1756:14) (CSK1756:50) (NvB1776:30) (PsD1782:66) (RAB1782:8) (SBD1783:16) (BH1783:13) ~ **κιλῖτζ** [kılıç] (KIN1753:75) (PsD1782:8) ~ *kılıç* ‘sword’, **κκῖζ** [gız] (HNK1756:96) (APK1782:viii) ~ *kız* ‘girl’, **κκῖζῖλ** [gızıl] (HNK1756:112) ~ *kızıl* ‘red’, **κκῖς** [gış] (CSK1756:55) ~ *kış* ‘winter’, **κκερετ** [geret] (CSK1756:177) ~ *keret* ‘time’, **κκισῖ** [gişi] (CSK1756:83) ~ *γκησή* [gişi] (NvB1776:31) ~ *kişi* ‘person’, **κκιλμὰκ** [gılmak] (KŞ1758:3) ~ *kılmak* ‘to do’, **κκερεμ** [gerem] (KŞ1758:3) ~ *kerem* ‘kindness’, **κκιλῖτ** [gilit] (PsD1782:32) (SBD1783:vii) ~ *kilit* ‘lock’, **κκιορ** [gör] (CSK1756:120) ~ *kör* ‘blind’, **κκίρκ** [gırk] (IpK1753:126) (NTh1756:iii) (HNK1756:148) (CSK1756:361) (KŞ1758:19) (RAB1782:21) ~ *kırk* ‘forty’.

κκελῖ [geldi] ‘he arrived’ (CSK1756:23), **κκιοκ** [gök] ‘sky’ (CSK1756:24), **κκιοῶζ** [göz] ‘eyes’ (CSK1756:121).

κκιοστερμεκ [göstermek] ‘to shown’ (CSK1756:140), **κκελμεκ** [gelmek] ‘to come’ (CSK1756:140), **κκιρμεκ** [girmek] ‘to enter’ (IpK1753:48) (HNK1756:117) (KŞ1758:22) (NvB1776:30) (PsD1782:175) (BH1783:38) *γκηρμεκ* [girmek] (NvB1776:45), **κκετζε** [gece] ‘night’ (CSK1756:202).

3. **t ~ d**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:341 (*daşra, dükenmek*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 189 (*daş, dükenmek*) and in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 122–123 (*dadlı, usda*). Also in Korkmaz 1956: 68 (*anahdar*) in twentieth-century south-west dialects and Korkmaz 1977: 82 (*daş, üsdüne*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect. Similar to the previous phenomenon, <ττ> renders on some occasions /d/. The change is obvious in the example where <ντ> is used as an alternative and in the second group of examples which regularly begin with a voiced consonant.

ττὰς [daş] (NTh1756:35) (KŞ1758:15) (SBD1783:105) (BH1783:32) ~ *taş* ‘stone’, **τταγκρη** [dañri] (KŞ1758:3) ~ *Tağrı* ‘God’, **ντούρκτζεσινε** [dürkçesine] ‘in

Turkish' (IpK1753:82) ~ (türkçesine), **ντασρᾶ** [daşra] (PsD1782:62) ~ *taşra* 'outside'.

ττολοῦ [dolu] (IpK1753:49) ~ *dolu* 'full', **ττᾶγ** [dağ] (BH1783:40) ~ *dağ* 'mountain'.

STOP ~ FRICATIVE

1. **k ~ ğ**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:345 (*göğten*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 189–190 (*gög, yogudu, yogusa*) and Gavriel 2010b: 213 (*buğadar, yogudu, yog oldu*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 1010–121 (*ğam*). Also in Korkmaz 1956: 71 (*yogudu*) in twentieth-century south-west dialects and Korkmaz 1977: 71, 80–81 (*ğamçı*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect. In Serapheim's texts the phenomenon occurs regularly in the stem *gök*.

κίόγ [gög] (KIN1753:iii) (IpK1753:13) (NTh1756:1) (HNK1756:32) (CSK1756:2) (KŞ1758:23) (NvB1776:9) (PsD1782:2) (RAB1782:vii) (APK1782:xv) (SBD1783:8) (BH1783:31) ~ **κτόκ** [gök] (KIN1753:10) (IpK1753:81) (SBD1783:51) ~ *gök* 'sky'.

Likewise, the phenomenon occurs in stems ending in /k/ followed by an enclitic. As noted before by Gavriel (2010b), this happens in words pronounced together as one, something that also becomes obvious from the stress. Furthermore, the change seems to happen only when the following is also a back vowel (Gavriel 2010b: 199). The only differentiation can be seen in **νέγαταρ** [*neğadar*] (NTh1756:358) ~ (ne kadar), which in Gavriel's findings does not follow the change and remains *ne kadar*.

τζόγουτου [çoğudu] 'was much' (KIN1753:19) (NTh1756:31) (CSK1756:13) (APK1782:18) (BH1783:28), **γιόγουτου** [yogudu] 'was not' (IpK1753:96) (NTh1756:16) (NvB1776:24), **γιογουςά** [yogusa] (KIN1753:24) (IpK1753:109) (CSK1756:82), **γιόγουκεν** 'while was not' [yoguken] (NTh1756:20),

τζοτζούγικεν [çocugiken] ‘while he was a child’ (NTh1756:189), **γιόγουκαν** [yoğukan] ‘while it was not’ (CSK1756:67) (RAB1782:11) ~ **γιόουκαν** [youkan] (APK1782:xx) (BH1783:102).

+VOICE > -VOICE

1. **z ~ s**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 190–191 (*hasne, maslim, cais*) and in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 121, 124 (*sünbül, asade*). Also in Korkmaz 1956: 76 (*bis*) in twentieth-century south-west dialects and Korkmaz 1977: 106 (*otus, temus*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

μαζλοῦμ [maslum] (KIN1753:iii) ~ **μασλῖμ** [maslim] (CSK1756:6) ~ **μαζλῖμ** [mazlim] (IpK1753:19) (HNK1756:44) (CSK1756:28) (PsD1782:11) (RAB1782:3) (APK1782:xvi) ~ **μαζλοῦμ** [mazlum] (KIN1753:14) (NTh1756:39) (PsD1782:48) (RAB1782:3) (APK1782:xvi) (SBD1783:6) (BH1783:7) ~ *mazlum* ‘oppressed’, **μεσποῦρ** [mesbur] (KIN1753:44) ~ *mezbur* ‘aforementioned’, **ῥουσκιὰρ** [rüskar] (PsD1782:49) (RAB1782:vii) (APK1782:8) (SBD1783:50) (BH1783:109) ~ **ῥουζκιὰρ** [rüzgar] (NTh1756:140) (PsD1782:ix) (APK1782:8) ~ *rüzgar* ‘wind’, **παπασλὰρ** [papaslar] (IpK1753:6) ~ **παπαζλὰρ** [papazlar] (IpK1753:6) (RAB1782:27) ~ *papazlar* ‘priests’, **σοσλᾶρ** [sösler] (KIN1753:40) ~ *sözler* ‘words’.

κουλαοῦς [kulaus] (KIN1753:39) (CSK1756:iv) (HNK1756:12) ~ **κουλαβοῦς** [kulavus] (PsD1782:127) (SBD1783:7) (BH1783:70) ~ **κουλαοῦζ** [kulauz] (NTh1756:28)(NvB1776:70) (PsD1782:5) (RAB1782:100) (APK1782:6) (HNK1756:74) (CSK1756:19) ~ **κυλαοῦζ** [kılauz](NTh1756:71) ~ **κουλαβοῦζ** [kulavuz] (PsD1782:121) (RAB1782:70) (SBD1783:29) (BH1783:51) ~ *kılavuz* ‘guide’, **τῶϊς** [cays] (KIN1753:v) (KIN1753:30) (IpK1753:28) (CSK1756:27) (RAB1782:v) (SBD1783:viii) (BH1783:44) ~ *caiz* ‘proper’, **γῆλτις** [yıldis] (CSK1756:v) ~ *yıldız* ‘star’, **σεκίς** [sekis] (CSK1756:126) (NvB1776:38) ~ *sekiz* ‘eight’, **γιοῦς** [yüs] (NvB1776:9) ~ *yüz* ‘hundred’, **γκιουντούς** [gündüs] (NvB1776:25) (BH1783:28) ~ *gündüz* ‘daily’, **ππεῦς** [beas] (CSK1756:385) ~

πεῶζ [beaz] (KŞ1758:73) ~ *beyaz* ‘white’.

2. **v ~ f**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 190 (*kasafet*, *alef*) and Gavriel 2010b: 200 (*kasafet*, *alef*).

ὀφκὲ [öfke] (NTh1756:19) (NvB1776:15) (RAB1782:171) ~ **ὀβκὲ** [övke] (KIN1753:9) (KIN1753:15) (IpK1753:14) (NTh1756:1) (HNK1756:21) (CSK1756:10) (KŞ1758:80) (NvB1776:11) (PsD1782:vii) (RAB1782:4) (APK1782:x) (SBD1783:5) (BH1783:31) ~ *övkē* ‘anger’, **κασαφὲτ** [kasafet] (KIN1753:46) (IpK1753:89) (HNK1756:32) (CSK1756:27) ~ *kasafet* [kasafet] (KIN1753:76) (IpK1753:14) (CSK1756:2) (NvB1776:24) ~ *kasaavet* [kasaavet] (RAB1782:fp) (APK1782:xv) (SBD1783:1) (BH1783:9) ~ *kasavet* [kasavet] (KIN1753:13) (NTh1756:16) (HNK1756:13) (CSK1756:15) (KŞ1758:26) (NvB1776:15) (PsD1782:64) ~ *kasavet* ‘anxiety’.

τασφιρ [tafsir] (KIN1753:ii) (IpK1753:x) (NTh1756:1) (HNK1756:34) (CSK1756:44), (KŞ1758:23) (PsD1782:59) (RAB1782:21) (APK1782:fp) (BH1783:72) ~ *tefsir* [tefsir] (KŞ1758:5) (NvB1776:fp) (RAB1782:33) (SBD1783:fp) (BH1783:fp) ~ *tasvir* ‘picture’, **μεξφαρέτ** [meşfaret] (KIN1753:61) (IpK1753:59) (HNK1756:18) (CSK1756:227) (KŞ1758:5) (PsD1782:12) (APK1782:38) (SBD1783:111) ~ *meşferet* [meşferet] (BH1783:176) ~ *meşveret* ‘consultation’, **φετφά** [fetfa] (BH1783:240) ~ *fetva* ‘fatwa’.

φεσφεσέ [fesfese] (KIN1753:51) (IpK1753:97) (NTh1756:7) (HNK1756:5) (CSK1756:iii) (KŞ1758:84) (NvB1776:5) (PsD1782:15) (RAB1782:vi) (APK1782:4) (SBD1783:6) (BH1783:7) ~ *vesvese* ‘secret fear’.

ἀλάφ [alaf] (RAB1782:117) (SBD1783:viii) ~ **ἀλάβ** [alav] (KIN1753:46) (IpK1753:21) (NTh1756:7) (HNK1756:38) (CSK1756:iv) (NvB1776:11) (BH1783:42) ~ *alev* ‘fire’.

ASSIMILATION

1. **nb ~ mb**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:353 (*mimbaat*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 197 (*tembih*). Also in Korkmaz 1956: 73 (*ombir*, *ombeş*) in twentieth-century south-

west dialects and Korkmaz 1977: 93 (*ombeş*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

τεμπιχ [tembih] (KIN1753:11) (IpK1753:vi) (NTh1756:34) (HNK1756:24) (CSK1756:1) (KŞ1758:69) (NvB1776:3) (PsD1782:1) (RAB1782:1) (APK1782:x) (SBD1783:14) (BH1783:23) ~ **τεμπεχ** [tembeh] (NTh1756:4) (CSK1756:iv) (KŞ1758:84) ~ *tenbih* ‘order’, **τεμπέλ** [tembel] (KIN1753:16) (HNK1756:4) (CSK1756:231) (RAB1782:75) (APK1782:xiii) ~ *tenbel* ‘lazy’, **ζουμπιοῦλ** [zümbül] (RAB1782:fp) ~ *sünbül* ‘hyacinth’, **μίμπαατ** [mimbaat] (IpK1753:217) (NvB1776:128) ~ *minba’d* ‘hereafter’.

2. **m ~ v**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 197 (*verdiven*) and Gavriel 2010b: 213 (*verdiven*).

βερτιβέν [verdiven] (HNK1756:75) (CSK1756:45) (SBD1783:16) (BH1783:43) ~ **βερτιμέν** [verdimen] (KŞ1758:28) ~ **μερδιβέν** [merdiven] (IPK1753:174) ~ *merdiven* ‘stairs’.

DISSIMILATION

1. **m-m ~ n-m**: This phenomenon of dissimilation is not recorded in any of the other studies used for this research, neither in Karamanlidika texts nor in south-west Turkish dialects.

νεμλεκετ [nemleket] (NTh1756:3) (HNK1756:60) (CSK1756:v) (KŞ1758:4) (RAB1782:46) (APK1782:12) ~ **μεμλεκετ** [memleket] (KIN1753:64) (IpK1753:viii) (NTh1756:31) (HNK1756:12) (PsD1782:169) ~ *memleket* ‘dominion’.

2. **n-n ~ n-m**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 198 (*namkör*).

ναμκὸρ [namkör] (NTh1756:29) (HNK1756:80) (CSK1756:59) (NvB1776:123) (RAB1782:141) (APK1782:xi) (SBD1783:2) ~ *nankör* ‘ungrateful’.

3. **r-r ~ r-l**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 198 (*mavrul*, *mağrul*) *yoğudu*, *yoğusa*) and Gavriel 2010b: 210 (*mavrulluğa*).

μαβρουλλοϋκ [mavrulluk] (KIN1753:15) (NTh1756:1) (CSK1756:5) (KŞ1758:25) (APK1782:50) (SBD1783:47) ~ **μαγρουρλοϋκ** [mağrurluk] (PsD1782:19), **μαβρουλ** [mavrul] (IpK1753:24) (HNK1756:41) (NvB1776:15) (RAB1782:144) ~ **μαγρουλ** [mağrul] (PsD1782:71) (RAB1782:4) (APK1782:xvi) (SBD1783:2) (BH1783:33) ~ **μαγρουρ** [mağrur] (PsD1782:11) (RAB1782:37) (SBD1783:3) ~ *mağrur* ‘proud’.

4. **l-l ~ r-l**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 198 (*zerzele*).

ζερζελε [zerzele] (RAB1782:95) (APK1782:x) (SBD1783:39) ~ *zelzele* ‘earthquake’.

LAMBDA CISM

1. **r ~ l**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 193 (*güleş*, *melhem*) and in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 140 (*mehlem*).

σολμὰκ [solmak] (IpK1753:159) (NvB1776:76) (RAB1782:iv) ~ *sormak* ‘to ask’, **μουφλετ** [müfled] (HNK1756:15) ~ **μουφρετ** [müfred] (KŞ1758:8) ~ *müfred* ‘single’.

LABIALISATION

1. **ğ ~ v**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 190–191 (*mavrul*, *sovuk*, *köv*). Also in Korkmaz 1956: 89 (*suvan*) in twentieth-century south-west dialects and Korkmaz 1977: 70 (*avaç*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect. The phenomenon has also historic roots in the Old and Middle Ottoman phases, as can be seen in Kerslake 1998: 184 (*güvercin*, *sovuk*).

ὀβούτ [övüt] (KIN1753:v) (IpK1753:19) (NTh1756:6) (HNK1756:9) (CSK1756:1) (NvB1776:13) (RAB1782:iii) (APK1782:xviii) (SBD1783:ix) (BH1783:51) ~ **δουτ** [öüt] (NTh1756:4) ~ **ὄγοϋτ** [ögüt] (NTh1756:23) (NvB1776:4) ~ *övüt* ‘to grind’.

μαβρουλλοῦκ [mavrulluk] (KIN1753:15) (NTh1756:1) (CSK1756:5) (KŞ1758:25) (APK1782:50) (SBD1783:47) ~ **μαγρουρλοῦκ** [mağrurluk] (PsD1782:19), **μαβροῦλ** [mavrul] (IpK1753:24) (HNK1756:41) (NvB1776:15) (RAB1782:144) ~ **μαγροῦλ** [mağrul] (PsD1782:71) (RAB1782:4) (APK1782:xvi) (SBD1783:2) (BH1783:33) ~ **μαγροῦρ** [mağrur] (PsD1782:11) (RAB1782:37) (SBD1783:3) ~ *mağrur* ‘proud’, **σοβούκ** [sovuk] (IpK1753:16) (NTh1756:62) (CSK1756:276) (PsD1782:ix) (RAB1782:12) (SBD1783:8) (BH1783:75) ~ **σοούκ** [souk] (HNK1756:73) ~ *soğuk* ‘cold’, **κοβοῦλμακ** [kovulmak] (NTh1756:5) ~ *kovulmak/kogulmak* ‘to be driven away’, **κιογερτζην** [göyercin] (CSK1756:142) ~ **κιοβερτζήν** [gövercin] (NTh1756:104) (CSK1756:74) (KŞ1758:50) (RAB1782:134) (PsD1782:81) ~ *güvercin* ‘pidgeon’.

κιόβ [köv] (KIN1753:46) (IpK1753:19) (NTh1756:33) (KIN1753:46) (IpK1753:43) (HNK1756:9) (CSK1756:47) (KŞ1758:8) (NvB1776:18) (PsD1782:212) (RAB1782:19) (APK1782:9) (SBD1783:13) (BH1783:2) ~ **γκιόβ** [göv] (NvB1776:127) ~ **κιόγ** [köğ] (NTh1756:76) (HNK1756:14) ~ *köy* ‘village’.

OTHER CHANGES

1. **b** ~ **m**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 189 (*mahana*). Also in Korkmaz 1977: 90 (*gimi [gibi]*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

μαχανά [mahana] (KIN1753:15) (IpK1753:vi) (NTh1756:1) (HNK1756:21) (CSK1756:18)(NvB1776:27) (PsD1782:iv) (RAB1782:22) (APK1782:xviii) (SBD1783:ix) (BH1783:51) ~ *bahane* ‘pretext’.

2. **ğ** ~ **h**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:355

(*kihathaneyi*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 191 (*bahçe, kehat, kahat*) and in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 130 (*göhsünü*).

κεχάτ [kehat] (KIN1753:57) **κιαχάτ** [kahat] (KIN1753:62) (APK1782:52) ~ **κιαχήτ** [kahıt] (RAB1782:27) (APK1782:xvi) (SBD1783:8) ~ **καγήτ** [kağıt] (RAB1782:127) ~ *kağıt* ‘paper’.

3. **hs** ~ **ks**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Gavriel 2010b:201 (*maksul, taksil*).

μαξούλ [maksul] (CSK1756:13) (KŞ1758:12) (NvB1776:79) (RAB1782:10) (SBD1783:53) ~ *mahsul* ‘product’.

4. **k** ~ **h**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:347 (*haç, naht*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 190–191 (*haçan, ahça, ohumak, mehtüp*) and in Gavriel 2010b: 201 (*haçan*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 131 (*ahşam, vahtını*). Also in Korkmaz 1956: 71 (*ahşam*) in twentieth-century south-west dialects and Korkmaz 1977: 71, 86–87 (*çiharmak*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect.

όχοιμάκ [ohumak] (KIN1753:v) (IpK1753:vi) (NTh1756:8) (CSK1756:vii) (HNK1756:fp) (KŞ1758:4) (NvB1776:25) (PsD1782:152) (RAB1782:27) ~ **όκοιμάκ** [okumak] (KIN1753:25) (NTh1756:30)(NvB1776:3) (PsD1782:iv) (RAB1782:iii) (APK1782:34) (SBD1783:24) ~ *okumak* ‘to read’, **βάχτ** [vaht] (KŞ1758:26) (NvB1776:5) (NvB1776:37) (RAB1782:15) ~ **βακίτ** [vakıt] (KIN1753:11) (IpK1753:iv) ~ *vakıt* ‘time’, **ίχτιζά** [ihtiza] (KIN1753:92) (NvB1776:4) (RAB1782:159) (SBD1783:73) ~ **ικτιζά** [iktiza] (KIN1753:xi) (IpK1753:vi) (KIN1753:43) (NTh1756:6) (HNK1756:fp) (CSK1756:4) (KŞ1758:4) (NvB1776:fp) (PsD1782:30) (RAB1782:17) (APK1782:fp) (SBD1783:viii) (BH1783:fp) ~ *iktiza* ‘requirement’, **έχτισαμ** [ehtisam] (NTh1756:77) (HNK1756:87) ~ *iktisam* ‘sharing’, **ράχίπ** [rahıb] (PsD1782:fp) ~

ῥακῖπ [rakib] (APK1782:fp) (SBD1783:fp) (BH1783:fp) ~ *rakib* ‘monk’, **μεχτοῦπ** [mehtup] (NvB1776:24) (RAB1782:2) (SBD1783:52) (BH1783:78) ~ *mektup* ‘letter’, **αχτζέ** [ahçe] (KIN1753:60) ~ *akçe* ‘silver coin’.

5. **ş ~ ç**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:348 (*bağdaç*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 191 (*perçembe, sipariç*). In Korkmaz 1956: 90 (*üş, his*) in twentieth-century south-west dialects and Korkmaz 1977: 90 (*geşler*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect we see the opposite phenomenon (ç ~ ş).

σιπαρίτζ [sipariç] (KIN1753:xi) (IpK1753:vi) (NTh1756:4) (HNK1756:11) (CSK1756:30) (NvB1776:104) (PsD1782:17) (RAB1782:5) (APK1782:ix) (SBD1783:54) (BH1783:35) ~ *sipariş* ‘order’.

6. **v ~ b**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 190 (*befat*). The case of this phenomenon is interesting since apart from in Eckmann 1950a, who partly used Serapheim’s texts and therefore the same primary sources, it does not occur in any of the other works on Anatolian dialects or Karamanlidika used for this research, but the same stem does occur in a seventeenth-century text by Evliya Çelebi (Duman 1995: 17).

πεφάτ [befat] (KIN1753:70) (IpK1753:8) (HNK1756:24) (CSK1756:2) (KŞ1758:8) (NvB1776:10) (RAB1782:vi) (APK1782:xix) (SBD1783:2) (BH1783:2) ~ **βεφάτ** [vefat] (NTh1756:15) (HNK1756:76) (CSK1756:100) ~ *vefat* ‘death’.

CONSONANT DROP

1. **j ~ ø**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 182 (*nail, yorüecek, oturuor*) and in Gavriel 2010b: 207–208 (*vilaetler, bean olunur, nietleri, niaz*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 133–134 (*deeim, laim, kaik*) Also in Korkmaz 1977: 107 (*yamur, giydir ~ gidir*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect. In Serapheim’s texts this is one of the most common phenomena,

when the phoneme /j/ is situated between vowels, back or front. The existence of the phenomenon in seventeenth-century Ottoman texts (Duman 1995: 29) could imply this was actually voiceless.

μπεάν [bean] (KIN1753:iii) (IpK1753:vi) (NTh1756:iii) (HNK1756:fp) (CSK1756:iii) (KŞ1758:3) (NvB1776:fp) (PsD1782:iii) (RAB1782:iii) (APK1782:fp) (SBD1783:fp) (BH1783:5) ~ *beyan* ‘declaration’, **βίλαετ** [vilaet] (KIN1753:iii) (NTh1756:64) (CSK1756:18) (KŞ1758:4) (NvB1776:18) (SBD1783:7) (BH1783:5) ~ *vilayet* ‘province’.

ντεοῦ [deü] (KIN1753:47) ~ *τεγιοῦ* [deyü] (NTh1756:63) (PsD1782:166) ~ *ντεῖ* [dei] (KIN1753:48) (IpK1753:vi) (NTh1756:1) (HNK1756:38) (CSK1756:16) (KŞ1758:13) (NvB1776:3) (PsD1782:viii) (RAB1782:iv) (APK1782:iv) (BH1783:30) ~ *deyi* ‘following direct speech’.

νιχαετ [nihaet] (KŞ1758:3) ~ *νιχαγέτ* [nihayet] (KIN1753:8) ~ *nihayet* ‘end’, **ίναετλοῦ** [inaetlü] (KIN1753:33) (IpK1753:viii) ~ *inayetli* ‘gracious’,

άτζαῖπ [acayip] (KIN1753:v) (IpK1753:x) (NTh1756:21) (HNK1756:3) (CSK1756:11) (KŞ1758:19) (NvB1776:43) (APK1782:iv) (SBD1783:ix) (BH1783:5) ~ *άτζαγίπ* [acayip] (NTh1756:43) (NvB1776:23) (RAB1782:140) ~ *acayip* ‘strange’.

νιάζ [niaz] (IpK1753:18) (NTh1756:16) (CSK1756:xiii) (KŞ1758:3) (NvB1776:133) (PsD1782:5) (APK1782:vi) (SBD1783:xii) (BH1783:8) ~ *niyaz* ‘supplication’, *ζιαπέτ* [ziaret] (NTh1756:8) (HNK1756:61) (KŞ1758:4) ~ *ziyaret* ‘visit’, **ιχτιατζ** [ihtiaç] (PsD1782:17) ~ *ihtiyaç* ‘necessity’, **ιχτιάρ** [ihtiar] (KIN1753:47) (HNK1756:23) (NTh1756:70) (CSK1756:4) (KŞ1758:38) (PsD1782:viii) (APK1782:xix) (SBD1783:x) (BH1783:60) ~ *ihtiyar* ‘aged’,

νιέτ [niet] (KIN1753:17) (IpK1753:vi) (NTh1756:2) (HNK1756:4) (CSK1756:56) (KŞ1758:4) (APK1782:xiii) (SBD1783:25) (BH1783:6) ~ *niyet* [niyet] (NvB1776:5) ~ *niyet* ‘intension’, **άφιετκλίκ** [afietlik] (RAB1782:fp) ~ *afiyet* ‘good luck’, **τερπιε** [terbie] (RAB1782:8) (SBD1783:24) ~ *terbiye* ‘training, good manners’, **χετιε** [hedie] (NTh1756:67) (CSK1756:53) (BH1783:42) ~ *hediye* ‘gift’, **οῦμπουτηετ** [ubudiet] (APK1782:1) ~ *οῦμπουτηγέτ* [ubudiyet] (KIN1753:iv) ~ *ubudiyet* ‘devotion’.

2. **h ~ ø**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:350 (*odaverdi, kahve, tamin*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 182, 192, 199 (*kabaat, saap, saat, aŋgi, meze [mizah], veç*) and Gavriel 2010b: 208 (*musaabet, mesebinde*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 135–137 (*em, erkes, feraat, kabaat, iştiba*). Also in Korkmaz 1977: 108 (*makeme, masil*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect. The phenomenon, which also occurs in the Rumeli dialect (Caferoğlu 1959: 255) and seventeenth-century Ottoman texts (Duman 1995: 31, *şube*), appears in Serapheim's texts in initial, medial and final position.

ἐρ [er] (KIN1753:33) (IpK1753:iv) (CSK1756:353) ~ *her* 'every', **ἐρταῖμ** [erdaïm] (KŞ1758:72) ~ *her daim* 'always', **ἐρπαρι** [erbari] (IpK1753:x) ~ *her bari* 'every time', **ἐπιμιζ** [epimiz] (NvB1776:3) ~ *hepimiz* 'al of us' ~ **χερ** [her] 'every' (KIN1753:ii), **χερ βακίτ** [her vakit] (NTh1756:1).

νασαῦτ [nasaat] (KIN1753:vii) (IpK1753:vi) (NTh1756:iii) (HNK1756:12) (CSK1756:vii) (SBD1783:1) (BH1783:46) ~ **νασαχᾶτ** [nasahat] (IpK1753:200) (NTh1756:9109) (KŞ1758:39) (NvB1776:4) (RAB1782:39) (APK1782:ix) (SBD1783:xii) (BH1783:51) ~ **νασιχᾶτ** [nasihat] (KIN1753:xi) (IpK1753:13) (NTh1756:6) (RAB1782:39) (APK1782:51) ~ *nasihat* 'advice', **καπαῦτ** [kabaat] (NTh1756:78) (CSK1756:31) ~ **καπαχᾶτ** [kabahat] (NTh1756:81) (NvB1776:28) (RAB1782:49) (SBD1783:20) ~ *kabahat* 'offense', **καναῦτ** [kanaat] (NTh1756:45) (RAB1782:32) (SBD1783:17), **μουσταῦκ** [müstaak] (NTh1756:16) ~ **μουσταχᾶκ** [müstahak] (NTh1756:60) (CSK1756:iii) (NvB1776:81) ~ *müstahak* 'merited', **σεῖτ** [seit] (NvB1776:fp) ~ *şehit* 'martyr', **Καραῖσαρι** [Karaïsari] (SBD1783:43) ~ *Karahisari*.

βέτζ [vec] (KIN1753:40) (IpK1753:10) (NTh1756:3) (HNK1756:25) (CSK1756:37) (KŞ1758:68) (NvB1776:10) (PsD1782:33) (RAB1782:111) (APK1782:iv) (SBD1783:vii) ~ **βέτζχ** [vech] (IpK1753:93) (HNK1756:90) (CSK1756:50) (PsD1782:iv) (RAB1782:fp) (APK1782:xii)(SBD1783:vii) (BH1783:3) ~ *vech* 'face'.

3. **t ~ ø:** In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:351 (*ras ola*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 200 (*putperes*) and Gavriel 2010b: 209 (*putpereslikten, çifçi*). Also in Korkmaz 1977: 108 (*hizmekar, çifçi*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect and in seventeenth-century Evliya Çelebi's text in Duman 1995: 33 (*çiflik*).

πουτπερεσλικ [putpereslik] (KIN1753:17) (IpK1753:71) (NTh1756:16) (CSK1756:35) (NvB1776:13) (APK1782:4) (SBD1783:27) (BH1783:3) ~ *putperestlik* 'idolatry'.

4. **v ~ ø:** In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:337 (*kalauz, tauk*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 178 (*töbe, töbelik*) and Gavriel 2010b: 209 (*töbeye*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 118 (*töbe*). Also in Korkmaz 1977: 108 (*evşir, ücut*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect. In Serapheim's texts the phoneme drops in medial and final position.

τοπέ [töbe] (KIN1753:9) (IpK1753:7) (NTh1756:16) (CSK1756:14) (KŞ1758:66) (PsD1782:vi) (RAB1782:vi) (SBD1783:ix) (BH1783:51) ~ *τογπέ* [tögbe] (RAB1782:64) ~ *tönbe* 'repentance', **κουλαούς** [kulaus] (KIN1753:39) (CSK1756:iv) ~ *κουλαούζ* [kulauz] (NTh1756:28)(NvB1776:70) (PsD1782:5) (RAB1782:100) (APK1782:6) (HNK1756:74) (CSK1756:19) ~ *κυλαούζ* [kilauz] (NTh1756:71) ~ *κουλαβοϋζ* [kulavuz] (PsD1782:121) (RAB1782:70) (SBD1783:29) (BH1783:51) ~ *κουλαβοϋς* [kulavus] (PsD1782:127) (SBD1783:7) (BH1783:70) ~ *kılavuz* 'guide'.

ἄφ [af] (IpK1753:5) (HNK1756:22) (CSK1756:14) (KŞ1758:72) (NvB1776:3) (RAB1782:2) (BH1783:99) ~ *ἄφβ* [afv] (KIN1753:13) (IpK1753:26) (RAB1782:2) (APK1782:10) (SBD1783:15) (BH1783:157) ~ *af/afv* 'forgiveness'.

CONSONANT EPENTHESIS

1. **ø ~ h:** In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:348 (*nahlet*,

sahat and iktikat). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 192, 200 in initial and final position (*havli, helbette, peydah, teselah*) and in Gavriel 2010b: 207 (*peydah*) in final position. In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika in Kappler 2002: 137 (*helbet, hacre*) in initial position. In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 194–195 (*ihitkat, sahat*), in Gavriel 2010b: 206 (*ihitkat, sahat, tabihat*) and in Kappler 2002: 139 (*sahat, tehsir*) in medial position in the place of *ayn* as a hiatus. In Serapheim's texts also as a hiatus.

τεσελάχ [teselâh] (CSK1756:95) (PsD1782:151) ~ *tesellâ* 'consolation'.

ιχτικὰτ [ihtikad] (KIN1753:57) (IpK1753:x) (HNK1756:4) (NvB1776:11) (APK1782:v) (SBD1783:4) (BH1783:80) ~ *i'tikad* 'superstition',³⁴² **σαχὺτ** [sahat] (KIN1753:43) (IpK1753:9) (HNK1756:9) (CSK1756:170) (KŞ1758:23) (NvB1776:21) (PsD1782:53) (RAB1782:11) (SBD1783:6) (BH1783:6) ~ **σαὰτ** [saat] (KIN1753:55) (IpK1753:14) (NTh1756:27) ~ *saat* 'time'.

2. **ø ~ y**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:345 (*itayet*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 191 (*yesir*) and in Gavriel 2010b: 207 (*yesir*) in initial position. As a hiatus in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 195 (*iyvaz, cemayet, tabiyet*), in Gavriel 2010b: 207 (*dayim*) and in Kappler 2002: 138 (*dayim, kayil*) in medial position. In Serapheim's texts also as a hiatus.

τάϊμ [daim] (KIN1753:ii) (IpK1753:vi) (KŞ1758:6) ~ **τάγιμ** [dayim] (KIN1753:33) ~ *daim* 'always', **ιγιβὰζ** [iyivaz] (PsD1782:38) (RAB1782:13) (SBD1783:vii) (BH1783:65) ~ **ιβαζ** [ivaz] (NTh1756:17) (CSK1756:105) ~ **ιγβὰζ** [iyvaz] (IpK1753:19) (NTh1756:17) (CSK1756:21) (KŞ1758:3) (PsD1782:22) ~ *i'vaz* 'consideration'.

3. **ø ~ m**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 200 (*barem, illem*).

³⁴² On two occasions also as **ικτικὰτ** [iktikad] (KIN1753:81) (NTh1756:8).

ἰλλἔμ [illem] (KIN1753:19) (NTh1756:1) (CSK1756:iv) (KŞ1758:12) (NvB1776:14) (RAB1782:2) (APK1782:1) (SBD1783:vii) (BH1783:2) ~ ἰλλἔ [ille] (KIN1753:19) (IpK1753:vi) ~ *ille* ‘by all means’.

4. ø ~ v: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:345 (*dova, soval, cüzvi*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 195 (*dova, sival, cüzve*), in Gavriel 2010b: 207 (*sival*) and in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika in Kappler 2002: 139–140 (*duva, suval*). In the case of *dova* /v/ takes the place of *ayn* as a hiatus, while in *sival* and *cüzve* the same occurs for *hemze*. In Serapheim’s texts as a hiatus in the place of *ayn* and *hemze*.

σιβῶλ [sival] (KIN1753:46) (IpK1753:67) (HNK1756:42) (CSK1756:23) (NvB1776:33) (RAB1782:29) (APK1782:xii) (SBD1783:2) (BH1783:14) ~ σουῶλ (IpK1753:113) (NTh1756:41) (PsD1782:ix) (APK1782:2) (BH1783:12) ~ *sual* ‘question’, **ντοβῶ** [dova] (KIN1753:10) (CSK1756:4) (NvB1776:83) (PsD1782:iii) (RAB1782:fp) (APK1782:xix) (SBD1783:v) (BH1783:xii) ~ ντοῶ [doa] (KIN1753:xi) (KIN1753:10) (IpK1753:x) (NTh1756:1) (CSK1756:vii) (HNK1756:9) (KŞ1758:80) (NvB1776:3) (RAB1782:fp) (PsD1782:12) (APK1782:33) (SBD1783:xiii) ~ ντουῶ [dua] (KIN1753:13) (IpK1753:161) (NTh1756:242) ~ *dua* ‘prayer’.

METATHESIS

1. bl~lb: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 195 (*kabl*) and Gavriel 2010b: 209 (*kalb*).

κᾰπλ [kabl] (KIN1753:14) (IpK1753:19) (CSK1756:5) (PsD1782:v) (RAB1782:5) (SBD1783:144) ~ κᾰλπ [kalb] (KIN1753:33) (NTh1756:16) ~ *kalb* ‘heart’.

2. rh ~ hr: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 196 (*pehriz*).

πεχρίς [pehris] (KIN1753:12) (IpK1753:9) (NTh1756:43) (CSK1756:6) (APK1782:v) (SBD1783:14) ~ **πεχρίζ** [pehriz] (KIN1753:25) (NTh1756:17) (HNK1756:54) (CSK1756:ix) (KŞ1758:50) (NvB1776:13) (RAB1782:3) (SBD1783:xiv) (BH1783:48) ~ *perhiz* ‘diet’.

3. **cr** ~ **rc**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 195 (tercübe]) and Gavriel 2010b: 209 (tercübe).

τερτζουπέ [tercübe] (NvB1776:14) (PsD1782:18) (RAB1782:8) (APK1782:xviii) (SBD1783:30) (BH1783:1) ~ *tecrübe* ‘test’.

ASSIMILATION

1. **ml** ~ **mn**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 196 (*cümne*, *gömnec*). Also in Korkmaz 1956: 72 (*gömneni*) in twentieth-century south-west dialects and Korkmaz 1977: 93 (*düğümnen*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect. In Serapheim’s texts the phenomenon is attested only in the editions of 1753.

τζούμνε [cümne] (KIN1753:iii) (IpK1753:5) ~ **τζούμλε** [cümle] (KIN1753:10) (IpK1753:vi) ~ *cümle* ‘total’, **κιομνέκ** [gömnec] (IpK1753:119) ~ *gömlek* ‘shirt’.

2. **nl** ~ **ŋ**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:353 (*diñnemek*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 197 (*añnamak*, *diñnemek*, *yañniş*) and Gavriel 2010b: 210 (*añnamaya*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 150 (*diñnemek*, *añnamak*). Also in Korkmaz 1956: 74 (*üñna*) in twentieth-century south-west dialects and Korkmaz 1977: 94 (*çihasñar*, *gitmesinñer*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect. In Serapheim’s texts the assimilation of /nl/ into velar /ŋ/ in certain stems appears in the majority of editions.

ἀγναμάκ [añnamak] (IpK1753:iv) (NTh1756:2) (CSK1756:3) (KŞ1758:25) (NvB1776:3) (PsD1782:iv) (RAB1782:7) (APK1782:iii) (BH1783:100) ~ *anlamak*

‘to understand’.

γιαγνής [yaɲiʃ] (NTh1756:8) (CSK1756:348) (KŞ1758:4) (RAB1782:10) (SBD1783:49) ~ **γιαγκλῖς** [yaɲliʃ] (NTh1756:258), ~ *yanlıs* ‘error’.

τιγνεμέκ [dijemek] (KIN1753:52) (NTh1756:6) (HNK1756:12) (CSK1756:3) (RAB1782:46) (BH1783:82) ~ **τινγλέμεκ** [dijemek] (NTh1756:21) ~ *dinlemek* ‘to hear’.

DISSIMILATION

1. **nn** ~ **nl**: In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 198 (*cenlet*).

τζενλèt [cenlet] (NTh1756:282,287) (HNK1756:42) (APK1782:xxi) ~ *cennet* ‘heaven’.

GEMINATION OF CONSONANTS

1. **l** ~ **ll** : In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 198 (*illahiye*, *hille*) and in Gavriel 2010b: 204 (*illahi*, *hille*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 97–99, (*dilli*, *geceller*).

έλλ [ell] (KIN1753:18) (IpK1753:14) (NTh1756:45) (APK1782:58) ~ *el* ‘hand’.

τιλλουνè [dillüne] (KIN1753:vii) ~ *dilüne* ‘to his language’, **όγουλλοῦ** [oɣullu] (KIN1753:14) ~ *oɣulu* ‘his son’, **‘Ιλλαχγῖ** [İllahiye] (KIN1753:9) ~ *ilahiye* ‘deism’.

DEGEMINATION CONSONANTS

1. **bb** ~ **b**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:351 (*mahabet*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 199 (*muhabet*) and Gavriel 2010b: 205 (*muhabet*, *muhabetli*).

μοχαπέτ [mohabet] (KIN1753:65) (IpK1753:57) (NTh1756:6) (HNK1756:61) (CSK1756:iv) (KŞ1758:5) ~ **μουχαπέτ** [muhabet] (KIN1753:81) (IpK1753:89) (NTh1756:8) (HNK1756:71) (KŞ1758:5) (PsD1782:v) (RAB1782:2) ~ *muhabbet*

‘love’.

2. **vv ~ v:** In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 199 (*evel*, *kuvet*) and Gavriel 2010b: 206 (*evel*, *kuvetli*).

ἐβέλ [evel] (KIN1753:37) (KIN1753:38) ~ **ἐββέλ** [evvel] (KIN1753:39) ~ *evvel* ‘before’, **κουβέτ** [kuvet] (KIN1753:92) (KŞ1758:84) (CSK1756:62) (PsD1782:iv) ~ *kuvvet* ‘strength’.

3. **zz ~ z:** In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 199 (*izet*, *lezet*) and Gavriel 2010b: 206 (*izet*, *izetli*).

ιζέτ [izet] (KIN1753:v) (CSK1756:14) ~ *izzet* ‘greatness’.

Phonetic changes in suffixes

+VOICE > -VOICE (Z ~ S)

The phenomenon /z/ ~ /s/ is very common and applies in all suffixes containing an /s/ in final position. This is a reflection of spoken language, as it can be observed also in modern colloquial Turkish. In the study by Gavriel the phenomenon appears only in the first person plural endings of aorist and in the WF suffix +sXx while the rest remain +voiced.³⁴³ In Serapheim's texts, although some times the suffixes retain the +voiced condition (e.g., **μπιλμέζ** [bilmez] (KIN1753:vii), **ἐγλεμέζ** [eylemez] (IpK1753:7), **βερμέζ** [vermez] (NTh1756:95)) the majority changes to -voiced. In conditional forms and in AOR.NEG.2P it is an obvious assimilation zs ~ s(s) as in the findings of Korkmaz 1956: 73 (satmassan), Korkmaz 1977: 95 (*kalmassa*) and Kappler 2002: 146 (*atmasin, bilmesin*). Similarly in seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:351,353 (*dönmessen, bilmessen*). In Serapheim's texts the phenomenon is attested equally in front and back environments.

1. Aorist negative {mAz}

ὀλμάς [olmas] (KIN1753:18) (IpK1753:6) (HNK1756:4) (NvB1776:7) (RAB1782:41), **γιαρατμάς** [yaratmas] (NTh1756:ii), **ἀγναμάς** [aġnamas] (APK1782:3), **ἀτζμάς** [açmas] (BH1783:23)

βερμέζ [vermes] (KIN1753:vi) (NTh1756:1) (CSK1756:v), **τουκενμέζ** [tükenmes] (IpK1753:7), **γκιορμέζ** [görmes] (APK1782:3), **έτμέζ** [etmes] (BH1783:22), **πιλμέζ** [bilmes] (RAB1782:iv) (SBD1783:ix).

πιλμεζλέρ [bilmesler] (KIN1753:vi) (CSK1756:4), **βερμεζλέρ** [vermesler] (NTh1756:i).

ιτμέζσεν [itmessen] (KIN1753:54), **μπιλμέζσεν** [bilmessen] (IpK1753:38), **γκεζμέζσιν** [gezmessin] (NTh1756: 96), **βερμέζσεκ** [vermessek] (CSK1756:143), **βερμέζσενις** [vermessenis] (RAB1782:2) (BH1783:22), **έτμέζσιν** [etmessin] (BH1783:23), **βερμέζσις** [vermessis] (CSK1756:4), **τουςμέζεσε** [düşmesse]

³⁴³ cf. Gavriel, "Η Τουρκική με το Ελληνικό αλφάβητο, 220, 264.

(NTh1756:1), **γκιορμέσιν** [görmessin] (RAB1782:2).

τανιμάσαν [tanimassan] (IpK1753:38), **όλμάσσις** [olmassis] (CSK1756:iv), **όλμάσσα** [olmassa] (CSK1756:vi) (APK1782:32) (RAB1782:3), **τουτμάσιν** [tutmassin] (SBD1783:5), **κομάσιν** [komassin] (RAB1782:2).

2. Negative aorist pot. {(y)AmAz }

όλάμας [olamas] (IpK1753:172) (NTh1756:3) (KŞ1758:75) (RAB1782:4) (APK1782:4), **άλάμας** [alamas] (HNK1756:187) (CSK1756:212), **καλκάμας** [kalkamas] (NvB1776:18), **πουλάμας** [bulamas] (SBD1783:3) (RAB1782:28).

γκελέμες [gelemes] (IpK1753:172) (BH1783:54) (RAB1782:29), **κετιρέμες** [getiremes] (CSK1756:5), **γκιρέμες** [giremes] (KŞ1758:58), **έρεμές** [eremes] (APK1782:35), **έτέμες** [edemes] (SBD1783:6).

τζικαράμαςσηνιζ [çikarmassınız] (SBD1783:viii), **πουλάμασιν** [bulumassin] (BH1783:41), **όλάμασσα** [olmassa] (CSK1756:10).

μπουλάμασλαρ [bulamaslar] (IpK1753:91) (BH1783:41).

FIRST PERSON PLURAL ENDINGS, TENSES/COPULA/POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

1. Aorist {Ar/Ir-Xz}

γκελήρις [geliris] (HNK1756:4), **σογλέρις** [söyleris] (BH1783:29), **έτέρης** [ederis] (APK1782:9) (SBD1783:2), **βερίρις** [veriris] (RAB1782:4).

καζανίρις [kazanırıs] (KIN1753:73), **άλήρις** [alırıs] (CSK1756:1), **άράρις** [ararıs] (HNK1756:4), **πασλάρης** [başlarıs] (KŞ1758:17).

όχούρους [ohurus] (NTh1756: 43), **όλούρους** [olurus] (HNK1756:5) (RAB1782:7), **γκιορούρους** [görürüs] (APK1782:11), **πουλουνούρους** [bulunurus] (BH1783:26).

2. Negative aorist {mAyIz}

έγλεμείς [eylemeis] (IpK1753:8), **άραμάγης** [aramağıs] (IpK1753:8), **όλάμαγης** [olamağıs] (CSK1756:3), **άγναμάϊς** [aynamaıs] (SBD1783:ix).

3. Future {(y)AcAK-Xz}

έσιτετζέϊς [eşideceis] (IpK1753:8), **έτετζέγης** [edeceyis] (PsD1782:27)

(APK1782:7), **τιριλετζέγης** [dirileveyis] (HNK1756:11),
γιαζατζάγης [yazacağis] (HNK1756:17), **όλατζάγης** [olacağis] (PsD1782:95),
πουлмаγιατζάγης [bulmayacağis] (APK1782:11).

4. Present {(X)yor-Uz}

έτιόρους [ediorus] (CSK1756:39), **πακίόρους** [bakiorus] (SBD1783:2).

5. Optative {(y)A-(y)Xz}

μπιλέεις [bileis] (NvB1776:39).

6. Necessity marker {mAlI-(y)Iz}

άραμαλίγης [aramaliyis] (RAB1782:5), **ότοούρμαλιγης** [oturmalıyis] (BH1783:9).
καβιλεντιρμελούϊς [kavilendirmelüis] (APK1782:52) (KIN1753:63).

7. Copula {yXz}

σουτζλούγης [suçluyis] (CSK1756:37), **γιολτζούγης** [yolcuıys] (APK1782:12),
πορτζλούγης [porçluyis] (RAB1782:5).
γιορουούς [yoruus] (IpK1753:15) (NTh1756:27) (SBD1783:vi).

8. Question marker {mX-yXz}

παγισλαμάμγης [bayışlama mıyis] (IpK1753:8), **έγλεμέμγης** [eyleme miyis] (IpK1753:15), **άϊριλούρμυϊς** [ayrılur mıs] (IpK1753:163).

9. Possessive suffix {XmXz}

καρτασιμής [kardaşımıs] (KIN1753:11), **άταμής** [atamıs] (CSK1756:3), **ίτιματιμής** [itimatımıs] (HNK1756:45), **ίμτατιμής** [imtadımıs] (PsD1782:207), **άλλάχιμής** [allahımıs] (RAB1782:127), **άχπαπλαριμής** [ahbablarımıs] (SBD1783:v).
έφέντιμής [efendimıs] (IpK1753:8) (NTh1756:iv) (HNK1756:9) (RAB1782:1) (APK1782:iv) (BH1783:4) (SBD1783:ix), **τζούμλεμής** [cümlemıs] (KŞ1758:10) (RAB1782:21) (SBD1783:ix), **πετεριμής** [pederimıs] (KIN1753:10) (NvB1776:fp).
γκιορτουγουμούς [gördüyümüs] (APK1782:12), **όχουτουγουμούς** [ohutuğumus]

(KIN1753:7), **τουττουγουμοῦς** [tuttugumus] (IpK1753:30), **χριστοζουμοῦς** [hristozumus] (CSK1756:54) (KŞ1758:40) (RAB1782:7), **όλτουγουμοῦς** [oldugumus] (SBD1783:xi).

πατέροζουμους [paterozumus] (NTh1756:2), **άλλαχουμοῦς** [allahumus] (HNK1756:21).

SECOND PERSON PLURAL ENDINGS, TENSES/COPULA/POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES³⁴⁴

1. Aorist {Ar/Ir-sXnXz}

ιτέρσις [idersis] (KIN1753:iii) (IpK1753:29), **γκιοστερίσις** [gösterirsis] (KŞ1758:5), **έτέρσινις** [ederisinis] (APK1782:6).

όβουνουρσινής [övnürsinis] (IpK1753:16), **πουλούρσουνους** [bulunursunus] (NTh1756: ix), **όλούρσουνους** [olursunus] (RAB1782:2) (PsD1782:4), **τουτουλούρσουνους** [tutulursunus] (SBD1783:viii).

2. Optative {yA-sXz/sXnXz}

όλάσις [olasis] (IpK1753:x) (HNK1756:5) (KŞ1758:47) (APK1782:9) (RAB1782:13), **όλάσινις** [olasinis] (RAB1782:11), **πουλάσις** [bulasis] (NTh1756:9), **πακάσις** [bakasis] (CSK1756:iv) **άγναϊάσις** [aynayasis] (BH1783:6).

έτεσις [edesis] (KIN1753:vi) (RAB1782:iv), **βερέσις** [veresis] (IpK1753:x) (CSK1756:iv) **ούλτουρέσις** [üldüresis] (HNK1756:26).

3. Future {yAcAK-sXz/sXnXz}

άλατζάκις [alacaksis] (KIN1753:v), **όλατζάκις** [olacaksis] (IpK1753:83), **ιτετζέκις** [ideceksis] (IpK1753:83).

4. Present {(X)yor-sUnUz}

άραϊορσουνους [arayorsunus] (BH1783:13), **κιοζουγιούρσουνους** [gözüyürsünüs] (CSK1756:v).

³⁴⁴ Regarding archaic forms of second person plural, see also Sanjian and Tietze, *Eremya Chelebi Kömürjan's "The Jewish Bride,"* 63.

5. Past {-DX-nXz}

όλτουνούς [oldunus] (IpK1753:64) (SBD1783:ix), **όλουντουνούς** [olundunus] (CSK1756:vi).

6. Conditional {-sA-nIz}

σογιαρσανής [soyarsanis] (NvB1776:23), **γιακάρσανης** [yakarsanis] (RAB1782:2), **γκελίρσενις** [gelirsenis] (RAB1782:2), **ιστέρσενις** [istersenis] (CSK1756:1), **βερμέσενις** [vermessenis] (RAB1782:2).

7. Copula {sXnXz}

μουτλούσουνους [mutlusunus] (KIN1753:15).

8. Possessive suffix {XnXz}

σεριφινής [şerifinis] (KIN1753:v), **μουχαπετινής** [muhabetinis] (RAB1782:2), **κιοντερτιγινής** [gönderdiyinis] (NvB1776:3), **πεντεγγής** [bendeñiz] (NTh1756:7), **μουχαπετλινούς** [muhabetlinus] (IpK1753:10), **φαζλετλερινούς** [fazlelerinus] (KIN1753:v), **ιμτατιγγής** [imdadıñis] (KŞ1758:68), **κονσουνούς** [konşunus] (IpK1753:26), **κουλουνούς** [kulunus] (KŞ1758:5) (NvB1776:3), **άβουτζουνγής** [avucuñis] (RAB1782:11).

9. Derivational suffix {sXz}

χεσαπείς [hesabsıs] (KIN1753:ix) (IpK1753:x), **ιχτικατσίς** [ihtikatsıs] (APK1782:vi), **ιμανσίς** [imansıs] (BH1783:1), **άχτζασίς** [ahçasıs] (HNK1756:3), **ιλαϊκσίς** [ilaıksıs] (SBD1783:xi) (BH1783:30), **νιχαετσίς** [nihaetsıs] (KŞ1758:3) (APK1782:5) (PsD1782:vi) (BH1783:1) (SBD1783:8), **μερχαμετσίς** [merhametsıs] (RAB1782:4), **έζελσής** [ezelsıs] (NvB1776:7), **κουβετσίς** [kuvetsıs] (KŞ1758:84), **ούτζρετσίς** [ücretsıs] (CSK1756:vii), **σουπχεσίς** [şübhesıs] (NTh1756:2), **σουσοῦς** [susus] (KIN1753:14) (CSK1756:vii) (SBD1783:3), **σουτζσοῦς** [suçsus] (IpK1753:27) (PsD1782:8), **οῦμουτσοῦς** [umutsus] (HNK1756:3), **τεραχουμσοῦς** [terahumsus] (HNK1756:15) (RAB1782:4), **όλουμσοῦς** [olumsus] (KŞ1758:71), **μουμκιουνσοῦς** [mümkünsüs] (NvB1776:36), **οῦγιουκουσοῦς** [uyukusus] (APK1782:5).

10. Imperative {(y)Xn(Xz)}

ἀγνατινής μι [aɣnadinis mi] (APK1782:5), **όλονουός μι** [olonus mi] (APK1782:8).

CONSONANT DROP (J ~ Ø)

As in the case of stems the drop of /j/ between vowels affects suffixes as well.³⁴⁵ It affects all suffixes containing /j/, in front and back environments. The phenomenon is not attested in the text studied by Gavriel (2010b) in copula first person plural and present tense,³⁴⁶ and in Kappler's (2002) study, in the suffix of the voluntative.³⁴⁷ Also interesting is the case of the derivational suffix {lAyIn}, which is described in the Ottoman grammar by Alexandrides of the same period as {lAIn}.³⁴⁸

FIRST PERSON SINGULAR ENDINGS, COPULA/TENSES/CASES

1. Copula {(y)Xm}

κουλοούιμ [kuluım] (CSK1756:167), **κίμσεημ** [kimseim] (PsD1782:60) (APK1782:10).

2. Voluntative {(y)AyIm}

άλαήμ [alaım] (IpK1753:163) (NTh1756: 71), **καλαάιμ** [kalaım] (CSK1756:21), **σακλαγιαάιμ** [saklayaım] (HNK1756:37), **όλαήμ** [olaım] (PsD1782:10).

ιτεάιμ [ideim] (KIN1753:49), **γκελεάιμ** [geleim] (HNK1756:21) (CSK1756:16), **γκιορεάιμ** [göreim] (BH1783:12), **έτεήμ** [edeim] (NvB1776:3), **μιλεήμ** [bileim] (PsD1782:vii), **ντονεάιμ** [döneim] (RAB1782:20), **γκετζηρεήμ** [geçireim] (SBD1783:55).

(but: **τεεγίμ** [deyim] (NTh1756:30).

3. Future {y)AcAK-Im}

³⁴⁵ Regarding the phenomenon see Korkmaz, *Nevşehir ve Yöresi Ağızları, Ses Bilgisi*, İkinci baskı, Ankara, 1977, 107; Duman, 17. *Yüzyılda Ses Değişmeleri*, 29; Kappler, *Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik*, 131–133; Gavriel, “Η Τουρκική με το Ελληνικό αλφάβητο, 207.

³⁴⁶ Gavriel, “Η Τουρκική με το Ελληνικό αλφάβητο, 249, 250.

³⁴⁷ Kappler, *Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik*, 133.

³⁴⁸ Alexandrides, *Γραμματική Γραϊκό-Τουρκική*, 69.

γκιορετζέϊμ [göreceim] (IpK1753:91) (CSK1756:17), **βερετζέϊμ** [vereceim] (NTh1756:6).

FIRST PERSON PLURAL ENDINGS, TENSES/COPULA/POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

1. Copula {yXz}

γιορουούς [yoruuz] (NTh1756:27) (SBD1783:vi).

2. Negative aorist {mAyIz}

έγλεμεϊς [elemeis] (IpK1753:8), **έτμεϊς** [etmeis] (NTh1756:5), **μπιλμέεις** [bilmeis] (NvB1776:39), **άγναμάϊς** [aynamais] (SBD1783:ix), **τζαλισμάϊς** [çalismais] (CSK1756:5), **μαϊλμεις** [bailmeis] (APK1782:18), **πουλουνμάϊς** [bulumais] (RAB1782:4).

3. Necessity marker {mAlI-(y)Iz}

The dropping of this suffix is rather rare and one of the two examples is actually from the same text, in its second print.

εγλεμελοϊϊς [eylemelüis] (KIN1753:10), **καβιλεντιρμελοϊϊς** [kavilendirmelüis] (APK1782:52) (KIN1753:63).

CASES

1. Accusative {(y)X}

κιμσεϊ [kimsei] (KŞ1758:5) (CSK1756:10) (PsD1782:vii) (RAB1782:30) (BH1783:5) (SBD1783:2).

2. Dative {(y)A}

νεσνεε [nesnee] (NTh1756: 47), **όφκεε** [öfkee] (NTh1756:85), **έλχάλεε** [el halee] (KŞ1758:4).

γκεμιε [gemie] (APK1782:10), **μερτεπεε** [mertebee] (PsD1782:50) (BH1783:30), **κίμσεε** [kimsee] (RAB1782:3) (BH1783:258), **τζουμλεε** [cümlee] (SBD1783:v), **νέρεε** [neree] (RAB1782:28).

TENSES

1. Present {(X)yor}

ιτίορσουν [idiorsun] (KIN1753:30), **έτίορλαρ** [ediorlar] (NTh1756:27) (APK1782:3), **βερίορσουν** [veriorsun] (NvB1776:25), **γκετζίορ** [geçior] (BH1783:40), **έτίορους** [ediorus] (CSK1756:39).

γιαπίορουμ [yapiorum] (IpK1753:34), **άτζιλίορ** [açılor] (CSK1756:35), **πακίορους** [bakiorus] (SBD1783:2), **γιαννίορ** [yannior] (HNK1756:38), **ότουρούορ** [otururor] (IpK1753:17).

2. Future {y)AcAK}

τουκεένμεετζεκ [dükeenmeecek] (NTh1756:5), **σογλεετζέκ** [söyleecek] (APK1782:13), **βερμεετζέκσιν** [vermeeceksin] (PsD1782:18), **τουκενίλμεετζεκ** [dükenilmeecek] (SBD1783:viii), **γκέλμεετζεκ** [gelmeecek] (RAB1782:18) (PsD1782:viii).

3. Imperative second person plural {y)Xn(Xz)}

τιγγεϊν [diñein] (KIN1753:75) (IpK1753:156), **εϊλέϊν** [eylein] (NTh1756: ix) (CSK1756:67), **έγλέην** [eylein] (IpK1753:30) (CSK1756:3) (KŞ1758:67) (NvB1776:51) (APK1782:v) (RAB1782:iv) (PsD1782:11) (SBD1783:x) (BH1783:24), **κόρκμαϊνιζ** [korkmainız] (SBD1783:117), **έτεϊνιζ** [edeiniz] (IpK1753:vii).

4. Optative {(y)A}

σογίλεέ [söyilee] (NTh1756: 19), **έτμεέ** [etmee] (APK1782:6) (PsD1782:vi) (RAB1782:20) (SBD1783:viii), **βέρμεεσιν** [vermeesin] (PsD1782:6), **γκέλμεεσιν** [gelmeesin] (BH1783:7), **έτμεεσις** [etmeesis] (RAB1782:6), **έτμεεσηνιζ** [etmeesiniz] (SBD1783:viii).

5. Voluntative first person plural {y)Allm}

γιορουελημ [yörüelim] (HNK1756:130) (CSK1756:35), **μουπαρεκλεελοϋμ** [mubarekleelüm] (PsD1782:186), **έγλεελοϋμ** [eyleelüm] (KIN1753:73), **κέλμεελοϋμ** [gelmeelüm] (NTh1756:5) (HNK1756:130), **έτμεελοϋμ** [etmeelüm]

(BH1783:2), **βέρμεελούμ** [vermeelüm] (SBD1783:2), **έτμεελίμ** [etmeelim] (RAB1782:22), **ούλτούμεελίμ** [üldürmeelim] (RAB1782:16).

PARTICIPLES

1. {y}Xp}

μπαγισλαΐπ [bayışlaip] (KIN1753:ii), **άραΐπ** [araip] (IpK1753:vi), **όλμαΐπ** [olmaip] (NTh1756:v), **έγλεΐπ** [eyleip] (IpK1753:27) (NvB1776:75) (PsD1782:vi) (SBD1783:ix), **μπεξλεΐπ** [beşleip] (KIN1753:xi), **σογλεΐπ** [söyleip] (HNK1756:23), **όβιουτλεΐπ** [övütleip] (CSK1756:3), **ΐτμεΐπ** [itmeip] (BH1783:111), **έτμεηπ** [etmeip] (KŞ1758:5), **σέβμεΐπ** [sevmeip] (RAB1782:6), **κουρουΐπ** [kuruiip] (CSK1756:87), **πογιουΐπ** [böyüip] (HNK1756:25), **όχουΐπ** [ohuiip] (NTh1756:ix).

2. {DXğX} / {DXyX}

τενιλτιΐ [denildii] (KIN1753:33), **κιοστερτιΐνιζού** [gösterdiinizü] (IpK1753:x), **έγλετηΐνή** [eylediini] (NTh1756:67), **έττιΐμις** [ettiimis] (CSK1756:27), **έττηΐμιζή** [ettiimizi] (PsD1782:4), **έττιήνις** [ettiiniz] (SBD1783:x) (PsD1782:4), **ϊστετιΐνις** [istediiniz] (BH1783:42), **έττιηντέ** [ettiinde] (KŞ1758:3), **έττιηνγέ** [ettiinje] (BH1783:7), **γετιΐγγις** [yediinjis] (CSK1756:350), **τζικτιηνεΐ** [çiktiini] (KŞ1758:64), **γιαττιΐ** [yattu] (NTh1756:ii), **άρατιΐνις** [aradınız] (IpK1753:110), **ιτουουνού** [idüünü] (IpK1753:8), **τουγτουούμ** [duğduum] (IpK1753:112).

3. {y}An}

γιορουνελέρ [yörülenler] (IpK1753:142), **πεκλεέν** [bekleen] (NTh1756: 32), **σοΐλεέν** [söyleen] (NTh1756:77), **γιουκσεκλεέν** [yüksekleen] (PsD1782:3), **γιορουνέν** [yörülen] (RAB1782:5), **γκέλμεεν** [gelmeen] (PsD1782:viii) (SBD1783:2), **πήλμεεν** [bilmeen] (BH1783:30).

4. {y}ArAk}

γιορουνερέκ [yürüerek] (NTh1756: 70), **σουρουκλεερέκ** [sürükleerek] (NTh1756: 18).

5. {y}IncAs}

ἀλμαῖτζας [almaicas] (KIN1753:75), τούγμαῖντζας [duğmaincas] (IpK1753:117).

6. {y}AdAk}

βαρίντζασατακ [varıncaadak] (IpK1753:9), νετζέετεκ [neceedek] (PsD1782:6).

DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES

1. {IXK}

μετινλιϊνού [metiniinün] (KIN1753:ii), ἰτμελιϊνού [itmeliinü] (IpK1753:vi), σοχρετλιϊνού [šöhretliinü] (KIN1753:iii), χεκμετληϊνή [heketliini] (PsD1782:27), τζινλιϊντέ [cinliinde] (RAB1782:4), ὀρνεκλιϊνή [örnekliini] (SBD1783:4),

ἀγναμακλιϊλαν [ağnamaklılan] (IpK1753:vi), πατισαχλιϊνή [padişahlını] (NTh1756:3) (CSK1756:3), πατισσαχλιϊνγί [padişahlıı] (BH1783:29), ἀλλαχλιϊγγά [allahlııa] (HNK1756:98), ἰγιβαζλιϊνί [iyivazlıını] (KŞ1758:3) (RAB1782:13),

οὐσκουτλουϊλαν [uskutluılan] (KIN1753:v), τζοκλουουνοῦ [çokluunu] (PsD1782:viii), τοστλουοῦ [dostluu] (PsD1782:vi), μελκλουτλουοῦν [melkütlüün] (SBD1783:viii).

2. {IAyIn}

μπεντζίλειν [bencilein] (IpK1753:31) (RAB1782:4) (BH1783:132), σαπάχλειν [sabahlein] (KŞ1758:75) (PsD1782:5), σαπάχλαιν [sabahlain] (HNK1756:18), πούντζουλαιν [bunculain] (APK1782:6) (SBD1783:36) (BH1783:26) (RAB1782:23) (SBD1783:36), ἀχσάμλειν [ahşamlein] (PsD1782:40), ἄγγσιζλαιν [ağsızlain] (HNK1756:45) (PsD1782:55) (KIN1753:58), ὀντζουλαιν [onculain] (NTh1756: 95).

ASSIMILATION

1. **ml ~ mn:** The phenomenon is not attested in any of the other works on Anatolian dialects or Karamanlidika used for this research. In Serapheim's texts it occurs in the plural suffix mainly in the editions from 1753.

1.1. Plural {lAr}

ἄζιμνεροῦν [azimnerün] (KIN1753:22) ~ (azimlerün)

κελαμνὰρ [kelamnar] (IpK1753:6) ~ (kelamlar)

2. **nl ~ nn**: In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:353 (*osmanni*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 196 (*bunnar, günlük, olsunnar*) and in Gavriel 2010b: 221 (*bunnarki, insannarki*). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 147 (*günnerde, onnar*). Also in Korkmaz 1956: 74 in twentieth-century south-west dialects and in Korkmaz 1977: 94 (*bunnar, günniük, kalmasın̄ar*) in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect. In Serapheim's texts the phenomenon is attested in the plural suffix, the WF suffix {lXK} and imperative third person plural.

2.1. Plural {lAr}

αραγιαννὰρ [arayannar] (KIN1753:iii), **πουννὰρ** [bunlar] (KIN1753:v) (IpK1753:6) (KŞ1758:25) ~ **πουνλὰρ** [bunlar] (KIN1753:v) (NTh1756:84), **οννὰρ** [onnar] (KIN1753:vii) (IpK1753:7), **κιουννερτὲ** [günlerde] (CSK1756:40), **ὄννερουνὲ** [önnerrüne] (KIN1753:11), **τηγνεγεννὲρ** [dişeyenner] (KIN1753:17).

2.2. {lXK}

τουζεννικ [düzennik] (IpK1753:6), **κιουννοῦκ** [günnük] (HNK1756:121).

2.3. Imperative third person plural (-sXnlAr)

κάλμασινναρ [kalmassınar] (KIN1753:ix), **γιουτζελενσιννὲρ** [yücelesinner] (KIN1753:ix) **ἰτσιννὲρ** [itsinner] (IpK1753:6), **ὀλσουννὰρ** [olsunnar] (KIN1753:29).

2.4.2. Phonology

Double vowels

1. **-a- ~ -aa-:** In some occasions we observe double notation of vowels. While in the case of *kasavet* we might face an effort to render the long vowel of this Arabic word, this is not the case for the second example *kaavi*. Most of the times, the vowel is not geminated in Serapheim's texts.

κασαβῆτ [kasaavet] (RAB1782:fp) (APK1782:xv) (SBD1783:1) (BH1783:9) ~ **κασαφῆτ** [kasafet] (KIN1753:46) (IpK1753:89) (HNK1756:32) (CSK1756:27) ~ **κασεφῆτ** [kasefet] (KIN1753:76) (IpK1753:14) (CSK1756:2) (NvB1776:24) ~ **κασαβῆτ** [kasavet] (KIN1753:13) (NTh1756:16) (HNK1756:13) (CSK1756:15) (KŞ1758:26) (NvB1776:15) (PsD1782:64) ~ *kasavet* 'anxiety', **κααβί** [kaavi] (IpK1753:vi) ~ *kavi* 'strong'.

Vowel reduction

In many occasions, words containing an *ayn* (ع) in Arabic script, are rendered in Ottoman Turkish of the time with a long vowel, something absent from the phonology of Turkish. Although *ayn* (ع) is used to indicate lengthening of the vowel, the words are written with a single vowel. According to Sanjian and Tietze, the vowels were usually shortened and blended into one by people who knew only oral Turkish.³⁴⁹ While in the first group of examples we see several forms of the same words co-existing, in the second group we see words whose vowels are never shortened.

σατετλοῦ [sadetlū] (KIN1753:65) (IpK1753:iv) (HNK1756:21) ~ **σατετλή** [sadetli] (NTh1756:8) ~ **σαατετλοῦ** [saadetlū] (KIN1753:65) ~ *saadetli/saadetlū* 'prosperous', **μαμῖρ** [mamır] (KIN1753:65) (KŞ1758:17) (NvB1776:96) ~ **μααμίρ** [maamır] (KIN1753:64) (IpK1753:24) (PsD1782:99) ~ *ma'mur* 'flourishing', **μουμῖν** [mümin] (NTh1756:1) ~ *muümin* (KIN1753:70) (IpK1753:5)

³⁴⁹ Avedis K. Sanjian and Andreas Tietze, *Eremya Chelebi Kömürjan's Armeno-Turkish Poem "The Jewish Bride"* (Otto Harrasowitz: Wiesbaden, 1981), 50.

(NTh1756:27) ~ *mü'min* ‘believer’, **μαλιμ** [malum] (KIN1753:33) (KŞ1758:76) (NvB1776:10) (RAB1782:7) (SBD1783:31) ~ **μααλιμ** [maalim] (KIN1753:55) (HNK1756:21) (APK1782:2) ~ **μαλοῦμ** [malum] (RAB1782:7) ~ **μααλοῦμ** [maalum] (NTh1756:42) (RAB1782:22) (SBD1783:33) ~ *ma'lum* ‘known’.

τζορεετλικ [cöreetlik] (KIN1753:50) (IpK1753:viii) (HNK1756:65) (CSK1756:viii) (PsD1782:vii) (RAB1782:46) (APK1782:xi) (SBD1783:5) (BH1783:17) ~ *cüre'tlik* ‘boldeness’, **μίνπαατ** [minbaad] (KIN1753:66) ~ *minba'd* ‘hereafter’, **τααλιμ** [taalim] (KIN1753:89) ~ *ta'lim* ‘instruction’.

Closed é

The phenomenon identified as the sound “closed é”, something absent from MST, is attested for Old Turkic³⁵⁰ and Old Ottoman³⁵¹ and survives in many Turkic languages. Although its existence in Middle Ottoman Turkish seems to be still in debate,³⁵² it has been attested in local dialects in Anatolia.³⁵³

The phenomenon appears several times in Serapheim’s texts but only in certain stems (*êtme*k, *vêrme*k a.o.) and is rendered by <ι>. In certain cases also <εε> could be possibly interpreted as the representation of closed é (e.g. **τεεγιμ** [deyim] (NTh1756:30). The majority of data present the (modern) pronunciation with open /e/ shown by the respective writing of the words (*etme*k, *verme*k *gece*).

Although Serapheim’s texts come from the second half of the eighteenth-century, its phonetic value is doubtful since it might be a relic from older writings, since already in Hazai’s work on transcription texts from the seventeenth-century is described as archaic³⁵⁴. Furthermore, it is not related to the appearance of <i> forms in sources from the nineteenth-century, where authors followed the guidance of Ottoman grammars saying that the digraph *elif + ye* [ے] should be read as /i/,

³⁵⁰ Erdal, “Old Turkic,” 138–139 and Johanson, “The History of Turkic,” 88–90.

³⁵¹ Celia Kerslake, “Ottoman Turkish,” 183–184. Nurettin Demir & Emine Yılmaz, *Türk Dili el Kitabı* (Ankara 2006), 91–92.

³⁵² Kartallıoğlu, “The vowels of Turkish in Transcription Texts,” 106–108.

³⁵³ See Brendemoen, “Turkish dialects,” 237 and Korkmaz, *Nevşehir ve Yöresi Ağızları*, 34, 60.

³⁵⁴ Hazai, *Transkriptionstexten von Jakab Nagy de Harsany*, 340–341.

and thus rendered *etmek* as *itmek* in an effort to render Ottoman writing.³⁵⁵ Grammars of the early nineteenth-century explain the *elif + ye* rule, which also serves elsewhere in the Ottoman language, but do not apply the rule in their transcription where they use *etmek* and *vermek* respectively.³⁵⁶

Research on Armeno-Turkish texts of the seventeenth-century showed a tendency towards /i/ forms with extensive use of the verb *vermek* in the form *virüb*. Concerning the verb *etmek*, there is a tendency towards pre-consonantal /e/ and prevocalic /i/ (e.g. *etmek*, *ider*).³⁵⁷ This does not seem to apply in the present texts, where there is no distinction between pre-consonantal or prevocalic (e.g., **ιτμἐκ** [itmek] (KŞ1758:8) (NvB1776:147*), **ιττοῦ** [ittü] (KIN1753:ii), **ιττιμ** [ittim] (IpK1753:vi) (HNK1756:122) (APK1782:4) (PsD1782:39) (APK1782:4) (SBD1783:14*), **ιτται** [itti] (CSK1756:2) (APK1782:1) (BH1783:14*) ~ **ιτοῦπ** [idüp] (KIN1753:ii) (IpK1753:14) (NTh1756: 17), **ιτίπ** [idip] (KIN1753:48) (IpK1753:20) (CSK1756:30) (KŞ1758:3) (NvB1776:3), **ιτμεγιπ** [itmeyib] (APK1782:4) (BH1783:111*) **ιτέρ** [ider] (KIN1753:59) (IpK1753:5) (NTh1756:2) (CSK1756:iii).

On the other hand, the verb *vermek* occurs more often with the /e/ form (e.g., **βερμἐκ** [vermek] (KŞ1758:24) (NvB1776:4) (RAB1782:iii) (APK1782:xx) (SBD1783:viii) (BH1783:1), **βερτιλέρ** [verdiler] (IpK1753:vi), **βερίρ** [verir] (CSK1756:17)) and only rarely in the /i/-form (e.g., **βιροῦπ** [virüp] (NTh1756:96), **βιρετζεκ** [virecek] (NTh1756:317), **βιρτιλέρ** [virdiler] (NvB1776:3)). The stem *gece*, appears always in the /e/ form (e.g., **γκετζε** [gece] (IpK1753:33) (NTh1756:17) (HNK1756:64) (KŞ1758:24) (NvB1776:28) (PsD1782:1) (RAB1782:30) (SBD1783:128) (BH1783:5)).

According to Sanjian and Tietze, based on their research on a seventeenth-century Armeno-Turkish source, the pattern from /i/ to /e/, with the first being an archaic, conservative (and maybe literary form) moving towards a modernistic more vulgar one, is a strong hypothesis that needs, however, more thorough

³⁵⁵ Irakleous, "On the development of Karamanlidika writing systems," 86. See also Kappler, *Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik*, 107.

³⁵⁶ Demetris Alexandrides, *Γραμματική Γραϊκο-Τουρκική* (Βιέννη, 1812), 7.

³⁵⁷ Sanjian and Tietze, *Eremya Chelebi Kömürjan's "The Jewish Bride,"* 49–51. Regarding "closed é" in seventeenth-century sources see also Duman, 17. *Yüzyılda Ses Değişmeleri*, 174–190.

research.³⁵⁸ This statement seems to be valid for Serapheim's texts, taking into consideration that they are all religious texts, which are often conservative. This is something that will be discussed further later on.

Velar η

The velar η proves to be very resistant to change, since unlike the rest of the phenomena in Serapheim's texts, the /η/ forms seem to prevail over the standard ones in stems and verbs. The phoneme survives in the personal pronouns of first person singular and dative forms of the 1SG and 2SG personal pronoun, in the genitive forms of the 2SG and rarely in the genitive which usually occurs in the MST form. In the possessive suffixes of second person singular and second person plural it is infrequent and attested only in editions from 1753 and rarely from 1756. The phenomenon is attested also in seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:357,361 in stems and verbs, (*aḡnamak*, *Taḡri*, *diḡnlemek*, *yaḡlıḡ*), in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 193–194 in stems, verbs, dative forms and possessive suffixes (*biḡ*, *eḡ*, *geḡiḡ*, *göḡül*, *beḡzemek*, *diḡnemek*, *aḡmak*, *aḡnamak*, *baḡa*, *saḡa*, *kuluḡuz*) and Gavriel 2010b: 191–192 in the genitive, stems and verbs (*Taḡriniḡ*, *onuḡ*, *soḡra*, *biḡ*, *beḡzemek*). It is also in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 180 in stems and verbs (*biḡ*, *göḡül*, *soḡra*, *beḡzemek*, *diḡnemek*, *aḡnamak*), in Korkmaz 1977: 93 (*eḡ*, *göḡül*, *diḡnemek*, *aḡnamak*), in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect, and in seventeenth-century Armeno-Turkish in Sanjian and Tietze 1981:50 in stems and verbs (*Taḡri*, *diḡnlemek*).

1. Pronouns

1.1. First person singular + dative

μπαγγῶ [baḡa] (IpK1753:111*) ~ **παγγῶ** [baḡa] (NTh1756:139) (HNK1756:19) (CSK1756:17) (KŞ1758:4) (NvB1776:146) ~ **πανγῶ** [baḡa] (RAB1782:152) (APK1782:10) (SBD1783:113*) (BH1783:223) ~ **μπανῶ** [bana] (IpK1753:100) (PsD1782:vi) (RAB1782:1) (NTh1756:18) (CSK1756:16) (NvB1776:3) (RAB1782:9) (APK1782:37) (SBD1783:5) (BH1783:5).

³⁵⁸ Sanjian and Tietze, *Eremya Chelebi Kömürjan's "The Jewish Bride,"* 52.

1.2. Second person singular + dative

σαγγᾶ [saŋa] (NTh1756:386) (HNK1756:12) (CSK1756:5) (KŞ1758:11) (NvB1776:25) (RAB1782:107) (APK1782:9) ~ **σανᾶ** [sana] (KIN1753:9) (IpK1753:18) (NTh1756:82) (HNK1756:27) (KŞ1758:23) (NvB1776:19) (PsD1782:iv) (RAB1782:11) (APK1782:xix) (SBD1783:x) (BH1783:5).

1.3. Second person singular + genitive

σενίγγ [seniŋ] (HNK1756:21).

σenoũv [senün] (IpK1753:18) (NTh1756:85) (HNK1756:128) (KŞ1758:31) (NvB1776:93*) (PsD1782:9) (RAB1782:33) ~ **σενίν** [senin] (IpK1753:18) (NTh1756:83) (HNK1756:25) (CSK1756:21) (KŞ1758:23) (NvB1776:17) (PsD1782:iv) (RAB1782:51) (APK1782:xix) (SBD1783:x) (BH1783:4).

2. Possessive suffixes

2.1. Second person singular (+Xn)

κιολκεγγέ [gölgeŋe] (KIN1753:v), **χουζουρουγγᾶ** [huzuruŋa] (KIN1753:54), **έφεντιγγιν** [efendiŋin] (IpK1753:129).

2.2. Second person plural (+X)nXz)

κουλουγγοῦζ [kuluŋuz] (KIN1753:xi) (IpK1753:x), **μπεντεγγίζ** [bendeŋiz] (IpK1753:iv) (CSK1756:vii) (APK1782:iv), **παπαγγίζ** [papaŋiz] (NTh1756:5).

3. Cases

3.1. Genitive

άγιαγούγγ ἄλτινᾶ [ayaɣuŋ altina] (IpK1753:115), **ζεμανοῦγγ γκελίντζες** [zemanuŋ gelinces] (IpK1753:115).

4. Stems

4.1. Nouns

γεγγί [yeŋi] (IpK1753:221) (NTh1756:fp) (CSK1756:iii) (KŞ1758:33) (NvB1776:14) (RAB1782:31) (SBD1783:xi) ~ **γεγνί** [yeŋi] (RAB1782:74) ~ **γενί** [yeŋi] (NTh1756:9) (KŞ1758:19) ~ *yeni* ‘new’.

πουνγγάρ [puŋar] (NTh1756:29) (KŞ1758:51) (NvB1776:4) ~ **πηγγάρ** [piŋar] (KŞ1758:57) (NvB1776:113) (APK1782:fp) (BH1783:71) ~ *pınar* ‘fountain’.

σόγρα [soŋra] (KIN1753:ix) (IpK1753:vi) (NTh1756:4) (HNK1756:5) (CSK1756:iii) (KŞ1758:8) (NvB1776:28) (PsD1782:iv) (RAB1782:9) (APK1782:iv), **σόνγρα** [soŋra] (NvB1776:9) (PsD1782:17) (RAB1782:iii) (SBD1783:18) (BH1783:149), **σογκρά** [soŋra] (NTh1756:149), **σόγγρα** [soŋra] (NvB1776:106) ~ **σονρά** [sonra] (KIN1753:19) (IpK1753:13) (RAB1782:vii) (APK1782:ix) (SBD1783:10) (BH1783:2) ~ *sonra* ‘afterwards’.

τανγρί [taŋri] (KIN1753:27) (IpK1753:50) (NTh1756:18) (PsD1782:70) (RAB1782:24) (APK1782:20) (BH1783:31), **ταγγρί** [taŋri] (IpK1753:26) (NTh1756:19) (CSK1756:3) (NvB1776:128) (RAB1782:38) (APK1782:9) (BH1783:51), **ταγκρί** [taŋri] (NTh1756:89) (KŞ1758:3), **ταγρί** [taŋri] (NTh1756:21) (HNK1756:86) ~ *Tanri* ‘God’.

σόγγ [soŋ] (KIN1753:86) (IpK1753:iv) (NTh1756:2) (HNK1756:5) (CSK1756:30) (NvB1776:4), **σόνγ** [soŋ] (IpK1753:183) (NvB1776:12) (PsD1782:viii) (RAB1782:9) (APK1782:15) (SBD1783:ix) (BH1783:228), **σογ** [soŋ] (IpK1753:28) (CSK1756:44) ~ **σόν** [son] (IpK1753:48) (NTh1756:91) (RAB1782:1) (APK1782:xviii) (SBD1783:ix) (BH1783:15) ~ *son* ‘end’.

πήγγ [biŋ] (IpK1753:144) (NTh1756:118) (CSK1756:13) (KŞ1758:12) (APK1782:v) (BH1783:7), **πίγγ** [biŋ] (IpK1753:28) (RAB1782:8) (APK1782:viii) (SBD1783:ix) ~ **πήν** [bin] (KIN1753:40) ~ *bin* ‘thousand’.

ένγ [eŋ] (HNK1756:10) (CSK1756:140) (APK1782:xv) (HNK1756:10) (RAB1782:8) (SBD1783:ix) (BH1783:15), **έγγ** [eŋ] (NvB1776:86) ~ **έν** (HNK1756:49) ~ *en* ‘most’.

γιαγκλīs [yaŋliş] (NTh1756:258), **γιαγνής** [yaŋiş] (NTh1756:8) (CSK1756:348) (KŞ1758:4) (RAB1782:10) (SBD1783:49) ~ *yanlış* ‘error’.

άπαγγσιζ [apaŋsɪz] (PsD1782:93) ~ *apansız* ‘unexpectedly’, **κογγσοῦ** [koŋsu] (IpK1753:85) ~ *komşu* ‘neighbour’, **όγγ** [öŋ] (NTh1756:39) (HNK1756:15) (CSK1756:18) (KŞ1758:3) (NvB1776:67) (PsD1782:vii) (RAB1782:108), **όνγ** [öŋ] (APK1782:21) (SBD1783:8) ~ *ön* ‘in front of’, **γκεγγίς** [geŋiş] (PsD1782:4) (APK1782:xv), **κεγγίς** [geŋiş] (CSK1756:iv), **κενγίς** [geŋiş] (RAB1782:68) (SBD1783:xi) ~ *geniş* ‘broad’.

4.2. Verbs

ἀγναμάκ [aɣamak] (IpK1753:iv) (NTh1756:2) (CSK1756:3) (KŞ1758:25) (NvB1776:3) (PsD1782:iv) (RAB1782:7) (APK1782:iii) (BH1783:100), ἀγναῖπ [aɣaip] (KIN1753:vii), (BH1783:8) ~ *anlamak* ‘to understand’.

ἀγγιλίρ [aɣilir] (KIN1753:40) (NTh1756:20) (KŞ1758:12) (PsD1782:ix) (RAB1782:4) ἀγνιλήρ [aɣilir] (RAB1782:4) (APK1782:vii) (SBD1783:vii) (BH1783:32), ἀγγάρ [aɣar] (IpK1753:25) (CSK1756:29), ἀγγάν [aɣan] (HNK1756:42), ἀγγιλάν [aɣilan] (CSK1756:vii) (BH1783:12) ~ **ἀνιλμακ** (RAB1782:27) (BH1783:3) ~ *anılmak* ‘to remember’.

γιαγγιλή [yaɣilma] (KIN1753:46) (KŞ1758:64) ~ *yanılmak* ‘to err’.

πεγγζέρ [beɣzer] (KIN1753:89) (NTh1756:21) (CSK1756:20) (KŞ1758:75) (NvB1776:43) ~ πενγζέρ [beɣzer] (PsD1782:ix) (SBD1783:20) ~ **πενζέρ** [benzer] (NTh1756:60) (BH1783:25) ~ *benzermek* ‘to resemble’.

γεγγιλή [yeɣil] (CSK1756:9), γεγγιλίπ [yeɣilip] (NTh1756:1), γεγγιλίρ [yeɣilir] (HNK1756:4). ~ **γενιλή** [yenilemek] (SBD1783:13) ~ *yenilmek* ‘to overcome’.

τιγνέμ [diɣemek] (KIN1753:52) (NTh1756:6) (HNK1756:12) (CSK1756:3) (RAB1782:46) (BH1783:82), τηγνεγεννέρ [diɣeyenner] (KIN1753:17), τιγνέμεκ [diɣemek] (NTh1756:21) ~ *dinlemek* ‘to hear’,

Dialectal elements, and older forms of words

Besides the changes in phonology that could be attributed to dialectal influence, there are also stems which appear as older forms and could be also characterised as dialectal. The group of findings that could be dialectal elements includes pronouns like the archaic form *gendü* (<kendi), which exists in editions up to 1756, with +voiced first consonant and labial vowel in last position. The stem appears in more editions with +voiced first consonant but with illiabial last vowel (*gendi*) and the same applies for the MST form *kendi*, which appears in many editions. The last two forms might be the same, but we cannot be sure since the writing system often makes no distinction between /g/ and /k/. The forms *gendi*, *gendü*, *kendü* are described as archaic (Kerslake 1998: 190, Demir & Yılmaz 2006: 96, Redhouse 2000: 638) but also attested in dialectal texts such as Eckmann 1950a: 189 (*gendi*), and Kappler 2002: 120,191 (*gendi*), while the change /k/ ~ /g/ in initial position is

also described as a dialectal element (Korkmaz 1977: 81; Brendemoen 1998: 238). **κεντοῦ** [gendü] (KIN1753:v) (IpK1753:viii) (NTh1756:15) (HNK1756:136*) ~ **γκεντι** [gendi] (IpK1753:92) (NTh1756:85) (NvB1776:5) (PsD1782:v) (RAB1782:9) (APK1782:iii) (SBD1783:ix) (BH1783:185) ~ **κεντι** [kendi] (KIN1753:8) (IpK1753:viii) (NTh1756:1) (HNK1756:21) (CSK1756:iii) (PsD1782:55) (RAB1782:20) (APK1782:xi) (SBD1783:6) (BH1783:275) ~ *kendi* ‘self’.

The archaic form *içün* (Redhouse 2000: 513) of the preposition için co-exists in most editions with the MST form throughout the period of publication of the primary sources.

ιτζοῦν [içün] (KIN1753:8) (IpK1753:16) (NTh1756:17) (NvB1776:3) (PsD1782:5) (RAB1782:117) (APK1782:viii) ~ **ιτζήν** [için] (KIN1753:iii) (IpK1753:vi) (NTh1756:2) (HNK1756:fp) (CSK1756:2) (KŞ1758:3) (NvB1776:4) (PsD1782:iv) (RAB1782:fp) (APK1782:v) (SBD1783:vi).

The expression *kimse* also co-exists with the archaic form *kimesne* (Redhouse 2000: 665) in the majority of editions (e.g., **κιμῆσνε** [kimesne] (KIN1753:43) (IpK1753:111) (NTh1756:1) (HNK1756:32) (CSK1756:12) (KŞ1758:7) (RAB1782:22) ~ **κίμσε** [kimse] (KIN1753:73) (IpK1753:8) (NTh1756:2) (HNK1756:21) (CSK1756:11) (KŞ1758:4) (PsD1782:v) (APK1782:iii)).

We also come across palatalised archaic forms like *Engürü* for Ankara (Redhouse 2000: 342), which, according to Sanjian and Tietze, could be attributed to dialect³⁵⁹ (e.g., **ἐγκουρου** [engürü] (KIN1753:25) (NvB1776:fp) (PsD1782:fp)), but there are also forms that cannot be found in dictionaries like (**νιμῆρτ** [nimert] (HNK1756:66) (RAB1782:67) (APK1782:1) ~ **νιμῆτ** [nimet] (KIN1753:80) (CSK1756:3) (HNK1756:107) (NvB1776:76) (RAB1782:20) (APK1782:viii) ~ *ni'met* ‘benefaction’)³⁶⁰.

³⁵⁹ Sanjian and Tietze, *Eremya Chelebi Kömürjan's "The Jewish Bride,"* 63.

³⁶⁰ The word *nimert* is also attested in Eleni Mesimeri, “Metropolit Serapheim Azim Padişah monastir Kikko'nun hekmetlü Validullah ikona tasfirün hayrlı bınarun hekmetname tarihi (Giriş, Metin, Dizin, Tıpkıbasım),” Yüksek lisans tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi, İstanbul 2011. Furthermore, also attested in a Karamanlidika document attributed to Serapheim, see Stelios Irakleous, “Dayandı ve yaşadı: Reading between the lines of Serapheim Attaliates's and Kykkos Monastery's relationship” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 32 (2015): 175–96.

2.4.3. *Comments on the phonetics and phonology*

The findings in the chapter on phonetics and phonology exhibit some differences but mainly great similarities with previous research carried out in this field. While phenomena like **a ~ e**, **i ~ e**, **u ~ o**, **ü ~ ö**, **k ~ g**, **k ~ h** and **nl ~ nn** in suffixes are attested and quite common in Serapheim's texts and in every one of the other sources, pointing to similarities between Karamanlidika texts, many others are attested in different texts. The phenomenon **a- ~ i/ı** is attested in Hazai (1973) a transcription text source, Kappler (2002), a source from nineteenth-century Istanbul, but also in the works by Korkmaz (1956, 1977) on twentieth-century south-western and Inner Anatolian Turkish dialects. Likewise, the phenomenon **h ~ ø** is attested in Hazai (1973), Kappler (2002) and Korkmaz (1956, 1977) and also in Rumeli dialects. The phenomenon **ö ~ ü**, which is common in Anatolian dialects, is attested in Hazai (1973), Eckmann (1950a) and Kappler (2002) but not in any of the other sources.

The phenomena attested in Serapheim's texts illustrate more similarities with works by Korkmaz (1956, 1977) on twentieth-century south-western and Inner Anatolian Turkish dialects than with any of the other cited works. This includes phenomena that are not attested in any of the other sources, like **e ~ ö** (only in Hazai (1973)), and **ğ ~ v**, which also has historic roots, and **ml ~ mn**, which is attested in Serapheim's texts only in editions from 1753. We observe that phenomena like **i ~ ø** and **ø ~ i/ı** are attested in all sources but Korkmaz. There are also phenomena like **m-m ~ n-m** and **ml ~ mn** (only in the plural suffix in editions from 1753), that are attested only in Serapheim's texts.

The existence of the closed *è* and velar *ŋ* could have more than one explanation. While the closed *è* seems to be mostly connected to the use of conservative forms relating to the religious nature of the texts, the velar *ŋ* is closely linked to historic and also dialectal phenomena.

Serapheim's texts illustrate similarities and differences both with the rest of the examined sources and within the corpus itself. Some phenomena are restricted to the first editions from 1753. This illustrates that the language of the author, for reasons we cannot be sure of, is changing from one book to the other. On the other hand, a great many of the phenomena are attested in the works by Korkmaz (1956,

1977) on twentieth-century south-western Turkish dialects, so one could classify Serapheim's texts in that regional variety; others are attested in the rest of the sources and some are not attested in any of them. This, apart from highlighting the need for a more detailed study on the corpus, probably points to the several different elements one can find in Serapheim's books, mainly deriving from his place of origin, educational background, the nature of the books and also his various travels – all of which may have affected his language.