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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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A study of eighteenth-century Turkish texts in the Greek alphabet (Karamanlidika)

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Abbreviations

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
Add	Balta 1987a
AOR	Aorist (Greek)
APK1782	Azim Padişah Kykkonun
ART	Article
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
BH1782	Bahar-i heyat
CONV	Converbial
COP	Copula
CSK1756	Cümle Senenin Kyriakilerine
DAT	Dative
F	Female
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
HNK1756	Hacetname Kitabı
IMPF	Imperfect
INF	Infinitive
IpK1753	Iptila Kelami
KIN1753	Kolay İman Nasihetü
KŞ1758	Kutluşerrif
LOC	Locative
M	Masculine
N	Neutral
NAC	Balta 1997
NTh1756	Neos Thisavros
NEG	Negative
NOM	Nominative
NvB1776	Nakiet ve beandır
PART	Participle
PASS	Passive
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PRE	Present
PRE/IMPF	Present Imperfect
REL	Relative Pronoun
PsD1782	Psalterion David
RAB1782	Ruh Afietliyi Bahar-i heyat
SBD1783	Simavi Bahçe Donanması
SChr1782	Syntagma itoi Christioithia
S.D.I	Salaville & Dalleggio 1958
S.D.II	Salaville & Dalleggio 1966
S.D.III	Salaville & Dalleggio 1974
SG	Singular
SUBJ	Subjunctive
VN	Verbal Noun
WF	Word Formation

για τα ω

‘Ολιούμ γκελήρ, όλιούμ άλήρ,
Έλήμ γιαζάρ, τοπράκ όλούρ,
Μποϋ νασιχάτ κιταπή τουνιατά καλήρ,
Γιαζάν οκουγιάν, Ραχμέτ άλήρ.¹
Atalialu Serapheim (APK1782:51)

Introduction

In 2008 one of the last living Turkophone Christian Orthodox Anatolians who arrived in Cyprus as refugees after the Greco-Turkish war of 1919–1922 was interviewed. When Yorgos Panayiotou set foot on the island he was nine and a half years old. His family was one of the many Turkophone Christian Orthodox who had to flee Asia Minor, ending up in a place where the majority of the population was Greek-speaking. While mentioning the difficulties of attending a Greek-speaking school, he recalled the linguistic and educational situation back in Asia Minor:

We attended school, our school, the alphabet was Greek the pronunciation though, everything in Turkish. We only knew Turkish. Turkish. We had no knowledge of Greek language. It was prohibited to speak Greek. In the churches everything was in Turkish language written in Greek letters. The psalms again in Turkish. But even if they would have chanted in Greek, we would not understand a thing. What could we have done?²

He talked with enthusiasm about his homeland but when the discussion touched upon language he hummed and hesitated. The obvious guilt when he mentioned that he did not know the Greek language, and blaming the Turks for that fact, of course came from the spirit of those times and the idea of Great Greece, the one of “two continents and five seas”. This shows a change in mentality and beliefs for the aforementioned community over time. Yorgos was probably unaware of the long tradition that this Turkish language in Greek letters had, that the size of the community had aroused the interest of the Patriarchate centuries ago, the role of Cyprus in all this and the fact that he belonged to a community which distinguished

¹ ‘Death comes death takes (lives), my hand writes (but soon) it will become dust, (but) this advice book will remain in the world, (may) the one who writes and reads take the mercy of God.’

² Syndesmos Mikrasiaton Kyprou, *Ημερολόγιο*, (Λευκωσία: 2016), 198. Part of interview given to Angel Konnari and Maria Panayiotou (07.04.2008)

itself by producing its own material – what is known today as Karamanlidika. The present study deals with the first century of Karamanlidika printing and more precisely the Turkophone Christian Orthodox cleric Serapheim, one of the most important figures and a pioneer in Karamanlidika publishing. Through the study of his life and of the language used in Serapheim's books an effort will be made to trace the motives and beliefs that urged him to publish his books, his techniques and the impact his books had on the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia and on Karamanlidika as a phenomenon.

Karamanlidika is a conventional term attributed to Turkish texts written in the Greek alphabet,³ a practice used for printed texts, personal correspondence and everyday items. From time to time several terms were used to describe the aforementioned practice, but none of them was eventually widely used. Some of those terms are: φώνη Τουρκική Ελληνικοῖς γράμμασιν [foni Tourkiki Ellinikis grammasin] 'Turkish speech in Greek writing',⁴ ρούμτζα- τουρκτζε [rumca - türkçe] 'Greek-Turkish' and ρουμί-ουλ χουρούφ τουρκί ουλ ιπαρέ [rumi ul huruf türki l ibare] 'Greek in script Turkish in language',⁵ τούρκτζε [türkçe] 'Turkish', σατέ τούρκτζε [sade türkçe] 'simple Turkish', αδί τουρκί λισανή [adı türki lisani] 'common Turkish language',⁶ τουρκογραφικὰ [tourkogrekika] 'Turkish-Greek'⁷ and γραικοτουρκικά [grekotourkika] 'Greek-Turkish'.⁸

³ Concerning the conventionality of the term Karamanlidika see Matthias Kappler, "Toward a Linguistic Approach to 'Karamanli' texts," in *Advances in Turkish Linguistics – Proceedings of the 12th International Conference on Turkish Linguistics (11–13 August, 2004)* eds. Semiramis Yağcıoğlu, Aysen Cem Değer (İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 2006), 655–667. See also the definition given by Kiraz about the similar phenomenon of Garshuni: "the writing of one language (called the source language) in the script of another (called the target script) in specific sociolinguistic settings," George A. Kiraz, *Türrās Mamllā: A Grammar of the Syriac Language, Volume 1 Orthography* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2012), 291.

⁴ Ioannis Sakkelion, "Μεχμέτου Β' του Πορθητού Φιρμάνιον," *Πανδώρα* 16 (1866): 530.

⁵ Emmanouil Tsalikoglou, "Λαογραφικά των Φλαβιανών (Ζιντζίντερε) Καισαρείας της Καππαδοκίας," *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 15 (1972): 125.

⁶ János Eckmann, "Die karamanische Literatur," in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta II*, eds. Louis Bazin et al. (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1964), 129.

⁷ Pinelopi Stathi, "Τα τουρκογραφικά βιβλία και ο Σεραφεΐμ Ατταλειάτης," in *Το έντυπο ελληνικό βιβλίο 15ος-19ος αιώνας: Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου, Δελφοί, 16-20 Μαΐου 2001*, eds. Λουκία Δρούλια, Γιάννης Κόκκωνας, Τριαντάφυλλος Σκλαβενίτης, Κωνσταντίνος Στάικος (Αθήνα: Κότινος, 2004), 329.

⁸ Yorgos Kechayoglou, "Η σπασμωδική συγκριτική γραμματολογία του νέου Ελληνισμού και η «γραικοτουρκική» διασκευή του Πολυπαθούς του Γρηγόριου Παλαιολόγου," *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 11 (1995–1996): 126.

This practice lasted for 217 years in its printed form (1718–1935)⁹ and addressed the Turkophone Orthodox Christians (or Karamanlides/Karamanli Christians as they are widely known¹⁰) who lived in the Ottoman Empire. Serapheim was one of the most prolific actors of the field during the second half of the eighteenth-century. The main subjects of this thesis are Serapheim and his life, and the language used in his Karamanlidika books. In addition, the thesis will include a linguistic discussion of Serapheim's books regarding phonetics, phonology, morphology and word order based on translation techniques. In conclusion, an effort will be made to interpret the cause, strategy and impact of this material from a sociolinguistic perspective.

⁹ The dates mentioned here refer to the book production in Karamanlidika as it can be found in the six-volume Karamanlidika bibliography. Solid evidence on the personal use of this practice in manuscripts cannot be provided. The first three volumes of the Karamanlidika bibliography were published by Sévérien Salaville and Eugène Dalleggio, *Karamanlidika, Bibliographie Analytique d'Ouvrages en Langue Turque Imprimés en Caractères Grecs, I 1584–1850* (Athènes: Centre d'Etudes d'Asie Mineure, 1958); Sévérien Salaville and Eugène Dalleggio, *Karamanlidika, Bibliographie Analytique d'Ouvrages en Langue Turque Imprimés en Caractères Grecs, II 1851–1965*, (Athènes: Centre d'Etudes d'Asie Mineure, 1966); Sévérien Salaville and Eugène Dalleggio, *Bibliographie Analytique d'Ouvrages en Langue Turque Imprimés en Caractères Grecs, III 1866–1900* (Athènes: Centre d'Etudes d'Asie Mineure, 1974). Their work was continued by Evangelia Balta, *Karamanlidika, Additions 1584–1900, Bibliographie Analytique* (Athènes: Centre d'Etudes d'Asie Mineure, 1987a); Evangelia Balta, *Karamanlidika, XXe siècle, Bibliographie Analytique* (Athènes: Centre d'Etudes d'Asie Mineure, 1987b); Evangelia Balta, *Karamanlidika, Nouvelles Additions et Compléments I* (Athènes: Centre d'Etudes d'Asie Mineure, 1997a).

¹⁰ Although the term Karamanlides is widely used, here I will refer to them as the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia because, as Balta suggests, the term Karamanlides is obscure and restricting, since we can also identify the inhabitants of the all Karaman area as such. Moreover, the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia were spread throughout the Ottoman Empire and should be differentiated from other Turkophone non-Turkic populations, such as the Armenians and the Jews; see Evangelia Balta, “Οι πρόλογοι των Καραμανλίδικων βιβλίων πηγή για τη μελέτη της «εθνικής συνείδησης» των Τουρκόφωνων ορθόδοξων πληθυσμών της Μικράς Ασίας,” *Μνήμων* 11 (1987c): 226.

0.1. Karamanlidika books

The first references to the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia are found in travel accounts of the sixteenth-century,¹¹ and missionary and consular reports in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹² This orthodox population is assumed to have been located originally in the area of Karaman in central Turkey, later spreading throughout the Ottoman Empire. The majority lived in Konya, İsparta, Burdur and Antalya, while they were also found in large numbers in Istanbul, Kayseri, Nevşehir, Niğde, Adana, Kastamonu, Aydın and Sivas¹³ until their violent displacement in 1923 with the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey after the Greco-Turkish war.¹⁴ The Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia were sent to Greece because they were Christians, as religion rather than language

¹¹ Speros Vryonis, *The decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamisation from the 11th through the 15th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 399–403. A description of the travel accounts can be found also in Roderic Davison, “Nationalism as an Ottoman Problem and the Ottoman Response,” in *The Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. William W. Haddad, William Ochsenwald (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977), 32–33; and Michael Miller, “The Karamanli Turkish Texts: the Historical Changes in their Script and Phonology” (PhD diss, University of Indiana, 1974), 1–15. The German traveller Hans Dernschwamm, during his visit in Istanbul and part of Anatolia in the years 1553–1555, describes the people who lived in the Yedikule area in Istanbul. He mentioned a Christian community, called *Karamanos*, which spoke Turkish and did not understand Greek, see Franz Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1923), 52.

¹² Regarding missionary reports see Richard Clogg “The Publication and Distribution of Karamanli texts by the British and the Foreign Bible Society before 1850, I, II,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 19/I–II (1968): 57–81, 171–193. Regarding consular reports see Alkis Panayotopoulos, “The Greeks of Asia Minor 1908–1912. A Social and Political analysis,” (PhD diss., Oxford University, 1984). Regarding the landscape of Greek Orthodox Communities and their demographic change in Asia Minor see Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Μικρά Ασία, 19ος αιώνας – 1919, Οι Ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες, Από το Μιλλέτ των Ρωμίων στο Ελληνικό Έθνος*, Αθήνα: Ελληνικά Γράμματα, 1998, 135–188. See also Gerasimos Augustinos, *The Greeks of Asia Minor: Confession, Community, and Ethnicity in the Nineteenth-century* (Kent State University Press, 1992), 11–32.

¹³ See Eckmann, “Die karamanische Literatur” 819; Vryonis, *The decline of Medieval Hellenism*, 452; Richard Clogg “Anadolu Hristiyan Karindaslarimiz,” in *Anatolica: studies in the Greek East in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, (Routledge, 1996), 69. Regarding Ottoman population during the nineteenth-century censuses and movements, see Kemal H. Karpat, “Millets and Nationality: the roots of the incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era,” in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: the functioning of a plural society I*, eds. Benjamin Braude, Bernard Lewis (London and New York: Holmes & Meier, 1982), 141–169.

¹⁴ Concerning this exchangeable population, see Evangelia Balta, “Karamanli Press,” in *İzzet Gündag Kayaoğlu Hatıra Kitab Makaleler*, eds. Oktay Belli, Yücel Dağlı, M. Sinan Genim (Istanbul: Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, 2006), 27–33.

decided who was to stay and who was not. Taking as the point of departure the classification of people based on their religion that existed in the Ottoman Empire (millet system), all Greek Orthodox Christians, that is those belonging to the Rum Orthodox Church of the Istanbul patriarchate, living in the Empire had to move to Greece, and the same applied to Muslims who lived in Greece. This was a part of the Lausanne treaty that led to the recognition of Turkish Republic as the successor of Ottoman Empire, and very few exceptions were made. As we tend to think that language is closely connected to ethnic origins (and it often is), from time to time the issue of the ethnic origin of the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia has caused disputes and still remains controversial.¹⁵

The total production of Karamanli books comprised 752 titles.¹⁶ Production started in 1718¹⁷ in Venice and continued until 1935 with the last recorded print in Cyprus.¹⁸ Evangelia Balta divides Karamanlidika book production roughly into two periods. The first is 1751–1830 (the period from 1718–1750 is considered preliminary, with only three religious publications) with the bulk of production consisting of religious books published mainly by individuals and the Patriarchate of Istanbul. The majority of these books during this period were published in

¹⁵ Analysis of the question of origin can be found in Eckmann, “Die karamanische Literatur” 819–835; Vryonis, *The decline of Medieval Hellenism*; Tsalikoglou, “Λαογραφικά των Φλαβιανών” 123–159; Anhegger, “Hurufumuz Yunanca” 157–202; Robert Anhegger, “Nachträge zu Hurufumuz Yunanca” *Anatolica* 10 (1983): 149–164; Talat Tekin, “Grekçe Alfabesiyle Türkçe” *Tarih ve Toplum* 3 (1984): 180–183; Richard Clogg, “A Millet within a Millet: The Karamanlides,” in *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism, Politics, Economy and Society in the nineteenth-century*, eds. Dimitris Gondicas, Charles Issawi, (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1999), 115–142; Eftychios Gavriel, “Οι πρόλογοι της Καραμανλίδικης και της Ελληνικής έκδοσης της περιγραφής του Κύκκου του 1782” *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου* 5 (2001): 375–401; Balta, “Οι πρόλογοι των Καραμανλίδικων βιβλίων”; and a.o.

¹⁶ Numbers as found in the six-volume Karamanlidika bibliography. It seems that recently new titles have been discovered – see Balta, “Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books” 16.

¹⁷ The first recorded printed document in Karamanlidika dates back in 1584, that is Martin Crusius’s *Turcograecia*, printed in Basel. *Turcograecia* is usually not included in the Karamanlidika production since, it was the product of scholarly curiosity than a work designed for circulation among the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia. It was a translation of the confession of the Orthodox faith presented to Sultan Mehmet II in 1455 or 1456 by the new patriarch, Gennadios Scholarios. The translation was made by Ahmet, the qadi of Veroia. See Clogg “A Millet within a Millet” 123. For thorough analysis of the text see Tibor Halasi-Kun, “Gennadios’ Turkish Confession of Faith,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* XII (1987–1992): 5–103.

¹⁸ Balta, *Karamanlidika, Nouvelles Additions*, 148.

Venice and were translations of existing religious books in Greek. The fact that only seven secular books were published in this period is indicative of the focus on religious texts at this time.¹⁹

The first Karamanlidika books were published in Venice and Istanbul and to a much lesser degree in Leipzig, Amsterdam, Syra (Greece), Athens and London. The majority of these appeared in Venice (1718–1819).²⁰ Karamanlidika books were published by individuals, often by subscription, and during the first decades of the nineteenth-century, the Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul, the British Foreign Bible Society (BFBS)²¹ and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM),²² among others, were involved.

At the beginning of the eighteenth-century, the Patriarchate believed that there was a need to educate the population. The Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul was interested mainly in preserving their Orthodox faith; thus, the very first Karamanlidika publications consisted of religious books, namely selected Bible texts, catechisms, biographies of saints, liturgical texts and prayer books funded by circles within the church. The first ecclesiastical document dated around 1763 illustrates the need of the Patriarchate to communicate with the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia in their language since, like every Orthodox Christian of the Ottoman Empire, they belonged within its jurisdiction.²³

Historically speaking, Karamanlidika started in the form of religious books

¹⁹ Evangelia Balta, “Periodisation et Typologie de la production des livres Karamanlis,” *Bulletin du Centre d’Etudes d’Asie Mineure* 12 (1997b): 138–142. Most of these secular editions were Ottoman–Greek dictionaries and vice versa, as well as translations of ancient Greek philosophers.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 129–153.

²¹ For the rest of the text, they will be referred to as BFBS. Concerning its history, see George Browne, *The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*. v.II (London, 1859); William Canton, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*. v.II, (London, 1904).

²² American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, For the rest of the text, this will be referred to as above. Regarding the actions of ABCFM in the Middle East see Rufus Anderson, *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners of the Oriental Churches*. v.I–II. Boston, 1872. Regarding printing see F. J. Coakley, “Printing offices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions 1817–1900: A synopsis,” *Harvard Library Bulletin* 9/1 (Spring 1998): 5–34, and ABCFM actions in Izmir see Pavlina Natsioutzik, *Αμερικανικά οράματα στην Συβέρνη του 19ου αιώνα* (Athens, 2002).

²³ Anastasios Iordanoglou, “Καραμανλίδικες επιγραφές της Ιεράς Μονής Ζωοδόχου πηγής Βαλουκλή Κωνσταντινοπόλεως,” *Βαλκανικά Σύμμεικτα* 1 (1981): 68, see Eftychios Gavriel, “Η Τουρκική με το Ελληνικό αλφάβητο σε χειρόγραφο του 18ου αιώνα” (PhD diss., University of Cyprus, 2010b), 13.

aimed at preserving the religious identity of the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia (publications 1718–1830). But during the nineteenth-century a variety of books were published, such as translations of foreign literature (mostly by French novel writers like Xavier de Montépin, Eugène Sue, Charles-Paul de Kock, et al.), folk stories (like Alexander the Great, Köroğlu, Nasreddin Hoca, etc.), poetry, theatrical plays, general education, texts of general culture, history, geography, natural sciences, dictionaries, grammars and musical anthologies.²⁴ Books of general knowledge were also published, as well as Ottoman laws and later periodicals and newspapers (publications 1831–1835). Along with theses secular publications, religious books continued to be published and actually increased when the American and British missionaries started to publish their own religious books. The Orthodox Patriarchate was locked in a struggle with these missionaries in an effort to dissuade the conversion of the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia, which led to the rapid increase in publications. Apart from the publications of the Patriarchate and those produced by individual Turkophone Orthodox, the missionaries pushed publishing activity further since they used to publish their books in large numbers (from 2500 to 5000 pieces).

The majority of the early publications produced in the eighteenth-century by the Patriarchate and Turkophone Orthodox individuals were translations of religious books that were circulating mainly in Greece. The next step was the publication of secular books in Karamanlidika, such as adaptations/translations of foreign literature,²⁵ books written by “native” speakers, and newspapers. Secular

²⁴ Grammars and dictionaries are not to be considered Karamanlidika *in sensu stricto*, according to Balta, “Periodisation et Typologie” 132 and Matthias Kappler, “Konflikt und Ideologie in den griechischen Grammatiken des Osmanischen im 19. Jahrhundert,” in *Einheit und Vielfalt in der türkischen Welt – Materialien der 5. Deutschen Turkologenkonferenz*, eds. Hendrik Boeschoten, Heidi Stein, Universität Mainz (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 80–93, as well as the musical anthologies of the nineteenth-century (see Balta, “Periodisation et Typologie” 132–133 and Matthias Kappler, *Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik in Griechisch-Osmanischen Liedanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts [Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der Türkvölker, Band 3]* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2002), because they have nothing to do with the Karamanlidika tradition, since they were published for Hellenophone groups and to a lesser extent for Turkophone readers, see Kappler “Toward a Linguistic Approach,” 692.

²⁵ The method of adaptation was common in religious books as well: “those in charge for the production of Turkophone Orthodox books were working with the method of sewing together several books,” Ioannis Pamboukis, *Πετριμίζ, ολίγα λέξεις επί της συνθέσεως των θρησκευτικών βιβλίων της Τουρκόφωνου Ελληνικής Φιλολογίας* (Athens, 1961), 20.

literature was something only the Turkophone Orthodox were engaged in, with the exception of American missionaries, who were publishing the weekly newspaper *Angeliaphoros* and its monthly children's periodical *Angeliaphoros Çocuklar için*.²⁶

The second period (1831–1935) is marked by two major facts. The first is the decade of the Greek Revolution. During this decade, editions from the Patriarchate were very rare. The second is the establishment of the BFBS in Asia Minor, which published only religious books in order to proselytise. During this second period, Karamanlidika book production increased rapidly, and new titles were added both in the religious and secular genres. In general, few of the Karamanlidika books were originally written by the Turkophone Orthodox.

In this period, the publication of religious books became an even more urgent issue when missionaries, mostly British and American, began to arrive in Asia Minor at the end of eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth-century. In order to avoid conflict with the Ottoman authorities, the missionaries were aiming to convert not Muslims but the minorities of the Empire.²⁷ In fact, a struggle began between the Orthodox faith and Catholicism (and Protestantism to a smaller degree) for the souls of people who were considered “vulnerable” due to the use of a different language than the one the majority of their coreligionists used, like the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia. The publication of religious books was followed by the publication of so-called secular books and the publication of newspapers²⁸ from the middle of the nineteenth-century, a practice mainly

²⁶ Regarding *Angeliaphoros Çocuklar için* see Stelios Irakleous, “Sociolinguistic Aspects of *Ἀγγελιαφόρος Τζοτζουκλάρ* 1872–1896,” in *Cultural Encounters in the Turkish-speaking communities of the late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Evangelia Balta (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2014), 393–411; Stelios Irakleous “The Contents of the Periodical *Ἀγγελιαφόρος Τζοτζουκλάρ* 1872–1880,” in *Festschrift in honor of Ioannis P. Theoharides, Studies on the Ottoman Empire and Turkey*, v.II, eds. Evangelia Balta, Georgios Salakidis, Theoharis Stavrides (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2014) 155–198; Hayrullah Kahya, *Angeliaphoros Çocukları İçin (1872) Giriş-İnceleme-Metin-Dizin*, (Istanbul: Ofis Yayınevi Istanbul), 2015.

²⁷ Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the roots of sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 145–146.

²⁸ Concerning Karamanlidika press, see Evangelia Balta, “Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books before the doom of silence,” in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Karamanlidika Studies. Nicosia 11-13.09.2008*, eds. Evangelia Balta, Matthias Kappler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010a), 11–22.

undertaken by educated Turkophone Orthodox people.

The Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul had already been involved in printing since 1799, as will be discussed later on. The missionary books were published in Athens, Syra and Malta from the 1830s, and after 1870, in London and Istanbul in specific printing houses owned mostly by Armenian Protestants.²⁹ Those books, mostly Bibles, were printed in large numbers (usually 5000 or 2500) and were distributed through ecclesiastical missionary organisations and through the activity of the missionaries in Asia Minor in general.³⁰

Returning to the books originally written by the Turkophone Orthodox throughout the whole period of Karamanlidika printing, it should be kept in mind that the books were not literal translations and transcriptions. Both secular and religious books were often made by adapting elements from several books and by revising the translations, thus creating a new text. Literal translations were only made of scholarly texts.³¹

0.2. Karamanlidika and similar phenomena

The term Karamanli Christians (or Karamanlides) is generally accepted as a religious epithet to describe the Turkophone Greek Orthodox of the Ottoman Empire, and as such it is used in Western sources as early as the sixteenth-century, like the diary of Hans Dernschwamm.³² However the term has many different meanings varying with its diverse historical and cultural context. In the nineteenth-century, the term Karamanli was used to indicate any variety of Turkish used in the

²⁹ Concerning the printing by Armenians, see Evangelia Balta, “Καραμανλίδικες και αρμενοτουρκικές εκδόσεις των «Sunday Schools Lessons»,” *Ta Iστορικά* 53 (2010b): 379–402.

³⁰ Evangelia Balta, “Το καραμανλίδικο έντυπο,” *Ta Iστορικά* 5/9 (1988): 216–218.

³¹ Balta, “Periodisation et typologie,” 142–152.

³² Michael Knüppel, *Die Türkisch-Orthodoxe Kirche* (Göttingen: Pontus Verlag, 1996), 22. See also Eckmann, “Die karamanische Literatur” 820. The term was criticised by Robert Anhegger, “Hurufumuz Yunanca Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der karamanisch-türkischen Literatur,” *Anatolica* 7 (1979–1980): 159, and Robert Anhegger, “Das Temaşa-i Dünya des Evangelinos Misailidis (1871/72) als Quelle zur karamanischen Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte,” in *Türkische Sprachen und Literaturen, Materialien der ersten deutschen Turkologen-Konferenz, Baberg, 3–6 Juli 1987*, eds. Ingeborg Baldauf, Klaus Kreiser, Semih Tezcan, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991), 1–28. Anhegger mentions that in their texts, they had always called themselves Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia, or Anatolian Christians.

Balkans regardless of the script, in “Christian” use though. This resulted in characterising Turkish texts written in the Cyrillic alphabet in old as well as in relatively recent scientific literature as Karamanlidika. During the political instability of the 1920s, the term was defined as “purest Turkish” on the western side of the Aegean Sea and “bastardisation of Greek” on the eastern side. To add to the confusion, the related term “Caramanian” was used in 1930s dialectology to describe a specific dialect in the region around and east of Konya.³³

A landmark in linguistic Karamanlidika research were the studies of János Eckmann published around 1950, which are very useful for the study of dialectology.³⁴ Besides that, Eckmann conducted his research using various sources, published by people originating from different areas with different linguistic profiles, and generalised his results, characterising the Turkophone Orthodox as Karamanians and their language as Karamanian, thus creating the false impression that the Turkophone Orthodox people located in Istanbul, Rumeli, Inner Anatolia and other coastal areas spoke literally the same language. With the publication of the Karamanlidika bibliography and the definition given by Evangelia Balta, the term became a synonym for “Turkish text written in Greek characters”.³⁵ Although the discussion about more suitable terminology is ongoing, Karamanlidika seems to have been established as a conventional term.³⁶

The writing of one language using the script of another was (and is), in fact, a

³³ For the relevant discussion see Kappler “Toward a Linguistic Approach.” Regarding “purest Turkish” see Knüppel, *Die Türkisch-Orthodoxe Kirche*, 16.

³⁴ János Eckmann, “Anadolu Karamanlı Ağızlarına Ait Araştırmalar, I. Phonetica” *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 8 (1950a):165–200; János Eckmann, “Yunan harfli Karamanlı imlasi hakkında,” in *Türk Dili ve Tarihi hakkında araştırmalar I*, eds. Hasan Eren, Tibor Halasi-Kun, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1950b), 27–31; János Eckmann, “Karamanlca işin-li gerundium hakkında,” *Türk Dili Belleten* 3/14–15 (1951):45–52; János Eckmann, “Karamanlca Türkçesinde -maca ekli fiil şekli,” *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı* (1953): 45–48; János Eckmann, “Einige gerundiale Konstruktionen im Karamanischen” in *Jean Deny Armağanı*, ed. János Eckmann, (Ankara, 1958), 77–83; Eckmann, “Die karamanische Literatur,” 819–835.

³⁵ Balta, *Karamanlidika, Additions*, xvi.

³⁶ For a thorough analysis, summarising the discussion diachronically, containing examples from other publications ranging from 1898 until 1980, in an effort to formulate a new hypothesis for the terms employed for Karamanlidika, see Matthias Kappler, “Transcription text, regraphization, variety? Reflections on ‘Karamanlidika,’” in *Spoken Ottoman in Mediator Texts*, eds. Éva Á. Csátó, Astrid Menz, Fikret Turan, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016), 119–128.

rather widespread phenomenon. In the case of the Eastern Mediterranean it has its motivation, among other reasons, in the religious beliefs of the speakers and developed more or less in the same way (but at different times) in every case. People who spoke the same language used a different script to express it. This resulted in Turkish in Greek script (Karamanlidika), Armenian³⁷ and Cyrillic script.³⁸ Greek in Cyrillic³⁹, Latin (also known as Frangochiotika)⁴⁰ and Arabic script (known as Aljamiado),⁴¹ and Arabic in Syriac script.⁴²

At times when literacy was limited to a small part of the population, for the majority of people the only script they would ever encounter was the one of their faith, probably from a religious book in a language different than theirs, they could not comprehend. The accounts of European travellers from seventeenth to nineteenth-century about the Turkophone Christian Orthodox of Anatolia say that the Mass was celebrated entirely in Greek although the priest (probably the only

³⁷ Mehmet Kutalmış, “Turkish on Armenian Script,” *Journal of Economic and Social sciences* 5, no.2 (2003), 47–59.

³⁸ György Hazai, “Kiril harfleriyle yazılan Türk metinleri,” *VII Türk Dil Kurultayında okunan bilimsel bildiriler 1957*, (1960a): 83–86; György Hazai, “Monuments linguistiques osmanlis-turcs en caractères cyrilliques dans les recueils de Bulgarie,” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 11 (1960b): 221–231; Matthias Kappler, “Printed Balkan Turkish Texts in Cyrillic Alphabet in the Middle of the Nineteenth-century (1841–1875): A Typological and Graphematic Approach,” in *Between Religion and Language: Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Evangelia Balta, Mehmet Ölmez (Istanbul: Eren, 2011), 43–69.

³⁹ Maria Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, “Ξενόγλωσσα κείμενα με ελληνική γραφή,” *Ο Ερανιστής* 55 (1972): 69–111.

⁴⁰ Eugène Dalleggio, “Bibliographie Analytique d'ouvrages religieux en grec Imprimés avec des caractères latins,” *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 9 (1961): 385–498; Markos Foskolos, *Ta “φραγκοχιώτικα” βιβλία: Ένα κεφάλαιο από την ιστορία της καθολικής ευσέβειας στον ελληνικό χώρο* (Θεσσαλονίκη: Αποστολικό Βικαριάτο Θεσσαλονίκης, 2012).

⁴¹ George Dedes, “Was there a Greek Aljamiado literature?” in *The balance of truth, essays in honour of Professor Geoffrey Lewis*, eds. Çiğdem Balım-Harding, Colin Imber (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2000), 83–98. Matthias Kappler, Προϋποθέσεις για μια γραφηματική προσέγγιση στα ελληνικά κείμενα γραμμένα με αραβικών αλφάβητο,” in *Ο ελληνικός κόσμος ανάμεσα στην Ανατολή και τη Δύση 1453-1981*, Vol. I, eds. A. Argyriou & K. Dimadis & A. Lazaridou, Πρακτικά Α΄ Ευρωπαϊκού Συνεδρίου Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών, Βερολίνο 2-4 Οκτ. 1988 (Αθήνα: Ελληνικά Γράμματα, 1999), 695- 709.

⁴² Kiraz *Türrâş Mamllâ*. Kiraz uses the term “Garshuni” to characterise this kind of phenomenon and offers a definition which could be a basis in the wider context of what we call transcription texts. He describes Garshuni as “the writing as one language (called the source language) in the script of another (called target script) in specific sociolinguistic settings: 1. when the source language is already associated with a script that is perceived to be its own. 2. There exists a readership which is either unfamiliar with the script of the source language or prefers for whatever reason to use the target script over the script of the source language,” Kiraz, *Türrâş Mamllâ*, 291.

literate, or semi-literate, person present) might not understand a word of it or, there was a resulting blend of the two languages like '*Patir bizim ho en tois ouranois*' [Our father in Heaven] as described by the British traveller G. T. Keppel in the earlier part of the nineteenth-century.⁴³ The illiterate or semi-literate Turkophone priests who read the ecclesiastical books to the public were reported to have little idea of how the Greek language sounded, but they were able to read accurately in Turkish.⁴⁴ In the case of literary Urmia Aramaic, the priests and deacon were probably able to read and understand classical Syriac as they had to recite the liturgy,⁴⁵ which would have been the case for priests in high ranks in Orthodox Christianity, but probably not for the clergy of remote areas, as will be discussed later on.

On the other hand, we also see similarities in the rhetoric used to describe people in remote areas. In the case of the Church of the East we read, 'Education, when we reached the Nestorians, was at an ebb almost as low as vital religion. None but their ecclesiastics could even read; and but very few of them could do more than chant their devotions in an unknown tongue – the Syriac, a modern dialect of which is their spoken language, while neither they nor their hearers knew anything of the meaning'.⁴⁶ It is very interesting that although this statement was primarily made in order to help the missionaries raise money for their literary and educational endeavours, the rhetoric is very similar to the one Serapheim uses in his introductions, when repeating the intellectual and religious decline of Anatolia (see 0.2.2. and 3.3.3.)

In comparison to periods before the eighteenth-century, little seems to have

⁴³ Clogg, "A millet within a millet," 121–122.

⁴⁴ Clogg, "The publication and distribution of Karamanli texts," 68. This was not surprising because the readers were not only familiar with but also a part of this tradition, as the books were written by the Turkophone Orthodox for the Turkophone Orthodox. Morpho-phonological writing is not necessary for a native speaker or someone with some knowledge of the language because they can read according to the rules of the Turkish language; see Matthias Kappler, "Note a proposito di 'ortografia caramanlidica,'" in *Turcica et Islamica – Studi in memoria di Aldo Gallotta*, ed. Ugo Marazzi (Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale," 2003), 36.

⁴⁵ Heleen Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written language: the introduction and development of literary Urmia Aramaic in the nineteenth-century* (Leiden: Netherlands Institute for Middle Eastern Studies, 1999), 87.

⁴⁶ Cited in Heleen Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures: The Church of the East in the Eastern Ottoman Provinces (1500–1850)* (Louvain: Peeters, 2015).

changed in terms of literacy; reading and writing was a privilege of the clergy. In the East Syrian tradition, during the sixteenth-century the dictum was that ‘the path of reading was not for everyone’⁴⁷ while in the Christian Greek Orthodox tradition, the clerics believed that writing was a privilege only for them and some scholars. In a letter by the Patriarch around 1700, it is mentioned that ‘not everything is for everyone’, clarifying that writing was only for the elite.⁴⁸ In this way the lay were only listeners and that is why many books like Karamanlidika were designed primarily to be heard rather than read, including phrases like ‘hear the message of the scriptures’, ‘when you hear’ and ‘hear everywhere’.⁴⁹ The element of listening was not new for Christianity, which was at its beginnings an oral culture.⁵⁰

The only way for these people to obtain religious books they could understand, the crucial bridge between lay and clerical religious cultures,⁵¹ was to write them, and so they did with the only script they knew. This also had religious implications; at that time, it would be a blasphemy to write the Scriptures in a script other than the one they were familiar with. In this way the aforementioned phenomenon developed. In the same way that the Christian movement was indebted to texts written in its formative years,⁵² texts that defined many of its aspects, the Karamanlidika tradition and its course in time, in terms of language and practices, was indebted to the books of the early and mid-eighteenth-century, initiated and magnified by clergy and especially by Serapheim as will be discussed later on.

At the beginning of the eighteenth-century, when missionaries reached the

⁴⁷ Joel T. Walker, “Ascetic Literacy: Books and Readers in East Syrian Monastic Tradition,” in *Commutation et Contentio: Studies in the Late Roman, Sasanian, and Early Islamic Near East, in Memory of Zeev Rubin*, eds. Henning Börm, Josef Wiesehöfer (Düsseldorf: Wellem Verlagm, 2010), 310.

⁴⁸ Filippou Pliou, “Σημειώσεις για τα «τραβήγματα» των ελληνικών βιβλίων του 16ου αιώνα,” *Ελληνικά* 28 (1975a):115.

⁴⁹ See Gavriel, “Η Τουρκική με το Ελληνικό αλφάβητο,” 6.

⁵⁰ Harry Y. Gamble, *A History of Early Christian texts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 28. Another clue signifying this oral tradition is the continuous script in early text destined to be read aloud. Gamble, *A History of Early Christian texts*, 203. The continuous script was used also in the early manuscript descriptions of the Kykkos Monastery tradition that the Karamanlidika publications of the eighteenth-century were based on. For the manuscripts of the book see Costas N. Constantinides, *Η διήγησις της θαυματουργής εικόνας της Θεοτόκου Ελεούσας του Κύκκου κατά τον ελληνικό κώδικα 2313 του Βατικανού* (Λευκωσία: Κέντρο Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου, 2002).

⁵¹ Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 275.

⁵² Gamble, *A History of Early Christian texts*, 41.

region, many of these literary traditions had already been in existence a long time. The missionaries were clever enough not to oppose these people but rather reinforce and take advantage of their various writing traditions with the ulterior motive of converting them. In the case of Asia Minor, Turkish-speaking children from various cultures attended the missionary Sunday schools⁵³ with books and periodicals with identical context in the Turkish language but written in the script of their community, usually customised in order to be more understandable.⁵⁴ This type of missionary influence led many from illiteracy to literacy.⁵⁵

For a period of time both missionary and local traditions co-existed, both falling into disuse after certain political developments and especially when the national educational systems developed.

0.2.1. Education

In order to study books and their readers it is essential to first take into consideration literary culture and literacy levels at the given time.⁵⁶ A generally accepted fact is that before the nineteenth-century not knowing how to read and write, was normal among the Christian Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire, and included both the laity and clerics.⁵⁷ Since no schools existed (except for a few in urban areas),⁵⁸ the Patriarchate, assuming that the lay needed to be educated in letters (and the ways of religion), mobilised the clerics during the nineteenth-century.⁵⁹ The level of literacy that clerics may have had was mainly gained by the

⁵³ Regarding Sunday schools see Balta, “Καραμανλίδικες και αρμενοτουρκικές εκδόσεις.”

⁵⁴ Regarding the development of Karamanlidika writing systems, see Stelios Irakleous, “On the development of Karamanlidika writing systems based on sources of the period 1764–1895,” *Mediterranean Language Review* 20 (2013): 57–96.

⁵⁵ Similarly, on the missionary influence see Murre-van den Berg *Scribes and Scriptures*; Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written language*.

⁵⁶ Gamble, *A History of Early Christian texts*, 2.

⁵⁷ Even in the nineteenth-century Anatolia was predominantly an agricultural community, see Irini Renieri, “Household Formation in nineteenth-century Central Anatolia: The Case Study of a Turkish-Speaking Orthodox Christian Community,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34, no.3 (2002): 495–517.

⁵⁸ Alexis Alexandris, *The Greek minority of Istanbul and the Greek-Turkish relations 1918–1974* (Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies, 1992), 46–47. In the Patriarchate in Istanbul, a lycée operated, but only wealthy students could attend it.

⁵⁹ Ioannes K. Chasiotis, *Μεταξύ Οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας και Ευρωπαϊκής πρόκλησης, ο ελληνικός κόσμος στα χρόνια της Τουρκοκρατίας* (Θεσσαλονίκη: University Studio Press, 2001), 86.

reading of the Scriptures and by some basic schools, which had started to operate in monasteries by the eighteenth-century.⁶⁰ Some foreign travellers mentioned that monasteries were places of education, where clerics worked all day and, during the night, read and chanted,⁶¹ whilst others described with sarcasm the illiteracy of the Christian Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire.⁶²

What foreign travellers noticed was that the Greek-speaking Christian Orthodox suffered the incorrect spellings of words (orthography) and an “absence of syntax”,⁶³ referring to syntactic constructions that were considered by the travellers as ungrammatical. This illustrates a degree of functional literacy but perhaps inadequate training. This was not peculiar at all since, as already mentioned, few people were literate, but even if they were, they did not necessarily have knowledge of the spellings conventionally considered as correct, mainly as found in written sources. Sources mention that in Cyprus,⁶⁴ letters written by the Archbishop and the Metropolitans in the seventeenth-century illustrate a profusion of incorrect spellings and syntactic irregularities.⁶⁵ The “wrong” spellings are obvious in religious inscriptions in monasteries destined to last through time, which shows, if not illiteracy, then a lack of concern about correct spellings. Despite the aforementioned, the fact that the monks knew how to write, albeit with spelling mistakes, is evidence for the operation of schools in the monasteries.⁶⁶ Instruction in monasteries was of course obligatory for monks in order for them to be able to complete their tasks. In a book of rules found in Egypt (but with its origins and usage still in dispute), it is stated clearly that every monk shall know

⁶⁰ Chasiotis, *Μεταξύ Οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας και Ευρωπαϊκής πρόκλησης*, 87; Ioannes Theocharides, *Οι περιγραφές της Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου (1751, 1782, 1817, 1819)* (Λευκωσία: Κέντρο Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου, 2010), 11.

⁶¹ Theocharis Stavrides, “Η Ιερά Μονή Κύκκου και η μόρφωση του Κυπριακού κλήρου κατά την Τουρκοκρατία και Αγγλοκρατία” *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου* 5 (Λευκωσία: Κέντρο Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου, 2001b), 71.

⁶² Πιου, “Σημειώσεις για τα «τραβήγματα»,” 115; Chasiotis, *Μεταξύ Οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας και Ευρωπαϊκής πρόκλησης*, 87.

⁶³ Πιου, “Σημειώσεις για τα «τραβήγματα»,” 115. It is indicative that, by the end of the sixteenth-century, illiteracy was obvious even inside the Patriarchate in Istanbul. See Chasiotis, *Μεταξύ Οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας και Ευρωπαϊκής πρόκλησης*, 87.

⁶⁴ I believe the case of Cyprus is relevant to that of inner Anatolia since both were distant provinces of the Empire away from the urban centres.

⁶⁵ Stavrides, “Η Ιερά Μονή Κύκκου,” 69–70.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

how to read and write.⁶⁷

Moreover, orthography was not an obligatory subject and not standardised in present-day terms, and thus not taught in any systematic way to students, even to those who could afford a private tutor. In the contracts signed by parents and tutors, one can see that the teaching of how to read was not interrelated with learning how to write or how to write correctly, and if the tutor should teach the student how to write, then a special reference was written in the contract.⁶⁸ This resulted in the preservation of the phenomenon, since it was difficult for anyone to learn correctly the complicated historical orthography of the Greek language.

Later on, when the *Lancasterian* schools were founded by the American missionaries, they were described by Greek sources of the time as schools for the masses, because their primary task was the teaching of how to read and write, along with some arithmetic.⁶⁹ But education was still not obligatory and not widespread, so – in most cases – those who had studied in these schools had achieved a primary level of literacy, which allowed them to read, attend and comprehend the Mass and to write, although perhaps with incorrect spellings.⁷⁰ In addition, the entire educational programme in these schools was occupied by elementary knowledge of ecclesiastical language and other basic elements useful to those who wanted to become members of the clergy.⁷¹

The *Lancasterian* schools surely contributed to the increased level of literacy, but did not contribute to introduce a standardised spelling. In the absence of capable teachers for the schools, the natural choice was the clerics, who were almost everywhere.⁷² Of course, clerics were literate to a level but often did not have knowledge of orthography. Added to that was the system of these schools which had as its main characteristic the teaching of youngest pupils by the older ones. One of the main purposes of *Lancasterian* schools was the teaching of basic skills of reading and writing, and that was being done by clerics who often had

⁶⁷ For the discussion see Kim Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters: Literacy, Power and the Transmitters of Early Christian Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 96.

⁶⁸ Πίου, “Σημειώσεις για τα «τραβήγματα»,” 115.

⁶⁹ Antonios Fatseas, *Σκέψεις επί της δημοσίας και ιδιωτικής εκπαίδευσεως των νέων Ελλήνων, Τόμος II* (Αθήνα: Τύποις Νικολάου Αγγελίδου, 1856), 9–10.

⁷⁰ Πίου, “Σημειώσεις για τα «τραβήγματα»,” 115.

⁷¹ Chasiotis, *Μεταξύ Οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας και Ευρωπαϊκής πρόκλησης*, 88.

⁷² Fatseas, *Σκέψεις επί της δημοσίας και ιδιωτικής εκπαίδευσεως*, 10.

limited knowledge. This knowledge was transmitted to pupils and from those to youngest ones, creating a chain where everyone's knowledge was dependent on the training their tutor had received, perpetuating a situation of people who did not have knowledge of the complicated historical writing of Greek language, which was something destined for the few.

Teachers were dividing Greek language into Hellenic and everyday speech, which was considered to be a lower form of language. What they called Hellenic was the purified version of the Greek language also known as *καθαρευούσα* (*katharevusa*), which was the scholarly language of the time. Students were not instructed in orthography before high school, where *katharevusa* was being taught, because orthography was considered to be a part of the *katharevusa* teaching.⁷³ Therefore, anyone who was not able to study in a high school or not aware of this purified version of Greek was excluded from the knowledge of standardised orthography.

0.2.2. Religion before printing

Another important aspect that needs to be addressed is the state of religion when events like the transition from manuscript to printed book, and from oral to written language, took place in Asia Minor. Illiterate societies were utterly typical for most of the world until recently, and the Ottoman Empire, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine were no different. The distribution of knowledge on religious tradition came only through oral channels and led to inevitably patchy results.⁷⁴

According to Serapheim the Turkophone Christian Orthodox of Anatolia suffered from intellectual decline and their religion was in decay. In his book SChr1782:14 he says that in previous years he had prepared a number of editions for the Christians who were unaware of the Greek language and the dogmas of their faith, and subsequently practised religion the way they heard and saw, or the way they believed to be correct. Of course, what comprised an intellectual decline

⁷³ Fatseas, *Σκέψεις επί της δημοσίας και ιδιωτικής εκπαίδευσως*, 13–14. The few students who continued their education were using Greek grammars printed in Europe during the fifteenth-century, but mainly they were reading from ancient Greek texts. See Chasiotis, *Μεταξύ Οθωμανικής κυριαρχίας και Ευρωπαϊκής πρόκλησης*, 88.

⁷⁴ James Grehan, *Twilight of the Saints, everyday religion in Ottoman Syria and Palestine* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 14.

and decay for a cleric in eighteenth-century Asia Minor is subject to interpretation and possible controversy, and something to which we will return soon. The situation described by Serapheim was not very different from the one in Syria and Palestine during the eighteenth-century, not only for Christians but Muslims as well. An interesting case is that of Rashid Rida (1865–1935) who founded a committee in order to promote education in the rural areas of the Ottoman Empire. He strived to enlighten his fellow Muslims by giving lessons from village to village, in the same manner as efforts that were underway in many towns in the same period. The reasoning behind these efforts was what Rida thought to be the decay of religion in the countryside as people were, in Rida's opinion, sinking in "superstitions" and "innovations".⁷⁵ During Sultan Abdulhamid's reign (1876–1909) state-trained missionaries were sent to "correct" the "heterodox" religion of those who were not Sunni Muslims.⁷⁶

The countryside had, at least according to clergy or in comparison with cities, serious deficiencies in religious infrastructure regarding manpower and resources, which, in the absence of control (or guidance) from the ulema and the Christian hierarchy, led to the adaptability of believers at many levels. Both Christians and Muslims performed services in guesthouses, in the absence of a mosque or a church (which only towns could sustain); as for the villagers, the existence of an official place of worship was not their top priority. In the places that did have an official place of worship, it was often rudimentary – the builders did not know how to align the minaret towards Mecca and rural churches were decrepit. Even when a mosque was finally erected, the believers continued their previous practice of praying in convenient places rather than designated areas.⁷⁷ The erection of an official place of worship was rather an action of setting people on the right path, on behalf of the religious authorities, than something to improve people's religiosity. For Christians this started to change towards the end of the nineteenth-century, when they started to create religious infrastructure; this was mainly due to help from wealthy merchants who acquired protection and, in many cases, European

⁷⁵ Grehan, *Twilight of the Saints*, 20.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 21–26.

passports, becoming thus benefactors of their communities.⁷⁸

Priests were educated only in the nineteenth-century and acted again as teachers but in a different way. Prior to that they were illiterate or semi-literate, passing on whatever knowledge they had and only capable of performing certain religious services like funerals and marriages, conducted in Greek or Syriac, languages they could not comprehend. There is no evidence of registers in the area for births, baptisms, weddings or deaths.⁷⁹

The lack of control and the lives of common people being tied by oral culture led to what is defined by Grehan as “agrarian” religion, a religious mainstream that expressed itself in very similar everyday religious habits.⁸⁰ The distinction between Christian and Muslim sainthood was blurred as people were purchasing talismans from various religions. They were visiting the same shrines, on some occasions the same official houses of worship, and their distinctions were visible only in marriage and death. Marriages were taking place in a church or within the community and burials were carried out in the same place with the coreligionists.⁸¹ The situation is vividly described by Catholic missionaries in Galilee, saying they were unable to find Christians who knew how to perform the sign of the cross. Among lay people, prayer was more of a casual rather than disciplined exercise, and even the conversion to Catholicism (when it occurred) merely eliminated a social barrier and was not an act of religious identity change.⁸² Probably such was the case of the conversion of Asad Ashdyaq, a young Maronite in Beirut, who worked with American Protestants but never openly confessed a conversion although his case was conveniently exploited by the missionaries.⁸³ Added to that, the Turkophone Christian Orthodox living in Anatolia were in the nineteenth-century still mostly an agricultural community⁸⁴ and even when they fled Asia Minor during the 1920s as refugees, they carried with them bibles printed by Protestants in Karamanlidika, which their descendants treasure to the present day

⁷⁸ Grehan, *Twilight of the Saints*, 40.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 47, 53.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 63, 181, 193.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 57–58.

⁸³ Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the failed conversion of the Middle East* (Cornell University Press, London 2008), 102–137.

⁸⁴ Irini Renieri, “Household Formation in nineteenth-century Central Anatolia,” 495–517.

without knowing that the books belong to a different denomination.

A decisive factor in the change of the existing situation was the invention of printing press. The previously admitted and tolerated local variations started to fade away, since for the first time in Christian history it was made possible to insist upon uniformity by producing identical texts in large numbers.⁸⁵ People were no longer worshippers but were turning into believers, as the Scriptures entered their lives not through the oral channels as before, but with instruction from written texts. This “new religiosity” had as its main feature the ‘overweening obsession with texts’.⁸⁶ These efforts at “correcting” religion that insisted on uniform practices are what I refer to as religious prescriptivism, namely the efforts to disseminate the “correct ways” of doing and saying things, in practices and also in language.

The liturgical book had a principle role in this procedure for a variety of reasons. At first it was scarce, meant to be heard during the Mass. It changed however into a schooling book against illiteracy (in letters and religious ways), was printed in large numbers and, memorised by people even if they could not apprehend it.⁸⁷ With its mass production and use as school handbook, it is more than possible that it affected not only religious practices in the Ottoman Empire but also language use.

0.3. Turkish language: from Anatolian Turkish to late Ottoman

The field of Turkic studies and research on the history of the Turks is a field that started and developed from the late nineteenth-century onwards. In 1889 the oldest monuments bearing written Turkic language were discovered in Orkhon (present-day Mongolia) and Yenisey (present-day Siberia). The inscriptions are written in runic script and dated around 720 AD and were deciphered by Vilhelm Thomsen in 1893; today those texts with other texts until the eleventh-century are known as Old Turkic.⁸⁸

When the Turkic-speaking tribes left the Eurasian steppes they went west, with

⁸⁵ Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in early Modern Europe*, 155.

⁸⁶ Grehan, *Twilight of the Saints*, 196.

⁸⁷ Sklavenites, “Ανθολόγια και συνθετικές εκδόσεις λειτουργικού βιβλίων,” 193.

⁸⁸ Concerning Old Turkic see Marcel Erdal, “Old Turkic,” in *The Turkic Languages*, eds. Lars Johanson, Eva A. Csáto (London-New York: Routledge, 1998), 138–157.

one string taking the northern route while the second using the southern route. The Oghuz group, the one that the Turkish originated from, migrated in the south-western direction, to present-day Iran and to Anatolia, the area that constitutes most of present-day Turkey.⁸⁹ During their migration they converted to Islam around the eleventh-century and adopted the Arabic alphabet. Around two centuries after, along with the influence of Persian – the language of bureaucracy and literature, and therefore the prestigious one – several elements of the two languages found their way into Oghuz-Turkish and formed what is today widely known as Ottoman Turkish. Named after the founder of the emirate that dominated Anatolia and evolved into the Ottoman Empire, Osman, literary Ottoman Turkish can be, according to Celia Kerslake, roughly divided into three periods: Old Ottoman or Old Anatolian Turkish (thirteenth–fifteenth centuries), Middle Ottoman (sixteenth–eighteenth centuries) and New Ottoman (nineteenth century–1928).⁹⁰ However recent studies have shown that what has been called by scholars as “spoken Ottoman” present more differentiated periodisation.⁹¹

Transcription texts, and therefore also a great part of Karamanlidika, are sources for “spoken Ottoman”,⁹² where developments are different, as noted in Hazai’s study on Harsany texts, which seem to prove that Middle Ottoman ends before the eighteenth-century.⁹³ The primary sources for this research were published throughout the second half of the eighteenth-century, so we would expect to come across a language very close to modern Turkish, since the passage from Middle to New Ottoman language development had been concluded around the eighteenth-century according to Kerslake’s periodisation and around the last quarter of the seventeenth-century according to Hazai,⁹⁴ therefore Modern Standard Turkish forms (MST), will be used for comparisons, when needed.

⁸⁹ Peter B. Golden, “The Turkic Peoples: A Historical Sketch,” in *The Turkic Languages*, eds. Lars Johanson, Eva A. Csàto (London-New York: Routledge, 1998), 16–29.

⁹⁰ See Celia Kerslake, “Ottoman Turkish” in *The Turkic Languages*, eds. Lars Johanson, Eva A. Csàto (London-New York: Routledge, 1998), 181.

⁹¹ Eva A. Csàto, Astrid Menz, Turan Fikret, eds. *Spoken Ottoman in Mediator Texts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016).

⁹² Bernt Brendemoen, “Karamanlidic Literature and its value as a source for spoken Turkish in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,” *Turkic Languages*, 20, no.1 (2016): 5–25.

⁹³ György Hazai, *Das Osmanisch-Türkische im XVII. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen an den Transkriptionstexten von Jakab Nagy de Harsany* (Akademiai Kiado, Budapest, 1975).

⁹⁴ See Hazai, *Transkriptionstexten von Jakab Nagy de Harsany*.

We should keep in mind though that the time of publication might not coincide with the time of writing. With the primary sources being at the threshold of Middle Ottoman to New Ottoman we would expect to come across older forms of language. A description of the morpho-phonology of Old Anatolian Turkish, the first form of Turkish in Anatolia, is important in order to understand and classify the language of the primary sources, and also its development, if any, through the years of publication.⁹⁵ Serapheim originated from Antalya and therefore we presuppose that he used a regional variety, which for sure will illustrate differences from the language of the economic and political centre of the era, Istanbul.⁹⁶

The suffix phonology of Old Anatolian Turkish had certain characteristics that differ from the Ottoman Period per se and, of course, from MST. These characteristics can be summarised as the existence of three vowel harmonies, instead of two in late Ottoman and MST. The modern Turkish fourfold harmony or {X} (> ı, i, u, ü) of late Ottoman and Modern Standard Turkish, is the outcome of the combination of the Illabial ({I} > i/ı) and the Labial Harmony ({U} > ü/u) we come across in Old Anatolian Turkish. The Palatal Harmony, which is realised as {A} > a/e, remained unchanged. Regarding consonants, the assimilation of consonants of the suffixes was usually not yet applied in Old Anatolian Turkish. Consequently, suffixes with an initial d- (e.g. the suffixes of Locative, Dative, Ablative and others) were not assimilated in terms of +voiced or -voiced with the previous phoneme. The phonology and morphology of the primary sources will be thoroughly discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

0.3.1. Texts in non-Arabic script and Karamanlidika

When referring to Turkish texts written in non-Arabic script (or “transcription

⁹⁵ Regarding the characteristics of Old Anatolian Turkish see Mecdut Mansuroğlu, “Das Alt-Osmanischen,” in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta I*, eds. Jean Deny, Kaare Grønbech, Helmuth Scheel, Zeki Velidi Togan (Wiesbaden, 1959), 161–182.

⁹⁶ For a classification of Turkish dialects see Caferoğlu, “Die Anatolischen und Rumelischen Dialekte” in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta I*, eds. Jean Deny, Kaare Grønbech, Helmuth Scheel, Zeki Velidi Togan (Wiesbaden, 1959), 239–260. Regarding the characteristics of Anatolian dialects see Hendrik Boeschoten, “Aspects of language variation,” in *Turkish linguistics today*, eds. Hendrik Boeschoten, Ludeo Verhove (Brill, 1991), 150–193; Bernt Brendemoen, “Turkish dialects,” in *The Turkic Languages*, eds. Lars Johanson, Eva A. Csàto (London-New York: Routledge, 1998), 326–241.

texts”), we are talking about very heterogeneous material containing Turkish texts written in Armenian, Georgian, Hebrew, Cyrillic, Latin, Greek and Syriac alphabets.⁹⁷ The importance of these texts cannot be emphasised enough, since they constitute valuable sources of knowledge about the linguistic history of Turkish,⁹⁸ illustrating a transitional linguistic period for Ottoman Turkish known as Middle Ottoman,⁹⁹ and about the cultural and general history of minorities in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰⁰

The earliest existing evidence of Turkic language written in Latin characters is the *Codex Cumanicus*, written in Kipchak Turkic around the early fourteenth-century.¹⁰¹ It is believed that it was written during two different periods, partly in Crimea in the monastery of Saint John near Sarai and partly in a Franciscan monastery in South Russia by German Franciscan friars.¹⁰² Although Kipchak Turkic vanished as a literary language, other variations developed written forms, such as Karaim and Armeno-Kipchak,¹⁰³ also known as Armeno-Turkish.¹⁰⁴ The *Codex Cumanicus* consists of 164 pages in modern pagination (instead of the old 82 r-v folios) and consists of three parts. The first part (pages 1–111, also referred to as the “Italian” part) has a secular character and probably functioned as a

⁹⁷ György Hazai, “Die Denkmäler des osmanisch-türkeitürkischen in nicht-arabischen Schriften,” in *Handbuch der türkischen Sprachwissenschaft I*, ed. György Hazai (Budapest: Wiesbaden, 1990), 63.

⁹⁸ Hazai, “Die Denkmäler des osmanisch-türkeitürkischen,” 67. Hazai mentions that the study of such monuments has contributed much to our knowledge concerning the phonology of Turkish. Also see Kappler “Toward a Linguistic Approach,” 656.

⁹⁹ Celia Kerslake, “Ottoman Turkish,” 183.

¹⁰⁰ Gavriel 2000: 202; Gavriel, “Οι προλόγοι της Καραμανλίδικης και της Ελληνικής έκδοσης,” 379; Hazai, “Die Denkmäler des osmanisch-türkeitürkischen,” 67.

¹⁰¹ Lars Johanson, “The History of Turkic,” in *The Turkic Languages*, eds. Lars Johanson, Eva A. Csàto (London-New York: Routledge, 1998), 86. Kipchak Turkic and Oghuz Turkic (the family of modern Turkish) comprise the group of West Middle Turkic languages.

¹⁰² Louis Ligeti, “Prolegomena,” in *Codex Cumanicus*, ed. Géza Kuun (Budapest: Budapestini Scient. Academiae Hung, 1981), 8.

¹⁰³ Johanson, “The History of Turkic,” 86.

¹⁰⁴ Apparently there is confusion about these terms, since there is also what is called Armeno-Ottoman (or Turkish). The authors, though, do not distinguish between them. Concerning this issue, see Andras Rona-Tas, “Turkic writing systems,” in *The Turkic Languages*, eds. Lars Johanson, Eva A. Csàto (London-New York: Routledge, 1998), 135. The Armenian script was used for ecclesiastical and secular writings by some Kipchak groups that had become Christians. After the migration of the Armenians to Asia Minor, some groups adopted the Armenian script. On Middle Kipchak, see Arpad Berta, “West Kipchak Languages,” in *The Turkic Languages*, eds. Lars Johanson, Eva A. Csàto, (London-New York: Routledge, 1998), 301–317.

handbook for trade. The second part consists of eight blank pages (111–118). The third part (pages 118–164, also referred to as the “German” part) contains mostly religious texts in prose and verse, and it is likely that it was written by several different people.¹⁰⁵

Concerning Ottoman Turkish, the first evidence of “texts in non-Arabic script” comes from the sixteenth-century when several Europeans showed interest in learning the language, mainly for practical reasons. Thus, the first publications consist of dictionaries and grammars of Turkish written in Latin script.¹⁰⁶ These publications are written in several languages, including Italian, French, English and Latin.¹⁰⁷ The problem of these editions is the degree to which each of the editors/writers had mastered Turkish, and the reliability of each book depends upon the skill and accuracy of these individuals.¹⁰⁸ The books offer valuable insights into the representation of Turkish vowels during those early times when Arabic script was not very helpful. Apart from the absence of vowels, Ottoman Turkish used a historical and, therefore, ambiguous writing system.¹⁰⁹ The existence of certain phonemes in Turkish that are absent from European languages made the situation complicated, since the publications represented Turkish vowels but, in the early editions, only partially,¹¹⁰ with later publications being more accurate regarding vowel representation. As twentieth-century linguistic research shows, every interlocutor comprehends sounds according to the phonetic values of his or her own language,¹¹¹ and often the inability of authors to comprehend and represent the Turkish phonemes created inconsistencies.

Karamanlidika, in comparison with other Turkish “texts in non-Arabic script”, like texts in Cyrillic or Armenian, use typographical accents (the acute, the grave and the circumflex), thus providing information, when they are used correctly,

¹⁰⁵ Ligeti, “Prolegomena,” 8–13.

¹⁰⁶ Kerslake, “Ottoman Turkish,” 183.

¹⁰⁷ For a study concerning Greek-Ottoman grammars and dictionaries of the nineteenth-century, see Kappler, “Konflikt und Ideologie.”

¹⁰⁸ Kerslake, “Ottoman Turkish,” 183.

¹⁰⁹ Yavuz Kartallıoğlu, “The vowels of Turkish in Transcription Texts,” *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 17 (2005): 88–91. See also Robert Anhegger, “On transcribing Ottoman texts,” *Manuscript of the Middle East* 3 (1988): 12.

¹¹⁰ Anhegger, “On transcribing Ottoman texts,” 12.

¹¹¹ Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems* (The Hague/Paris/New York: Mouton Publishers, 1963), 14.

about word stress, pitch or intonation.¹¹²

As every alphabet had its own shortcomings, also Greek script was not accurate in the representation of some phonemes, such as /ü/, /ö/ and the back /ɪ/, due to the absence of these vowels from the Greek phonological system and subsequently from Greek script. Efforts to solve these peculiarities were made for many years. For the first time in 1826, the BFBS, used diacritical symbols to render the sounds of Turkish¹¹³ in an edition of the New Testament.¹¹⁴ The BFBS and the ABCFM were very much in favour of employing a variety of alphabets for unwritten languages or modifying alphabets in order to create phonetic representations of languages in order make proselytism easier.¹¹⁵ This was an outcome of their belief that in order to reach their main goal, they had to provide the local Christians with religious texts in their language, written in a local alphabet that enjoyed status within and outside of the literate community – and thus using that also enabled swift and broad acceptance in some communities. They therefore devoted their attention to education and printing before anything else.¹¹⁶

Finally, the Karamanlidika texts offer dialectologists unexpected insights into spoken Turkish of the Ottoman period because they are often written by native speakers, and in the case of the primary sources of this study, written by native Turkophone Orthodox people of Anatolia addressing their own.

0.4. Ottoman Empire and printing in the eighteenth-century

During the eighteenth-century, the Ottoman Empire experienced many changes at

¹¹² Eftychios Gavriel, “Transcription Problems of Karamanlidika Texts,” in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books Proceedings of the First International Conference of Karamanlidika Studies. Nicosia 11-13.09.2008*, eds. Evangelia Balta, Matthias Kappler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010a), 257.

¹¹³ Eckmann “Yunan harfli Karamanlı,” 29–30; Eckmann, “Die karamanische Literatur,” 2; Anhegger “Hurufumuz Yunanca,” 171; Clogg, “The publication and distribution of Karamanli texts,” 178; Clogg, “A Millet within a Millet,” 120; Kappler, “Note a proposito,” 320.

¹¹⁴ S.D.I, 64, *Ραπί Ισα ελ μεσινχιν αχδι τζεδιδινιν γιουνανι λισανινδαν τουρκ λισανινά τερτζουμеси* [Rabb-i İsa el Mesihin Ahd-i Cedidinin Yunan-i lisanından Türk lisanına Tercümesi].

¹¹⁵ Stephen Neil, *A history of Christian Missions* (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1964), 254; Robert Leon Cooper, *Language planning and social change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 126. It is notable that the British missionaries edited the Gospel in 872 languages.

¹¹⁶ Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written language*, 84–85.

all levels. The Empire saw five new sultans during the eighteenth-century alone. This was the time the Empire first opened itself to Europe and the innovations coming from there. At that time the territories of the Empire included the Balkans, present-day Turkey, the majority of the Middle East and some territories in North Africa.¹¹⁷

The first half of the eighteenth-century and more precisely the second half of the reign of Ahmed III (1703–1730) – while Ibrahim Pasha (1718–1730) was Grand Vizier – was a time of patronage of art and architecture, with great venues that included poetry events, the creation of fabulous gardens, libraries and the introduction of the first Ottoman Turkish printing house, along with conspicuous consumption of wealth. This time is widely known as ‘The Tulip Era’, an era which ended abruptly with the uprising of some Janissaries in 1730.¹¹⁸

The Ottoman Empire’s steady decline was seen in the loss of territories and problems with tax collection, with the weakness of authority being visible even in the position of the sultan. It is indicative that after fall of Ahmed III the sultan changed four times up to 1789 when Selim III took the throne. During his reign, the long dispute with Russia about the territories of the Black Sea, lasting more than 20 years, ended with Russian victory after a five-year war (1787–1792).¹¹⁹

Cyprus, where Serapheim started his publishing activities and to which he had close bonds throughout his life, was also a province of the Ottoman Empire and was not very different in terms of administration from the rest of the Empire. The administrative status of the island changed 78 times during the course of the eighteenth-century as a result of experimentation by the authorities in order to get to grips with the numerous bureaucratic, administrative and fiscal problems present.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, the island enjoyed a high degree of administrative independence which meant that, as long as the taxes were collected and paid, the

¹¹⁷ Erik J. Zürcher, *Σύγχρονη Ιστορία της Τουρκίας* (Αθήνα: Αλεξάνδρεια, 2004), 53.

¹¹⁸ Kemal Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies Department, 1994), 121–127.

¹¹⁹ Zürcher, *Σύγχρονη Ιστορία της Τουρκίας*, 64–65.

¹²⁰ Antonis Hadjikyriacou, “Society and Economy on an Ottoman Island: Cyprus in the Eighteenth-century” (Ph.D. diss, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2011), 137.

centre of imperial power did not interfere with the island's internal affairs.¹²¹

0.4.1. Printing presses and the printing of Greek books

As already mentioned, the first Ottoman Turkish printing house was opened in Istanbul in 1729, almost three hundred years after such developments started in Europe. The establishment was named after its founder, İbrahim Müteferrika, and remained active for sixteen years. After the death of Müteferrika in 1745 the printing house fell into disuse until it reopened in 1756. According to Yasemin Gencer, putting the Scriptures into print was unholy and therefore not permissible, and this was the main reason that the first printing house did not print any religious texts and then fell into disuse.¹²² It is generally believed that printing presses were banned in the Ottoman Empire, and this is why the first printing house opened so much later than in Europe. According to the recent study by Kathryn A. Schwartz, however, the common belief that printing was banned by the sultans has no grounds, as there are no official documents to prove it. In fact, the surviving documents prove that such a restriction did not exist. Müteferrika's printing house closed because no one took over the permit and Schwartz's study attributes the established the notion of sultans banning printing to Western scholars.¹²³

Concerning non-Muslims, in 1493 permission was granted to two Jewish brothers to print books in the Jewish language. Later on, Armenians and Greeks followed suit.¹²⁴ The Christian Orthodox Patriarchate had already been engaged in printing since the seventeenth-century; although the printers never used the title of 'Patriarchal printing house', mainly for political reasons. This title, however, was officially used for the first time in 1798, when the Patriarchate set up its own printing establishment in Istanbul.¹²⁵

The absence of printing establishments was probably the factor that pushed

¹²¹ Hadjikyriacou, "Cyprus in the Eighteenth-century", 134.

¹²² Yasemin Gencer, "İbrahim Müteferrika and the age of Printed Manuscript," in *The Islamic Manuscript Tradition*, ed. Christiane Gruber (Indianapolis: Bloomington, 2010), 155.

¹²³ See Kathryn A. Schwartz, "Did Ottoman Sultans Ban Print?," *Book History* 20 (2017): 1–39.

¹²⁴ Gencer, "İbrahim Müteferrika," 155.

¹²⁵ Concerning the printing establishment of the Patriarchate, see Giorgos Mpokos, *Ta prōta Ellēniká Typογραφεία στο χώρο της "Καθ' ημάς Ανατολής" (1627–1827)* (Αθήνα: Ελληνικό Λογοτεχνικό και Ιστορικό Αρχείο, 1997), 201–263.

people interested in printing books to Venice, a city that by the eighteenth-century had not only a long tradition in typography but also printing houses owned by Greeks, surely a decisive factor especially for religious circles.

Printing in Venice had become well established since its beginnings in the sixteenth-century. The printers were liable to strict regulations and under the supervision of the *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova*, founded in 1516 as autonomous administrative body. This body was responsible for monitoring the printers in order to maintain high standards.¹²⁶ In fact, the printers promoted their jobs by advertising those high standards, based mainly on the use of good-quality types.¹²⁷

Greek printing in Venice during the eighteenth-century was dominated by two printing houses, those of Nikolaos Glykis, a merchant from Greece, and Antonio Bortoli, an Italian who bought a printing house also belonging to a Greek merchant. These two printing houses printed the great majority of eighteenth-century Karamanlidika books and almost all the sources used for this research.¹²⁸ Venice had the largest Greek population in the West for over 400 years, and subsequently, aided by the long tradition Venice had in printing, the first Greek printing houses were founded. The demands from the Anatolians for liturgical books was such that it constituted the mainstay of Greek printing in Venice. Add this to the fact that the Ottoman authorities neither objected to the importation of religious materials,¹²⁹ nor created obstacles to travelling in a westerly direction, and an important business advantage was created.¹³⁰

Nikolaos Glykis wanted to expand his business, so he bought the printing house

¹²⁶ The Greek printers seem to have enjoyed exceptions in quality controls due to the difficulty of finding and employing correctors for Greek language. Aikaterini Koumariou, Loukia Droulia, and Evro Layton, *To Ελληνικό Βιβλίο 1476–1830* (Αθήνα: Εθνική Τράπεζα της Ελλάδος, 1986), 72–73. Of course, these exceptions cannot be completely disassociated from the fact that Venice was the main place for printing in Greek, a quite profitable industry.

¹²⁷ Yorgos Veloudes, *Το ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκίδων στη Βενετία 1670–1854, συμβολή στη μελέτη του ελληνικού βιβλίου κατά την Τουρκοκρατία* (Αθήνα: Μπούρας, 1987), 43.

¹²⁸ Apart from one printed in Leipzig in 1758 for reasons I will mention below.

¹²⁹ Staikos, K.P., *Εκδοτικά Τυπογραφικά σήματα των βιβλίων του Ελληνικού κόσμου (1494–1821)* (Εκδόσεις Ατων, 2009), xix.

¹³⁰ Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 30.

of Orsino Alibrizzi in 1670 and, along with the equipment, he inherited the copyrights for certain books.¹³¹ His main rival was another Greek merchant, Nikolaos Saros,¹³² who in 1707 sold his operation to Girolamo Bortoli, son of Antonio,¹³³ thus starting a story of rivalry that lasted over 80 years.

In 1712, Bortoli bought the printing house of the Italian Francesco Juliani, aiming to become the only printer of Greek materials.¹³⁴ The copyrights of the religious titles were the main cause of the two printers' rivalry, since for a number of reasons those copyrights were somewhat of a Holy Grail. Whoever had the copyrights had also the rights of economic exploitation for a number of years, often decades, thus creating a kind of monopoly.¹³⁵ The Greek religious titles were, at that time, a sure success since Christians (mainly those under Ottoman rule) wanted to have a religious book in their possession even if they did not know how to read it.¹³⁶ The best sellers among the religious books, like the Psalterion or the various Anthologies (i.e. *Apanthismata*, which were collections of important religious texts like theology, gospel parts, prayers, hymns, commentary), had guaranteed absorption even for big print runs of 1000 or 2000 copies,¹³⁷ undeniably a huge lure for the printers in eighteenth-century Venice.¹³⁸ The Anthologies were based on the idea that their content was all a Christian needed to know,¹³⁹ and in eighteenth-century Asia Minor, when knowledge of faith was declining and education was at a low level, this was a sold-out product, even

¹³¹ Concerning Glykis printing house see Koumarianou, Droulia and Layton, "Το Ελληνικό βιβλίο," 135–157; and Veloudes, *Το ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκήδων*.

¹³² Regarding the printing house of Nikolaos Saros, see Koumarianou, Droulia and Layton, "Το Ελληνικό βιβλίο," 157–158.

¹³³ Regarding the printing house of Antonio broccoli, see Koumarianou, Droulia and Layton, "Το Ελληνικό βιβλίο," 158–160.

¹³⁴ Veloudes, *Το ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκήδων*, 31. See also Staikos, *Εκδοτικά Τυπογραφικά σήματα*, xvi.

¹³⁵ For the issue of monopoly in Venice, see Koumarianou, Droulia and Layton, "Το Ελληνικό βιβλίο," 73–94.

¹³⁶ Koumarianou, Droulia and Layton, "Το Ελληνικό βιβλίο," 76.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 76, 92, 201, 206–207. Also, see Veloudes, *Το ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκήδων*, 99–103.

¹³⁸ Concerning the rivalry of the two printers over the copyrights, see Veloudes, *Το ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκήδων*, 32–33.

¹³⁹ Pinelopi Stathi, "Και πάλι τα καραμανλίδικα ως μέσο έκφρασης των Μικρασιατών Ορθοδόξων. Δύο χειρόγραφα του 18ου αιώνα," in *Εξερευνήσεις στα χειρόγραφα της Γεννάδειου Βιβλιοθήκης*, eds. Μαρία Λ. Πολίτη, Ελένη Παππά (Princeton: New Jersey, 2011), 88.

though the reason was often simply to keep it at home like a proof of faith.

The rivalry ended in 1788, when the Bortoli printing house closed. The decline of the printing house had begun in 1774, when the grandson of Antonio Bortoli, Francesco, died, after dominating the field for around 25 years. The Glykis printing house took over again, as it had in the first half of the century.¹⁴⁰

Printing a book in Venice

The printing of a book needed, first of all, money. Finding the financial means for an edition was not an easy task if the book was not one of the bestselling religious books. If that was the case, the printers often bore the cost, an action they advertised on the front of the book as a financial sacrifice. The truth is that this was an idealisation of an action that eventually profited the financier. The second route was that funding came from another organisation like monasteries, guilds or groups of different types, and a third one was that the cost had to be covered by the writer of the book.¹⁴¹ Covering the printing cost through subscriptions was a further option, an innovation of the Bortoli printing house.¹⁴² The initiative could come from the writer himself, the printer or an organised group. Again, this was no easy task because, to cover the printing costs of a book, at least 300 subscribers were needed, as this was a time in which books were not cheap. Indicative of this situation is the fact that Glykis was asking for two-thirds of the general cost in advance before undertaking any job.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, groups like monasteries commonly used to buy a large number of copies in order to allocate them as they wished.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ For a yearly list of Greek book production and printers in Venice for the years 1670–1854, see Veloudes, *Το ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκήδων*, 133–138.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, 104–106. It was also possible for the writer to achieve the printing of his book according to his wishes after a private deal with the printer, see Veloudes *Το ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκήδων*, 67. See also Sklavenites, Triantafyllos E, “Ανθολόγια και συνθετικές εκδόσεις λειτουργικού βιβλίων (16ος-19ος αιώνας),” in *Το έντυπο ελληνικό βιβλίο 15ος-19ος αιώνας*, Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Δελφοί 16–20 Μαΐου 2001, eds. Λουκία Δρούλια, Γιάννης Κόκκωνας, Τριαντάφυλλος Σκλαβενίτης, Κωνσταντίνος Στάικος (Αθήνα: Κότινος, 2004), 181.

¹⁴² Koumariannou, Droulia and Layton, “Το Ελληνικό βιβλίο,” 206.

¹⁴³ Stylianos Perdikis, *Η Μονή Κύκκου, ο Αρχιμανδρίτης Κυπριανός και ο Τυπογράφος Μιχαήλ Γλυκής*, Πηγαί και Μελέται Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου 1, (Λευκωσία, 1989), 50.

¹⁴⁴ For the financial support of printing in Venice, see Veloudes *Το ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκήδων*, 106–114.

When the financial issues were settled the book would receive a permit from the *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova* and proceed to printing after one month at the latest, but this timetable was often subject to the interest of the printer, specifically if he had reasons to finish the printing earlier. If the book was a best-selling title, the printers often started to print the book before they received the permit but if the print run was not for a best-seller, the printer might start long after the one-month allowance. The printing of a book needed to take one to three months in order to be financially affordable since books that took longer than three months to print became too expensive. After printing was concluded, copies of the book had to be submitted to public libraries and the title was added to the register of the printers' guild.¹⁴⁵

0.5. History of research (status quaestionis)

Taking as starting point and main subject the eighteenth-century Turkophone cleric Serapheim, the present thesis will attempt to analyse the language used in his Karamanlidika books. The method will comprise a linguistic analysis that will include phonetics, phonology, morphology, and word order based on translation techniques. A sociolinguistic perspective will be employed in order to connect Serapheim's life with linguistic findings but also in an effort to interpret the cause, strategy and impact of this material. Therefore, this research is primarily concerned with what is known as transcription texts, and more precisely Karamanlidika. Strictly speaking, Karamanlidika is a graphic phenomenon of the Ottoman language, so we are dealing with Turkish linguistics and cultural history. Yet the people who used these texts were Christian Orthodox and the sources used here are religious texts only, therefore the relation between language and religion will be examined in terms of religious texts. My intention is to address cultural issues surrounding Karamanlidika and matters of Turkish linguistics, which will be analysed further in the following chapters along with the historical background needed to explain specific findings.

0.5.1. Karamanlidika history and printing

¹⁴⁵ See Veloudes, *Το ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκῆδων*, 76–79.

The majority of studies that have been carried out up to today on Karamanlidika are mainly concerned with the history of the Turkophone Orthodox community and of book history. The most important work is the compilation of the Karamanlidika bibliography, the six-volume work by Salaville & Dalleggio (1958, 1966, 1974) and Evangelia Balta (1987a, 1987b, 1997a). The latter scholar has published numerous articles concerning Karamanlidika printing and history. The articles examine how the Turkophone Orthodox people of Anatolia described themselves in terms of ethnic identity in the introductions of their books (Balta 1987c), book history and press (Balta 1997b, 2005, 2009; Balta 1988, 2010b) and general articles about Karamanlidika (Balta 2000), just to mention some of the topics. Evangelia Balta has also published several books on Karamanlidika (Balta 2010a, 2011, 2013). Balta's research, which is largely based on archival sources and primary material (and Salaville & Dalleggio, concerning the Karamanlidika bibliography), is focused on the preservation of this culture and provides grounds for further research.

Another scholar engaged in the field of Karamanlidika history and printing is Richard Clogg, with studies concerning the Karamanlidika publications of the BFBS (Clogg 1968) and their Bible translations (Clogg 2011), and articles about the history of the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia (Clogg 1982, 1996, 1999).

In the same field but taking a more cultural perspective are the articles published by Robert Anhegger (Anhegger 1979–1980, 1983, 1988, 1991), who also transcribed a Karamanlidika book into Modern Standard Turkish (Anhegger & Günyol 1986).

The field of Karamanlidika studies in general displays a newly developed interest, with three international workshops organised the last ten years. The First International Conference on Karamanlidika, was held in Cyprus in September 2008.¹⁴⁶ The workshop Between Religion and Language was held in Istanbul in June 2010. There, presentations on Karamanlidika Armeno-Turkish, Hebrew-

¹⁴⁶ The proceedings of the conference have been published, see Evangelia Balta and Matthias Kappler, eds, *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Karamanlidika Studies. Nicosia 11-13.09.2008* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010).

Turkish and Aljamiado texts were given,¹⁴⁷ and in November 2013 the Third International Workshop of Karamanlidika Studies was organised by Evangelia Balta and Mehmet Ölmez in Uçhisar Cappadocia.¹⁴⁸ In all three conferences the various contributions illustrated the groundwork that still needs to be done in the field but also the need for methods that will associate Karamanlidika with the various similar phenomena and that will make them accessible to a wider audience.

0.5.2. Karamanlidika linguistics

As mentioned above, most studies on Karamanlidika focus on history, and book history in particular. Linguistic studies on Karamanlidika, however, are scarce and this remains a neglected field.¹⁴⁹ The articles by János Eckmann published around 1950 (Eckmann 1950a, 1950b, 1951, 1953, 1958, 1964) and the comments by Mollova, criticising Eckmann's argumentation of a Karamanli language (Mollova 1979–1980), form a useful starting point for the study of the dialectology of these texts. Eckmann's work formed the basis of a 1974 PhD dissertation by Michael Miller on the writing system of Karamanlidika. As noted by Kappler, this attempt to portray the Karamanlidika varieties of Turkish as a separate language (based on Eckmann's publications) takes the issue of Karamanlidika's distinct characteristics to absurd dimensions.¹⁵⁰ During the second half of the twentieth-century nothing else was published on the linguistic aspects, but the opinion that Karamanlidika was a kind of “language” of its own has been maintained in non-linguistic publications (e.g. Tekin 1984: 181, Kut 1987: 342) though no else has tried to provide a basis for this classification. Robert Anhegger in 1980 led the Karamanlidika discussion back to what it should be – to a discussion about a graphical-cultural phenomenon (Anhegger 1979–1980: 167).

Further linguistic publications appeared as late as the beginning of the 21st

¹⁴⁷ The proceedings of the workshop have been published; see Evangelia Balta and Mehmet Ölmez, eds, *Between Religion and Language: Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: Eren, 2011).

¹⁴⁸ The proceedings of the workshop have been published; see Evangelia Balta, ed, *Cultural Encounters in the Turkish-Speaking Communities of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2014).

¹⁴⁹ Kappler “Toward a Linguistic Approach,” 662.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. the critical remarks by Kappler “Toward a Linguistic Approach,” 660.

century, with studies by Kappler on the Karamanlidika musical anthologies (Kappler 2002), on “graphematics” (Kappler 2003), namely dealing solely with the alphabet (graphemes) used in Karamanlidika sources without associating further with phonetics or phonology, on the linguistic aspects of Karamanlidika (Kappler 2006), on how the terms applied to Karamanlidika were used (Kappler 2016) and by Brendemoen (2016) regarding the value of Karamanlidika as a source for spoken Turkish in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The collective conference volume Balta & Kappler 2010, where the proceedings of the First International Conference on Karamanlidika were published, includes two articles on linguistic matters, one linguistic analysis of a Karamanlidika codex by Brendemoen (Brendemoen 2010), one on the transcription issues of Karamanlidika by Eftychios Gavriel (Gavriel 2010a). Balta and Ölmez (2011), containing the proceedings of the workshop *Between Religion and Language*, does not include any linguistic presentations on Karamanlidika, but Balta (2014), which published the proceedings of the Third International Workshop of Karamanlidika Studies and some additional studies, includes three of them – one by Matthias Kappler concerning the relation of a Turkish grammar book to Karamanlidika (Kappler 2014), one by the author of the present work concerning the sociolinguistic aspects of the Karamanlidika periodical *Αγγελιαφόρος Τζοτζουκλάρ ιτζούν* (Irakleous 2014), and one by Oxana Efrosinia Trandafilova-Louka (2014) about the relation of Karamanlidika and Gagauz publications from the linguistic perspective.

0.5.3. Serapheim Attaliates

The history of research regarding Serapheim includes works on his life, his publications and published primary sources. The first information about Serapheim’s life was published by Danieloglou (Danieloglou 1865), which forms the first extensive biography of Serapheim. Serapheim was highly esteemed within the Turkophone Christian community, since his various editions and re-editions of books and his restless life and actions played a significant role in the development of the community. The information given in Danieloglou’s work is partly reproduced by others (cf. Sathas 1868: 515–516, Dimitrakopoulos 1872: 189) but the dates mentioned are not always in accordance from one source to another, since

none of the aforementioned reference provided primary sources. After a chapter in a publication in Cyprus about Greek letters in Cyprus (Filippou 1930), the next biographical article comes as late as 1987 (Papacharalambous 1987). In this contribution we find the false claim that Serapheim was of Cypriot origin, based on his name Pissidios, arguing that it comes from a rural region in Cyprus.¹⁵¹ Serapheim himself mentions in the introduction of one of his books (IPK1753:6) the fact he was born in Anatolia.¹⁵² After 2000, we have three publications containing biographical information (see Stathi 2004, Theocharides 2010b, Kokkinoftas 2011, 131–143) with the latter being most thorough work published until today.

Serapheim's publications were also a subject of research from time to time but a full list of his publications has never been presented, since researchers chose to present only Greek publications or only Karamanlidika, while others cite only some examples. Examples in Greek and Karamanlidika can be found in Sathas 1868, Filippou 1930, Theocharides 2010b (complete for Karamanlidika), while a full list of Karamanlidika publications can be also found in Gavriel 2001, Stathi 2004. The only attempt to utilise every Serapheim publication was by Kitromilides (2002, 246–250).

In the field of published primary sources, we see Deligiannis (1927) and Theocharides (2010b) publishing the very few existing (or found) samples of Serapheim's personal correspondence. In 1996 two ecclesiastical hymns devoted to the Virgin Mary and written by Serapheim were published by Hadjisolomos. Recently a Karamanlidika document that was prepared by Serapheim and used for fundraising by the monastery of Kykkos was published by the author of the present study (Irakleous 2015).

None of the aforementioned works adds to the linguistic study of Serapheim's language or to the sociolinguistic contextualisation of his works, a task that the

¹⁵¹ This false claim is reproduced in Solon Hadjisolomos, “Δύο άγνωστοι ύμνοι του 18ου αι. προς τιμήν της Παναγίας του Κύκκου” in *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου* (Λευκωσία: Κέντρο Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου, 1996) as well.

¹⁵² See also Eckmann “Anadolu Karamanlı Ağızlarına,” 165–200, Loizos Filippou *Τα ελληνικά γράμματα εν Κύπρω κατά την περίοδο της Τουρκοκρατίας (1571–1878)* (Λευκωσία, 1930), 121–125; Gavriel, “Οι προλόγοι της Καραμανλίδικης και της Ελληνικής έκδοσης,” 380.

present research will focus on.

0.6. The present study

As mentioned earlier, the present study consists of three parts, Serapheim's life and work, a linguistic analysis of his books in terms of graphematics, phonetics, phonology and analysis on morphology, vocabulary and translation techniques. In all three a sociolinguistic interpretation of the policies that governed these books will be attempted.

For the first objective, a re-evaluation of previous works regarding Serapheim and his activities will be conducted, while further research on primary sources and examination of the content of the books is expected to bring new information to light. The information about Serapheim's life and work that one can find in previous works is based mainly on secondary sources, with his books, and their introductions especially, remaining still unexploited.

For the discourse of linguistic analysis, the phonology and the morphology of Serapheim's books will be studied in order to address dialectal issues and the diachronic development of Turkish. Since Serapheim originated from the southwestern provinces of Asia Minor and given the fact that the eighteenth-century Karamanlidika editions preserve aspects of oral speech (Brendemoen 2016), the language is very likely to be similar to the Anatolian dialects analysed by Korkmaz (1956, 1977) and Karahan (1996). The analysis and comparison will more precisely place Serapheim's language on the dialectal map of the region, comparing it both with MST and perhaps modern developments of Turkish.¹⁵³

Regarding vocabulary and translations techniques, an effort will be made to describe the form and extent of Greek influence on the language based on passages that occur both in Greek and Turkish. With the main corpus consisting mostly of translations from Greek liturgical books there may thus be a more pronounced influence from Greek. It was proven before that especially in the translations of books of religious character, i.e. dogmatic or doctrinal texts, the effort made for the best possible accuracy results in cases where the outcome is a word order that

¹⁵³ Johanson, "The History of Turkic," 108.

seems “unnatural” in the target language.¹⁵⁴ Previous research suggested that Serapheim’s writing contained both (Turkish) dialectal influence and influences from Greek.¹⁵⁵ Concerning vocabulary, through the utilisation of Serapheim’s texts and the comparison to other works on the religious vocabulary of Karamanlidika books, such as Luffin (2010) and Strauss (2014), an effort will be made to trace the intentions, techniques and traditions that provided the religious vocabulary.

The third objective, the sociolinguistic analysis, will focus on the relation between language and religion in terms of who is writing books and for whom they are destined. This analysis’ main focus will be the language of the rituals described in Serapheim’s books. The utilisation of the phonology and morphology will enable us to position the language of the books in the dialectal map of Turkish but also to the diachronic developments of language. Possible differentiations in the language, namely the use of archaisms or older forms words especially in the parts where rituals are described, might point to direction certain ideologies regarding language, and especially the one eased in religious environments.

In the sociolinguistic analysis we will try to explore, through re-interpreting previous findings, whether Serapheim tried to give an “aura of sacredness”¹⁵⁶ to his texts and employ a variety of language destined to serve for religious purposes. This will be done by investigating the history of Serapheim’s role as a cleric, the translation techniques and the role of printing. Also of importance is his ideology and beliefs regarding his community, his intentions when producing and publishing these texts,¹⁵⁷ and the community’s linguistic situation, as this information can be gleaned from the introductions (prologues) of his books. The main reasoning

¹⁵⁴ Karl H. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples. An Introduction to Turkic Studies* (Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden 1995), 182. See also Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written language*, on the case of Urmia Aramaic, where the translations carry elements of the target languages Classical Syriac or Hebrew and the syntax remains unchanged.

¹⁵⁵ Kappler, “Note a proposito.”

¹⁵⁶ Term as described by Charles Ferguson, “Religious Factors in Language Spread,” in *Language Spread, studies in Diffusion and Social change*, ed. Leon R. Cooper (Indiana: Bloomington, 1982), 96–97.

¹⁵⁷ As has been pointed out before, the social and educational background of each author is of crucial importance in studying Karamanlidika; see Anhegger, “Hurunfumuz Yunanca,” 189; Anhegger, “On transcribing Ottoman texts,” 12–14; Kappler, “Note a proposito,” 332; Gavriel, “Transcription Problems of Karamanlidika Texts,” 259. The social and educational background affects many of the non-structural factors of language contact, see Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*, 5.

provided in the prologues for producing those books was the intellectual decay of Anatolian Christians, but was this really the case, or was the decay something interpreted as such by religious circles? Finally, a number of non-structural factors as described by Weinreich (1970) must be taken into consideration, but also other sociolinguistic factors like the “social values” Weinreich describes, for example. An interlocutor, in this case Serapheim, might use loanwords from Greek as means of displaying the social status of Greek over Turkish, considering Greek to be more prestigious since it is the language of Orthodox Christianity.¹⁵⁸ On the basis of these results, an attempt will be made to characterise Serapheim’s work within the theme of language and religion.

0.6.1. Major question and hypothesis

Serapheim Attaliates’ life and work are worth further study. Serapheim was an eighteenth-century bishop and monk who served in Asia Minor and Cyprus, and who was in charge as translator or editor of a very substantial part of the Karamanlidika production of religious books in the eighteenth-century. The published works so far, presented in 0.1.3., provide an overview of his life and work. However, Serapheim’s writings warrant more detailed research, not only for the printing aspect but also for the linguistic characteristics of his writing. These include the dialectal features of his language and syntax structures other than standard or dialectal ones, that are probably a result of Greek influence.

The major question of this thesis, therefore, is what do Serapheim’s works tell us about the form and function of Karamanlidika in the Anatolian context, about its connection to the Turkish Anatolian dialects and about the wider historical and cultural context of the Christian Turkophone Orthodox of the region? The main hypothesis is that Serapheim’s works might reflect a conscious use of the everyday speech in the Anatolian Turkish dialect of the south-western region in the eighteenth-century rather than the ornate Ottoman Turkish language used by the elite. As will be discussed later on, Serapheim travelled around most of his life, so it is possible that the analysis might reveal linguistic elements from other areas as well. Furthermore, with the books being translated from Greek and being of a

¹⁵⁸ Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*, 59.

religious nature, they are expected to illustrate Greek elements at various levels and use techniques connected to the translation of religious material. By studying these sources, one can reconstruct, at a certain level, people's vernacular, which is always very different from written language. The use of vernacular was a way to propagate Christian morals and ideas in a period in which, according to the clergy, most of the lay people were uneducated and therefore "losing track of their faith".¹⁵⁹ Furthermore it is possible that the "vernacular technique" is inverted when citing prayers or the procedure of rituals, by introducing archaisms, neologisms and terms that would be difficult to use outside religious environment.

0.7. Theoretical and methodological approaches

0.7.1. *Karamanlidika studies*

It is important that Serapheim's literary production is studied as a whole, as a valuable contribution to the cultural history of the Turkophone Orthodox Christians of the period. Although this is primarily a piece of linguistic research, one should keep in mind that Karamanlidika is a practical means of communication and a multilateral phenomenon, so many other aspects should be taken into consideration. The people who used Karamanlidika in many respects can be seen as a "syncretic" community¹⁶⁰ that wrote Turkish with the Greek alphabet. This Turkish language, in turn, displayed several varieties as well as influence from other languages.¹⁶¹ In order to understand and delve fully into Karamanlidika, one

¹⁵⁹ Stathi, "Τα τουρκογραϊκὰ βιβλία," 337.

¹⁶⁰ Regarding Karamanlidika and syncretism see Matthias Kappler, "«Le nostre lettere sono greche, ma parliamo il turco» 'Karamanlidika' e altri casi di sincretismo grafico in ambiente ottomano," in *Contatti di lingue - Contatti di Scritture*, eds. Daniele Baglioni & Olga Tribulato, Edizioni Ca' Foscari, Venice 2015, 219-238. The term means "combining." Syncretism is used primarily in the context of religion as the attempt to put together contrary beliefs, often using practices of various schools of thought. Syncretism may involve attempts to merge several originally discrete traditions; see Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw, "Introduction: problematizing syncretism," in *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis* eds. Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 1. Syncretism also poses historical questions concerning roots, cultural contacts and received influences; see Charles Stewart, "Syncretism as a dimension of nationalist discourse in modern Greece" in *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism: The Politics of Religious Synthesis* eds. Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 128. Here, its use is extended to a cultural linguistic phenomenon.

¹⁶¹ Kappler, "Toward a Linguistic Approach," 667.

cannot “detach the phenomenon from cultural history, since writing always implies a number of symbolic values that can be only understood in a historical context”.¹⁶²

As to the linguistic study, I take Matthias Kappler’s dictum as a starting point, saying that linguistic research based on Karamanlidika texts¹⁶³ should deal with texts of one group¹⁶⁴ or books with common features, or with several editions of the same book,¹⁶⁵ because what we identify as Karamanlidika is a very heterogeneous corpus of texts. Therefore, linguistic research that does not distinguish between the different genres and sub-corpora within the larger corpus of Karamanlidika texts could lead to false and misleading conclusions.¹⁶⁶ Research on the full range of Karamanlidika material could be carried out only on graphematics, and one piece of research has already been carried out on a small part of it.¹⁶⁷

The choice of Serapheim as the main focus restricts the main corpus to texts of one group and also makes it easier to study the educational and social background of the author. In this way, the cultural context will be in association with the linguistic research and might provide answers to questions that cannot be answered in solely with linguistic themes. Furthermore, Serapheim was responsible for the majority of Karamanlidika books published in the eighteenth-century, twelve titles out twenty in total. Almost all of this century Karamanlidika publications

¹⁶² Kappler, “Transcription text, regraphization, variety?” The aforementioned applies not only to Karamanlidika but to all the phenomena that fit this category. Similar ascertainments were made for the study of the development of literary Urmia Aramaic: “The study of a literary language needs a description of the language itself, to understand the developments and variations the historical context is indispensable. The interaction between historical and linguistic developments becomes visible only in a study that takes into account both aspects.” See Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written language*, 7–8.

¹⁶³ The need for systematic research was already expressed by Anhegger, “Hurufumuz Yunanca,” 188–189.

¹⁶⁴ e.g. Kappler, *Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik*, on the Karamanlidika musical anthologies of the nineteenth-century.

¹⁶⁵ e.g. Gavriel, “Transcription Problems of Karamanlidika Texts”; Irakleous, “On the development of Karamanlidika writing systems.” Gavriel compared several editions of a religious book in order to discover an acceptable solution to the problem of the transcription of Karamanlidika. In an earlier article I studied the development of Karamanlidika writing systems through the comparison of four editions of a religious book.

¹⁶⁶ Kappler “Toward a Linguistic Approach,” 666.

¹⁶⁷ Kappler, “Note a proposito,” compared certain graphemes from various Karamanlidika books from different contexts and argued in favour of the graphematic influence from Greek script.

(Serapheims plus others) were of religious content (see NAC: 249-250), something that makes Serapheim a perfect case study for eighteenth-century Karamanlidika.

The aim of this research is to further explore, describe and analyse Serapheim's language through a research on dialectology, which will contribute to the historical and linguistic study of Karamanlidika in general and the eighteenth-century developments in particular. It is expected that the study of this substantial corpus of books will help understanding of the linguistic phenomena in his writings and will possibly provide information on the relation of Serapheim's writings to techniques connected with religious language. Additionally, the linguistic part will add to our knowledge of the linguistic varieties of Karamanlidika and will be another step in developing the field.

The main goal of this research is the thorough study of Serapheim's work from the linguistic and sociolinguistic aspect. Starting with introductory chapters on Karamanlidika and Serapheim, proceeding with the in-depth linguistic analysis of his writings and following this with an examination of the sociolinguistic aspects, an attempt will then be made to characterise him through his work in the conclusion.

The great complexity of Karamanlidika and the multifaceted nature of these publications is another reason this research project proposes to focus on the study of Serapheim's works alone, rather than undertake a wider comparison of texts from a variety of regions, authors and periods. While such a wider comparison is a desideratum for the future, such a comparison can only be done on the basis of a better knowledge of local and personal varieties. Moreover, the project will restrict itself to those publications by Serapheim that he supervised himself (rather than including the many republications and re-editions of later times); that is, 12 books from the period 1753–1783. The selected sources will be studied as a whole, examining graphematics, phonology, morphology and translation techniques and religious vocabulary.

0.7.2. *Towards a sociolinguistic approach*

Apart from the structural linguistic approach that will be used to analyse the language of the Serapheim's books, an attempt will be made to also interpret the findings from a sociolinguistic perspective. This will be done by examining the relation between religion and language, and especially the language of ritual. When dealing with eighteenth-century Karamanlidika, it is very important to take into consideration the forces that drove people to write and publish religious books – the first ever made in Karamanlidika – and also the way or ways they used language. Keeping this in mind, we could form the hypothesis that the language of the books and their use in everyday life, for religious but also for schooling purposes, might have affected people's vernacular in the long term. Elements from the language of the books, such as words from the ecclesiastical register or formulaic utterances, might have become part of everyday language. Since we are dealing with a tradition that met extinction in its printed form, it would be possible to trace such influence in personal notes, correspondence and other instances of informal writing.

In contrast to other worded forms of language use, such as poetry or ceremonial speech, there is no set of pragmatic features than can be defined as religious. The different religious practices seem to make use of the entire spectrum of linguistic possibilities according to the circumstances,¹⁶⁸ being closely linked to assumptions about human subjects and divine beings and their different capacities, and at the same time facing chronic dilemmas that derive, among others, from verbal practices and their concrete nature.¹⁶⁹ Although we cannot define a direct or simple relationship between language and religion, religious factors played a significant role in the process of diachronic language spread in many ways.¹⁷⁰ The absence of concrete boundaries causes language to affect and be affected by many factors, and a mutual influence between religions and language policies cannot be denied, since religious institutions do have language policies that have a wider influence on society. Religion was and still is a social force we cannot dismiss, taking into

¹⁶⁸ Webb Keane, "Religious Language," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (1997): 49.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁷⁰ Ferguson, "Religious Factors in Language Spread," 105

account that for its members in most cases, religion is the first social structure they come into contact with outside the family in terms of language use.¹⁷¹ The participation in the public sphere of worship and religion, although open to everyone, with no regard to sex, age or social status, included (as we will see later on) a hierarchy of positions and strict notations that denoted social realities and stratifications.¹⁷² In this way religions tend to form normative communities that define people in terms of practices and language. Just like social attitudes on dialects and accents where certain ideologies attribute power or prestige, in religion various configurations act as norm enforcement for religious varieties, symbolic of social identity.¹⁷³

It is undeniable that several religions preserve an earlier version of language for public ceremonies; even when the sacred texts are available in translation (or the vernacular), an overwhelming attachment to the original is proclaimed.¹⁷⁴ In the case of Judaism, the decision to maintain the original Hebrew language of Jewish sacred texts led gradually to the development of a particular kind of sacred literacy.¹⁷⁵ A religion tied to the use of a holy book, that uses a certain form of language that might differ from the vernacular, and that is also written in the “traditional” writing system, is very likely to enforce the spread of written forms of language as well,¹⁷⁶ depending always on the group, author and final user.

This is quite reasonable when taking into consideration that society required its members, in the past, as much as today, to be familiar with the register associated with specialised language uses in different situations and domains. Nevertheless, as will be discussed later on, basic language proficiency has nothing to do with these specialised uses, and various opinions expressed by members of the clergy regarding intellectual decline and ignorance on language, were referring to the unfamiliarity of lay people with religious language and practices. With the

¹⁷¹ Bernard Spolsky, “Jewish Religious Multilingualism” in *The Sociology of Language and religion: Change, Conflict and Accommodation*, ed. Tope Omoniyi (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 14.

¹⁷² Sklavenites, “Ανθολόγια και συνθετικές εκδόσεις λειτουργικού βιβλίων,” 193.

¹⁷³ William Downes, *Language and Religion, a Journey into the Human Mind* (Cambridge, 2011), 44.

¹⁷⁴ Bernard Spolsky, “Religion as a site of Language Contact,” *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, Language Contact and Change* 23 (2003): 82.

¹⁷⁵ Spolsky, “Jewish Religious Multilingualism,” 25.

¹⁷⁶ Ferguson, “Religious Factors in Language Spread,” 105.

developments during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries concerning Karamanlidika that included the transition from manuscript to printed book, the massive allocation of copies and their use for schooling, it is very possible that people's culture and language underwent a serious shift in terms of language register, since the "ecclesiastical language" was used as the model for teaching. This might have affected the vernacular in terms of slowing down processes, or by switching to older forms of words.

In order to examine this, we need first to address various factors that affected language and its use throughout time, such as the scribes and their education and practices, the transition from manuscript to printed book, translation techniques and language ideologies.

Christianity before printing

As mentioned before, Christianity was originally based on oral tradition, although there always was a rather limited written aspect.¹⁷⁷ The reasons for this lie firstly in the nature of books, which were handwritten, hard to find and expensive, and secondly in the inability of lay people to read. It is striking how nowadays people consider the skills of reading and writing as datum, when this was not the case 100 or 200 years before, and in many parts of the world literacy levels are still very low. In the illiterate societies under discussion here, which resemble more those societies in the first years of Christianity, rather than those of today,¹⁷⁸ books were written in order to be read out loud. Public reading was a common practice (e.g. the public reading of orders or other official decisions) and a proof for that is the continuous script of older books (*scripto continua*), which highlights the oral character of books.¹⁷⁹ This practice had two major outcomes important for this chapter. Firstly, the books as products had no significance for lay people, and therefore had no immediate or private use. The books were expensive, scarce and

¹⁷⁷ Gamble, *A History of Early Christian texts*, 28–29. See also David Crystal, *Linguistics, Language and Religion*, Burns and Oates, 1965, 134.

¹⁷⁸ Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 8.

¹⁷⁹ Gamble, *A History of Early Christian texts*, 203–204. In the case of texts in Greek, only capital letters were used, and this remained unchanged until 400 B.C. The lower-case letters were the development from the rapid writing of capital letters, which became more cursive over time. See Bowman, *Greek Printing Types in Britain*, 11.

literacy was not widespread. Secondly, in order for the book to be read and heard, people organised weekly meetings, and this probably constituted a general practice in Christianity.¹⁸⁰ With the medium of communication being oral, the distribution or dissemination of religious thought (and language) was highly dependent on techniques like memorisation and public recitation, leading to their reproduction and transmission, which finally resulted in their preservation, elaboration and wider dissemination.¹⁸¹

This helps illustrate the importance of the role of scribes in this procedure, namely the people responsible, among other things, for writing or copying those Christian books. Although their role as mediators of knowledge is much neglected in research,¹⁸² they often had immense power and linguistic influence on the texts, which again reflected their knowledge and/or opinions in writing-related issues and more importantly, language use. The scribes' influence on books survived for centuries through the procedure of copying if a book was copied without any significant changes, and then reached an even wider audience with the invention of printing, when a book was printed in hundreds or thousands of copies. Scribes were most of the time members of the clergy. Their task was of crucial importance for the procedure, even though we cannot be absolutely certain about who had the final word on what would be included or omitted from a manuscript. What do we know is that in the East Syriac tradition they did not write whatever they wished and they followed instructions, but had the freedom to add or delete parts and to adjust the manuscripts to meet certain needs.¹⁸³ Nevertheless, the scribes' knowledge and abilities were decisive factors for the final outcome.¹⁸⁴

The scribes

As suggested above, the scribes played a crucial role in the transmission of knowledge and language. As we will see later, as Serapheim was a cleric at the advent of Karamanlidika printing it is more than possible that he acted as and had

¹⁸⁰ Gamble, *A History of Early Christian texts*, 205.

¹⁸¹ Downes, *Language and Religion*, 114.

¹⁸² Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 15.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, 144.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 15.

the qualities of a scribe. Therefore, and in order to enable us to reconstruct or interpret Serapheim's actions and language, we need to delve more into the backgrounds of the scribes.

The people who acted as scribes had no specific training or level of knowledge, since these could vary or change from place to place and from one monastery to another. We do know that their role was multilateral, with multiple tasks, and that their duties could not be put into categories or deciphered completely. This is made even more complex when we are faced with the diversity of procedures relating to the Church, especially at the advent of printing, but what can be said for sure is that there is no typical scribe or manuscript, and both are governed by general rules¹⁸⁵. These general rules give useful indications as to how to characterise someone as a scribe.

Often their role included duties of a bureaucratic and literary character and they received a certain type of education, the kind which was restricted and only available through private channels, like monasteries, and based on Christian liturgical text.¹⁸⁶ The methods for this kind of education are clearly defined in a codex of the 4th century produced in Egypt with assumed Coptic connections, where the procedure followed for anyone entering the community is described:

Whoever enters the monastery uninstructed shall be taught first what he must observe; and when so taught he has consented to it all, they shall give him twenty psalms or two of the Apostles epistles or some part of the scripture. And if he is illiterate, he shall go at the first, third and sixth hours to someone who can teach and has been appointed for him. He shall stand before him and learn very studiously with all gratitude. Then the fundamentals of a syllable, the verb, and the noun shall be written for him, and even if he does not want to, he shall be compelled to read.¹⁸⁷

The practice of copying texts or dictating what should be written to the scribes and the publication of texts through their reading in public that followed, and subsequently language learning mostly through speech, created a culture

¹⁸⁵ Elisabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 1993), 9.

¹⁸⁶ Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters*, 22, 54.

¹⁸⁷ as cited in Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters*, 96.

somewhere in between written and oral speech that has no counterpart today.¹⁸⁸ Following the implementation of schooling and the use of school handbooks, the language learned by children in their family environment underwent changes as they were taught the language in the handbook, since the language of these books was most of the time different from the vernacular, as these religious book were written long before. Nowadays, many other factors have entered the equation, like the Internet or social media, but in previous centuries the exposure to a different variety of language, one other than everyday interactions, took place only in public recitations of religious material.

Leaving aside manuscript formation we need to explore the scribes' role in this social universe. Their fundamental task was of course the preservation and transmission of the holy message, thus serving as the link between church and lay people. The manuscripts constituted the tool through which the clergy acted as the mediator of divine merit and grace, preserved and transferred knowledge, and ascribed and wielded power at different levels,¹⁸⁹ and, as is the focus for this research, in terms of language issues. As the majority of people were not clerics, and the ability to read and write was reserved for the few, there was a natural authority deriving from it which on many occasions had undertones of supernatural power.¹⁹⁰

The majority of people are and always were very opinionated regarding language use, with one of the main and never-ending debates being the so-called right and wrong use of language. A group that always carried strong opinions about language was the Church. Scribes and priests who transmitted sacred writings seem to have set aside a special language destined for use in the performance of rituals.¹⁹¹ On the other hand, lay people were often denounced for attributing magic or divine properties to words, or for using other words considered taboo, especially

¹⁸⁸ Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in early Modern Europe*, 7.

¹⁸⁹ Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 18. About the three-way relationship between society, clergy and the God see William Downes, *Language and Religion*, 97. Regarding the privilege to write see Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men, Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (University of California Press, 2006), 4.

¹⁹⁰ Crystal, *Linguistics, Language and Religion*, 118.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*, 118.

when they describe the deity, illness, death and sex.¹⁹² This can also be seen on another level where unacceptable grammar and pronunciation is attributed to the lower social groups, and the “correct” version is only used by the elite groups, thus supporting their political powers.¹⁹³ The scribes (and anyone with a similar task or ideas) who, as already mentioned, safeguarded knowledge, felt keenly the need to pick just one from an ensemble of similar words and introduce it as the correct choice, even though any of those words could meet the needs of the document. These “language guardians” do not make explicit reference to the use of a difference language system, but their choices and comments are mainly focused on certain points of usage favouring one usage or form over another.¹⁹⁴ When the need for a synonym arises, it seems that the scribe goes for the one least used in everyday or other styles of language – the more unfamiliar it is, the more it raises the status of the language.¹⁹⁵ This incidental choice of words and structures becomes finally, through persistent implementation, the rule. Books are written to be read but this confines the reason for their reading into one purpose or context as the act of reading varies accordingly.¹⁹⁶ Books can be read for pleasure, can complement worship, and might be used as teaching handbooks or references when searching for answers. But for religion (and not only), especially in the time of the scribes and shortly thereafter, a corpus of texts could easily become an authoritarian mechanism representing public religious thoughts at various levels, transmitting them through space and time conveyed by the appropriate vehicle. Historic and standard languages were considered to have the appropriate features for being a vehicle for the Scriptures.¹⁹⁷

Impact of the transition to printed book

In the age of manuscripts, books were overly expensive and rare, as creating them was a time-consuming process and not many people produced them. These facts

¹⁹² James Milroy & Lesley Milroy, *Authority in Language, Investigating languages Prescription and Standardisation*, (London: Routledge, 1991), 12.

¹⁹³ Milroy & Milroy, *Authority in Language*, 2–3.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 16–17.

¹⁹⁵ Crystal, *Linguistics, Language and Religion*, 154.

¹⁹⁶ Gamble, *A History of Early Christian texts*, 203.

¹⁹⁷ Downes, *Language and Religion*, 114.

made books beyond the reach of but also useless for ordinary people, who did not know how to read them. As a result, books could be found only in rich people's private collections and in monasteries' libraries. This changed rapidly with the invention of printing, when production increased immensely and the cost was reduced. Around 1800, the cost of a book was about the same as a day's pay for one unskilled worker and something less than that of a craftsman's salary in the Ottoman Empire;¹⁹⁸ this was still expensive but could by no means be compared to the price of a manuscript. In order to apprehend how the book production quantities changed and the impact of the invention of printing, Eisenstein presents the following example: by the time someone born in 1453, the year of the fall of Constantinople, had reached the age of five years old, eight million books had already been printed. In other words, in that short period, more books had been produced than the total number of books made by scribes in Europe since the creation of Constantinople in 300 AD.¹⁹⁹ Printing resulted in the production of hundreds and even thousands of uniform books, that in their previous manuscript form were being produced in fewer numbers and that might have had differences from one copy to another. Books were reaching more buyers, since people (mostly Christians) who lived in Ottoman Empire were buying books even if they did not know how to read, as everyone wished to have a Christian book in their possession.²⁰⁰

The aforementioned culture located in between written and oral speech had already begun to change and the influence of printing on language was substantial: according to Steinberg, printing not only preserved and codified linguistic varieties but also in many cases even created them.²⁰¹

What we identify as Karamanlidika is a literature largely based on translation. Original works do exist and we cannot ignore the private usage of the practice in

¹⁹⁸ Veloudis, *To ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκῆδων στη Βενετία 1670–1854*, 132.

¹⁹⁹ Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in early Modern Europe*, 13.

²⁰⁰ Koumariannou, Droulia και Layton, *To Ελληνικό Βιβλίο 1476–1830*, 76.

²⁰¹ Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in early Modern Europe*, 81–82. Regarding the distribution of thoughts that are publicly communicated, William Downes mentions a situation that he refers to as the media phase of dissemination, where “thoughts are publicly made manifest to wide populations over long periods of time with new potentials for reflective elaboration.” See Downes, *Language and Religion*, 113. The early printed book could fit this description although Downes refers to more recent events.

correspondence, diaries, etc., but the content of the majority of books printed in Karamanlidika and especially those printed in the eighteenth-century relies on originals in other languages. Therefore, a short introduction about the translation of religious books and its techniques is required, in order to enable us to comment on the language of these editions later on.

The translation techniques

The Old Testament comprises 39 books written in Hebrew with passages in Aramaic, while the Christian Bible with the New Testament includes these parts along with 27 books written in Common Greek (Hellenistic koiné). The translation of both the Old and the New Testament began very early, with the LXX (Septuagint) of the Old Testament, used by many Christians, the Vulgate (Latin) and the Peshitta (Syriac), consisting of thousands of book or passage translations, after the finalisation of the corpus of New Testament around 337 AD.²⁰² The invention of printing led to its translation and publication in major European languages such as German, English, French and Spanish. Translation activities were increasing steadily and bloomed during the nineteenth-century with the missionary efforts to translate and publish the Bible in “unknown languages”, while the translations in European languages continued.²⁰³ Nevertheless, although Christianity encouraged translations from the very beginning, it exhibited strong attachments to particular sacred languages like Latin²⁰⁴ and Greek, something possibly rooted in the language ideologies that will be discussed later on.

The translation techniques had been codified long before, which makes it easier for us to understand the procedures followed by the translators in older periods. Even though every translator usually has a unique style or approach, the main issues when translating a book – for example, if a translation should follow the word to word pattern, or if the structure and other elements are adequately transferred to the translation language – remain very much the same. Furthermore, there are always questions regarding to what degree the translation could or should

²⁰² Lynell Zogbo, “Bible, Jewish and Christian,” in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 2nd ed, eds. Baker M, and Saldanha G, (Routledge 2009), 21.

²⁰³ *Ibid*, 21–22.

²⁰⁴ Ferguson, “Religious Factors in Language Spread,” 104.

follow the original text and still be comprehensible to the readers, and whether key words, or words of great religious importance, are faithfully rendered.²⁰⁵

Two major translation techniques (as described by Zogbo, 2009) are of importance for this research – the word to word translation, and the translation whose major task is to render the meaning but no other elements of the original text. The typical example of the first technique is considered to be the English translation of 1611 AD on behalf of King James (also known as King James’ version). The equivalence to the original text constituted the first priority for the translators, who tried to retain the word order and the structure of the sentences. The outcome of this kind of translation could be incomprehensible or look awkward to the reader.

The second technique aims for the “core” of text, sentences and the meanings of words, with the primary goal being to transfer the meaning to the translation language. By prioritising the meaning instead of structure and thus translating periphrastically, translators achieve more comprehensible translations. Nevertheless, the translation technique is often defined by the final recipient, which is, the in the case of liturgy, the celebrants. As we shall see, the present research suggests that translators and those who finance them may have the power and the will to use the technique they would prefer, but it should still be understandable (at least part of it) to the celebrants. A group of people in need of a translation for celebrating the Mass and fulfilling other religious tasks seeks a translation with literary qualities and a poetic nature, characteristics attributed to the King James Bible. On the other hand, as Zogbo suggests, a group of people with low levels of literacy and needing to learn the practices of their religion might seek high-level language but would first need many things explained to them in a way they understand, such as a translation in the vernacular.²⁰⁶

Elements that are ascribed “sacredness”

When referring to the relation of language and religion, one of the first elements that seems connected is the alphabet in which the holy texts are written. This is

²⁰⁵ Zogbo, “Bible, Jewish and Christian,” 24.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 25–26.

very much the same as what Ferdinand De Saussure described as the prestige of writing. We take as a starting point the statement that written language's primary purpose is to render oral language. But the oral form tends to become overshadowed by the written one, with the latter being the first's image and finally appropriating the primary role in people's minds. In this way and under certain circumstances the written form of a language can delay the changes occurring in it, while at the same time the preservation of the oral language is not endangered by the absence of a written form. Therefore, language always has an oral tradition, which in its own way is very steady, just like the written form, but the prestige of writing is what prevents us from seeing it.

The prestige of writing, according to De Saussure, is based on four main principles. First, the graphic representation of words is preserved like something tangible that is meant to last over time, thus creating to the user of a language the impression that is easier to bond with written rather than oral language. Second, visual impressions of words are more understandable and can be remembered more easily than auditory impressions. In this way, writing trumps sound. Third, literary language, with its grammars, dictionaries and other books for teaching language, increases the value of writing in people's eyes. These types of books make writing part of a defined code, which is subjected to a very strict usage, and that is orthography. Orthography and its strict rules about how to write language gives to writing its major importance and prestige in people's mind. Fourth, when there is disagreement between language and orthography, it is always difficult to find a solution. In this case, the written form always has an advantage since it is more easily recognised than the auditory one.²⁰⁷

Adding to that, according to Ferguson the distribution of the major writing systems is very much the same as the distribution of major religions. The correlation of a writing system to a religion does not derive from any inherent relationship between the religious practices and the procedures of reading and writing but is rather an outcome of the spread of major religions to illiterate communities or to (semi) literate ones, and the simultaneous introduction of a new

²⁰⁷ Ferdinand De Saussure, *Μαθήματα Γενικής Γλωσσολογίας*, trans. F.D. Apostolopoulou (Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Παπαζήση, 1979), 56.

writing system.²⁰⁸

Every variety of language is sufficient for fulfilling the religious tasks of a community like ceremonies, prayers, etc. Nevertheless, most believers, when in a religious environment or referring to religious matters, tend to use a specific variety of language that differs from the vernacular or the standard variety. This, when used on other occasions, might seem formal or weird and could diverge from the vernacular in many aspects but mainly in vocabulary, thus creating a different register of words, and also in syntax and morphology, conferring for the interlocutors an “aura of sacredness”.²⁰⁹ According to Webb Keane, it is unusual for religious language not to have some elements of formality that denote its special character, although there is no rule about what those are and where the boundaries are. Depending on its needs, religion can include components from the entire linguistic code, such as phonology, morphology, syntax prosody and lexicon, in its religious discourse.²¹⁰ The same phenomenon is defined by David Crystal as “distinctiveness”, and it is described as words and structures whose use is strictly confined to religious language (and environment) or extremely rare outside of it. Such occasions are the introductions or ends of prayers, and prayers as a whole, which again contain and maintain archaisms. In this way, the liturgical language creates a unique identity, distinguishable from other varieties.²¹¹ Furthermore, when referring to a liturgical language one can observe formal stylistic features, e.g. complex sentences, specific enunciation and conservative stylistic forms, categorising religious languages as correct or formal, and a register comprised by archaisms and formulaic utterances, elements that are most probably the result of a traditional way of phrasing certain concepts. Adding to that, one can observe the tendency (or habit) of keeping unchanged formulaic utterance in scriptural texts, commonly known prayers or traditionally quoted phrases.²¹²

Returning to Ferguson, he describes the aforementioned variety as the product of a procedure comprising three stages. First, the language of the text resembles the

²⁰⁸ Ferguson, “Religious Factors in Language Spread,” 95.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 96–97.

²¹⁰ Keane, “Religious Language,” 52.

²¹¹ David Crystal, “Liturgical Language in Sociolinguistic perspective,” in *Language and the Worship of the Church*, eds. Jasper D, and R.C.D. (Basingstoke, 1990), 122–123.

²¹² Crystal, *Linguistics, Language and Religion*, 153–154.

everyday language of the community. Second, as everyday language changes, the language of the sacred text remains the same and gains a specific religious aura. Third, as the religion spreads to other territories, the language of the texts functions as a sacred language for communities linguistically unrelated to the texts. Occasionally, a translated text achieves sacred language status, creating a new sacred language and later on spreading according to the same procedure. The effect of layering several sacred languages in similar religious contexts is very common among the world's major religions, reflecting among other things the spread every religion had. One example is the case of the Vulgate (Latin) translation and preservation of Latin as a religious language and also as the language of instruction, in areas with a related variety but also in distant places. While in Italy Latin was considered archaic, in places like Germany and Hungary it was totally different from the vernacular and was used for public worship,²¹³ and the relationship of religious context and language has resulted from social processes, anticipations as to the genre and language ideologies.²¹⁴

Language ideologies and the role of the vernacular

Just like in the case of erecting official places of worship in order to gather believers in one place, as mentioned in 0.2.2., prescription in language depends on a set of beliefs which require, as in other aspects of life, that things ought to be done in the “right” way. This was also described previously as “religious normativity”, namely that things are not only what they are, but what they should be.²¹⁵ The requirements are usually imposed from above, in this case by the clergy as they were the only literate ones, and whatever deviates from the prescribed norm is unacceptable and immediately noticed.²¹⁶

The methods of instruction used by the clergy had as their primary task to instil the respect for age, authority and religion and to disseminate knowledge, while

²¹³ Ferguson, “Religious Factors in Language Spread,” 97–98.

²¹⁴ Keane, “Religious Language,” 63.

²¹⁵ Downes, *Language and Religion*, 15.

²¹⁶ Milroy & Milroy, *Authority in Language*, 1. Concerning the formal character of religious language, is often linked to local assumptions on how language works, see Keane, “Religious Language,” 55.

divine punishments were also mentioned in order to provide the proper motivation.²¹⁷ But then the issue of language would come up as most people were illiterate, and language barriers existed within the clergy as well. Within the Christian Orthodox hierarchy in Palestine, the lower levels spoke Arabic and originated from the peasantry, while the people in higher ranks spoke Greek.²¹⁸ Most probably the situation in Asia Minor, in the remote areas where Turkophone Christians lived, the situation was the same, with priests speaking Turkish while the high churchmen in urban centres also spoke Greek, both colloquial and archaic. With the vast majority of people knowing almost nothing about religious law and doctrine, things needed to be explained to them in the most accessible language – Turkish – which led finally to the literisation of Turkish, at least for the community of the Turkophone Orthodox.²¹⁹

At least from the late seventeenth-century, a significant shift towards local vernaculars can be observed. Those varieties, remaining until then in the shadow of classical and cosmopolitan languages, started to be used for literary purposes,²²⁰ although literary translations of liturgical texts into vernacular languages from Latin or other languages began in Europe around the tenth-century AD.²²¹

The use of vernaculars as media of learning and letters led also to their transformation into objects of knowledge and governmental concern, leading to the parallel learning of vernacular and sacred or classical languages.²²² The course of vernacularisation was not without any influences though, since the works were often influenced by other languages according to their genre or purpose. A significant step in the vernacularisation of Kurdish was the attempt by Ehmedê Xanî to write learned poetry in the local vernacular, which was influenced by

²¹⁷ Grehan, *Twilight of the Saints*, 55.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 52.

²¹⁹ Concerning the various developments in Karamanlidika literature from religious to secular literature and its implications see Johan Strauss, “Is Karamanli Literature Part of a “Christian-Turkish (Turco-Christian) Literature?” in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Karamanlidika Studies*. Nicosia 11-13.09.2008, eds. Evangelia Balta, Matthias Kappler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 153–200.

²²⁰ Michael Leezenberg, “The Vernacular Revolution: Reclaiming early modern Grammatical traditions in the Ottoman Empire,” *History of Humanities* 1, no.2 (2016): 258–259.

²²¹ L.G. Kelly, “Translation History,” in *Concise Encyclopedia of Language and Religion*, eds. Sawyer J.F.A., Simpson J.M.Y. (Amsterdam 2001), 140.

²²² Leezenberg, “The Vernacular Revolution,” 265.

Arabic probably because of the genre, but again including the language ideology shared also by Rashid Rida and Serapheim, who said that he wrote “for the sake of the illiterate masses”.²²³ People sharing this kind of ideology tend to believe that religion and language are always on a downhill path, and as experts it is their duty to restrain and if possible, to reverse the decline.²²⁴ In the same way Serapheim’s editions include influences from Greek mainly in writing conventions and terminology – because of their genre, with Greek being the prestigious language of Orthodox Christianity – but also because of their author’s views on people’s ignorance. This attitude is based on the prestige Greek acquired as one of Christianity’s sacred languages, but also on the sense that some languages are better or more suitable than others.²²⁵

0.8. Sources

As already mentioned, the primary material for this research consists of Serapheim’s Karamanlidika books.²²⁶ The Karamanlidika editions prepared by Serapheim include numerous re-editions, so my intention is to use the first edition when possible. Following this rule, we count 12 books dating from 1753 to 1783, all of them with religious context, comprising parts from gospels, catechisms, prayers and descriptions of monasteries. In the following subsections, these works will be discussed one by one.

0.8.1. *İptila kelamı cana kifaetlü (IpK1753)*

A start was made in 1753 with two books. One is *Ἰπτίλᾱ Κελαμί Τζᾱνᾱ Κίφαετλοῦ* [İptila kelamı cana kifaetlü] ‘Words of passion adequate for the soul’, a translation of the Greek book *Λόγοι ψυχοφελεῖς εἰς τὸ σωτήριον πάθος* [Logoi psychofeleis eis to sotirion pathos] ‘Words useful for the soul on the passion of the savior’ by Athanasios Varouchas,²²⁷ containing spiritual counsel. The book bears the icon of

²²³ Leezenberg, “The Vernacular Revolution,” 261–262.

²²⁴ Milroy & Milroy, *Authority in Language*, 6.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 2–3.

²²⁶ Serapheim also published several books in Greek language but those will not be the subject of the present study. All Serapheim’s publications, Greek and Karamanlidika, can be seen in the Appendix.

²²⁷ Salaville and Dalleggio, *Bibliographie I*, 14; Henceforth IpK1753.

the Virgin Mary of Kykkos (IpK1753:12) but does not have a page with the written permission for printing (*Noi Riformatori*). The introduction of the book, written in Greek and Turkish (page by page) addresses greetings to the Metropolitan of Nikomideia (Asia Minor) Gabriel and explains the reasons for writing the book. These reasons always concern the wellbeing and preservation of the religion in Anatolia. Another short introduction follows, this time only in Turkish, where Serapheim addresses the people of Anatolia, explaining why they have to get to know their religion and urges them to do so.

0.8.2. *Kolay iman nasihetü (KIN1753)*

The second book printed in 1753 is *Κολάι μάν νασιχετού* [Kolay iman nasihetü] ‘Easy explanation of faith’ and it is one of the rare cases we know to have been printed at the same time in Greek. The version *Διδασκαλία Πρόχειρος και Ωφέλιμος* [Didhaskalia Proheiros kai Ofelimos] ‘Useful and handy teaching’.²²⁸ The book is divided into two parts. The first includes the dialogue between teacher and apprentice where basic themes of Christian faith are being explained, while the second describes the history of Kykkos Monastery in Cyprus devoted to the Virgin Mary.²²⁹ The description of the Monastery was originally written in Greek by Serapheim’s teacher Ephraim the Athenian and afterwards translated into Turkish by Serapheim.²³⁰ The Greek version was also printed in 1753 as a separate book.

Returning to KIN1753 and *Didhaskalia Proheiros*, the two books differ in terms of the second parts, since the Greek version of the Monastery’s history was

²²⁸ I am grateful to Costis Kokkinofas who provided me with a copy of the book.

²²⁹ Salaville and Dalleggio, *Bibliographie I*, 18-19. See also Gavriel, “Οι προλόγοι της Καραμανλίδικης και της Ελληνικής έκδοσης,” 382. Henceforth KIN1753. Regarding the Karamanlidika editions of the Description of the history of Kykkos Monastery, see Gavriel, “Οι προλόγοι της Καραμανλίδικης και της Ελληνικής έκδοσης,” 381–384, and for the Greek version, see Theocharides, *Οι περιγραφές της Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου*.

²³⁰ Ephraim the Athenian studied in Athens and in Patmos’ Academy. He was invited to Cyprus and Kykkos Monastery in 1742 in order to teach at the newly founded Greek school where he taught for almost 20 years and prepared written material. During the period 1766–1770 he was Patriarch of Jerusalem. See Theocharis Stavrides, *Πατριαρχείο Ιεροσολύμων και Κύπρος, Επιστολές (1731–1884)* (Λευκωσία, Κέντρο Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου, 2007), 31–35. See also Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, *Η Εκκλησία της Κύπρου επί Τουρκοκρατίας (1571–1878)* (Αθήνα, Τύποις Φοίνικος, 1929). Regarding the manuscript tradition of the icon that the history of Kykkos is based on see Kostas N. Konstantinides, *Η διήγηση της θαυματουργής εικόνας της Θεοτόκου Ελεούσας του Κύκκου κατά τον κώδικα 2313 του Βατικανού* (Λευκωσία, Κέντρο Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου, 2002).

printed as a separate book. KIN1753 just like the previous book, does not contain the permission for printing, while the icon of Virgin Mary precedes the second part of the book (KIN1753:36). Again, a bilingual introduction in Greek and Turkish offers greetings to the Bishop of Kykkos Monastery (Cyprus) Parthenios and provides reasons for writing the book. At the end of the first part, a short colophon states that the book was printed with the help of the Orthodox Christians of Caesarea (Asia Minor) and the printer Antonio Bortoli (KIN1753:32). The second part is preceded by a short introduction about the monastery of Kykkos (KIN1753:33–34).

0.8.3. *Neos Thisavros* (NTh1756)

In 1756 three books were published. *Νέος Θησαυρός* [Neos thisavros] ‘New treasure’ is a translation of the Greek book with the same name by Damaskinos Studites published in 1568.²³¹ Like the two previous books, the book bears an icon of the Virgin Mary (NTh1756:11) but lacks a permission for printing. The absence of printing permission on this occasion is probably related to the incident of the confiscated books described later on in subchapter 1.1.1. The introduction of the book, only in Turkish, offers greetings to the Christians of Anatolia, refers to the previous books (of 1753) Serapheim prepared for the Christians of Anatolia and clarifies that he went to Venice in order to print books with the permission of Virgin Mary of Kykkos but also with the help of Avraam and Iosif, two brothers from Caesarea (also stated in the front page of the book) (NTh1756:6–7). Interesting is that Iosif’s monogram appears at the end of the introduction (NTh1756:iv) but also in every image in the book. It is possible that Iosif donated money for the publication, pre-ordered copies or paid for the preparation of the images. The scarce information we have on Iosif’s involvement highlights the need for more thorough research on the printing practices of Karamanlidika, which

²³¹ Salaville and Dalleggio, *Bibliographie I*, 31. Henceforth NTh1756. The book was supposedly printed for the first time in 1746 in Venice (NAC 1). An argument on this will follow in 0.7.13. Concerning the Greek editions of Neos thisavros in Italy and Greek editions in general see Evro, Layton, (1994) *The sixteenth-century Greek book in Italy: Printers and publishers for the Greek world* (Venice: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, 1994), 94.

remain a still largely unexplored field. Neos thisavros is also the only book in which Serapheim gives credit for translating parts of the book to another person. In the end of the chapter about Saint John the Baptist a note clarifies that the chapter was translated by Papa Chrysafis for Caesarea (NTh1756:363).

0.8.4. *Hacet name kitabi* (HNK1756)

The second book from 1756, *Χατζέτ ναμέ κιταπή σουλτάν βαλιτουλάχ Παναγία μεβλουτουλλαχίν* [Hacet name kitabi sultan validullah Panayia mevlutullahın] ‘The book of necessity, the supplications to Queen Mother of God’ includes hymns (greetings) addressed to the Virgin Mary, religious stories, prayers, psalms and parts of the book *Αμαρτωλών Σωτηρία* [Amartolon Sotiria] ‘Sinners’ salvation’ of 1641 by Agapios Landos.²³² The short introduction addresses the Orthodox Christians of Anatolia, explaining the contents of book and what is it about. The book contains prayers for the Virgin Mary, analyses canonical rules (e.g. which relatives can be married, by giving examples (HNK1756:177–211) and other liturgical texts. The book has a printing permission (HNK1756:8).

0.8.5. *Cümle senenin kiriakilerine cevap ve nasaatlar* (CSK1756)

The third book from the 1756 print run is *Τζοῦμλε σεενεήμκΚυριακληρινέ τζεβὰπ βὲ νασαατλάρ* [Cümle senenin kiriakilerine cevap ve nasaatlar] ‘Answers and teachings for all the Sundays of the year’, more commonly known as *Kyriakodromion*, containing counsel and doctrines for all the Sundays of a year. This is, once more, a translation of a book by Agapios Landos, the book named *Κυριακοδρόμιον* [Kyriakodromion].²³³ In the bilingual (two-columned pages) introduction, Serapheim conveys greetings to the Ecumenical Patriarch and for the first time he undersigns as monk of the Monastery of Kykkos (CSK1756:iii–viii). A second introduction in Turkish conveys greetings to his fellow Christians once more (CSK1756:1-6) and notes again the help of the Virgin Mary. Moreover, he mentions that he translated into Turkish what Agapios translated from Greek to simple Greek (i.e. *Ellinika’dan Romca yavan diline*, CSK1756:3), an obvious

²³² Salaville and Dalleggio, *Bibliographie I*, 27. Henceforth HNK1756.

²³³ *Ibid*, 22–23. Henceforth CSK1756.

reference to how people perceived the differences between the archaic language and vernacular. On the front page of the book it is mentioned for the first time that the book was printed with the financial help of Kykkos Monastery. The book bears the icon of the Virgin Mary (CSK1756:8) and the stamp of the Monastery of Kykkos (CSK1756:426). The book also contains a printing permission (CSK1756:xii).

0.8.6. *Kutluşerrif (KŞ1758)*

The book *Κουτλουσερρίφ* [Kutluşerrif] was published in 1758, a *proskynitarion* including description of the Holy Places, Jerusalem and Palestine. The book is a translation of the Greek book *Προσκυνητάριον* [Proskynitarion] of 1749. It is the only one of Serapheim's Karamanlidika books published in Leipzig,²³⁴ and the only bilingual one, printed in two-columned pages, and also the only that has a front page with the majority of information written in Greek.²³⁵ On the front page it is mentioned that Serapheim has translated into Turkish the book prepared by Sofronios, sacristan of the Holy Sepulchre. The book was funded and edited by Gedeon, a monk from Cyprus (KŞ1758:fp). The book contains two short introductions, one by Gedeon conveying greetings to the sacristan of the Holy Sepulchre (KŞ1758:3–6), and another, unsigned, addressing the general readership (KŞ1758:7–10), making it obvious that this was not an edition prepared solely for Turkophone Christians. It is also very interesting that Serapheim is mentioned as archimandrite (a superior of monks in a monastery), when just two years before he was just a monk.

0.8.7. *Nakliet ve beandır azimatlu pederimis klimentos (NvB1776)*

The following source *Νακλιέτ βε Πεαντηρ Αζηματλου Πετεριμης Κλημεντος* [Nakliet ve Beandır Azimatlu Pederimis Klimentos] ‘Narration of [the life of] his greatness our father Klimis’, published in 1776 in Venice, is the story of the martyr Klimentos, who was Metropolitan of Ankara, and Saint Agathangelos, and includes

²³⁴ Why he left Venice for Leipzig is clearly described by Serapheim him self (see subchapter 1.1.1.).

²³⁵ Salaville and Dalleggio, *Bibliographie I*, 37–38. Henceforth KŞ1758.

litany, chants and other liturgical texts.²³⁶ The front page gives information regarding the funding of the book from Demetrios Vidales from Izmir, and the supervision and custody by Spyridon Tzigkirlara and Serapheim, who is by 1776 Metropolitan of Ankara (NvB1776:fp). The book was translated by Serapheim (NvB1776:9) who sent to someone to Venice to supervise the printing. A page of greetings addressing Serapheim written by a Cretan Monk who undersigns as M.T.Th. and mentions that while he was at the Bortoli printing house in Venice they received the book from Serapheim (NvB1776:3). Another foreword follows from Ioannes son of Iosif from Ankara (NvB1776:4–7). The printing permission for the book can be found after the introductions (NvB1776:8).

0.8.8. *Psalterion of David (PsD1782)*

The book *Ψαλτήριον Δαβίδ πατισσάχ βε παγαμπερίν τεσπιχατλαριλάν περαπέρ* [Psalterion David padişah ve pagamberin tesbihatları ile beraber] ‘King prophet David’s psalter with praises to God’ is thought to have been published for the first time in 1767.²³⁷ This is a psalter with additional hymns, probably translated into Turkish from a Greek edition.²³⁸ During the 1780’s the Bortoli printing house lost its power and was bought by the Glykis printing house. Serapheim’s books from 1782 onwards were being printed by Glykis, although some of them had still the Bortoli sign on them. This was a generally accepted practice and may even have been part of the deal. The pictures and the book in general have the sign of Glykis printing house, perhaps indicating a contribution to the funding of the book (PsD1782:xii,282). The permission of printing is included at the end of the book, something that normally appears at the beginning (PsD1782:282). This might be a sign that Glykis started printing the book before getting the permission in hand and when it was granted, he added it in the final pages.

0.8.9. *Ruh afietliyi bahar-i zümbülname (RAB1782)*

The second book of 1782 is *Ροῦχ ἀφιετλιγὴ παχάρι ζουμπιουλναμέ* [Ruh afietliyi

²³⁶ Salaville and Dalleggio, *Bibliographie I*, 52. Henceforth NvB1776.

²³⁷ I was unable to trace the first edition. The issue is thoroughly analysed in 0.7.13.

²³⁸ Salaville and Dalleggio, *Bibliographie I*, 63. Henceforth PsD1782.

aahar-i zümbülname] ‘Book of the spring of flowers and the health of the soul’ containing again parts from *Neos Thisavros* by Damaskinos Studites (doctrines and prayers) and the aforementioned story of Klimis translated by Serapheim.²³⁹ Serapheim is again mentioned as monk and former Metropolitan of Ankara (RAB1782:fp). The printing permission follows the introduction (RAB1782:viii).

0.8.10. Azim padişah monastir kykkonun (APK1782)

The third book of 1782 is *Ἀζήμ πατησάχ μοναστήρ, Κύκκονουν. Χεκμετλοῦ βαλιτουλλάχ εἰκόνα τασφηροῦν, χαγιρλή πηνγαροῦν χεκμετναμὲ тариχὴ πεανηντάτηρ* [Azim padişah monastir Kykkonun. hekmetlü validullah eikona tasfirun hayirli piñarun hekmetname tarihi beanındadır] ‘History and description of the glorious imperial Monastery of Kykkos, of the icon of the wise Queen Mother of God and of the blessed fountain’. The icon of Monastery of Kykkos and its building), once more the story of Kykkos Monastery in Cyprus, this time as an independent book,²⁴⁰ as a gift for all Christians (APK1782:fp). This is the second augmented edition of the book contained in KIN1753. The book was printed when the abbot of the Kykkos Monastery was Meletios, who conveys greetings, after Serapheim’s introduction (APK1782:3–16), explaining how he became abbot after the death of Parthenios. He also describes the actions taken for rebuilding the monastery (APK1782:17–23, see also chapter 1). The permission for printing the book again follows the introductions (APK1782:24).

0.8.11. Simavı bahçe donanması (SBD1783)

In 1783 two books were published. The first one, *Σημαβή παχτζὲ πτοναμασσή* [Simavı bahçe donanması] ‘The ornament of the heavenly gardens’²⁴¹ bears again Glykis’ signs and Serapheim is described as “a monk of monks” (*rohban rakibden* SBD1783:fp [cf. *rohban rahibden*]). The book contains references that consist of translated parts from other religious books like Damaskinos’s book (probably Serapheim means *Neos thisavros* SBD1783:1,13), *Ekloyion*

²³⁹ Salaville and Dalleggio, *Bibliographie I*, 67–68. Henceforth RAB1782.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 59. Henceforth APK1782.

²⁴¹ *Ibid*, 72. Henceforth SBD1783.

(SBD1783:148,158,183,193) and *Paradeisos* (SBD1783:72,139), mainly about lives of saints and martyrs. In his introduction, Serapheim says that this book should enable the readers to act as teachers for their children (SBD1783:xiii). Towards the end of the introduction he makes a recapitulation of his work by describing what books he has published through the years (SBD1783:xi). The permission for printing can be found once more after the introduction (SBD1783:xvi).

0.8.12. *Bahar-i heyat yania aziz mehit olan Martyroslarin n aklieti* (BH1783)

The second book from 1783 is *Παχαρι̇ χειγια̇τ̇ γιάνια, άζιζ̇ Σσεχι̇τ̇ όλάν, μάρτυροσλαριν νακλιετή* [Bahar-i heyat yania aziz şehit olan martyroslarin naklieti] ‘Spring of life, namely narrations of our holy martyrs’²⁴² and has a similar structure to SBD1783. Again composed of lives of saints and martyrs, it consists of parts from Damaskinos’ book (BH1783:1,25,50,81,113,129,144) and *Neos Paradeisos* (BH1783:67). Unfortunately the introductory pages are missing from the copies that I was able to consult for this research as a result of bad preservation.

0.8.13. *Reconsidering Neos thisavros 1746*

While trying to reconstruct Serapheim Attaliates’ life, existing documentation suggested that he went to Cyprus in 1751, supposedly for a pilgrimage. He then started his cooperation with Kykkos Monastery, which included the publishing of Karamanlidika books, among others. Until now, all researchers assumed that at that time Serapheim was well known, since he had already published the Karamanlidika book *Neos thisavros yeni hazine* in 1746 (NAC 1)²⁴³ and was probably invited to Cyprus for further collaboration. The strange thing about the aforementioned book is that the only copy of this book, and the one mentioned in the bibliography, bears the icon of the Virgin Mary of Kykkos Monastery. So, how is it possible for this book to be published in 1746, with Kykkos’s money, and the writer arriving in Cyprus five years after? The answer is simple. There is no such book and the first edition of *Neos thisavros* was made in 1756, five years after

²⁴² Salaville and Dalleggio, *Bibliographie I*, 76. Henceforth BH1783.

²⁴³ Henceforth NTh1746.

Serapheim went to Cyprus for the first time.

The information in the Karamanlidika bibliography about NTh1746 was drawn from an article by Mario Stojanov regarding books in the National Library in Sofia.²⁴⁴ After a careful study of the book one can see that the title page is missing and has a pencil note with the date 1746. From the fonts of the book it is obvious that is a book printed in the Glykis printing house and we know that until 1780 Kykkos and Serapheim worked mainly with Bortoli. Additionally, looking at the icon of the Virgin Mary, it is obvious that the book located in Sofia is probably a re-edition of 1804 or later. The icon is the one Glykis uses from 1804 onwards, when he republished the book for the third time. Adding to this, we know that Glykis wrote to Kykkos requesting a new icon for the books, since the one used during the eighteenth-century had been lost.²⁴⁵ Although the icons of the various editions seem identical, the text in the icon of 1756 is abbreviated, while on the one used after 1800, it is written in full. So we are definitely dealing with books from different print runs.²⁴⁶ Apart from the icon and printing fonts, we have also Serapheim's words to support that there is no 1746 book. In the recapitulation of his work in SDB1783 he writes:

Around 1753 we printed two books named *Iptila kelami* (IpK1753) and *Iman mesihi* (KIN1753). Furthermore in 1756 again we printed *Kyriakodromi kitabi* (CSK 1756) and *Neos thisavros yeni hazne* (NTh1756) and another book named *Hadjetname* (HNK1756). Later on, the book about Aziz klimis bishop of Ankara (NvB1776) was printed and now we here we are again. We created the *Psalterion* (PsD1782), the *Bahari Zumbulname* (RAB1782), the *Bahari heyat* (BH1783) and the present book *Simavi Bahche* (SB1783:10–11).²⁴⁷

We can argue that Serapheim, in the last book he published, provides an overview of his life's work and says clearly that *Neos thisavros* was printed for the first time in 1756. His statement in 1783 raises questions about two more editions, the *Psalterion* of 1767 (supposedly the first edition of *Psalterion*, Add:1) and the *Bahar-i Zumbulname* of 1776 (supposedly the first edition of the book, Add:2).

²⁴⁴ Mario Stojanov, "La Littérature Bulgare-Grecque-Turque «Karamanlienne»," *Études balkaniques* XV, no. 2, (1979): 76–82.

²⁴⁵ Stylianos Perdakis, *Η Μονή Κύκκου*, 50.

²⁴⁶ The various icons can be seen in Appendix.

²⁴⁷ For the original passage see Appendix 1.1.

The information about these publications come from the volume *Additions* by Evangelia Balta. She draws the information about the *Psalterion* edition from Ioannes Pamboukis' publications and also provides the front page of the book, which, however, lacks a date of publication (see picture 4). The front page presented is again one of Glykis' editions and as already mentioned, Serapheim worked with Bortoli until around 1780. Furthermore, the insignia of Glykis is from a later decade.²⁴⁸ The edition presented as one from 1767 is actually identical to the one of 1810 (SDI:44). The front page in Add:1 is from the copy found in *Demotiki Vivliothiki Neas Ionias* (Nea Ionia's Municipal Library) (see Appendix 2.5) which has the hand-written date 1767, but a closer look reveals that we are dealing with an 1810 edition. The limited space here does not allow a detailed list of all the information that proves this argument but one can observe the damaged upper part of the character <I> in "ΔΑΒΙΔ" (Appendices 2.4 and 2.5). Furthermore the strongest evidence is that Serapheim is mentioned as "Σάπηκα ΕΓΚΙΟΥΡΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ" [sabika Egürü Mitropoloutu], namely former Metropolitan of Ankara, something that occurred in 1779 as we shall see later on. More or less the same applies to the edition *Bahar-i zumbulname* of 1776 (Add:2) where the information is drawn from another bibliography and we do not have the location of an actual copy. It probably does not exist, since Serapheim does not mention a re-edition of the book in 1783. It can be added that all three cases are not listed in any of Glykis' catalogues I consulted for this research.

Serapheim's statement has proved very useful in clarifying some things but it also causes some problems. It was mentioned that Serapheim published 12 titles but as anyone can easily see in the passage, only ten books are mentioned. He leaves out the narration of the Kykkos Monastery story of 1782 (APK1782) and the narration of the story of Jerusalem of 1758 (KŞ1758). Why he did that is still a matter of controversy. Perhaps we should assume that he does not mention books written by others, since his only involvement was in the translation of the book as a whole in contrast to the rest, which consist of parts or compilations brought together by Serapheim. This is the only characteristic the two books share and the rest do not.

²⁴⁸ Staikos, *Εκδοτικά Τυπογραφικά σήματα*, 111–112.

The note finally leads us to conclude that none of Serapheim's books was published for a second time while he was alive. I will argue that it is likely that Serapheim died around 1790, and the first re-editions appeared in 1795, when the second edition of *Neos thisavros* was printed – and not the third one as it was believed until now.

Serapheim: his life and work

The remaining sources do not allow us to reconstruct Serapheim's life in much detail; it is mostly the book introductions, codices and limited information given by the first biographers in nineteenth-century that allow us to piece together a number of important events in his life, leaving some major gaps that so far cannot be bridged.

According to his early biographers (see 0.5.3.) and taking into consideration the sum of his work we could say that Serapheim Attaliates, the priest from Antalya in Asia Minor, belonged to the first generation of clerics that in the eighteenth-century became translators, editors and writers – a time when all of these jobs were done by clerics. Those engaged with the publications were almost always people from inside the Church or from environments controlled by the Church.²⁴⁹ Serapheim's thorough education made him an exception within the illiterate or semi-literate clergy of eighteenth-century Anatolia. He was a pioneer known for his broad education²⁵⁰ and became the key figure in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika publications, with twelve titles out of twenty. He worked as a preacher, superintendent, editor and translator and also published nine titles in Greek, while spending his life constantly in motion.

The actual date of Serapheim Attaliates' (or the equivalent Pissidios in Greek sources) birth is not known, but estimations set it around 1720.²⁵¹ His birthplace was Antalya in Asia Minor, from which he adopted his name.²⁵² He had his first

²⁴⁹ Filippou Iliou, *Ιστορίες του Ελληνικού Βιβλίου*, eds. Στρατής Μπουρνάζος, Πόπη Πολέμη, Άννα Ματθαίου (Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης, 2005): 27. See also Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*.

²⁵⁰ His publications show that, apart from Turkish and Greek, he had also probably mastered Italian and Latin. His book *Ευαγγελική Σάλπιγξ* [*Evangeliki Salpiks*] (Evangelical trumpet) notes that he had corrected the orthography after he found many mistakes caused by the ignorance of the printers in Leipzig. *Ευαγγελική Σάλπιγξ*, 1758:380. See also Παμπούκης, *Πετριμίζ*, 20. Theocharides, *Οι περιγραφές της Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου*, 33. In the preface of CSK1756:vii Serapheim notes the great differences between the two languages (Greek and Turkish) and the difficulties caused in translation. But, “in spite of these difficulties he translated with great diligence,” citing his own words.

²⁵¹ The only information we have regarding Serapheim's birth date comes from his first biographer, Danieloglou. The aforementioned date is reproduced in all later sources. See D. E. Danieloglou, *Πρόδρομοι της Ελληνικής Αναγεννήσεως των Γραμμάτων εν τη Ανατολή, (κυρίως Μικρά Ασία): Σεραφείμ Μητροπολίτης Αγκύρας Ατταλεύς* (Κωνσταντινούπολη: Τύποις Ανατολικού Αστέρως, 1865), 4.

²⁵² Serapheim used to undersign his Karamanlidika books as Attaliates or Attalyali, namely from Antalya, and the Greek books as Pissidios (from Pissidia), the Greek name of the region. In the preface of IpK1753:6, he mentions that he was born and raised in Anatolia.

lessons in Kayseri and later moved to Izmir in order to develop his education.²⁵³ During his stay there, he was, according to Danieloglou, ordained a deacon.²⁵⁴ Serapheim's mother tongue was Turkish, and he learned Greek probably during his education as a deacon.²⁵⁵ In 1751, Serapheim visited Cyprus, where he was ordained as a monk in Kykkos Monastery. The entry in the relevant codex of Kykkos Monastery reads: 'During the year 1751, the great Serapheim who originates from Antalya, came for pilgrimage and with his own will was ordained in the Brotherhood, where he was elected as Protosigkellos; he took orders to travel to Venice.'²⁵⁶

It is not clear why Serapheim was characterised in the aforementioned entry as great. Until recently it was based on the belief that, when he arrived in Cyprus, he had already published his first Karamanlidika book in 1746 in Venice, a supposition which we think is unwarranted (see 0.8.13.).

His visit to Cyprus around 1751, supposedly for a pilgrimage, has two rather obscure dimensions. The first is the fact that Serapheim, during his visit to the island, was already excommunicated from the Church for unknown reasons. In 1751, the Monastery had sent letters to its representatives to Istanbul to urge for

²⁵³ Danieloglou, *Πρόδρομοι της Ελληνικής Αναγεννήσεως των Γραμμάτων*, 4; Stathi, "Τα τουρκογραφικά βιβλία," 330–331; Theocharides, *Οι περιγραφές της Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου*, 33–34; Costis Kokkinofas, *Η Μονή Κύκκου στο Αρχείο της Αρχιεπισκοπής Κύπρου (1634–1878)* (Λευκωσία: Κέντρο Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου, 2011), 132. Danieloglou mentions that Serapheim was engaged, but he soon left his fiancée in order to devote himself to God. It is said that many years later, he visited his birthplace, where he met his fiancée. See Danieloglou, *Πρόδρομοι της Ελληνικής Αναγεννήσεως των Γραμμάτων*, 132.

²⁵⁴ Danieloglou, *Πρόδρομοι της Ελληνικής Αναγεννήσεως των Γραμμάτων*, 4; Stathi, "Τα τουρκογραφικά βιβλία," 330.

²⁵⁵ Eckmann, "Die karamanische Literatur," 4. Clogg, "The publication and distribution of Karamanli texts," 65; Gavriel, "Οι προλόγοι της Καραμανλίδικης και της Ελληνικής έκδοσης," 380. The preface of his book *Τζοϋμλε Σεενήν Κυριακληρινέ Τζεβάπ βέ Νασαατλάρ* of 1756 notes that he writes for his fellow Anatolian Christians in their own dialect.

²⁵⁶ Theodoros Papadopoulos, *Κώδιξ Μονής Κύκκου* (Λευκωσία: Κέντρο Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου, 2008), 38. The original text reads: "Κατὰ τὸ αἴτησιν ποσὲτὲθ εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν σὺναξιν ὁ ἐν σπουδαίοις κὺρ Σεραφεῖμ ὁ ἐξ Ἀτταλείας, ἐλθὼν μὲν προσκυνήσεως χάριν, ἐκουσίῳ δὲ τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν πατέρων καταταχθεὶς, δι' ὅπερ καὶ πρωτοσύγκελλος τῆς μονῆς ψηφισθεὶς ἀπήλθε μὲ μοναστηριακὰ γράμματα ὡς ταξιδιώτης εἰς Βενετίαν." The date (like every date in the codex), although possibly accurate, should be dealt with cautiously since, as previously mentioned, the published codex contains several errors, which were either not deciphered correctly or written incorrectly in the first place. See Kokkinofas, *Η Μονή Κύκκου*, 133–134.

Serapheim's acquittal,²⁵⁷ and in the meantime, the Brotherhood of Kykkos Monastery gave him the rank of *Protosigkellos*,²⁵⁸ a rather high rank for someone who had just arrived, and one which bears several administrative duties. The Brotherhood was so concerned with this case that it actually paid to get the job done. In the codex of Kykkos Monastery we find an entry saying: 'and for the acquittal of the deposed Serapheim, an amount of 100 piasters maximum, to be given by hand to Arsenios, as amount spent for the acquittal'.²⁵⁹ His acquittal occurred finally in January 1753.²⁶⁰ The second dimension of this story concerns the great fire which burned the Monastery of Kykkos to the ground in 1751. Taking into consideration the relations the monastery had with Asia Minor,²⁶¹ the monastery's need for money for its reconstruction after the fire and the active role Serapheim played in the monastery's financial support, I think we should put a question mark on Serapheim's visit to Cyprus for a pilgrimage since, as it seems, this development was rather convenient for both sides. Serapheim needed financial support to publish his books, while the monastery needed money in general, so both hoped to gain financially from the publication of religious books.

1.1. The fire of 1751

In the course of its history Kykkos Monastery suffered four major fires in 1365,

²⁵⁷ Papadopoulos, *Κώδιξ Μονής Κύκκου*, 8.

²⁵⁸ Theocharides, *Οι περιγραφές της Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου*, 37.

²⁵⁹ Papadopoulos, *Κώδιξ Μονής Κύκκου*, 8. The original text reads: "... καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀθώωσιν τοῦ καθαιρεθέντος Σεραφεῖμ νὰ δώσει διὰ χειρὸς τοῦ διδασκάλου κὺρ Ἀρσένιου ἕως ἑκατὸν γρόσια, ἂν τρέξουν, εἰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξωδεύθη θεία χάριτι εἰς τὴν ἀθώωσιν τούτου."

²⁶⁰ The original text of Serapheim's acquittal can be found in Theocharides, *Οι περιγραφές της Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου*, 230–231, and in English translation in Ioannis Theocharides "Unexploited sources on Serapheim Pissidios," in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Karamanlidika Studies. Nicosia 11-13.09.2008*, eds. Evangelia Balta, Matthias Kappler, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 126–127. In the acquittal letter, it is mentioned that Serapheim had been completely dismissed from the holy orders due to the scandals that occurred in the province of Ankara and that the acquittal is given for the sake of the Holy Monastery. It must be mentioned and taken into consideration that Kykkos monastery served also as a place of exile for monks. (See Theocharis Stavrides, *Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο και Κύπρος, τα Πατριαρχικά έγγραφα των ετών 1600-1878* (Λευκωσία: Κέντρο Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου, 2001a), 155–157. However, there is no solid evidence proving that Serapheim was exiled.

²⁶¹ The monastery of Kykkos had branches (metochia) in many places in Asia Minor. Some of them were in Istanbul, Amasya, Bursa, Izmir and Antalya. See Σταυρίδης, *Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο*, 133–146; Victor Roudometof and Michalis N. Michael, "Economic Functions of Monasticism in Cyprus: The Case of Kykkos Monastery," *Religions* 1 (2010): 54–77.

1541, 1751 and 1813. Specific evidence on the causes is not available although for the fires prior to Serapheim's editions, some stories are included in its books. For example, in APK1782:25 he mentions that the monastery was burnt down three times, but that they did not know how the fire started. In KIN1753:58 he refers to the fire of 1541 saying that a villager who wanted to collect honey started a fire in order to move the bees away and then the fire got out of hand. The fire of 1813 caused a huge damage, especially to the monastery's library. In all likelihood, many books, manuscripts and archive materials were destroyed, since the monastery does not possess any Karamanlidika books from the eighteenth-century. The fire of 1751, which is of special importance for us here, happened in November of the same year and events were thoroughly described by Costis Kokkinofas (2008). The fire destroyed almost everything, the rooms of the monks and guest rooms, heirlooms and manuscripts and the church itself. Beside material damages there were also human losses. Some people who were residing in the guest rooms, eight in total, possibly merchants from Asia Minor, died in the fire and that caused the monastery a great deal of trouble. The authorities took the issue to trial, accusing the monks of appropriating the dead people's belongings.²⁶² Great amounts of money were given by the monks for the monastery's reconstruction, but fundraising missions were also organised within the island and also in other areas. In 1754 fundraising missions were conducted in the Asia Minor region by monks and Serapheim himself, where he distributed the first books he printed in Venice in 1753, and then returned to Cyprus with donations and earnings.²⁶³

The monastery was finally rebuilt in 1755 but repairs and additions continued for several years. In the documents from the Ottoman archive of the monastery published by Theocharides (1993) we observe that the works went on for several decades. During the 1750s we see documents relevant to the fire and the repairs.²⁶⁴ In the 1760s there are documents dating from 1763–1769 relating to petitions for

²⁶² See Costis Kokkinofas, "Οι πυρκαγιές στη Μονή Κύκκου," *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου* 8 (2008): 91–114.

²⁶³ Papadopoulos, *Κώδιξ Μονής Κύκκου*, 4.

²⁶⁴ Ioannes P. Theocharides, *Οθωμανικά έγγραφα 1572-1839*, τόμος Β', Αρχείο Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου, 1, Λευκωσία 1993, 747, 757, 781, 819.

repairs²⁶⁵ and the same applies to the next decade with documents dating from 1772–1776.²⁶⁶ During the 1780s we have again several documents concerning repairs but also a request in 1787 for constructing extra guest rooms, since the existing rooms were not sufficient to accommodate all the people who visited the monastery.²⁶⁷ It is remarkable that the monastery was rebuilt in just four years, even if they continued improving it in later years. These developments might be closely related to Serapheim's activities, as will be discussed later on.

1.2. Early life, Cyprus and Venice

In the same year 1751, following his stay in Kykkos Monastery, Serapheim went to Venice,²⁶⁸ to supervise the first edition of the Description of the History of Kykkos Monastery. In 1753, he returned to Cyprus with the first two Karamanlidika editions.²⁶⁹ The time of his departure is not clear, but the next available piece of information reveals that he went to Asia Minor and, more precisely, to Kayseri, where he appointed representatives of the Monastery.²⁷⁰

1.2.1. The confiscated books

In 1755, Serapheim was once more in Venice to publish books when he was caught in a conflict between Latinising and Orthodox Greeks regarding the content of his books. As it was prohibited to publish books of dogmas other than the Catholic, Greeks who moved to the Catholic Church passed on the information about Serapheim's books to the authorities, and Serapheim was forced to find refuge in the British consulate in order to save his life.²⁷¹ As we shall see later on, this conflict that made printing in Venice difficult for Serapheim was the result of printing restricted material on his behalf, which might be closely connected to the rivalries between printers, which had their roots in financial motives.

²⁶⁵ Theocharides, *Οθωμανικά έγγραφα*, τόμος Β', 921, 933, 939, 947, 953, 971, 983, 987, 1029.

²⁶⁶ Theocharides, *Οθωμανικά έγγραφα*, τόμος Γ', 1071, 1147, 1149, 1161, 1163.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 1441, 1473.

²⁶⁸ Kokkinoftas, *Η Μονή Κύκκου*, 133.

²⁶⁹ Papadopoulos, *Κώδιξ Μονής Κύκκου*, 4.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 40–41; Theocharides, *Οι περιγραφές της Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου*, 38.

²⁷¹ For the issue of Anabaptism, see Giorgos Deligiannis, "Ανέκδοτος επιστολή του Σεραφείμ του Πισσιδίου," *Κυπριακά Χρονικά* (1927): 241–245.

In his letter to his teacher Ephraim, written in the British embassy, Serapheim recounts how the books he had already printed were confiscated by the authorities from the place they were hidden, the house of the well-known Greek merchant Maroutzis.²⁷² Serapheim writes that he had hidden the books in order to protect them because the ship was not ready yet to depart. In the meantime, a copy of the books fell into the hands of a pro-Latin priest, who, after reading some pages, went straight to the authorities in order to make a complaint. The judges ordered a search of Maroutzis's house, and although some of the judges ("favourable to us", in Serapheim's words) delayed the search in order to provide enough time to move the books, this did not happen. Neither did Maroutzis deny their existence, so the books were confiscated and, at some point later, burnt. Serapheim mentions that he was furious and went straight to Maroutzis and cursed him.²⁷³ Some days later, Maroutzis was murdered by an old enemy. In the end of his letter, Serapheim says that if he manages to save his own life, he will go to Leipzig in order to print the books again in Greek and Latin, and for the time being, he sends to Cyprus two titles in Turkish, in total two thousand books.²⁷⁴ He also asks for the books to be sold rather than given for free, or sent on journeys,²⁷⁵ until the debt of the Monastery is settled.

The choice to head to Leipzig might not have been a chance piece of luck since the Cypriot monk Gedeon Ayiotafitis had resided there since 1754. Gedeon was the vicar of the Greek Orthodox community in Leipzig, but also worked for Breitkopf printing house.²⁷⁶ He is also the one who undersigns a salutation towards the guardian of the Holy Sepulchre in Serapheim's edition KŞ1758. We should keep in

²⁷² The letter is cited in Greek in Theocharides, *Οι περιγραφές της Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου*, 39–45, and translated to English in Theocharides, "Unexploited Sources," 131–134.

²⁷³ Interestingly, Serapheim praises Maroutzis as a good Christian in the preface of his CSK1756, one of the books he managed to save and send to Cyprus. I would assume that the book was printed before the incident.

²⁷⁴ Actually, the Karamanlidika books of that date are three, but there may have been an earlier shipment.

²⁷⁵ By journey, he meant the fundraising journeys, namely "ziteia" missions.

²⁷⁶ Sklavenites, "Ανθολόγια και συνθετικές εκδόσεις λειτουργικού βιβλίων," 190. Regarding Gedeon see also Pachalis M. Kitromilides, *Κυπριακής Λογιοσύνη 1571–1878, προσωπογραφική θεώρηση* (Λευκωσία, Κέντρο Επιστημονικών Ερευνών, Λευκωσία, 2002), 111–112. Regarding Breitkopf printing house see Staikos, *Εκδοτικά Τυπογραφικά σήματα*, xiii.

mind that there was a considerable number of Eastern Christians working in Europe as librarians, printers, correctors and translators or who gained entrance to elite circles of power and patronage,²⁷⁷ so probably after the incident Serapheim went to a place where he knew he could ask for help.

The aforementioned conflict was, in my opinion, a provocation from some circles in Venice with religious or financial motives. Every book had to have permission to be printed in Venice, which was granted after censoring, so the content of books would not come in conflict with their teachings.²⁷⁸ Furthermore, the liturgical book as a product was so successful that it often created tensions and rivalries among the printers for the permission to print such titles.²⁷⁹ The permission for printing was also added inside the book,²⁸⁰ and after the printing was done, the title was recorded in the printers' union register, and copies of the book were given to libraries. The publication of religious books was, as mentioned before, a very profitable industry because of the guaranteed success of the books. Indicative of this fact is how easily religious books found funding, and often even the printers undertook the cost because of their guaranteed profit.²⁸¹ Moreover, the printers would buy the copyrights for several years, something that caused conflicts with other printers.²⁸² The three Karamanlidika titles of 1756²⁸³ were printed in the printing house of Bortoli, but the Greek title *Λαυσαϊκόν* [Lafsaikon],²⁸⁴ written by Ephraim, was printed in the same period in the Glykis printing house, the rival of Bortoli. We do not know in which printing house the confiscated titles were

²⁷⁷ John-Paul A. Ghobrial, "The Secret Life of Elias of Babylon and the Uses of Global Microhistory," *Past and Present* 222/1 (2014): 83–84.

²⁷⁸ See Veloudes, *Το ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκίδων*, 80–82.

²⁷⁹ Sklavenites, "Ανθολόγια και συνθετικές εκδόσεις λειτουργικού βιβλίων," 181.

²⁸⁰ In most of Serapheim's books printed in Venice, there is a page with the title *Noi Riformatori* containing the permission for printing in Italian.

²⁸¹ Veloudes, *Το ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκίδων*, 78–79, 104.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 32–33. The author refers here to the two major printers for Greek books, Bortoli and Glykis. Both printed books for Serapheim and Kykkos Monastery.

²⁸³ Serapheim's letter has the date 1755, but the book he sent was dated 1756. This might be a result of wrong reading of the source or due to the fact that printing was a time-consuming procedure that could take months, and the front pages were an outcome of wrong calculations. Concerning the factors affecting printing in eighteenth-century Venice, see Veloudes, *Το ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκίδων*, 76–79. There is also an entry in a codex of Kykkos Monastery regarding this shipment in 1755. The entry mentions that, among other things, two thousand books and apantahouses (documents for "ziteia") were sent by Serapheim. Papadopoulos, *Κώδιξ Μονής Κύκκου*, 5.

²⁸⁴ Veloudes, *Το ελληνικό τυπογραφείο των Γλυκίδων*, 208.

printed, but we know for sure that they were in Greek, since Serapheim reprinted them in 1758 in Leipzig, as he mentioned in his letter. Taking into consideration the need for a licence to print in mid-eighteenth-century Venice and the rivalry between printers, I believe that the aforementioned incident could shed light on the complicated relations in the printing industry of eighteenth-century Venice and therefore we should research the agency of publishers more thoroughly.

1.3. Preacher and Metropolitan

Serapheim went to Leipzig as promised, where he printed four books in 1758, three in Greek and one in Karamanlidika. In two of his Greek books, he railed against the Latins because of the incident in Venice. In the front page of the book *Ευαγγελική Σάλπιγξ*, he writes that this is the second edition, since the first was burned by the Latins, but now published despite their malevolence. In the book *Βιβλίον Καλούμενον Ραντισμού στηλίτευσς* [Vivlion Kaloumenon Rantismou Stilitefsis] ‘Book called sprinkling’s deprecation’ 1758:5, he mentions that the book is published in three languages, Greek, Italian and Latin (as he promised to his teacher in his letter), clarifying that it was written in Italian for the laymen and Latin for theologians, in order ‘to hit them with their own weapon’. Until then all of Serapheim’s books, with the exception of his first book, were funded by Kykkos Monastery.

In 1759, he was settled in the metochio of Kykkos Monastery in Istanbul with the title of Archimandrites, where he continued to serve and help the monastery.²⁸⁵ He acted as a preacher for ten years in Istanbul,²⁸⁶ publishing in that decade only one title, in 1767.²⁸⁷ Until recently it was known that Serapheim was sometime Metropolitan of Ankara, but the actual dates were under question. The dispute concerning this period was solved by Kokkinoftas with the publication of the

²⁸⁵ In the codex of Kykkos Monastery, we find several entries regarding items or money sent by Serapheim. This continues until 1765. See Papadopoulos, *Κώδιξ Μονής Κύκκου*, 40–41, 5–6.

²⁸⁶ In the preface of his book *Πνευματική Κιθάρα* [Pneumatiki Kithara] of 1783, on page 5, he writes: “In the city of cities, I preached for ten years for the Turkish speaking Christians (Anatolitas).” See also Kokkinoftas, *Η Μονή Κύκκου*, 138. In the codex of Kykkos Monastery one can find various entry regarding the appointment of Serapheim as a fundraising traveller in Istanbul; see Papadopoulos, *Κώδιξ Μονής Κύκκου*, 8–9, 15.

²⁸⁷ As mentioned in 0.8.13. it is possible the edition might not exist.

documents of his enthronement and resignation. Serapheim was elected a Metropolitan of Ankara in 1773 and resigned in 1779 for unknown reasons.²⁸⁸ Unfortunately we do not have any other information regarding how he was elected or his actions during that period. Nevertheless, we know for sure that he published one Karamanlidika book in that period. Later on in 1782, he published the enlarged *Description of the History of the Monastery of Kykkos* in Greek and Turkish, two Greek titles and two other Karamanlidika titles, the PsD1782 and the RAB1782, showing perhaps a reconnection with the Monastery of Kykkos. In 1783, he published his last books, two in Greek and two in Turkish, all printed in Venice. It is said that during the last years of his life, he served again as a preacher in Istanbul.²⁸⁹ The only information regarding Serapheim's death comes from his first biographer, Danieloglou, mentioning he died in 1790 and was buried with honours in Zoodochos Pigi (Baloukli) Monastery in Istanbul.²⁹⁰

1.4. Legacy

In the prefaces of his books, Serapheim often points out the need for books for the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia in order for them to be able to preserve their faith. He also stresses that they do not know the Greek language, in which all the

²⁸⁸ The relevant documents can be found in Kokkinoftas, *H Μονή Κύκκου*, 401–402. It is said that during the Mass, due to his short temper, he hit and killed a deacon with a heavy gospel, and that was the reason for his resignation. See Danieloglou, *Πρόδρομοι της Ελληνικής Αναγεννήσεως των Γραμμάτων*, 6.

²⁸⁹ Kokkinoftas, *H Μονή Κύκκου*, 141.

²⁹⁰ Danieloglou, *Πρόδρομοι της Ελληνικής Αναγεννήσεως των Γραμμάτων*, 24. In November 2013, I tried to trace Serapheim's burial place in Zoodochos Pigi, but it was not possible. Unfortunately, a fire in the mid-nineteenth-century destroyed all written evidence, and the cemetery suffered much damage from time to time during riots, but it is known that Turkophone Orthodox Christians and especially those originating from Cappadocia had a special relationship with Zoodochos Pigi. See Marios Hadjopoulos, "(Απο)-Τηγανίζοντας τα ψάρια στο Μπαλουκλί. Διάλογος για ένα θρύλο," *Λόγος και χρόνος στη Νεοελληνική γραμματεία (18ος-19ος αιώνας)*, in *Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου προς τιμήν του Αλέξη Πολίτη*, Ρέθυμνο 12–14 Απριλίου 2013, eds. Στέφανος Κακλαμάνος - Αλέξης Καλοκαιρινός - Δημήτρης Πολυχρονάκης, (Ηράκλειο: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης) 588, 595. In the codex of Kykkos Monastery it is mentioned that Serapheim was a benefactor for the monastery since he promised in 1758 to give every year 11 piasters to the monastery on its celebration day, see Papadopoulos, *Κώδιξ Μονής Κύκκου*, 43. Regarding the Karamanlidika inscriptions at Zoodochos Pigi, see Richard Clogg, "Some Karamanlidika Inscriptions from the monastery of the Zoodokos Pigi, Balikli, Istanbul" in *Anatolica – Studies in the Greek East in the eighteenth and nineteenth Centuries*. Aldershot (Hampshire: Varorium, 1987); and Iordanoglou "Καραμανλίδικες επιγραφές."

holy texts are written, so those books are not effective. In KIN1753:3 he writes: ‘I offer this book for the preservation of faith in Anatolia, translated in Turkish, since the teachings of our faith are all written in Hellenic, or simple Greek, which is useful only for people knowing these languages and completely useless for the people in Anatolia’.²⁹¹ In IpK1753:6 ‘Those who do not know the Greek language, like the Christians in Anatolia of the Eastern Church, experience great difficulties and are deprived from the holy dictums’²⁹². Apart from his personal motivation to help his fellow Christians, he notes that many of them had urged him to translate the holy texts into their language,²⁹³ suggesting that according to some circles, Anatolia was in great need of Christian books written in Turkish. The need for books was met during the second half of the eighteenth-century mainly because of Serapheim’s efforts and the financial support of the Monastery of Kykkos. Therefore, in 1782, in his Greek book *Σύνταγμα ἡτοῖ χρηστοθήεια* [Sintagma itoi Christoithia] ‘Constitution of Christian morality’²⁹⁴ 1782:13–14, Serapheim praises the monastery for all its help, stressing that the Monastery did this for the preservation of faith, without having any other interest or profit. The truth might be somewhere in the middle. As pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, the relationship between Serapheim and Kykkos Monastery was one of mutual benefit. Serapheim was pardoned thanks to the Monastery and was given very specific duties, apart from the publication of books, like the organisation of a system of representatives in Asia Minor, which brought the Monastery great amounts of money.²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ “προσφέρω καὶ καθιερῶ ταύτην τὴν μικρὰν βιβλίον... εἰμὶ πρὸς Κόσμησιν τῶν Χριστιανικῶν Ἡθῶν, Διόρθωσιν τῶν Πνευματικῶν τοῦ... με τὴν ὁθωμανικὴν διάλεκτον... τὰ ὅποια πάντα ἐξηγοῦνται τὰ τῆς Πίστεως, καὶ τῶν Ὁρθῶν Δογμάτων ἢ εἰς τὴν Ἀπλὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἡμῶν διάλεκτον, ἢ καὶ τὴν ἐλληνικὴν, βιβλία χρήσιμα μόνον εἰς τοὺς οἰδότας ταύτας τὰς διαλέκτους, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἀνατολίτας παντάπασιν ἀνωφελῇ.”

²⁹² “ὅθεν ὅσοι ἐγνωρίζουσι ταύτας τὰς διαλέκτους [ἐλληνικά] μετέρχονται εὐκόλως τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ περὶ τῆς πίστεως βιβλία. ὅσοι δὲ ἀγνοοῦσιν αὐτάς, ἀμοιροποῦσι καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βιβλίων, καὶ ἐπομένως ὑστεροῦνται τὰ τῆς πίστεως αὐτὰ ἱερὰ διδάγματα, ὅτι λογῆς μάλιστα εἶναι οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ ὄντες Ὁρθόδοξοι, τῆς ἀνατολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας.”

²⁹³ IpK1753:6 In the codex of Kykkos Monastery, there is an entry in 1754 saying that the Monastery received letters from Anatolian Christians requesting books in Turkish. See Papadopoulos, *Κώδιξ Μονῆς Κύκκου*, 4.

²⁹⁴ Henceforth SChr1782.

²⁹⁵ It is known that Serapheim never lived in Cyprus for long periods of time, nor had he been involved in the society. See Theocharides, *Οἱ περιγραφές τῆς Ἱεράς Μονῆς Κύκκου*, 39.

This was done mainly through the practice of fundraising (*ziteia* in Greek), a very popular practice in the Eastern churches, which aimed at the collection of money from the flock.²⁹⁶ The appointed representative for the journey, who often had the rank of *Protosigkellos* for reasons of prestige, followed a predetermined route, on which he collected money by performing rituals or by selling things like small icons, indulgences,²⁹⁷ or in the case of Anatolia, books. The traveller carried documents proving his mission, known as *apantahouses* (plural of *apantahousa* (encyclical letter)), which were created after he elected to make the journey. Among Serapheim's tasks in Cyprus was the preparation and printing of the first printed *apantahousa* in Karamanlidika, the only known until today.²⁹⁸ In other words, Serapheim provided the Monastery with all the means to perform fundraising in Asia Minor, and the Monastery provided Serapheim with the means to publish his books. Furthermore, the Monastery needed money for its reconstruction after the fire. In the codex of the Monastery, we read in 1759: 'For the amount of whites (meaning the Ottoman currency akçe) given for Serapheim from Antalya, the Monastery was repaid by the sale of Turkish books'.²⁹⁹ Serapheim notes in the preface of his book SChr1782:18-19, that the abbot of the monastery urged him not to neglect the completion of books and describes the difficulties of reconstructing the Monastery in stone rather than the wood it was

²⁹⁶ Regarding *ziteia*, see Eleni Angelomati-Tsougkaraki, "Το φαινόμενο της Ζητείας κατά τη μεταβυζαντινή περίοδο," *Ιόνιος Λόγος* 1 (2007): 247–293. People from Eastern churches went as far as Spain and the New World for alms collecting purposes, even though in Spain there was a prohibition for Greeks and Armenians. See Ghobrial, "The Secret Life," 63. The privilege of conducting fund raising missions derived from the so-called Stavropiyion, meaning that the monastery was erected with a cross in its foundations. The Stavropiyion privileges (supposedly granted by the Byzantine emperor Aleksios Komninos in the eleventh-century AD) were verified by Patriarchal letters that were often included in the editions. Regarding the Stavropiyion of Kykkos Monastery, the privilege in general and the patriarchal letters see Theodoros Stavrides, *Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο και Κύπρος, τα Πατριαρχικά έγγραφα των ετών 1600–1878*, [Ecumenical Patriarchate and Cyprus, The Patriarchal documents for the years 1600–1878], Κέντρο Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου, Λευκωσία, 2001a, 97, 102–105.

²⁹⁷ Angelomati-Tsougkaraki, "Το φαινόμενο της Ζητείας," 256.

²⁹⁸ Regarding the first printed *apantahousa* in Karamanlidika, see Stelios Irakleous, "Day-andi ve yaşadı: Reading between the lines of Serapheim Attalates's and Kykkos Monastery's relationship" *Archivum Ottomanicum* 32 (2015): 179–98. Regarding other cases of this kind of documents in Karamanlidika, see Pinelopi Stathi, "Δύο Εγκύκλια Πατριαρχικά γράμματα στα Καραμανλικά," *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 5 (1984–1985): 103–132.

²⁹⁹ Papadopoulos, *Κώδιξ Μονής Κύκκου*, 63.

built from in its previous form. It is obvious that the Monastery was not losing money by funding Serapheim – they would not have urged him to complete his work had they not been benefiting from it. According to the codices of the Monastery, its wealth and belongings in Cyprus alone (animals, land and mainly mills)³⁰⁰ and the commercial ships of the monastery,³⁰¹ did provide a very good income.

Both Serapheim and Kykkos Monastery gained a lot from this close relationship. The impact these books had on the people of Anatolia is still to be investigated. Serapheim was the first to print more many Karamanlidika titles in large tirages. The major advantage was that the books could be easily distributed by the network of branches Kykkos Monastery had in Asia Minor.³⁰² So, the books were reaching their audience, and provided religious material for the Turkophone Christian Orthodox of Anatolia.

1.5. Serapheim the scribe

After dealing with Serapheim's life an attempt will be made to take a closer look how he composed his books and explore the possibility of characterising him as scribe who moved to the printing age, which enabled him to express and disseminate his ideas on religious language and practices. Serapheim spent his life in constant motion and information about him is scarce and scattered. With very little personal information available – we know him only from his work – our efforts for classifying him as a scribe must be confined to utilising his work and the few references we have about his life.

Serapheim Attaliates originated from Antalya in Asia Minor but moved for his first lessons to the one of the main towns of the region, Kayseri, for his initial

³⁰⁰ Michalis N. Michael, *To Tσιφλίκι (Çiftlik) της Οθωμανικής περιόδου, Μοναστηριακά τσιφλίκια στους κώδικες 49 (1813–1841) και 51 (1818–1881) της Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου* (Λευκωσία: Κέντρο Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου, 2005), 124–140. See also Roudometof and Michael, “Economic Functions of Monasticism,” 58–68.

³⁰¹ The monastery had its own commercial ships that sailed across eastern Mediterranean under the flag of Virgin Mary. Some of them were the La madonna di Cicco and Saint George, see Perdakis, *Η Μονή Κύκκου*, 23.

³⁰² The distribution seems to have followed a general Christian practice of developing book circulation through request and social networks, see Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters*, 78.

education. He later on moved to Izmir, the second largest town after Istanbul, to develop his education and it is here we presume he was ordained a deacon and also learned Greek. With Asia Minor being mainly an agricultural area in the early eighteenth-century, with remote areas lacking resources and manpower in terms of religious infrastructure, Serapheim had to move in order to broaden his knowledge. Scholars from urban areas were speaking about rural ignorance but again there was no position for people with a broad education in villages since it was difficult to earn one's living.³⁰³ Anyone originating from a village who wished to pursue a religious career and aiming to something more than the traditional Christian learning offered in monasteries, had to receive training from religious masters located in urban centres.³⁰⁴ Serapheim, being originally Turkish speaking, was most probably compelled to learn the Greek language before he was ordained a deacon or shortly thereafter, as he was entering the ranks of the Church where the language of communication, of instruction and of the liturgy, was Greek. In many societies and environments multilingualism is a desideratum, since is difficult to function without knowing at least two more languages. The reasons are often social, associated with prestige or full membership.³⁰⁵ Serapheim could of course function adequately in the upper ranks of Orthodox Christianity just with the Greek language, but he needed Turkish to produce his books and pass on the message to his fellow Anatolians.

His life and work were at the borderline (or were themselves the borderline) of the transition from manuscript to printed text for Karamanlidika, representing a scribe who took the next step, as we shall see soon. Sadly, there are no published works on Karamanlidika religious manuscripts, but it is certain that many of his books relied partly or entirely on books that circulated in manuscript form in Turkish, and in printed form in Greek. His editions reveal his work as translator, editor and writer but also as a scribe who simply copied texts. This shows that although he probably had a scribe's training, he did not only copied material as faithfully as possible, like scribes used to do, but was already developing into a

³⁰³ Grehan, *Twilight of the Saints*, 42.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 45.

³⁰⁵ Sarah G. Thomason, *Language Contact* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), 46.

new kind of scholar-teacher-scribe. This is typical for people in the period of transition from manuscript to book printing, since the emergence of typography created a new network of specialists, very different from and more complex than the pre-existing one, which included a cross-cultural interaction between various specialists. Within this new reality it was not uncommon for former priests and abbots to serve as editors and correctors in printing houses.³⁰⁶

As we shall see soon, Serapheim, like all the scribes, was aware of and in fact embraced his role as a teacher who provided spiritual guidance.³⁰⁷ In many of his introductions he refers to the intellectual decay of his fellow Anatolians, and that many of them urged him to write books in their language. In these comments one can trace the scribe within Serapheim. Scribes acted as safeguards against forgetting, and against modification in the tradition, as it was described in the volumes stored in monasteries and churches.³⁰⁸ As a result most scribes tended to over-stress the importance and correctness of their task by saying that they copied the sacred texts letter by letter, or its difficulty, by emphasising the struggle to find the correct syllables.³⁰⁹ Serapheim often stressed the difficulty of his task in his books. In the book KIN1753 he says he went to Venice as they (the printers) were unaware of the Turkish language and *çok zahmetilen üç keret düzelttim, ille gine olmadı, kusursus bir allah*, namely ‘with lots of effort I corrected it three times, but again only God is unmistakable’, meaning that, although he had put a lot of effort he cannot guarantee its perfection, since only God is perfect.³¹⁰ On another occasion he writes, referring to the book NTh1756, *Orthodoxos Hristianların kıfâeliyi için, bu kitabı türk lisanından tefsir olunumuşikan, tekrar kendim, zahmetilen düzelttim, basmaya götürdük* – that is, ‘his book previously translated into Turkish, I re-corrected it myself and brought it to print for the satisfaction of the Orthodox Christians’.³¹¹ It is as if every letter, every little segment, carried the wisdom of heavens and had to be faithfully and exactly reproduced in order not to

³⁰⁶ Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in early Modern Europe*, 24

³⁰⁷ Walker, “Ascetic Literacy: Books and Readers in East Syrian Monastic Tradition,” 310.

³⁰⁸ Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 272.

³⁰⁹ Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters*, 54.

³¹⁰ For the original passage see Appendix 1.2.

³¹¹ For the original passage see Appendix 1.4.

damage the book as an artefact,³¹² and therefore alternate the message of God.

In their work, however, the scribes followed the lines of tradition and did not take their own preferences as a starting point, although they had the freedom to add or remove parts from a manuscript.³¹³ In the next section we shall try to trace the evidence for the transition from manuscript to printed book in Serapheim's work, by examining issues of allocation of copies, setting of the books and content.

1.5.1. From manuscript to printed book

Just like in the age of scribes and manuscripts, the culture of the printing press is subject to fundamental principles around the use of alphabetical script and the compliance to the obvious or implicit traditions that define the society in which the printer works.³¹⁴ As in the manuscript era, when the choice of the script was often subject to politico-ecclesiastical decisions,³¹⁵ in the transitional-period printers often tried to copy in print a given manuscript in the most faithful way, with some scribes trying to do the same in the other direction – copy a printed book into manuscripts as faithfully as possible.³¹⁶ The printers did not just merely use the same setting and characters but also ligatures like the ones used in manuscripts. Different styles of script were also being used for specific purposes and the initial letters in printed books were crafted by the same calligraphers who worked on manuscripts. This was not just about imitation but more of an evolutionary procedure, since “the advent of the printing press did not mean a sudden change in the appearance of the book”.³¹⁷

Serapheim seems to have followed this tradition as well. He does not elaborate on why he did this, whether it had something to do with the holiness of each book, or whether he was just trying to make a faithful copy. His books that are

³¹² Grehan, *Twilight of the Saints*, 56.

³¹³ Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 144.

³¹⁴ Stanley Morison, *Βασικές Αρχές της Τυπογραφίας*, trans. by Klimis Mastoridis (Θεσσαλονίκη: Τυποφύλια, 1990), 17.

³¹⁵ Stanley Morison, *Politics and Script: Aspects of authority and freedom in the development of Graeco-Latin script from the sixth century BC to the twentieth-century AD*, ed. Nicolas Barker (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1972), 269.

³¹⁶ Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in early Modern Europe*, 21.

³¹⁷ Lucien Febvre & Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book, The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, trans. by David Gerard (London: Verso, 1997), 77–78.

translations based entirely or partly on books that were circulating in Greek illustrate great similarities in the choice of fonts, typographic ornaments and the general setting of the book. In Appendix 4 the great similarities between books in Greek and Karamanlidika can be observed. One might argue that it was the result of printing in the same house, or that the two editions were printed in the same time period but neither of these two situations applies. The Greek edition from 4.1 was printed in 1657 while the Turkish one (4.2.) was printed in 1756. Similarly, the Greek edition in 4.3 was printed in 1705 and the Turkish (4.4.) in 1753, all printed in Venice but in different printing houses. So it is more than possible that Serapheim had seen these editions in person before putting to print his own books. The final appearance of a book was (and is) subject to many factors. Some rules remain fundamental, as the purpose of the printer is to express the wishes of the writer and every change must occur after an agreement between the two parties.³¹⁸ In contrast to that, we see that writers or books that were considered to be best-selling could get categorised by the printers, and a rubric or some other characteristic element created for similar books.³¹⁹ As regards Serapheim's books, we can only speculate but probably the truth is somewhere in the middle. Most of the books he published were considered to be best-selling in their Greek form, so a rubric must have been there for title pages for the printers to use. The printer could use the Greek rubric, but even if did not wanted to use it for various reasons (e.g. avoid confusion between Greek and Karamanlidika books, classifying books on terms of language and not content), he could not ignore his client's wishes for a more faithful copy in comparison to its Greek equivalent.

Another element in Serapheim's books that points out to the scribal tradition is the use of colophons. According to Heleen Murre van-den Berg and her work on colophons in Syriac manuscripts, colophons are in general something with a clear hierarchy concerning the listing elements, which include the date of completion, the place, the name of the scribe, and often a reference to the donor, if there was

³¹⁸ Morison, *Βασικές Αρχές της Τυπογραφίας*, 32. Regarding the procedures of composition in hand printed books see Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 1995), 5–56.

³¹⁹ Morison, *Βασικές Αρχές της Τυπογραφίας*, 38.

one, while the title and author would also be on the first page.³²⁰

The text of the colophons was a crucial part of the manuscript as it was the one that guaranteed its correctness and trustworthiness.³²¹ With the first printed books lacking a title page, the reader had to turn the pages to see what was contained in the book. The name of the author, date and printer were to be found in the colophon part, a relic from the manuscript form. Later on (fifteenth-century) the printer's mark was added, title pages were created, with all the information moving to the beginning of the book, and by the end of the century nearly all books had title pages.³²²

In Serapheim's books, long after the creation of title pages, we come across both title pages and colophons. This leads to the assumption that the use of colophons is not a part of the evolution of the book as a product, but something rooted in the religious content of the books. The basic elements of the colophon are mentioned in the title pages but Serapheim uses a colophon in the editions IpK1753 and KIN1753 while the benefactor, usually the monastery of Kykkos, is mentioned in the introductions in the form of praises for the Virgin Mary. In both editions from 1753 he uses the traditional triangular shape of colophons but there is a difference in the content. While in IpK153 the colophon consists of praises, in KIN1753 the two colophons (as the book comprises two major parts as already mentioned in 0.7.2) consist of different elements. The first one (Appendix 1.3.), apart from the usual praises, refers to the destruction of Kykkos Monastery, pointing to the function of colophons on adding information on important events, and to the grace the reader will receive from the Virgin Mary if they help. The second (Appendix 1.4.) again contains praises but also mentions the name of the benefactor Hodja Georgi Kubedjoglou.

Moving on to the content of the books, medieval printers in Europe were accustomed to creating compact guide books with indispensable advice on diverse practical matters, like manuals for merchants or pilgrims, or even preachings and prayers to dying in one's bed.³²³ The religious form, concerning Greek Orthodox

³²⁰ Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 141, 128.

³²¹ *Ibid*, 280.

³²² Febvre & Martin, *The Coming of the Book*, 83–84.

³²³ Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in early Modern Europe*, 60-62.

Christianity, of these guide books were produced in the form of anthologies, printed in big volumes of 700 or more pages that contained practical information, with main purpose to act as a replacement for the enormous volumes of 3000 or 4000 pages. They were easier to move around, more useful for remote communities and churches and also for people who moved around often.³²⁴ In fact, this tradition seems to have made its way to Karamanlidika printing, with this being the case with the first edition ever made in Karamanlidika, the book *Κιουλζάρι ιμάνι Μεσιχί* [Gülzar-i iman-i Mesihî] ‘Anthology/compilation of the Christian faith’ printed in 1718 in Istanbul. A good example of how fast these editions were moved around is the *Grammatiki tis Tourkikis Glossis* ‘Grammar of Turkish language’ from 1730 by Kanellos Spanos from the Peloponnese, which copied elements from another grammar by Holderman printed earlier the same year in Istanbul. Kanellos included parts of *Gülzar-i iman-i Mesihî* in his book and urged the audience to read it. In this way a religious book found its way into a grammar book and possibly elements of a religious register were taught through a grammar book.³²⁵

The majority of editions prepared by Serapheim also followed this pattern, including, apart from sermons, lives of saints, descriptions of the Holy Land, indispensable prayers and their explanations (e.g. Πάτερ ημών [Pater imon] RAB1782:65-67), information about conducting basic rituals like marriages (NvB1776:73-83), engagement (NvB1776:69-72), baptisms (NvB1776:84-101) or the aforementioned prayer for someone on their death bed, which appears more than once (NvB1776:115-120, RAB1782:137). In the book HNK1756:177-211 there are instructions on how to perform a marriage and up to what to what degree of kinship one can marry a relative. This points to the practice of comprehensive guide books but also to the agrarian religion mentioned earlier. The nature of the books highlights the existence of an agrarian religion, or a decay of religious ways in the clergy’s eyes, something that needed to be fixed. We also need to consider

³²⁴ Sklavenites, “Ανθολόγια και συνθετικές εκδόσεις λειτουργικού βιβλίων,” 183–184.

³²⁵ Regarding Kanellos’ grammar book see Matthias Kappler, “The place of the *Grammatiki tis Tourkikis Glossis* (1730) by Kanellos Spanos in Ottoman Greek Grammarianism and Its importance for Karamanlidika Studies,” in *Cultural Encounters in the Turkish-Speaking Communities of the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Evangelia Balta (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2014), 105–118.

the possibility that those books were destined primarily for priests in remote areas and their education and then for the lay people.

Christian literature was circulated by social networks, that after the spread of printing presses developed into a system of book circulation that provided the means for dissemination.³²⁶ The monastery of Kykkos had, as discussed earlier, a vast network of branches (metochia) in Asia Minor, which probably became stronger with the addition of Serapheim to the monastery, since they gained access to the Turkophone population as well.

The Turkophone Orthodox Christians of Anatolia seem to be indebted to the books of Serapheim in the same way Christianity was indebted to texts in its formative years,³²⁷ since after the books started to reach them, it is more than possible that they underwent serious cultural changes in religious practices and language. In a time when literacy levels were incredibly low and schooling uncommon, books and the written word must have carried huge prestige and a certain amount of magic for people who have never encountered a book before and did not know how to read it.³²⁸ Therefore the first step of getting the books into the community must have been easy, and with oral recitation and later on with schooling, using these books as handbooks and thereby implementing a “religious” variety, elements such as religious vocabulary or archaisms might have found their way into everyday language.

³²⁶ Haines-Eitzen, *Guardians of Letters*, 78.

³²⁷ Gamble, *A History of Early Christian texts*, 41.

³²⁸ Grehan, *Twilight of the Saints*, 56.

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 [rüsġâr] SBD1783:50, BH1783:109, οὐρουσκιὰρ [ürüsġâr] HNK1756:13, CSK1756:55, ὀρουζκιὰρ [örüsġâr] 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., πασµαγιᾷ [basmaya] KIN1783:32, APK1782:fp, καπούλ [kabul] 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, κισϖèt [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, τοβλèt [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, ντοà [doa] SBD1783:61, NvB1776:3, ντεμèκ [demek] APK1782:viii, ντὰγ [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, ττολοῦ [dolu] IpK1753:49, ττὰγ [dağ] HNK1756:13, ττèρ [der] SBD1783:9, ττις [dis] BH1783:5) and on just one occasion we see <δ> (e.g., μερδιβèn [merdiven] IpK1753:174).

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

ἵτμαι [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, òγραμὰκ [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, Κὺπριζ [Kıbrız] CSK1756:ii, Κὺπριζλί [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, ἱλατζλή [ilacı] HNK1756:18, καρσισηντά [karşısında] SBD1783:3, èτραφηντά [etrafında] CSK1756:1, ἄλτι [altı] KŞ1758:22, τατλή [tatlı] NvB1776:10, χαζήρ [hazır] PsD1782:iv, παγλαντή [bağlandı] RAB1782:75, ἱχτικατλή [ihtikatlı] APK1782:17, ταχή [dahı] BH1783:ii), <ει> (e.g., τοναττεῖ [donattu] IpK1753:21, γιαζτεῖ [yazdı] NTh1756:137, ἄλτεῖ [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, εἱγυμι [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, μυσσέρ [miaser] NTh1756:3, HNK1756:371, κκυρετζέκ [girecek] NTh1756:41, μύρ [bir] NvB1776:2, φακκὺρ [fakır] PsD1782:5, μυσκὶν [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 [övnüme] CSK1756:15, BH1783:64, ὀβκέ [öve] KŞ1758:80, ὀφκέ [öfke] NvB1776:15, τοκιοῦλ [dökül] PsD1782:2, τοπέ [töbe] RAB1782:vi, ὀνγιουνέ [öñüne] APK1782:23, SBD1783:8). See also (e.g., κιοβεργήν [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, γκηόζ [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 [pađıřah] KIN1753:34, ΙρΚ1753:86, ΝΘ1756:4, HNK1756:76, μπούσεκιλ [buřekil] CSK1756:33, PsD1782:2, SBD1783:11, σέγ [řey] KŞ1758:24, NvB1776:19, RAB1782:4, APK1782:38, σῖμτη [řimdi] BH1783:155), and <ς> (e.g., σαρχός [sarhoř] KIN1753:88, ταςρά [tařra] ΙρΚ1753:66, CSK1756:323, ττάς [tař] NTh1756:35, KŞ1758:15, μεςφαρέτ [meřfare] HNK1756:18, SBD1783:111, καλκμίς [kalkmiř] PsD1782:3), πολούς [buluř] RAB1782:17, κιουμούς [gümüř] APK1782:15, πώς

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, γὰσσ [yaʃ] IpK1753:13, σσαχῆτ [ʃahit] NTh1756:iv, BH1783:fp, σσῆγ [ʃey] KŞ1758:v, σσεχῆρ [ʃehir] NvB1776:9, κισσῆ [kiʃi] PsD1782:2:1, APK1782:iii, σσαράπ [ʃarap] RAB1782:vii, σσεχῆτ [ʃehit] SBD1783:15), while on some occasions we come across the insertion of a vowel <σι> (e.g., σιεκληγῆτ [ʃekliyet] NvB1776:6, σιεῤῥῖφ [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., ττὰς [taʃ] NTh1756:35, KŞ1758:65, SBD1783:105).

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

27. /ü/: Rendered by <ου> (e.g., οὔλουμ [ülüm] KIN1753:75, KŞ1758:8, RAB1782:3, SBD1783:3, BH1783:22, οὔλουμέ [ülüme] 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, εὔβ [ev] NTh1756:2, CSK1756:iv, εὐλενμεκ [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, ἐγλῆ [eyle] RAB1782:34, APK1782:41, SBD1783:viii, BH1783:4) or <γι> (e.g., ὀγιλῆ [öyle] KIN1753:76, κεγῖμ [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., κολᾱῖγ [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), αἰρετικὸςλαρ ‘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), ἀλτει [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 (*mücüzet*) 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/i:** 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.

ihval [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.

meşfareṭ [meşfareṭ] (KIN1753:61) (IpK1753:59) (HNK1756:18) (SBD1783:111) ~ *meşferet* [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*).

hedaye [hedaye] (KIN1753:iii) (IpK1753:x) (HNK1756:26) (CSK1756:90) (KŞ1758:4)(NvB1776:97) (RAB1782:50) (APK1782:xxii) ~ *hediye* [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), **χαποῦς** [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’, **κουλαοῦς** [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 (*biyük*). 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 [minafık] (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’, **τουβμῆκ** [düvmek] (HNK1756:38) ~ [dövmek] **τοβμῆκ** (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*).

σταμπὸλ [stambol] (KIN1753:41) (NTh1756:iii) (HNK1756:19) (CSK1756:45) (KŞ1758:29) (SBD1783:43) (BH1783:38) ~ Ἰσταμπὸλ [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’, **χαζνῆ** [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’.

τζοῦνκ [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', **ἰρεῖζ** [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', **ἰράστ** [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, üruzgâr*) 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** [ürüsfaıγ] (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), **πεχριστὲ** [pehriste] (KIN1753:25) ~ **πεχριζιντὲ** [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) **ἄρτοζλαρι** [artosları] ~ **ἄρτοζα** [artoza] (NvB1776:65), **χριστὸς** [hristos] ‘Christ’ (HNK1756:12) (CSK1756:35) ~ **χριστοζοῦ** [hristozu] (HNK1756:12) (CSK1756:54) (KŞ1758:10) ~ **χριστοζουμοῦζ** [hristozumuz] (KIN1753:37).

ἰησοῦς [iisus] ‘Jesus’ (IpK1753:52) ~ **ἰησουζούμου** [iisuzumu] (IpK1753:39), **σταυροζτὰ** [stavrosta] ‘on the cross’ ~ **σταυροζοῦν** [stavrozun] (NTh1756:15) (CSK1756:63) (NvB1776:65), **ἀσκητὴς** [askitis] ‘ascetic’ (KIN1753:51) ~ **ἀσκητιζὲ** [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’, **κκῖορ** [gör] (CSK1756:120) ~ *kör* ‘blind’, **κκῖρκ** [gırk] (IpK1753:126) (NTh1756:iii) (HNK1756:148) (CSK1756:361) (KŞ1758:19) (RAB1782:21) ~ *kırk* ‘forty’.

κκελτῖ [geldi] ‘he arrived’ (CSK1756:23), **κκῖοκ** [gök] ‘sky’ (CSK1756:24), **κκῖοζ** [göz] ‘eyes’ (CSK1756:121).

κκιοστερμὲκ [göstermek] ‘to shown’ (CSK1756:140), **κκελμὲκ** [gelmek] ‘to come’ (CSK1756:140), **κκῖρμὲκ** [girmek] ‘to enter’ (IpK1753:48) (HNK1756:117) (KŞ1758:22) (NvB1776:30) (PsD1782:175) (BH1783:38) *γκηρμὲκ* [girmek] (NvB1776:45), **κκετζῖ** [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), **γióγουτου** [yoğudu] 'was not' (IpK1753:96) (NTh1756:16) (NvB1776:24), **γιογουςά** [yoğusa] (KIN1753:24) (IpK1753:109) (CSK1756:82), **γióγουκεν** 'while was not' [yoğuken] (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’, **τῷς** [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) ~ *övke* ‘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’.

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

κιὸβ [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) ~ **γκιὸβ** [göv] (NvB1776:127) ~ **κιὸγ** [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.

μαχανὰ [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.

όχουμάκ [ohumak] (KIN1753:v) (IpK1753:vi) (NTh1756:8) (CSK1756:vii) (HNK1756:fp) (KŞ1758:4) (NvB1776:25) (PsD1782:152) (RAB1782:27) ~ **όκουμάκ** [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’, **ιχτιάτζ** [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’, **οῦμπουτηέτ** [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** [erdaim] (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), **μουσταᾶκ** [müstaak] (NTh1756:16) ~ *mustahak* [müstahak] (NTh1756:60) (CSK1756:iii) (NvB1776:81) ~ *müstahak* 'merited', **σεῆτ** [seit] (NvB1776:fp) ~ *şehit* 'martyr', **Καραῖσαρι** [Karaısarı] (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*).

πουτπερεσλίκ [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, hiecre*) 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 [aṇamak] (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*).

μοχαπèt [mohabet] (KIN1753:65) (IpK1753:57) (NTh1756:6) (HNK1756:61) (CSK1756:iv) (KŞ1758:5) ~ **μουχαπèt** [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), **τουςμέζσε** [düşmesse]

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

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

τανιμάσαν [tanımassan] (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** [ağnamais] (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),
πουλμαγιατζάγης [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 mıyis] (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), **πουλούρσουνοῦς** [bulunursunus] (NTh1756: ix), **όλούρσουνοῦς** [olursunus] (RAB1782:2) (PsD1782:4), **τουτουλούρσουνοῦς** [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** [agnayasis] (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}

άραϊορσουνοῦς [arayorsunus] (BH1783:13), **κιοζουγιούρσουνοῦς** [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), **όλουνοός μι** [olunus 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), **μπαϊλμεις** [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.

εγλεμελοϋϊζ [eylemelüis] (KIN1753:10), **καβιλεντιρμελοϋϊς** [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), **σογλεετζεκ** [söyleecek] (APK1782:13), **βερμεετζεκσιν** [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 [şöhretliinü] (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 [uskutluulan] (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, günnik, kalmasınhar*) 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}

αραγιαννάρ [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), **όννερουνὲ** [önnerrüne] (KIN1753:11), **τηγνεγεννὲρ** [dişeyenner] (KIN1753:17).

2.2. {lXK}

τουζεννίκ [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), **όλσουννὰρ** [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 [sadetlü] (KIN1753:65) (IpK1753:iv) (HNK1756:21) ~ **σατετλή** [sadetli] (NTh1756:8) ~ **σαατετλοῦ** [saadetlü] (KIN1753:65) ~ *saadetli/saadetli* 'prosperous', **μαμῖρ** [mamır] (KIN1753:65) (KŞ1758:17) (NvB1776:96) ~ **μααμίρ** [maamır] (KIN1753:64) (IpK1753:24) (PsD1782:99) ~ *ma'mur* 'flourishing', **μουμῖν** [mümin] (NTh1756:1) ~ **μουουμῖν** [müümin] (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* [ɛʲ] 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., **ιτμεκ** [itmek] (KŞ1758:8) (NvB1776:147*), **ιττοϋ** [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*) ~ **ιτοϋπ** [idüp] (KIN1753:ii) (IpK1753:14) (NTh1756: 17), **ιτιπ** [idip] (KIN1753:48) (IpK1753:20) (CSK1756:30) (KŞ1758:3) (NvB1776:3), **ιτμεγιπ** [itmeyib] (APK1782:4) (BH1783:111*) **ιτερ** [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., **βερμεκ** [vermek] (KŞ1758:24) (NvB1776:4) (RAB1782:iii) (APK1782:xx) (SBD1783:viii) (BH1783:1), **βερτιλερ** [verdiler] (IpK1753:vi), **βεριρ** [verir] (CSK1756:17)) and only rarely in the /i/-form (e.g., **βιροϋπ** [virüp] (NTh1756:96), **βιρετζεκ** [virecek] (NTh1756:317), **βιρτιλερ** [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 ɲ

The velar ɲ proves to be very resistant to change, since unlike the rest of the phenomena in Serapheim's texts, the /ɲ/ 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, (*aɲnamak*, *Taɲri*, *diɲnlemek*, *yaɲlıɲ*), in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 193–194 in stems, verbs, dative forms and possessive suffixes (*biɲ*, *eɲ*, *geɲiɲ*, *göɲül*, *beɲzemek*, *diɲnemek*, *aɲmak*, *aɲnamak*, *baɲa*, *saɲa*, *kuluɲuz*) and Gavriel 2010b: 191–192 in the genitive, stems and verbs (*Taɲriniɲ*, *onuɲ*, *soɲra*, *biɲ*, *beɲzemek*). It is also in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 180 in stems and verbs (*biɲ*, *göɲül*, *soɲra*, *beɲzemek*, *diɲnemek*, *aɲnamak*), in Korkmaz 1977: 93 (*eɲ*, *göɲül*, *diɲnemek*, *aɲnamak*), in twentieth-century Nevşehir dialect, and in seventeenth-century Armeno-Turkish in Sanjian and Tietze 1981:50 in stems and verbs (*Taɲri*, *diɲnlemek*).

1. Pronouns

1.1. First person singular + dative

μπαγγῶ [baɲa] (IpK1753:111*) ~ **παγγῶ** [baɲa] (NTh1756:139) (HNK1756:19) (CSK1756:17) (KŞ1758:4) (NvB1776:146) ~ **πανγῶ** [baɲa] (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)

κουλουγγουῶζ [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), **ζεμανούγγ 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’.

γιαγγιμὰ [yaɣılma] (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’.

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

τιγνεμέκ [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.

The ecclesiastical register and the language of ritual:

morphology, lexicon and translation

The third chapter continues with the structural aspects of Serapheim's text, examining morphology, lexicon and the methods of translation. While the previous chapter indicated dialectal features, this chapter indicates that Serapheim employed specific grammatical and stylistic strategies. Through the study of the diachronic morphology and morphonology of Turkish suffixes, the choice of words and the translation techniques, we will observe the effort to convey an ecclesiastical register and certain practices for the language of rituals.

3.1. Morphology

In the section on morphology, suffixes found in the sources will be presented and analysed. Based on the periodisation mentioned in 0.3., the primary sources used for this research belong chronologically to the last period of Middle Ottoman (sixteenth–eighteenth centuries). However, as the phonological analysis has already shown, the language of the texts reflect also many features of “New Ottoman”. As already mentioned, the suffix phonology of Old Anatolian Turkish (thirteenth–fifteenth centuries) had certain characteristics. Those, leaving aside other changes in suffixes,³⁶¹ can be summarised as the existence of three vowel harmonies instead of two in late Ottoman and MST. Specifically, the illabial ($\{I\} > i/i$) and the labial harmony ($\{U\} > ü/u$) were merged into what is known as fourfold harmony or $\{X\}$, thus $\{I\} > ı, i, u, ü$, of late Ottoman and MST. The palatal harmony, realised as $\{A\} > a/e$; remained unchanged. Although the development of the vowel harmonies and the consonant assimilation, into modern forms, a long and complicated procedure, seems to have occurred around the eighteenth-century,³⁶² certain suffixes proved to be more conservative than others, for a variety of reasons.³⁶³ Some of them could be diachronic, such as old forms

³⁶¹ Another change was the assimilation of consonants of the suffixes which did not exist in Old Anatolian Turkish. Suffixes with an initial /d/ (e.g. the suffixes of locative, dative, ablative and others) were not assimilated in terms of +voiced, -voiced with the previous phoneme, but this cannot be analysed here because the writing system does not distinguish the two sounds. Regarding the phenomenon see Demir & Yılmaz, *Türk Dili el Kitabı*, 97.

³⁶² Johanson, “The History of Turkic,” 108, Hazai, *Transkriptionstexten von Jakab Nagy de Harsany* 364–456.

³⁶³ On the progression and conservatism of Labial Harmony see Lars Johanson, “Die westoghusische Labialharmonie.” *Orientalia Suecana* 27–28 (1978–1979): 63–107.

surviving in dialects, or due to structural reasons,³⁶⁴ others might be more sociolinguistically motivated, like methods of translation or printing and the differentiation into spoken, written, colloquial and literary language. An effort will be made to analyse some of these in the pages and chapters to follow. Furthermore, later in the present chapter, dialectal elements, Greek stems with Turkish suffixes and Izafet constructions will be discussed. The chapter will be summarised in the Comments section.

In the absence of works on eighteenth-century Turkish language, apart from that of Gavriel (2010b), works on the seventeenth-century were consulted in order to identify the changes in suffixes. These include works on transcription texts, that give information for spoken Ottoman (i.e. Hazai (1973), Németh (1970) and Sanjian and Tietze (1981)), but also works from the Ottoman literary tradition of the seventeenth-century (i.e. Duman (1995), Develi (1995)). In order to confine the research to a smaller scale and make the comparison possible, only suffixes that differ from Modern Standard Turkish (MST) will be presented, since as mentioned earlier the development of vowel harmonies seem to have been fully developed in the eighteenth-century and therefore the language being more similar to MST. Examples marked with an asterisk illustrated single or rare appearances in the respective source.

3.1.1. *Inflectional suffixes*

Tense-aspect-modality markers

1. **Aorist {(A/I)r/mAZ}**

The aorist is not encountered often in Serapheim's texts and most of the time the aorist marker corresponds to its MST form (e.g., **ἀγγιλιρ** [aɲılır] (KIN1753:40), **κουλανιρ** [kulanır] (IpK1753:vi), **μπακάριμ** [bakarım] (KIN1753:ii), **κουρταρίρσιν** [kurtarırsın] (KIN1753:32), **τζικάρ** [çıkar] (NTh1756: 47), **ολουνοῦρ** [olunur] (KIN1753:vi), **κιουρούρους** [görürüs] (KIN1753:73)).

Older forms labial forms appear mainly in the editions of 1753 (e.g., **κουρταροῦρ**

³⁶⁴ According to Johanson, "Die westoghusische Labialharmonie," 69, labial harmony assimilation in rounded condition occurs under the influence of the preceding vowel.

[kurtarur] (IpK1753:27), **ἀγγιλόυρ** [aɲɪlur] (KIN1753:40), **ἀϊριλόυρ** [ayrɪlur] (IpK1753:163), **ἀλούρτι** [alurdɪ] (IpK1753:19), **κετιρούρουμ** [getirürüm] (KIN1753:7), **κελόυρ** [gelür] (KIN1753:15) (IpK1753:vi), **σογλενοῦρ** [söylenür] (KIN1753:8)), and rarely in Nth1756 (e.g., **καγικλανοῦρ** [kayɪklanur] (NTh1756:63)) an edition which was, as already mentioned, in manuscript form and was re-edited by Serapheim. The {-Ur} form is attested also in seventeenth-century sources in Hazai 1973:406, Németh 1970: 105–106 and Develi 1995: 95 and in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika in Kappler 2002: 171 (*alur*). In Serapheim's texts we see rarely the appearance of unrounded forms after rounded vowels (e.g., **σοβουντουριρ** [sövündürir] (CSK1756:133)). The phenomenon is also attested in seventeenth-century Armeno-Turkish in Sanjian & Tietze 1981: 60, also in the opposite form with {-ur} appearing after unrounded vowels, and in seventeenth-century texts in Németh 1970: 104.

2. Past {DX}

The suffix of the tense of past {DX} is described as a very conservative suffix, especially in the first and second person singular,³⁶⁵ while sixteenth-century sources illustrate favour towards unroundedness (e.g., *oldım*, *gördim*).³⁶⁶ In Serapheim's texts the suffix is very much in use and illustrates many differentiations as seen below in 2.1. about personal markers. The MST form is used in the majority of editions (e.g., **βερτιλῆρ** (KIN1753:7) **εγλετικ** (KIN1753:19) **ἐττιῆ** (CSK1756:iv) **βερτι** (NTh1756:iv), **ιττιμ** [ittim] (IpK1753:vi) (HNK1756:122) (APK1782:4) (PsD1782:39) (SBD1783:14*), **ιττι** [itti] (CSK1756:2)).

2.1. Person markers: **past {DX}**

2.1.1. First and second person singular

As already mentioned, past {DX} tends to be conservative. In the editions from 1753 we encounter rounded forms of personal markers for the first and second

³⁶⁵ Johanson, "Die westoghusische Labialharmonie," 89.

³⁶⁶ Sanjian and Tietze, *Ēremya Chelebi Kōmürjan's "The Jewish Bride,"* 60. The authors attribute the phenomenon to diachrony or the assimilation to -ler when the plural suffix is palatalised.

person singular, preceded by unrounded forms, which points to older forms of the suffix.³⁶⁷

1SG: **κετιροῦμ** [getirdüm] (KIN1753:viii), **ἰττοῦμ** [ittüm] (IpK1753:30).

2SG: **ἰττιροῦν** [ittirdün] (KIN1753:v), **μπρακτοῦν** [braktun] (IpK1753:44)

2.1.2. Third person singular

In the case of the marker for the third person singular we come across unrounded forms after a rounded vowel in editions dating from 1753 to 1758 and 1782, which again points to the old form.³⁶⁸ The phenomenon is also attested in seventeenth-century sources in Németh 1970: 81 and in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika in Kappler 2002: 172 (*soldi, oldi*).

3SG: **ὀλτι** [oldi] (KIN1753:7), **κιομουλτί** [gö müldi] (KIN1753:8), **ἀλούρτι** [alurdi] (IpK1753:19), **πουλουντι** [bulundi] (CSK1756:23), **γκιορούρτιμ** [görürdim] (CSK1756:29), **ὀλουντι** [oldundi] (CSK1756:iv) (KŞ1758:78) (APK1782:52³⁶⁹), **μποζουλτιλέρ** [bozuldiler] (PsD1782:15)).

Beside the aforementioned data that are considered to occur regularly (based on historical information), in some of Serapheim's texts, mainly from 1753 to 1758, we also see the rounded forms for third person singular, which have not been attested anywhere before and cannot be considered as old.

3SG: **ἰττοῦ** [ittü] (KIN1753: 44) (IpK1753:8) (KŞ1758:19) (BH1783:30) (APK1782:8³⁷⁰), **κελίρτου** [gelirdü, (IpK1753:19), **βερτοῦ** [verdü] (KIN1753:ii), **ἐγλετοῦ** [eyledü] (IpK1753:36), **ἰζετλεντοῦ** [izetlendü] (NTh1756:27), **βάρτου** [vardu](KŞ1758:17*).

Regarding the cases of preceding rounded vowels we cannot be sure whether the

³⁶⁷ Demir & Yılmaz, *Türk Dili el Kitabı*, 99.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁹ In the re-published part of the book from KIN1753.

³⁷⁰ In the re-published part of the book from KIN1753.

previously described phenomenon applies to the following examples or not (e.g., **ἀτουλτοῦ** [atuldu] (IpK1753:7), **τζόκτου** [çoktu] (SBD1783:xi), **όλουντοῦ** [olundu] (CSK1756:fp)).

3. Past evidential {mXs}

The suffix of inferential (evidential) past {mXs} is described generally as conservative appearing thus in the old form {mIs}.³⁷¹ In Sanjian and Tietze (1982) a trend towards unroundedness is described but with both forms occurring in the text.³⁷² The old unrounded form is also attested in seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:394 and in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika in Kappler 2002:172 (*görmış*). In Serapheim's works the {mIs}-category is used rarely in general. Unrounded, i.e. old forms do occur after rounded vowels (e.g., **όλμῖς** [olmı̃s] (PsD1782:6*), **τογμῖς** [doğmı̃s] (KIN1753:7)) but {mIs} seems to operate in the fourfold harmony as well (e.g., **ἰτμῖς** [itmĩs] (CSK1756:2) (KIN1753:xi), **γιαζιλμῖς** [yazılımı̃s] (CSK1756:iii), **όλμοῦςτουρ** [olmuştur] (KIN1753:viii), **γιαπουςμούς** [yapuşmuş] (IpK1753:43), **όλουνμούς** [olunmuş] (CSK1756:fp)).

4. Imperative

The imperative suffix of the third person singular {sXn} and plural {sXnlAr} are used rarely and most of the time in 1753 editions, and appear both in labial {sUn} and fourfold {sXn} form. The labial form of the suffix in the third person singular is also attested in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika in Kappler 2002: 172 (*alsun, eylestün*).

3SG: **έσιτσοῦν** [eşıtsün] (KIN1753:12), **ίζετλεσοῦν** [izetlesün] (IpK1753:29), **ἰτσῖν** [idsin] (IpK1753:vii), **όκουϊούσουν** [okuyuşun] (PsD1782:ii).

3PL: **όλσουννάρ** [olsunnar] (KIN1753:29), **γανσουννάρ** [yansunnar]

³⁷¹ Németh, *Die Türkische Sprache in Ungarn*, 107, Johanson, "Die westoghusische Labialharmonie," 76, Duman, 17. *Yüzyılda Ses Değişmeleri*, 48, Develi, 17. *Yüzyıl Osmanlı Türkçesinde Ses Benzeşmeleri*, 70, Kappler, *Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik*, 172.

³⁷² Sanjian and Tietze, *Eremya Chelebi Kömürjan's "The Jewish Bride"*, 60.

(IpK1753:15), **κάλμασινναρ** [kalmassinar] (KIN1753:ix), **τοβσουνλέρ** [dövsünler] (IpK1753:28), **όλσουνλέρ** [olsunler] (PsD1782:61), **γιουτζελενσιννέρ** [yücelesinner] (KIN1753:ix) **ιτσιννέρ** [itsinner] (IpK1753:6), **φαητελενσιννέρ** [faydesinner] (KIN1753:17), **βερμεσιννέρ** [vermesinner] (IpK1753:14).

5. Future {(y)AcAK}

While the tense operates in the palatal harmony which shows less diachronic modification, many data show that the [k] of the suffix does not assimilate between vowels, both front and back. The examples are too many to be attributed to error, and in most editions the phenomenon appears more than once. The phenomenon is attested neither in Karamanlidika sources of the same and later period, nor in grammars of the time.³⁷³ A hypothesis could be that it is just a graphic phenomenon, based on the non-standard writing system used for the books, but nevertheless it needs further research in order to reach safe conclusions.

γεγετζέκιμ [yeyecekim] (IpK1753:62) **κιτετζέκιμ** [gidecekim] (IpK1753:84) **ντιριλετζέκιμ** [dirilecekim], **τζικατζάκιμ** [çıkacakım] (IpK1753:85) (IpK1753:115), **έτετζέκιμ** [edecekim] (HNK1756:152) (KŞ1758:77) (BH1783:46*) **έσιτετζέκιμ** [eşidecekim], **όλατζάκιμ** [olacakım] (HNK1756:154), **έτετζέκις** [edecekis] (HNK1756:181), **όλατατζάκις** [olacakıs] (CSK1756:27), **τελεγετζέκιμ** [deleyecekim] (CSK1756:52), **γκιορετζέκις** [görecekis] (KŞ1758:77), **καβηλεετζέκιμ** [kavileecekim] (PsD1782:44*), **πηλετζέκιμ** [bilecekim] (RAB1782:15*), **γιακατζάκιμ** [yakacakım] (APK1782:22), **όλετζέκις** [ölecekis] (APK1782:37), **άλατζάκιμ** [alacakım] (SBD1783:122*).

6. Voluntative {(y)AlXm}

The verbal suffix of the voluntative first person plural is one of those suffixes that appears more in the old form rather than the new in the majority of Serapheim's texts. Although it does appear in the modern fourfold form {(y)AlXm}, in many occasions the suffix illustrates a tendency towards the old labial form {(y)AlUm}.

³⁷³ See Gavriel, "Η Τουρκική με το Ελληνικό αλφάβητο, 256, Demetris Alexandrides, *Γραμματική Γραίκο-Τουρκική*, 55.

This variation might have its roots in the development of harmonies, since it appears in older sources³⁷⁴ and it is also attested in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika in Kappler 2002: 171 (*oturalum*). If we take into consideration that it is translated as ‘Let us’, a very common phrase in liturgical texts, it might have other connotations, which will be discussed in a following chapter.

{(y)AlIm}: **τουταλήμ** [tutalum] (KIN1753:11) (IpK1753:8), **άλαλήμ** [alalim] (KIN1753:73), **έτμεελίμ** [etmeelim] (RAB1782:22), **γιορουελήμ** [yörüelim] (HNK1756:130) (CSK1756:35) **ίτελήμ** [idelim] (CSK1756:2), **κελελίμ** [gelelim] (NTh1756: 18), **έτελήμ** [edelim] (KŞ1758:23), **ούλτούμεελίμ** [üldümeelim] (RAB1782:16).

{(y)AlUm}: **όλαλούμ** [olalum] (KIN1753:15) (IpK1753:53) (RAB1782:26), **τζικαραλούμ** [çikaralum] (NTh1756:21), **τουραλούμ** [duralum] (RAB1782:34), **άτζήγιαλούμ** [açıyalum] (SBD1783:2), **κοϊαλούμ** [koyalum] (APK1782:13), **άγναϊαλούμ** [aḡayalum] (IpK1753:161) (BH1783:51) **ούνουτμαγιαλούμ** [unutmayalum] (IpK1753:8), **κοβούλμαγιαλούμ** [kovulamayalum] (NTh1756:v), **άράμαγιαλούμ** [aramayalum] (NTh1756: 62), **όλμαϊαλούμ** [olmayalum] (SBD1783:x), **ίτελούμ** [idelüm] (KIN1753:10) (IpK1753:6) (NTh1756:23), **έτελούμ** [edelüm] (KIN1753:71) (NTh1756: 21) (HNK1756:132) (APK1782:19) (SBD1783:ix), **γκελελούμ** [gelelüm] (KŞ1758:28), **μουπαρεκλεελούμ** [mubarekleelüm] (PsD1782:186 *), **τιγνεγελούμ** [diḡeyelüm] (RAB1782:46) **κιοστερμεγελούμ** [göstermeyelüm] (IpK1753:8), **ίτμεγελούμ** [itmeyelüm] (KIN1753:11), **κέλμεελούμ** [gelmeelüm] (NTh1756:v), **τζεκελούμ** [çekelüm] (BH1783:7), **σογλεγελούμ** [söyleyelüm] (IpK1753:118), **βέρμεελούμ** [vermeelüm] (SBD1783:2), **έτμεελούμ** [etmeelüm] (BH1783:2).

7. Necessity marker {mAlI}

The necessity marker is rarely used. While the last vowel of the suffix is usually

³⁷⁴ Demir & Yılmaz, *Türk Dili el Kitabı*, 101, Sanjian and Tietze, *Eremya Chelebi Kömürjan's "The Jewish Bride,"* 64. See also Kappler, *Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik*, 171, where only the labial form occurs.

illabial (e.g., **ὀκουμαλίγης** [okumalıys] (BH1783:9), **ὀλμαλή** [olmalı] (CSK1756:2), **ὀλμαλίτηρ** [olmalıdır] (NTh1756: 267) **γκελμελή** [gelmeli] (NvB1776:66), **γκιορουνμελήτη** [görümeli idi] (NTh1756: 111), **βερίλμελήτηρ** [verilmelidir] (HNK1756:4)), on certain occasions, in editions dating from 1753 to 1756, it occurs in rounded form, and is considered to be old (e.g., **εγλεμελοῦῖς** [eylemelüiz] (KIN1753:10) **καβιλεντιρμελοῦῖς** [kavilendirmelüis] (KIN1753:63), (APK1782:52³⁷⁵), **σογίλεμελοῦ** [söyilemelü] (NTh1756: 47), **ὀλμαλοῦ** [olmalu] (NTh1756: 57)).

Cases

1. Accusative {(y)X}

The accusative follows the fourfold harmony in all editions. In the edition of 1753 and rarely in NTh1756 we come across the unusual phenomenon of labialisation with rounded forms preceded by unrounded. The phenomenon is not attested in any of the other works on Anatolian dialects or Karamanlidika used for this research and cannot be justified by historical reasoning because the accusative marker contains historically only the illabial vowel.

σενοῦ [senü] (KIN1753:48), **φικροῦ** [fikrü] (KIN1753:84), **τενιλιῖνοῦ** [denildiinü] (KIN1753:33), **ράχάτου** [rahatu] (IpK1753:10), **ιτμελιῖνοῦ** [itmeliinü] (IpK1753:v), **κιουναχλαριμιζοῦ** [günahlarımızu] (IpK1753:5), **ἰνσανοῦ** [insanu] (IpK1753:39), **κεγιμελρινοῦ** [geyimlerinü] (NTh1756:31).

2. Genitive {(n)Xn} / {(n)Un}

Genitive is one of those suffixes described as conservative. The old form of the suffix is {(n)Uη}, with labial vowel and the velar η at the end³⁷⁶, in MST form is {(n)Xn}, with fourfold vowel harmony and the final consonant being η > n (see above 2.4.2.3.). In seventeenth-century texts in Develi 1995: 11 the suffix appears in the form {(n)Un}, while in Sanjian and Tietze 1981: 60 it is generally rounded but not always. In Gavriel 2010: 235 the suffix follows the fourfold harmony but

³⁷⁵ In the re-published part of the book from KIN1753.

³⁷⁶ Johanson, “Die westoghusische Labialharmonie,” 91.

preserves the velar nasal η (i.e., $\{(n)X\eta\}$).

In Serapheim's texts the genitive suffix appears in four different forms. It appears in the fourfold harmony (e.g., **Παναγίανιν** [Panayia'nin] (KIN1753:21) (IpK1753:16) (NTh1756:53)), and rarely in fourfold with the velar η (e.g., **σενίγγιλεν** [seniŋ ilen] HNK1756:21) **ὀγουλουνούγ** [oğulunūŋ] (APK1782:22*)).

Furthermore, it appears often in a diachronically intermediate form, preserving the labial harmony but without the velar η in words with religious connotations or in certain religious context (e.g., **ἐλλεροῦν** [ellerün] (KIN1753:v) **ἐφέντιμιζοῦν** [efendimüzün] (IpK1753:fp), **ἄζιζλεροῦν** [azizlerün] (NTh1756:iii) (RAB1782:157) (APK1782:26) **ζεμανλεροῦν** [zemanlerün] (KIN1753:ii), **σενοῦν ἰσμοῦν μουκατῆς ὀλᾶ** [senün ismün mukaddes ola] (KIN1753:10), **σαχιτλεροῦν** [şahitlerün] (NTh1756: i), **Παναγίανουν** [Panayia'nun] (KIN1753:21) (NTh1756:53), **ἄλλαχοῦν** [Allah'un] (KIN1753:7) (KŞ1758:76), **χριστιανλαροῦν** [Hristian'larun] (IpK1753:fp) **φαζλετλιγינוῦν** [fazletliyinün] (KIN1753:ii), **ἰμανιμιζοῦν** [imanımuzun] (KIN1753:vii), **ἐφέντιμιζοῦν** [efendimizün] (IpK1753:fp), **αγατζηνοῦν** [ağacınun] (KŞ1758:39), **τασφηροῦν** [tasfirün] (APK1782:fp)).

A form, which occurs rarely, is the unrounded form preceded by a rounded vowel (e.g., **ἰνανιμουζήν** [inanimuzin] (KIN1753:7)). It is not attested in other sources and given the lack of historical reasoning and examples can be attributed to error.

Plural suffix {lAr}

In the study by Johanson (1981) regarding the plural suffix, we see that diachronically palatal harmony is rare in Oğuz Turkish, although deviations in favour of palatal harmony do exist.³⁷⁷ The phenomenon is also attested in seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:386-387 (*fesatlerini*), in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 182 (*ayakler, meyvaler*) and in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika in Kappler 2002: 154–155

³⁷⁷ Lars Johanson, *Pluralsuffixformen im Südwesttürkischen* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1981), 5. See also Hazai, *Transkriptionstexten von Jakab Nagy de Harsany*, 386, Németh, *Die Türkische Sprache in Ungarn*, 45.

(*dağler*). In Serapheim's texts we rarely encounter the phenomenon.

ζεμανλεροῦν [zemanlerün](KIN1753:ii), **όλαλερ** [olaler] (PsD1782:6), **γιολλερ** [yoller] (PsD1782:9), **τξεμαατλερ** [cemaatler] (PsD1782:17) **τζόκουτυλερ** [çok udiler] (NTh1756: 122).

Question marker {mX}

According to Johanson (1981: 12) the question marker tends to be conservative and retain the old illabial form {mI}. The illabial form is attested also in seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:400, in seventeenth-century Armeno-Turkish (Sanjian & Tietze 1981:68). While in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika in Gavriel (2010: 271) the suffix operates in the fourfold harmony, in Serapheim's texts it varies between the rounded and unrounded form.

The suffix appears not to assimilate to the previous rounded vowel on most occasions (e.g., **ίτζοῦν μι** [içün mi] (IpK1753:29) (RAB1782:153), **όλτοῦν μι** [oldun mi] (NTh1756:3) **γκιορτουνοῦςμι** [gördünüz mi] (HNK1756:69) (KŞ1758:69*), **γκιορτοῦνμι** [gördün mi] (CSK1756:281) (SBD1783:85), **γιόκμι** [yok mi] (NvB1776:53*), **οὔκοῦνμι** [uykun mi] (PsD1782:vii *), **όλτοῦμι** [oldu mi] (APK1782:8*), **όλιοῦμι** [ölüm mi] (SBD1783:19), **όλοῦρ μι** [olur mi] (BH1783:111*), **ἀράμαγιαλουμι** [arayalum mi] (NTh1756: 62), **όλουνοῦς μι** [olunus mi] (APK1782:8), **γκιοροῦρμισινιζ** [görür misiniz] (RAB1782:21)).

See also (e.g., **ἀγνατινής μι** [aḡatınis mi] (APK1782:5), **βερίρμι** [verir mi] (HNK1756:12), **ίτζήνμι** [için mi] (RAB1782:11), **γκιορτουνίζμι** [gördünüz mi] (CSK1756:137) **μιπιμέμισινιζ** [bilme misinis] (HNK1756:26) **ἐτμεετζεκμι** [etmeecek mi] (PsD1782:118) **παγισλαμάμιγις** [bayışlama mıyıs] (IpK1753:8), **τουγιάρμισινις** [duyar misinis] (KŞ1758:69), **βάρμη** [var mi] (NvB1776:24)).

While in many occasions assimilates to the previous rounded vowel (e.g., **τουγτουνοῦζμου** [duğdunuz mu] (IpK1753:30), **τατλοῦμμουτουρ** [tatlum mudur] (NTh1756:66), **κιορτουνοῦζμου** [gördünüz mü] (NTh1756: 39), **βουκούφμουσounous** [vukuf musunus] (APK1782:6), **ποζουλτοῦμου** [bozuldu mu] (SBD1783:8), **γκιοροῦρμου** [görür mü] (BH1783:6), **όλτοῦμου** [oldu mu] (BH1783:150), **ουμουτούρμου** [umuddur mu] (PsD1782:118) **γιόκμουτουρ** [yok mudur] (RAB1782:13)).

Converbs

1. {DXktAn soŋra}

This suffix follows the fourfold harmony but on most occasions the second part retains the velar ŋ (e.g., **ταςλατικτᾶν σογρᾶ** [tasladiktan soŋra] (HNK1756:11), **ἀγριλιτικτᾶνσογρᾶ** [ayrildiktan soŋra] (NvB1776:35) **σογλετικτὲν σογρᾶ** [söyledikten soŋra] (CSK1756:269), **τηριλιτικτὲν σογρᾶ** [dirişdikten soŋra] (KŞ1758:8), **ἐτικτὲνσογρᾶ** [ettikten soŋra] (RAB1782:105), **έντικτὲν σόγρᾶ** [endikten soŋra] (APK1782:23) (NvB1776:3) **όλτουκτᾶν σογρᾶ** [olduktan soŋra] (HNK1756:36) (NTh1756: 18) (PsD1782:ii) **ούλτουκτὲν σογρᾶ** [üldükten soŋra] (CSK1756:272), **όλτουκτὲν σόγρᾶ** [öldükten soŋra] (APK1782:50)).

2. {DXkçA(s)}

This converbal suffix appears in Serapheim's texts in the fourfold harmony in terms of vowels, but retains almost always the final /s/ from the old form which is not standard and mainly attested in dialects, but also in old grammars such as Meninski's³⁷⁸. It has been studied for Karamanli sources by Eckmann (1958)³⁷⁹ and it is also attested in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 183 (*vurudukçes*) and in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 183 (*başladıkças*).

μπρακτίκτζας [braktıkças] (IpK1753:202), **όλματικτζας** [olmadıkças] (HNK1756:30) **κετζτίκτζες** [geçtikçes] (CSK1756:45) (HNK1756:48), **έσσητίκτζες** [eşittikçes] (APK1782:4), **γετίκτζες** [yedikçes] (SBD1783:8), **βερτήκτζες** [verdikçes] (BH1783:134).

We cannot be sure of the existence of the rounded form, since in all examples the suffix is preceded by a rounded vowel (e.g., **τουρτουόκτζας** [durdukças] (KIN1753:viii) (CSK1756:18) (APK1782:17), **τουτουστούκτζας** [tutuştukças]

³⁷⁸ Kappler, *Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik*, 183.

³⁷⁹ János Eckmann, "Einige gerundiale Konstruktionen im Karamanischen," in *Jean Deny Armağanı* [TDK 172], eds. János Eckmann & Agah Sırrı Levend & Mehmet Mansuroğlu (Ankara: TTK Basımevi), 77–83.

(PsD1782:i), **όλτούκτζας** [oldukças] (SBD1783:16) **τουσουντούκτζες** [düşündükçes] (NvB1776:141) (APK1782:6) (RAB1782:152), **τιουςτούκτζες** [düştüçes] (CSK1756:25), **τουϊουτούκτζες** [düyüdükçes] (BH1783:30)).

3. {(y)XncA(s)}

The MST form of this suffix is {(y)XncA}. In Serapheim's texts, as well as the older form of the suffix, which had a final /s/, the form {(y)IncE} occurs. These forms are also attested in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 183 (*akabıncas*, *akabınces*). The form {(y)XncA(s)} is attested in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika in Gavriel 2010b: 269 (*görünce*), while in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 169,183 it occurs in both forms but with final /s/ in variation with /z/ (*görüncaz*, *kokmainces*). In the present research it occurs mostly in the form {(y)XncAs}.

άλμαϊτζας [almaıcas] (KIN1753:75), **τουγμιαϊντζας** [duğmaıncas] (IpK1753:117), **μπακίντζας** [bakıncas] (IpK1753:15) (APK1782:20), **χουγίντζας** [huyıncas] (CSK1756:19), **άκαπήντζας** [akabıncas] (NvB1776:73), **άρτίντζας** [artıncas] (PsD1782:69), **σαχατήντζας** [sahatıncas] (SBD1783:27) (BH1783:6) **γκελίντζες** [gelınces] (IpK1753:114), **γκελμειντζες** [gelmeınces] (HNK1756:145), **άκαπίντζες** [akabınces] (NTh1756:15) (NvB1776:12) (PsD1782:iii) (RAB1782:11) (SBD1783:vi) (BH1783:4), **κετζίντζες** [geçınces] (RAB1782:30), **πηλεσίντζες** [bileşınces] (SBD1783:6) (CSK1756:iii), **καρερίντζες** [karerınces] (APK1782:16) (BH1783:82), **γκιορούντζες** [görünce] (NTh1756: 15) (CSK1756:47) (NvB1776:77) (RAB1782:111).

The new form seems to be rare (e.g., **άκαπίντζα** [akabınca] (NTh1756: 15)).

4. {(y)Xp}

Regarding the converb suffix {(y)Xp}, in seventeenth-century Ottoman texts in Develi 1995: 117 it is attested in the old form {(y)Ub}, with labial harmony in vowels and a final voiced consonant. In seventeenth-century Armeno-Turkish in Sanjian & Tietze (1981) the suffix shows a bias towards the rounded form, with the suffix remaining rounded even when preceded by unrounded vowels. The authors

attribute this either to assimilation with the final labial consonant, or preservation of the old form.³⁸⁰ In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:408 in the form {(y)Up} and in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Gavriel 2010b: 268 the suffix is attested in the MST form {(y)Xp} while in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 170,190 it is attested also in the labial form {(y)Up}. In Serapheim's texts the suffix occurs in the form {(y)Xp} in most editions. Although examples of the labial form after illabial stem, i.e. resembling the older forms do occur, mainly in editions of 1753–1756 and 1776, we cannot be sure about the voicedness of the final consonant due to the lack of distinction between /b/ and /p/ in the writing system.

{(y)Xp}: **ἐτιπ** [edip] (KIN1753:11) (IpK1753:30) (NTh1756:6) (HNK1756:29) (CSK1756:iii) (KŞ1758:4) (NvB1776:3) (PsD1782:iv) (RAB1782:3) (APK1782:ix) (SBD1783:vi) (BH1783:7), **ἐγλεῖπ** [eyleip] (IpK1753:27) (NvB1776:75) (PsD1782:4) (SBD1783:ix) **ἰτιπ** [idip] (KIN1753:48) (IpK1753:20) (CSK1756:30) (KŞ1758:3) (NvB1776:3), **ἰτμέηπ** [itmeip] (BH1783:111 *), **ἰτμεγῖπ** [itmeyip] (APK1782:4), **γκῖπ** [yıkıp] (NTh1756:i).

{(y)Up}: **αλτζακλανοῦπ** [açaklanup] (NTh1756:28), **ἀλοῦπ** [alup] (NTh1756: 16), **φῖργατλανοῦπ** [firyatlanup] (HNK1756:130) **ἐτοῦπ** [edüp] (NTh1756:15), **γκελοῦπ** [gelüp] (NvB1776:14), **ἐγλεγειοῦπ** [eyileyüp] (NTh1756: 15), **ἰτοῦπ** [idüp] (KIN1753:27) (IpK1753:20) (NTh1756:17), **βιροῦπ** [virüp] (NTh1756:96).

Furthermore, in two editions from 1756 we see the suffix remaining unrounded when preceded by a rounded vowel – something not attested in the other works. (e.g., **τουγῖπ** [duyıp] (NTh1756:6), **πογιοῦῖπ** [böyüip] (HNK1756:25), **κουρουῖπ** [korouıp] (CSK1756:87), **ὀχουῖπ** [ohuıp] (NTh1756:ix)).

³⁸⁰ Sanjian and Tietze, *Eremya Chelebi Kömürjan's "The Jewish Bride,"* 60.

Copulas

PERSON MARKERS

1. {(y)Xm}

The first person singular follows the fourfold harmony in general but occurs in editions dating from 1753 to 1756 in labial form (e.g., **ιτέρουμ** [iderüm] (KIN1753:iii) (IpK1753:5) (NTh1756:21) (HNK1756:122)). Rarely, we also see illabial forms preceded by rounded vowels³⁸¹ (e.g., **κουλουγιμ** [kuluyım] (KIN1753:47)), which is the old form of the suffix and attested in seventeenth-century Ottoman texts in Develi 1995: 79.

2. {sXn}

The copular marker of second person singular occurs in fourfold harmony apart from in the edition KIN1753, where we see some labial forms (**ιτέρουν** [idersün] (KIN1753:15)). According to Sanjian and Tietze's findings there are no rounded forms of this suffix and unrounded forms occur after a rounded vowel.³⁸² In Gavriel (2010) the suffix follows the fourfold harmony but uses the velar η,³⁸³ which does not occur for this suffix in Serapheim's texts.

3. {DXr}

The suffix {DXr} of the third person singular is described by Johanson (1979) as conservative, especially in gospels, where we come across the labial form {DUR}³⁸⁴, a form attested also in seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:421. In Sanjian and Tietze (1981) the condition of the suffix in this seventeenth-century Armeno-Turkish text is described as complicated, with the suffix being in general in rounded form.³⁸⁵ In Serapheim's texts the suffix follows the fourfold harmony, but it is not the only form we come across. On many

³⁸¹ See also Develi, 56. *Yüzyıl Osmanlı Türkçesinde Ses Benzeşmeleri*, 79.

³⁸² Sanjian and Tietze, *Eremya Chelebi Kömürjan's "The Jewish Bride,"* 60.

³⁸³ Gavriel, "Η Τουρκική με το Ελληνικό αλφάβητο," 261.

³⁸⁴ Johanson, "Die westoghusische Labialharmonie," 83.

³⁸⁵ Sanjian and Tietze, *Eremya Chelebi Kömürjan's "The Jewish Bride,"* 60; see also Develi, 56. *Yüzyıl Osmanlı Türkçesinde Ses Benzeşmeleri*, 71–72.

occasions the suffix occurs in its old labial form {DUr}. We also observe the opposite phenomenon with the illabial form {DlR} remaining unrounded, even when preceded by a rounded vowel. As noted by Johanson (1979) the conservative form is connected to gospel language, and here seems to keep appearing connected to certain stems, therefore connected possibly with a certain register that warrants a different interpretation.

{DXr}: **βάρτηρ** [vardır] (KŞ1758:21), **μαλίμτιρ** [malımdır] (RAB1782:7), **πεανήντετηρ** [beanindedir] (NTh1756:iii), **γιαζουλοῦτουρ** [yazuludur] (KIN1753:24), **γιόκτουρ** [yoktur] (CSK1756:fp).

{DUr}: **βάρτουρ** [vardur] (KIN1753:8) (KŞ1758:21), **ἀγιάκτουρ** [ayaktur] (KŞ1758:20), **κιτμέκτουρ** [gitmektür] (KIN1753:11), **κερέκτουρ** [gerektür] (IpK1753:vi), **πεανηντέτουρ** [beanindedür] (NTh1756:iii) (CSK1756:ix) (NvB1776:65) (RAB1782:33) (SBD1783:1) (BH1783:67), **τεμέκτουρ** [demektür] (HNK1756:177*) (RAB1782:36), **γκελμεκτέτουρ** [gelmektedür] (KŞ1758:5), **έτμέτουρ** [etmedür] (NvB1776:53), **τορτουντζίτουρ** [dördüncidür] (KIN1753:11) **ντεήλτουρ** [deildür] (IpK1753:10)(APK1782:3), **τουςμανλίκτουρ** [düşmanlıktur] (NTh1756: 23), **κελαμήτουρ** [kelamıdur] (NvB1776:15), **ετμελίτουρ** [etmelidür] (RAB1782:33), **γιαηλμίζτουρ** [yailmıştur] (SBD1783:fp).

{DlR}: **κιγματλοῦτιρ** [kıymatludur] (KIN1753:10), **τεραχουμλούκτιρ** [terahumluktur] (IpK1753:35), **μαγρουρλλούκτιρ** [mağrurlluktur] (RAB1782:63), **μαλούμτιρ** [malımdır] (RAB1782:7) (SBD1783:10), **ίλλερούτιρ** [illerüdür] (KIN1753:10), **μεβτζούττιρ** [mevcuddır] (CSK1756:18), **κιουτζλούκτιρ** [güçlüktir] (CSK1756:42), **έϊούτιρ** [eyüdür] (PsD1782:277).

4. {(y)Xz}

In Serapheim's texts the suffix {(y)Xz} usually uses the fourfold harmony instead of the old labial form {(y)Uz)}. Examples of the labial form {(y)Uz)} come mainly from the editions from 1753. A few examples of the form {(y)Iz)} following a round vowel occur in some editions. While in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika

texts in Gavriel 2010b: 261 the suffix appears in the form {(y)Xz}, in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 172 both the labial and illabial form are attested (*sevmişüz, görmüşüz*).

{(y)Xz}: **ἀγναμάις** [aɣamaɪs] (SBD1783:ix), **τζαλισμάις** [ɟalɪʃmaɪs] (CSK1756:5), **γιαζατζάις** [ɣazacaɪs] (KIN1753:57), **γιαζάρις** [ɣazarɪs] (KIN1753:19), **ἐγλεμεῖς** [eɣlemeɪs] (IpK1753:8), **ἐσιτετζεῖς** [eʃideceɪs] (IpK1753:8), **ἐτμέις** [etmeɪs] (NTh1756:v), **ἐτέρις** [ederɪz] (KIN1753:67), **καζανίρις** [kazanɪrɪs] (IpK1753:8).

{(y)Uz}: **παγισλάρουζ** [paɣɪʃlaruz] (KIN1753:10), **εγλεμελοῦζ** [eɣlemelüɹz] (KIN1753:10) **ἐτέρουζ** [ederüz] (KIN1753:82), **ιτεροῦζ** [iderüz] (KIN1753:8), **βερίρουζ** [verirüs] (KIN1753:25), **ὀλαπιλήρουζ** [olabiliruz] (IpK1753:34)).

{(y)Iz}: **σουτζλούγης** [suɟluyɪs] (CSK1756:37), **γιολτζούγης** [ɣolcuɣɪs] (APK1782:12) **ὀκουμαλίγης** (BH1783:9), **καβιλεντιρμελοῦζ** [kavilendirmelüɹs] (KIN1753:63) (APK1782:52*) **πορτζλούγιζ** (NTh1756:61)).

5. {sXnXz}

In Serapheim's texts the suffix {sXnXz} follows the fourfold harmony, and rare examples of the old illabial form {sInIz} appear only in the editions from 1753.

{sInIz}: **ὀβουνουρσινής** [övünürsiniz] (IpK1753:16), **ιλερούσινιζ** [ilerüsiniz] (KIN1753:ix).

PAST COPULA {IDI} / {(Y)(X)DX}

Like the simple past suffix {DX}, the past copula seems to be conservative and appears in five different forms in Serapheim's texts. Fully assimilating forms {(y)dX} can be seen in the majority of editions and are attested also in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 183 (*yoğudu, az ıdılar, ölmüşüdü*), Gavriel 2010b: 253 (*karnıdaydı, yoğudu*) and in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 172 (*olmuşudu*). The form {IdU} with unrounded and rounded vowels in third persons, can be seen in some of Serapheim's editions,

mainly from 1753 (this applies to APK1782, which was incorporated in KIN1753 in its first edition). The form {UdI} with rounded followed by unrounded vowels, can be seen in a limited number of Serapheim's editions. Both forms are unusual and not attested elsewhere and might be hypercorrections. Sporadically we encounter the labial vowel first person forms, known from other "transcription texts"³⁸⁶ (e.g. **ἀγλάριτουκ** [ağlarıduk] (IpK1753:158), **οὐλμούσητουμ** [ülmüş idüm] (KIN1753:53) **γκιορούριτουμ** [görüridüm] (SBD1783:26).

Rare examples of palatalised assimilation can be seen in IpK1753 and APK1782 (e.g., **ἐγίγιουτου** [eyiyüdü] (IpK1753:22) **ιστὲρ ουτουλὲρ** [ister üdüler] (APK1782:61)), while the non-assimilating old enclitic form {IdI} occurs in many of Serapheim's editions with the variant {yIdI}, also attested in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 183 (*kurumuş idi*) and described by Brendemoen 2016: 19 as a dialectic element (e.g., **σουγιούγιτι** [suyuyıdı] (NTh1756: 17), **ὀλάγιτι** [olayıdı] (HNK1756:4), **κιτέρσεγιτι** [giderseyıdı] (KIN1753:75)).

{(y)dX}: **γióκουτου** [yokudu] (CSK1756:343) (PsD1782:66) (APK1782:6), **γióγουτου** [yoğudu] (IpK1753:96) (NTh1756:16) (NvB1776:24) (PsD1782:66) (APK1782:6), **τζόγουτου** [çoğudu] (KIN1753:19) (NTh1756:31) (CSK1756:13) (APK1782:18) (BH1783:28), **Παῦλοσούνουτου** [Pavlos'unudu] (CSK1756:2), **όχούρουτουλαρ** [ohur udular] (HNK1756:9), **όλούρουτου** [olurudu] (SBD1783:27), **ἐλληνοσζουτου** [Ellinosz' udu] (BH1783:3) **γκιούτζουτου** [güçüdü] (RAB1782:143), **τουτατζακλάριτιλαρ** [tutacaklar ıdılar] (KIN1753:26), **άλουρλάριτι** [alurlar dı] (IpK1753:16), **ντετιῖτι** [dedi idi] (IpK1753:156), **τεκμίλιτιλερ** [tekmlil idiler] (CSK1756:v).

{(IdU)}: **ὀλσάϊτου** [olsaidu] (IpK1753:22), **σακίνιτου** [sakinıdu] (KŞ1758:24), **ιτερλέρητουλερ** [iderleridüler] (KIN1753:59), **ντεῖλιτου** [deilidü] (IpK1753:68), **σακλάρητου** [saklar ıdu] (NTh1756: 33), **ἀτέτιτου** [adetidü] (APK1782:8), **τζεκέριτου** [çekeridü] (APK1782:19), **πορτζλούιτουλαρ** [borçluidular] (KŞ1758:69).

³⁸⁶ Németh, *Die Türkische Sprache in Ungarn*, 104.

{(UdI)}: **όκουγιατζακλάρουτιλαρ** [okuyacaklarudilar] (KIN1753:25), **τζόκουτι** [çokudi] (CSK1756:307), **όλούρουτιλαρ** [olur udılar] (BH1783:27).

{(IdI)}: **γιόκκικτει** [yok dı] (CSK1756:41) (SBD1783:138) (BH1783:29) (HNK1756:27), **γιακλασίοριτει** [yaklaşıordı] (RAB1782:20) **όλμούσιτι** [olmuşıdı] (CSK1756:2), **όκουμούζητη** [okumuş ıdı] (NTh1756:137), **γιορούριτι** [yorurıdı] (HNK1756:46) (SBD1783:21) (RAB1782:142) **μουτοούτιλαρ** [mututılilar] (PsD1782:156) **όκούρϊτιλερ** [okurıdılar] (PsD1782:255).

CONDITIONAL COPULA {(Y)SA}

The old form of the conditional copula, which is still in use today (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 111), is the enclitic non-harmonic form {ise}. Parallel to the old form, it could be connected and assimilated phonologically to the stem, which is the form attested in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika in Gavriel 2010b: 255–256 and in the nineteenth-century Ottoman grammar of Alexandrides (1812: 44). In nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 166, 172, the suffix is attested in the assimilating form {(y)sA} but illustrates a bias towards {ysE} forms. In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika in Eckmann 1950a: 183–184 it is connected to the stem in assimilating and non-assimilating forms (*varısa, yoğusa, bulunurise*). In Serapheim's texts the suffix always occurs connected to the stem. We assume this not only from the writing conventions but also from the single stress, which implies its pronunciation as one word, but not always in harmonic form.

We see the suffix being harmonic after rounded and unrounded and front and back vowels (e.g., **βάρισα** [varısa] (CSK1756:2), **μακπούλουσε** [makbulüse] (NTh1756: 92), **μουλτούμουσα** [buldumusa] (IpK1753:32), **όλούρουσα** [olurusa] (APK1782:4), **όλτοούγουσα** [oldugusa] (PsD1782:253), **πουλτούγιουσα** [bulduğusa] (APK1782:18), **όκούρουσα** [okurusa] (RAB1782:iv), **πουλουνοόρουσα** [bulunurusa] (SBD1783:vi), **γιογουςά** [yogusa] (KIN1753:24) (CSK1756:82)).

On some occasions it appears to be non-harmonic in the form {isa} and more

rarely in the form {ise} (e.g., **έττηλέρισα** [ettilerisa] (SBD1783:vi), **όλούρισα** [olurisa] (APK1782:4), **όγλούϊσα** [oluisa] (IpK1753:43), **πουλουνούρισα** [bulunurisa] (APK1782:6), **γιόκησε** [yokise] (RAB1782:2)).

Enclitics

1. {(y)IA}

The enclitic {(y)IA} is described in early nineteenth-century grammars in Alexandrides 1812: 70 as assimilating {yIA}. The suffix is attested in the old assimilating form {(y)IIAn} in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Gavriel 2010b: 236–240 and in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 164–165. In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 184 is attested in the form {(y)IIAn} but often non-assimilated (*terahumulan*, *onunilan*). In Serapheim's texts the suffix is attested in the forms {(y)IIAn}, {(y)UIAn}, {(y)IAn} and {(y)IA}, with the latter being the most rarely used.

{(y)IIAn}: **ιζνίγilen** [izniyilen] (CSK1756:fp), **ιτμέγilen** [itmeyilen] (KŞ1758:8), **γκετιρμεσίγilen** [getirmesiyilen] (RAB1782:iv) **νεσνέϊilen** [nesne ilen] (CSK1756:iv), **έλλοϋήilen** [ellü ilen] (KIN1753:44), **έτμεμεϊilen** [etmeme ilen] (KŞ1758:3), **σεφασίγilan** [sefasıyılan] (RAB1782:iv), **χαρτζίγilan** [harçıyılan] (PsD1782:viii), **όλμάϊlan** [olma ılan] (KŞ1758:3) (PsD1782:i) (BH1783:4), **μασραφϊϊlan** [masrafı ılan] (RAB1782:fp), **όλμαλίγιλαν** olamlığılan (SBD1783:fp), which remain non-assimilating to the preceding rounded vowel (e.g., **χοκμούγilen** [hökmüyilen] (KŞ1758:9) **κιοζουμούζηilen** [gözümüz ilen] (APK1782:11), **όλιουμούilen** [ölümü ilen] (SBD1783:2) **κιονούλλilen** [gönüll ilen] (SBD1783:19) **όνούνilan** [onun ılan] (RAB1782:2) **όγουλούϊlan** [oğlu ılan] (RAB1782:15) **όβουτούηlan** [övütü ılan] (NTh1756: 189)).

{(y)UIAn}: **κιτμέγιουilen** [gitmeyülen] (KIN1753:12), **όλουμούγιουilen** [ölümüyülen] (NvB1776:11), **γιούζουilen** [yüz ülen] (KŞ1758:6) (CSK1756:32) (PsD1782:205), **χόκμουilen** [hökm ülen] (HNK1756:9), **σιόζουilen** [söz ülen] (KŞ1758:3) (APK1782:20) (RAB1782:12) (BH1783:90), **σεγτάνουlan** [şeytan ulan] (APK1782:59), **κιοζούουilen** [göz ülen] (SBD1783:19) **όνούνουlan** [onun

ulan] (KŞ1758:6), **χοσνουτλούγουλαν** [hoşnud ulan] (NvB1776:21), **ντογοτλούουλαν** [doğotlu ulan] (PsD1782:158), **όνούνουλαν** [onun ulan] (RAB1782:2), **όρουτζουλαν** [oruç ulan] (RAB1782:21), **ζούλουμουλαν** [zulüm ulan] (SBD1783:67), **άθανάσιοζουλαν** [Athanasioz'ulan] (BH1783:94), **μουτλούγουλαν** [mutlugu lan] (KIN1753:17), **σταυρόζουλαν** [Stavroz'ulan] (KIN1753:26), **ούγιουκουσουσλούουλαν** [uyukususlu ulan] (IpK1753:129), **πουνούουλαν** [bunun ulan] (NTh1756: 30), **Μάρκοζουλαν** [Markoz'ulan] (CSK1756:2), **ζόρουλαν** [zor ulan] (HNK1756:33), **σύνοδόζουλαν** [Sinodos'ulan] (KIN1753:7).

{(y)lan}: **κελμέελεν** [gelmeelen] (KIN1753:iv), **σιερίφινήςλεν** [şerrifinislen] (NvB1776:3), **κεσμέγλεν** [kesmeylen] (HNK1756:10), **βερμεήσιλεν** [vermesilen] (KŞ1758:9), **ϊσμιλεν** [ismilen] (PsD1782:ix), **πουλμάκλεν** [bulmaklan] (KŞ1758:5).

{(y)la}: **όγούλουλα** [oğulula] (HNK1756:122).

2. {(y)ken}

The suffix {(y)ken}, according to the Ottoman grammar of Alexandrides 1812: 45, operates in the enclitic form {iken} or connected to the stem and being always non-assimilating, like the MST form (Göksel & Kerslake 2005: 96). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika in Gavriel 2010: 269–270 the suffix is attested in the non-assimilating form {iken} but also with the first vowel assimilating to the preceding one (*yogukēn*). In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 184 is attested in the enclitic form {iken}, but also connected to the stem and assimilating both vowels (*kapanıkıkan*, *uyuruken*, *yogukan*). In Serapheim's texts it is attested in the same way as in Eckmann 1950a, namely connected to the stem, in assimilating form, and the opposite, but also in the form {(y)kan}, again assimilating and non-assimilating.

{iken}: **ύλμούσικεν** [ülmüş iken] (IpK1753:48), **ούμουτσούζικεν** [umutsuz iken] (APK1782:24) **τζοτζούγικεν** [çocuyiken] (NTh1756:189), **τομελίγικεν**

[dömeliyiken] (NTh1756: 15), **βερίρικεν** [verir iken] (RAB1782:3), **σαχαπήγικεν** [sahabiyiken] (SBD1783:x), **ούζεριντέηκεν** [üzerinde iken] (KŞ1758:6), **τζεκέρικεν** [çeker iken] (PsD1782:12), **γκιτέρικεν** [gider iken] (SBD1783:vii).

{ken}: **ττουρούρικεν** [durur uken] (RAB1782:20), **γιόγουκεν** [yoguken] (NTh1756:20), **όκούρικεν** [okurken] (NTh1756: 20).

{ukan}: **έτιόρουκαν** [edior ukan] (KIN1753:46) (BH1783:5), **άγγελοζουκαν** [angeloz'ukan] (IpK1753:31), **σογλεϊόρουκαν** [sögleior ukan] (IpK1753:34), **ένιόρουκαν** [enior ukan] (CSK1756:164), **τετθόρουκαν** [deior ukan] (NvB1776:66), **γεϊόρουκαν** [yeior ukan] (RAB1782:74), **έλληνοζουκαν** [ellinoz'ukan] (BH1783:3), **όχούρουκαν** [ohur ukan] (HNK1756:19) **τουζουκαν** [tuz ukan] (RAB1782:4), **ότουρούρουκαν** [oturur ukan] (BH1783:26), **γιόγουκαν** [yogukan] (CSK1756:67) (RAB1782:11), **γίοουκαν** [youkan] (APK1782:xx) (BH1783:102), **ότουροδρκαν** [otururkan] (IpK1753:77).

{ikan}: **τουνιατάϊκαν** [dünyada ıkan] (CSK1756:3) (SBD1783:ix), **βάρικαν** [var ıkan] (PsD1782:ix), **ανάσιγικαν** [anasıyikan] (APK1782:28), **σαχαπήγικαν** [sahabiyikan] (PsD1782:viii) **όλατζάγικαν** [olacayıkan] (SBD1783:ix), **βερίορικαν** [verior ıkan] (RAB1782:11).

Possessive suffixes

1. First person singular {(X)m}

The possessive suffix of first person singular occurs rarely in Serapheim's texts and sometimes retains the old labial harmony. The phenomenon is attested also in Kappler 2002: 173 in the old labial form but also in illabial form preceded by a labial vowel (*aklum*, *derunim*).

έλλερουμοϋ [ellerümü] (IpK1753:21), **άλλαχούμ** [Allah'um] (IpK1753:44) (HNK1756:21).

2. Second person singular {(X)n}

The possessive suffix of second person singular uses the fourfold harmony (deviating forms are extremely rare) and retains very often the velar η, as in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Gavriel 2010: 213.

{(X)η}: **γκετῖνγ** [gediŋ] (PsD1782:vii), **νισανεγγή** [nisaneni] (NTh1756: 29), **κεντιγγέ** [kediŋe] (CSK1756:5), **σατακάγγ** [sadakan] (CSK1756:40), **άλλαχῖνγ** [Allah'ŋ] (RAB1782:7), **άκραπαλαριγγτάν** [akrabalarinŋdan] (KŞ1758:11), **τιζαριγγά** [tizariŋa] (PsD1782:5), **έφέντιγγιν** [efendiŋin] (IpK1753:129), **βαλητεγγέ** [validene] (NvB1776:11), **μεντζηλισιγγέ** [mencilisiŋe] (RAB1782:51), **όλτουοῦνγ** [olduun] (CSK1756:349) (RAB1782:11) (NvB1776:15), **σοζοῦνγ** [sözüŋ] (BH1783:194), **κορκούγγιλαν** [korkuŋilan] (CSK1756:21), **κουλουγγοῦ** [kuluŋu] (HNK1756:13), **γιολουγγά** [yoluŋa] (PsD1782:37), **κουλούνγα** [kuluŋa] (BH1783:11), **σογιουγγοῦ** [soyuŋu] (NvB1776:11), **θρόνοσουγγου** [thronos'uŋu] (SBD1783:70).

{(U)η}: **κιοπεγιουγγτέ** [köpeyiŋde] (IpK1753:24)).

3. Third person singular {s)X(n)}

The possessive suffix of third person singular occurs in the majority of Serapheim's texts in the MST fourfold harmony form {s)X(n)}. In editions from the years 1753 and 1756 the labial form {s)U(n)} and the illabial form {s)I(n)} are attested, with the first being used more often. The illabial form {s)I(n)} is also attested in the seventeenth-century Armeno-Turkish source by Sanjian & Tietze (1981:60), who describe the labial forms of the suffix as exceptional as regards the findings of their research. It is possible that the unusual rounded forms are the result of hypercorrection and related to the religious context.

{s)U(n)}: **αχβαλλαρουντε** [ahvallaründe] (KIN1753:ii), **ταραφούντα** [tarafunda] (KIN1753:8), **χακκοῦ** [hakku] (KIN1753:iii), **ναμοῦ** [namu] (KIN1753:vii), **ζεῖτοῦν άγαςζοῦ** [zeytün ağacu] (KIN1753:ix), **άκλοῦ** [aklu] (KIN1753:84), **άλλαχοῦ** [Allah'u] (HNK1756:161), **φαζλετλερουντέν** [fazletleründen] (KIN1753:ii), **έμροῦ** [emrū] (KIN1753:48), **πασιρετοῦ** beşeriyet? [başiretü]

(KIN1753:ii) (IpK1753:x), **νασιχετοῦ** [nasihetü] (KIN1753:fp), **ιτζεροῦ** [içerü] (IpK1753:107), **ταλιμλιγοῦ** [talimliyü] (IpK1753:vi), **κεντισοῦ** [kendisü] (NTh1756:33), **χεκμετληγιοῦ** [hekmetliyü] (APK1782:22*), **κεντινοῦ** [kendinü] (KIN1753:31), **πιροῦ** [birü] (KIN1753:43).

{s)I(n)}: **ὄγουλι** [oğulı] (KIN1753:7), **τεκαγιουτλουῖνοῦ** [tekayutluunu] (IpK1753:vi), **τιλουνί** [dilüni] (IpK1753:iv).

4. First person plural {(X)mXz}

In Serapheim's texts the suffix of the first person plural occurs in the fourfold harmony for the majority the texts.

{(X)mXz}: **μπιζίμ** [bizim] (KIN1753:vii) (IpK1753:8), **ἐφέντιμιζ** [efendimiz] (IpK1753:13), **ἐφέντιμις** [efendimis] (HNK1756:9) (APK1782:7) (NTh1756:iv) (RAB1782:4), **πετεριμις** [pederimis] (KIN1753:10), **ἐττηγμις** [ettiyimis] (CSK1756:27)(APK1782:8), **κιουναχλαριμίζ** [günahlarımız] (IpK1753:15), **καρτασλαριμις** [kardaşlarımız] (CSK1756:2), **ιτιματιμις** [imdadımız] (HNK1756:45), **ράππιμις** [rabbımız] (PsD1782:9), **ἀλλάχμις** [Allah'ımız] (RAB1782:127), **ἀχπαπλαριμις** [ahbablarımız] (SBD1783:v), **ιττιγμις** [ittiyimis] (RAB1782:iii), **πηριμις** [birimis] (BH1783:26), **ὀχουτουγουμοῦς** [ohuduğumuz] (KIN1753:7), **τουττουγουμοῦς** [tuttuğumuz] (IpK1753:30), **χριστοζουμοῦς** [Hristoz'umuz] (CSK1756:54) (KŞ1758:40) (RAB1782:7), **ὀλτουγουμοῦς** [olduğumuz] (SBD1783:xi).

More rarely in editions from 1753 and 1756, it appears in the labial form, mainly in words with religious connotations, (e.g., **ἀλλαχουμουζ** [Allah'umuz] (IpK1753:15)), but also with an illabial vowel in first position and labial in the second, and the opposite. While the first case {ImUz}, which also appears also in sixteenth-century Ottoman texts (Develi 1995: 109) and in seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:402-403, is considered to be normal, since syllables closer to the stem are assimilated earlier than more "distant" syllables and it is characterised as conservative (Johanson 1979: 69, 91–92), the case of {UmIz}

when preceded by an unrounded vowel is not. This phenomenon is also attested by Sanjian and Tietze (1981: 56-57) in seventeenth-century Armeno-Turkish texts, where it is characterised as infrequent and the change is attributed to assimilation with a preceding rounded vowel.

{ImUz}: **ἰμανιμουζ** [imanımuz] (KIN1753:7).

{UmIz}: **ἀλλαχουμιζ** [Allah'umuz] (HNK1756:261*), **ὁμρουμιζ** [ömrümüz] (CSK1756:37).

5. Second person plural {(X)nXz}

The possessive suffix of the second person plural follows the same pattern as the first person plural with an illabial vowel in first position and labial in the second (also attested in seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:403) and the opposite. The suffix tends to be conservative, tends to change the first vowel in favour of the preceding one, and appears in sixteenth-century texts.³⁸⁷ In eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Gavriel (2010: 233) the suffix occurs in the fourfold harmony but retains the velar η. In Serapheim's texts the suffix occurs mainly in the fourfold harmony, retains the velar η and rarely occurs in labial form, or in the forms {UnIz} and {InUz}.

{InUZ}: **φαζλετλερινοῦς** [fazlelerinüs] (KIN1753:v), **μουχαπετλινοῦς** [muhabetlinüs] (IpK1753:10), **σιφαετινοῦς** [sifaetinüs] (KIN1753:viii), **φαζλετλερινοῦζ** [fazletlerinüz] (KIN1753:iv), **παχσισινοῦζ** [bahşışınız] (KIN1753:15), **σατετινοῦζτουρ** [sadetinüzdür] (KIN1753:vii).

{UηIs}: **ἀβουτζουνγίς** [avucuηız] (RAB1782:11).

{UnUz}: **ἀλλαχουνουζοῦ** [Allah'unuzu] (IpK1753:14).

³⁸⁷ Johanson, "Die westoghusische Labialharmonie," 69, 91–92, Sanjian and Tietze, *Eremya Chelebi Kömürjan's "The Jewish Bride,"* 56–57; Develi, *Yüzyıl Osmanlı Türkçesinde Ses Benzeşmeleri*, 109.

{X}ηXZ}: **παπαγγιζ** [papaŋiz] (NTh1756:v), **ιμτατιγγιζ** [imdadıŋiz] (HNK1756:46), **ναζαριγγιζιλαν** [nazariŋizilan] (KŞ1758:4), **όλμανγιζ** [olmaŋiz] (PsD1782:viii), **χότζαλαρινγιζ** [hocalariŋiz] (SBD1783:x), **μαχανανγις** [mahanaŋiz] (SBD1783:ix), **ιμτατιγγής** [imdadıŋiz] (KŞ1758:68), **κουλλαρινγιζ** [kullariŋiz] (SBD1783:31), **τζανλαρινγιζ** [canlariŋiz] (BH1783:8), **έλιγγιζ** [eliŋiz] (HNK1756:26), **σεπεπιγγιζίλεν** [sebebiŋizilen] (CSK1756:iv), **πεντεγγις** [bendeŋiz] (NTh1756:vii) (KŞ1758:5) (APK1782:4), **μουχαπετινγιζ** [muhabetiŋiz] (PsD1782:viii), **μπεντενγιζ** [bendeŋiz] (APK1782:16), **άλλαχλαρινγις** [Allah'larıŋiz] (SBD1783:39), **όμρουνγουζ** [ömrüŋüz] (RAB1782:115), **κουλουνγουζού** [kuluŋuzu] (SBD1783:31), **κουλουγγούς** [kuluŋuz] (KŞ1758:6) (IpK1753:viii), **γιολουγγούζ** [yoluŋuz] (KŞ1758:70), **κουλουγγουζά** [kuluŋuza] (IpK1753:viii).

{X}nXs}: **κουτουςλουγουνούς** [kutuşluŋunus] (IpK1753:36), **κουλουνούς** [kulunus] (KŞ1758:5) (NvB1776:3), **όρουρζουνούς** [orurzunus] (SBD1783:20), **σεριφινής** [serifinis] (KIN1753:iv), **σιερόριφινήςλεν** [şerrifinislen] (NvB1776:3), **τεμπιχινίς** [tembihinis] (NvB1776:3).

3.1.2. Derivational suffixes

1. {CX}

The suffix {CX} is used to create nouns and adjectives from nouns and appears in Serapheim's texts in the labial form {CU} and more rarely in the illabial form {CI}, a form attested also in Eckmann 1950a: 183 (*sürücü*), in seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:392 and seventeenth-century Ottoman texts in Develi 1995: 64.

{CU}: **ιμταττζού** [imdadcu] (KIN1753:24), **ινατζού** [inacu] (IpK1753:76), **γιαπαντζού** [yabancı] (IpK1753:16), **μετετετζού** [mededcū] (KIN1753:24), **γιαρτιμτζού** [yardımcu] (KIN1753:33) (IpK1753:x) **γιαρτουμτζού** [yardımcu] (KIN1753:24) (NTh1756:84), **καπουτζού** [kapucu] (KIN1753:40), **γολτζού** [yolcu] (NvB1776:37).

{CI}: **γιαρτουμτζή** [yardumci] (NTh1756:40), **γιολτζι** [yolci] (NTh1756:102).

2. {(X)ncX}

The suffix creates ordinals and appears in Serapheim's texts in three different forms – in the MST fourfold harmony form {(X)ncX}, in the old illabial form {(I)ncI} (also attested in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a:183 (*üçinci*) and in seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:396), and {(U)ncI}. The latter illustrates a diachronic stage which probably follows the previously mentioned rule in 3.1.1.8. (4), of syllables closer to the stem assimilating earlier than the rest. The form is also attested in seventeenth-century Ottoman texts in Develi 1995: 124. The findings of labial form {(I)ncU} are very rare and can be attributed to error (e.g., **γετιντζοῦ** [yedincü] (KIN1753:7)).

{(X)ncX}: **ιλκιντζι** [ilkinci] (KIN1753:9) (HNK1756:9), **ικιντζι** [ikinci] (KIN1753:7) (IpK1753:102) (RAB1782:vii) (SBD1783:17) (BH1783:1) (APK1782:fp), **οῦτζουντζοῦ** [üçüncü] (KIN1753:7) (NTh1756:31) (KŞ1758:12) (NvB1776:51)(RAB1782:vii) (APK1782:vii) (BH1783:277) (KIN1753:7), **τορτιουντζοῦ** [dördüncü] (SBD1783:193), **πεσιντζή** [beşinci] (HNK1756:17) (RAB1782:vii) (SBD1783:43), **σεκιζιντζι** [sekizinci] (KIN1753:12) (PsD1782:6) , **τοκουζουντζοῦ** [dokuzuncu] (IpK1753:128) (IpK1753:128) (HNK1756:32) (PsD1782:95) (RAB1782:61) (HNK1756:32), **ὄνουντζοῦ** [onuncu] (CSK1756:303), **ὄνπιρηντζή** [onbirinci] (APK1782:8), **ὄνηκιντζή** [onikinci] (KŞ1758:11), **εἰγιρμιντζι** [iyirminci] (HNK1756:58).

{(I)ncI}: **οῦτζιντζι** [üçinci] (KIN1753:8) (IpK1753:7) (CSK1756:ix) (RAB1782:34) (SBD1783:17) (BH1783:38), **τορτιντζι** [dördinci] (KIN1753:8) (IpK1753:108) (CSK1756:ix) (KŞ1758:30), **τοκουζιντζι** [dokuzinci] (KIN1753:8) (RAB1782:26).

{(U)ncI}: **οῦτζουντζή** [üçünci] (KIN1753:11) (IpK1753:98) (CSK1756:ix) (KŞ1758:30) (NvB1776:88), **τορτουντζή** [dördünci] (KIN1753:11) (HNK1756:16) (PsD1782:33) (RAB1782:vii) (SBD1783:139) (HNK1756:16), **τοκουζουντζή**

[dokuzuncı] (CSK1756:90) (APK1782:8).

3. {IX}

The suffix that creates adjectives from nouns is described by Johanson (1979: 93) as conservative, especially in gospel language. In Serapheim's texts, which consist of religious content, the old labial form {IU} is very much in use, along with MST form {IX} and could be attributed to hypercorrection. In seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:400 the form {IU} is described as archaic (*azametlü*).

{IU}: **ναμλοῦ** [namlu] (KIN1753:v), **χελασλοῦ** [helaslu] (IpK1753:vi), **σαυκλοῦ** [savklu] (HNK1756:87), **ἀζηματλοῦ** [azimatlu] (NvB1776:fp), **ἀταλλιαλοῦ** [atallialu] (HNK1756:fp), **τατλοῦ** [tatlu] (IpK1753:17) (KŞ1758:31), **αζιμετλοῦ** [azimetlü] (KIN1753:ii) (IpK1753:iv) (CSK1756:iii) (KŞ1758:3) (NvB1776:3) (PsD1782:vi) (RAB1782:41) (APK1782:5), **σατετλοῦ** [sadetlü] (IpK1753:iv) (HNK1756:21) **κιφαετλοῦ** [kifaetlü] (IpK1753:fp) (BH1783:fp) (RAB1782:fp), **ἡζετλοῦ** [izetlü] (NTh1756:iii) (BH1783:fp) (SBD1783:3), **κυγιμετλοῦ** [küymetlü] (NTh1756: 21), **χακιμετλοῦ** [hakimetlü] (CSK1756:viii), **χελασετλοῦ** [helasetlü] (KŞ1758:49), **φαζιλετλοῦ** [faziletü] (NvB1776:fp) (SBD1783:fp), **χεκμετλοῦ** [hekmetlü] (APK1782:fp), **ἰλλαχετλοῦ** [illahetlü] (APK1782:5) **τοβλετλοῦ** [dövletlü] (KIN1753:31) (IpK1753:59) **σεβκιουλοῦ** [sevgülü] (NvB1776:10) (RAB1782:158) (BH1783:175), **σαπουρλοῦ** [saburlu] (BH1783:2).

{IX}: **ἀρζιλῆ** [arızılı] (CSK1756:v) (KŞ1758:66) (NvB1776:49), **τατλῆ** (HNK1756:23), **κηγιματλῆ** [kıyimatlı] (NTh1756:6) (HNK1756:4) (CSK1756:iv) (NvB1776:19) (PsD1782:6) (KŞ1758:79) (RAB1782:75) (APK1782:xxi) (SBD1783:xi) (BH1783:140) **αζιμετλῆ** [azimetli] (NvB1776:53), **τεβετλῆ** [devletli] (NTh1756:42) (NvB1776:12), **τοβλετλῆ** [dövletli] (HNK1756:15) (CSK1756:viii) (RAB1782:28) (SBD1783:2), **κηριττλῆ** [giritli] (IpK1753:fp).

4. {IXK}

The suffix {IXK} creates nouns, adjectives and adverbs from nouns and occurs in

Serapheim's texts in three different forms. Apart from the MST fourfold harmony form {IXK}, we also come across the labial form {IUK} (also attested in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 183 (*şenlük*) and in seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:391) and the illabial form {IIK}, which remains non-assimilating to the preceding rounded vowel, a form attested also in seventeenth-century Ottoman texts in Develi 1995: 123. Similarly to {IX} the labial form can be attributed to the nature of the religious nature of the texts and hypercorrection.

{IXK}: *ιγιβαζλιϊνι* [iyivazlıını] (RAB1782:13) (KŞ1758:3), *πατισαχλιϊνγι* [padişahlıııı] (BH1783:29), *πατισαχλιϊνην* [padişahlıının] (CSK1756:3)m *ὀρνεκλιϊνή* [örneklıini] (SBD1783:4), *ιτμελιϊνοῦ* [itmeliinü] (IpK1753:v), *σοχρετλιϊνοῦ* [sohretliinü] (KIN1753:iii), *σαατετλικ* [saadetlik] (CSK1756:27) (HNK1756:78), *τζοκλουουνοῦ* [çokluunu] (PsD1782:viii), *τοστλουοῦ* [dostluu] (PsD1782:vi), *μελκιουτλουοῦν* [melkütlüün] (SBD1783:viii).

{IUK}: *χισματλούκ* [hısmatluk] (KIN1753:xi), *τεμαμλούκ* [temamluk] (IpK1753:vi), *καρανλούκ* [karanluk] (KŞ1758:83), *σατετλούκ* [sadetlük] (KIN1753:57) (IpK1753:29) (APK1782:iv), *κιφαετλούκ* [kifaetlük] (APK1782:32), *ἐγλούκ* [eylük] (KIN1753:9), *μπιλμεμεζλούκ* [bilmemezlük] (IpK1753:19).

{IIK}: *βιουτζουτλικ* [vücadlık] (HNK1756:96), *κουλαουζλικ* [kulauzluk] (CSK1756:19) (PsD1782:186), *κορκουλικ* [korkuluk] (KIN1753:18), *ὀβιουλικ* [öväilik] (HNK1756:9) *μαζλουμλικ* [mazlumlık] (RAB1782:47), *τατλουλίγιλαν* [tatlılığılan] (IpK1753:24).

5. {sXz}

The suffix which creates adjectives from nouns occurs in Serapheim's texts mainly in the fourfold harmony form {sXz} and rarely in the labial form {sUz} in editions from 1753, and in the illabial form {sIz} in editions from 1753 and 1756. The latter two are also attested in in seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai

1973:424 eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 183 (*lezetsüs, umutsislik*) and the labial form in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 174 (*šüphesüz*). According to Johanson (1979: 95) the suffix belongs to the group of conservative suffixes mainly used in gospel language with the illabial form {sIz} which is also attested in seventeenth-century transcription texts in Hazai 1973:424.

{sXz}: **χεσαπισ** [hesapsis] (IpK1753:vii) (KIN1753:viii), **ἀχτζασ** [ahçasis] (HNK1756:3), **ιχτικατ** [ihtikatsis] (APK1782:6), **μαχανα** [mahanasis] (IpK1753:v), **κουβετ** [kuvetsis] (KŞ1758:84), **σουπχε** [şubhesis] (NTh1756:ii), **οὐτζρετ** [ücretsis](CSK1756:vii), **νιχαετ** [nihaetsis] (KŞ1758:3) (APK1782:5) (BH1783:1)(SBD1783:8) (PsD1782:vi), **μερχαμετ** [merhametsis] (RAB1782:4), **καππη** [kappisis] (SBD1783:v), **ιλαϊκ** [ilaisis] (SBD1783:xi) (BH1783:30), **τεκμιλ** [tek milfsis] (KIN1753:15), **σουσοῦζ** [susuz] (KIN1753:14), **κορκουσοῦς** [korkusus] (IpK1753:19), **σουτζσοῦς** [suçsus] (IpK1753:27) (PsD1782:8), **σουσοῦς** [susus] (CSK1756:vii) (SBD1783:3), **οὐμουτσοῦς** [umutsus] (HNK1756:3), **τεραχουμοῦς** [terahumus] (RAB1782:4), **ὀλουμοῦς** [ölümsüs](KŞ1758:71) **οὐγιουκουσοῦς** [uyukusus] (APK1782:5), **μουμκιουνσοῦς** [mümkünsüs] (NvB1776:36).

{sUz}: **ιμανσοῦς** [imansus] (IpK1753:21), **αμελσοῦς** [amelsüs] (KIN1753:16).

{sIz}: **σουσιζ** [susız] (KIN1753:13), **οὐμουττισλικ** [umutsislik] (KIN1753:18), **οὐλουμ** [ülümsis] (HNK1756:156).

6. {(y)XcX}

The suffix is used to create nouns from verbs. In Serapheim's texts it serves for creating religious terms (see also Gavriel 2010b: 228) and occurs in the form {(y)IcU} (e.g., **βεριτζοῦ** [vericü] (KŞ1758:71), **κουφοῦρ ιτιτζοῦ** [küfür idicü] (IpK1753:53)).

7. {kAr}

The Persian suffix {kAr} which creates nouns connected to persons or occupations appears in KIN1753 in a palatalised form (e.g., **κιουναχκέρ** [günahker] (KIN1753:47), **ταμαχκέρ** [tamahker] (KIN1753:64).

3.1.3. *Personal pronouns*

The personal pronouns that illustrate differences from MST are those of the second and third person singular. These make use of the velar η in the dative, something already discussed in 2.3.2.3. The personal pronoun of the second person singular appears in many editions with the old labial form of the genitive (**σενούν** [senün]) but most of the time we see the MST form **σενίν** [senin]. The personal pronoun of the third person singular appears in the archaic form *an* (<o [he]) with the genitive (e.g., **άνούν** [anun]), a form attested also in nineteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Kappler 2002: 174, and with the accusative (e.g., **άνι** [anı]). The stem also appears in the third person plural although it seems to be very rare (e.g., **άνλέρ** [anler] (NTh1756:13)) but it is also attested in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika texts in Eckmann 1950a: 183.

2P.SG. Genitive: **σενούν** [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).

3P.SG. Genitive: **άνούν** [anun] (KIN1753:iii) (IpK1753:19) (NTh1756:57) (NvB1776:3) (RAB1782:7) (APK1782:20) ~ **όνούν** [onun] (KIN1753:33) (IpK1753:18) (NTh1756:3) (HNK1756:47) (CSK1756:2) (KŞ1758:4) (PsD1782:2) (RAB1782:3) (APK1782:iv) (SBD1783:ix) (BH1783:20).

3P.SG. Accusative: **άνι** [anı] (KIN1753:11) ~ **όνού** [onu] (KIN1753:11) (IpK1753:19).

3.1.4. Turkish suffixes on Greek stems

In Serapheim's texts many Turkish suffixes are bound to Greek stems in order to express various meanings, mainly of religious content. This occurs by simply adding the Turkish suffix to the stem, by cutting off the ending of the Greek stem and/or adding a Turkish verb to achieve verbalisation.³⁸⁸ Further, a Greek noun is often followed by a Turkish noun with a possessive suffix which binds them together.

The ending of Greek stems denotes the gender of the words, and although there is a tendency not to cut off the endings of neutral words, it is not clear why Serapheim used this practice. Possible interpretations would be that the cut-off endings could resemble Turkish suffixes, so not cutting off would avoid confusion (there are many examples of cutting off the vowel from -si endings which is the same as the possessive suffix of the third person singular). On the other hand, the phenomenon might be connected to the fact that Turkish stems are gender free, and similar to the Greek language, which adds inflectional endings in foreign words in order to denote gender,³⁸⁹ the gender is neutralised in Turkish. Johanson (2002) notes that grammatical gender is often dispensable and therefore one of the first units to be considered as redundant and eliminated,³⁹⁰ as in the case of Anatolian Greek where the grammatical gender was lost.³⁹¹ This is an interesting case of language borrowing which warrants more research.

Plural

Often we come across Greek stems to which a Turkish plural (-lar) is added (e.g., **κοσμικοϑλάρ** [kosmikos-lar] (IpK1753:30) 'lay people', **Μάρτυροϑλάρ** [Martyros-lar] (NTh1756:19) 'martyrs', **αἱρετικοϑλάρ** [eretikos-lar] (HNK1756:72) (CSK1756:46) (KŞ1758:27) (SBD1783:48) (BH1783:51) 'heretic/sectarian'). Cases of double plural also occur, when the Greek stem is already in the plural form and the Turkish plural is added (e.g., **ἰσκέμνηλερ** [iskemni-ler]

³⁸⁸ See also Gavriel, "Η Τουρκική με το Ελληνικό αλφάβητο, 349.

³⁸⁹ Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*, 44.

³⁹⁰ Lars Johanson, *Structural Factors in Turkic Language Contacts*, (Curzon: Surrey, 2002) 104.

³⁹¹ See Petros Karatsareas, "The Loss of Grammatical gender in Cappadocian Greek," *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 107, no. 2 (2009): 196–230.

(KŞ1758:28) ‘pew’, **αἱρέσειςλερ** [aireseis-ler] (NTh1756:22) (CSK1756:1) ‘sects/heresies’), a phenomenon which also occurs in Arabic borrowings in the Turkish language, where Arabic plurals are used in Turkish as singulars and get a Turkish plural suffix (e.g., Turkish: tüccar-lar < Arabic singular: tācir).³⁹²

Cases

Turkish case suffixes are also added to Greek nouns: ablative (e.g., **χριστοῦ γέννατεν ἐβέλ** [hristouyenna’den evel] (NTh1756:168) ‘before Christmas’), dative, (e.g., **ἀσκητῆς κουβούκλιονα** [askitis kuvuklion’a] (BH1783:41) ‘in ascetic’s canopy’, **ἐφημέριοζα** [efimerioz-a] (HNK1756:19) ‘ephemeral’, **ἀντίχριστοζᾶ** [antihristoz-a] (NTh1756:336) ‘to the antichrist’), and accusative (e.g., **σήμαντρογιου βουρτουλᾶρ** [simantro-yu vurdular] (APK1782:25) ‘they tolled the bell’).

Possessive suffixes

In the case of possessive suffixes we come across the simple addition of a possessive suffix (e.g., **πατέροζουμους** [pateroz-umus] (NTh1756:2) ‘our Father’) or the addition of a possessive suffix of the third person singular to the second word in order to create a compound noun: (e.g., **ἄσωτος κυριακησι** [asotos Kyriaki-si] (CSK1756:ix) ‘The Sunday of Prodigal Son’, **τυρινὴ χαφτασι** [tyrini haftası] (KIN1753:26) ‘Cheese week / Butter week’). We also have the example of **ἀνάστασι γκιούν** [Anastasi gün] (IpK1753:197) ‘Rising of Christ’, without a reference suffix on the second component.

Verbs

The process of verbalisation follows the addition of a Turkish verb next to a Greek noun in order to denote the taken action. Usually for this action verbs like etmek and olmak and their derivations are used (e.g., **διορθῶς όλουνμάκ** [diorthos olunmak] (NTh1756:fp) ‘to be corrected’, **ἀφορίς όλμάκ** [aforis olmak] (KIN1753:28) ‘to be aphorised’, **συγχωρίς ὅλ** [syghoris olmak] (KIN1753:29) ‘to

³⁹² Lars Johanson, “The Structure of Turkic,” in *The Turkic Languages*, eds. Lars Johanson, Eva A. Csàto (London-New York: Routledge, 1998), 37.

be forgiven’, **ἐξομολογίς ὀλμάκ** [eksomoloyis olmak] (IpK1753:194) (KŞ1758:66) (NvB1776:24) (RAB1782:24) (BH1783:46) (NTh1756:93) ‘to receive confession’, **χειροτονίης ἐτμέκ** [heirotonis etmek] (NTh1756:125) (NvB1776:14) (SBD1783:163) ‘to ordain’, **καθαιρήs ἐτμέκ** [kathairis etmek] (NTh1756:127) ‘to depose’, **ψάλλ. ἐτμέκ** [psal etmek] (IpK1753:48) (NTh1756:85) (HNK1756:23) (KŞ1758:23) (NvB1776:99) (RAB1782:126) ‘to chant’).

All Greek words mentioned here ending in an <s> usually end with <si>, which denotes the female gender. The last example is the only one which contains two verbs, Greek and Turkish. The ending is probably cut off because every ending would have denoted the person performing the action (e.g., **ψάλλω** [psallo] ‘I chant’, **ψέλλει** [pselli] ‘he chants’), so by leaving aside the ending the verb is neutralised. The same occurs for the example **ἀγίω πνεύματι ἀναβλύζ** [ayio pnevmati anavliz] (HNK1756:101) ‘the pouring out of the Holy Spirit’, which is composed solely of Greek words, but by cutting off the ending of the verb in the last position, it gives the impression that the phrase has become lexified.

Derivational suffixes

The derivational suffix +LIK which creates nouns, adjectives and adverbs from nouns is used often. In the stem **προφήτηλίκ** [profiti-lik] (NvB1776:48) ‘prophecy’, the Greek male word **προφήτης** [profitis] ‘prophet’, loses its last letter, which denotes the gender, and the Turkish suffix is added to create the meaning of prophecy. In the case of **ἐξομολόγισλίκ** [eksomoloyis-lik] (CSK1756:55) ‘confession’, the Greek female noun **ἐξομολόγησις** [eksomoloyisi] ‘confession’, loses the last letter and the Turkish suffix is added, but the noun already has the meaning of confession. The word **αἰρέσιλίκ** [airesi-lik] (HNK1756:20) ‘heresy’ is one of those which keeps its gender (here in the feminine) in examples which derive from the same stem – as can also be seen in the section on plurals.

Greek words are often used in sentences with a Turkish full verb at the end (e.g., **ἀνάθημα ὀχοῦρ** [anathima ohur] (KIN1753:27) (CSK1756:46) ‘he reads offering’), especially fully integrated loans into Turkish, such as the noun **αφορισμός** [aforismos] ‘aphorism’, which can be found in the dictionary.³⁹³ There

³⁹³ James Redhouse, *Türkçe ve İngilizce sözlüğü*, Istanbul 2000, 17.

is also a derivation of the noun by the addition of the suffixes {lA} and {mA}: **ἀφοροζλαμὰ** [aforoz-la-ma] (BH1783:24) ‘to perform aphorism, to excommunicate’. According to Weinreich (1970) a word that has been transferred from one language to another is subject to the interference of the grammatical and phonic system, with the scale of effects ranging from complete non-adaptation to full grammatical integration,³⁹⁴ a description which our example fits perfectly.

3.1.5. *Izafet constructions*

Izafet constructions appear often in Serapheim’s texts but seem to be limitedly productive. Similar constructions are attested in eighteenth-century Karamanlidika in Gavriel 2010b, where we see a restricted use and only in compounds that had been already lexified, due to the restricted knowledge of this “syntactical construction” on behalf of authors who are not familiar with high-style Ottoman.³⁹⁵ Sanjian and Tietze (1981) hold a similar opinion, attributing the existence of Izafet constructions in their research on a seventeenth-century Armeno-Turkish source to fixed constructions.³⁹⁶

The same seems to apply to this research, since the reading (or hearing public) comparable to that in Gavriel’s primary source, and also because the Izafet constructions into found in the texts were probably well known. Often izafet is used to denote a title, for a person, book or institution (e.g., **Βελίγι Ναζίρ** [Veli-yi Nazir] ‘legate’ (KIN1753:ii), **κελισάϊ σερίφ** [kelisa-i şerif] ‘holy church’ (KIN1753:ix), **ἱπνη οὐλλὰχ** [ibn-i ül-lah] ‘son of God’ (NTh1756:146*), **Παχάρι Ζουμπιουλναμὲ** [Bahar-i Zümbülname] ‘Book of the spring of flower’ (RAB1782:iv), **Παχάρι χεγιὰτ** [Bahar-i heyat] ‘Spring of life’ (BH1783:fp)), while the majority of usages refer to communities, probably something very widely used (e.g., **Κιουλλουγέτι Ἀνατόλ** [Küllüyet-i Anadol] ‘The community of Anatolia’ (KIN1753:ii), **κιουλλουγέτι ἰνσανλάρ** [küllütet-i insanlar] ‘The community of people’ (NTh1756:1), **μουουμῖ χριστιανλάρ** [müümi-i hristianlar] ‘Christian believer’ (KIN1753:vii) (IpK1753:vi)(HNK1756:139)

³⁹⁴ Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*, 44.

³⁹⁵ Gavriel, “Η Τουρκική με το Ελληνικό αλφάβητο, 341–342.

³⁹⁶ Sanjian and Tietze, *Eremya Chelebi Kömürjan’s “The Jewish Bride,”* 64.

(KŞ1758:5), **μουουμιῦ ἱμανιμιζ** [müümi-i imanımız] ‘believers of our faith’ (IpK1753:iii), **τζεμίοι ἀνατόλ** [cemi-i anadol] ‘all the Anatolians’ (NTh1756:1) (CSK1756:1), **τζεμιῦ ὀρθόδοξος** [cemi-i orthodoxos] ‘all the Orthodox’ (HNK1756:3), **τζεμιῦ Κουτλουσερρίφην Ροχπανι** [cemi-i Kutluşerrifin Rohbanı] ‘all Jerusalem’s monks’ (KŞ1758:37), **τζεμιῦ χάλκ** [cemi-i halk] ‘the whole people’ (KIN1753:v), **τζουμλεῖ ἄλεμ** [cümle-yi alem] ‘The whole community’ (NvB1776:fp) (RAB1782:fp). Other constructions follow or refer to the dictum (e.g., **χουλουσάι κελάμ** [hulusa-i kelim] ‘The extract of the word’ (IpK1753:52) (NTh1756:7) (CSK1756:20), **ντερούνι γιουρεκτέν** [derun-i yürekten] ‘From the inner of heart’ (PsD1782:182) (RAB1782:5) (APK1782:iv) (SBD1783:19)).

3.1.6. *Comments on morphology*

The findings of the morphology section can be divided into four categories. First, suffixes that illustrate variations of a diachronic stage of Turkish; second, suffixes that tend to be conservative and retain older forms; third, suffixes in forms that are not attested in other Turkish sources until today, and fourth, Greek words with Turkish suffixes.

Concerning the first category, suffixes like {(X)mXz} and {(X)ncX} appear in the forms {ImUz} and {(U)ncI} respectively, following the rule of syllables closer to the stem assimilating to the previous vowel, reflecting a diachronic stage of Turkish language. The second category can be divided into two sub-categories. The first includes suffixes attested in the early editions mainly from 1753 to 1756 in old forms, like {Ur}, {mAlI}, the question marker {mI}, the possessive suffix {s)X(n)} and {(yUz)}, that can be attributed to previous stages of the language, as they change in books from later years. The second sub-category includes suffixes attested in older forms in the majority of editions and previously described as conservative and used in religious language. This group includes suffixes like {(y)AlUm}, {DUr} and {IU} and based on the number of findings and their usage, we could argue that their old form was an effort to convey an ecclesiastical tone. This might also be the case for the third category, concerning forms that are not attested elsewhere and cannot be justified by historical reasoning, like the rounded

form {DU} in the third person singular, and the rounded form for the accusative {(y)U}. A hypothesis could be that the author believed that rounded forms sounded more formal, thus creating forms that had not existed before. The absence of old forms of suffixes from Gavriel (2010b), a manuscript from the eighteenth-century of non-religious content, might be an indication that the older forms were no longer in use in everyday language, which makes a hypothesis of a bias towards rounded forms by Serapheim plausible.

The last category of Greek words with Turkish suffixes (as well the *izafet* constructions) falls into the category of religious register since the majority are found in a religious context. Many of these older forms are also attested in Kappler (2002) but are in completely different contexts, as the primary sources for that study did not consist of religious texts; as they are nineteenth-century Karamanlidika they probably imitated the historical writing of the Ottoman language and therefore used archaic forms of suffixes.

If we take a closer look at the books, we see how the various aforementioned categories are distributed. For example, many of the phenomena of the editions of 1753, which illustrate most of the older forms of suffixes, also appear in NTh1756. But this does not reflect the whole picture since the same phenomena do occur in NTh1756 but to a lesser degree, like the phenomenon of labial forms followed by illabial and the opposite, while there is extensive use of labial forms in {(y)AlXm} and the genitive.

In HKN1756 the older forms appear in the second part of the book, which consists mainly of liturgical texts. That might have been deliberate, or it is possible they were translated at an earlier stage. Besides these, the older forms appear to a lesser degree than in NTh1756, printed the same year.

In CSK1756 we observe the use of labial forms in {lX}, which, as already mentioned, tends to be conservative in the context of gospel language, while in KŞ1758, although we see extensive use of labial forms in {DXr} and {lX}, {(y)AlUm} is very rare, no other old forms are used and /j/ never drops in suffixes, something that is very common in the rest of the editions.

In NvB1776 the appearances of old forms are so few that they could be attributed to printing errors, while in PsD1782 we observe old forms like *gendi* for

kendi, but the suffixes follow in general the fourfold harmony. In RAB1782 the old forms appear in prayers and their explanations (RAB1782:33–36, 65–67) and in SBD1783 we observe reduced usage of the velar nasal *ŋ* in inflection but extensive use of {(y)AIUM}.

In general, we could sum up by saying that Serapheim's books reflect a mixed usage of old and colloquial forms of suffixes. The differences in morphology from one book to another, or even within the same book, with some parts more closely resembling Middle Ottoman and others tending to be more similar to modern forms, and the existence of more than one factor of influence, make conclusions in terms of language change difficult to draw. Since, as mentioned before, the developments of harmonies were nearly completed by the mid-eighteenth-century it is difficult to say which of them can be attributed to a diachronic stage of language and which are closely related to the author's beliefs about language, and the genre of the books.

3.1.7. Older language forms

While the majority of the books are written in a colloquial form of language, at the same time we observe older language forms, mainly in derivational and inflectional suffixes, like **αζιμετλοῦ** [azimetlü] 'his holiness' along with **αζιμετλί** [azimetli], **ιλλαχετλοῦ** [illahetlü] 'godly' instead of **ιλλαχετλί** [illahetli], or **τιγνεγελοῦμ** [diñne-yelüm] 'let us hear' instead of **τιγνεγελίμ** [diñne-yelim] etc. The latter example is exceptionally important since it is a form used regularly in religious texts ('let us'). It is one of the few occasions where one can clearly see the effort to render the Greek subjunctive but also the effort to give a different tone by using an archaic form in certain contexts. While the primary sources are mostly written in a more colloquial language, we do come across various archaic forms. This is probably due to the content of the book as it is proven that certain Turkish suffixes tend to be notably conservative, especially in religious texts.³⁹⁷ We cannot be certain about the development of the morpho-phonology at that period of time within the specific community, but the rest of the books show that even if the transformation was not complete, it had reached an advanced stage. We know,

³⁹⁷ Johanson, "Die westoghusische Labialharmonie," 63–107.

however, that new traditions – if we try to explain the creation of Karamanlidika religious books as such – tend to use old materials, invent new languages or schemes or just extend the old vocabulary.³⁹⁸ What people express in their oral or written speech is often closely related to its textual frequency, but also to the social conditions or environment, so infrequent use does not necessarily mean that certain forms are unknown, but their use varies according to the circumstances.³⁹⁹ That is the reason why such archaic forms survived in religious contexts, even into the twentieth-century, as we will see in the last part of this chapter.

3.2. Vocabulary

Following the previous subchapters 2.2.1. and 3.1.4. where we dealt with the vocabulary of the sources in order to tackle specific phenomena (i.e. the use of Greek orthography and the use of Turkish suffixes on Greek stems respectively), this subchapter will aim to present a rough rule on the techniques for rendering religious vocabulary found in the Serapheim's texts and its use. The religious vocabulary in Karamanlidika texts is far too complicated to be dealt with in one chapter, although an effort will be made to expand a little in the following subchapters.

Previously a number of techniques were described regarding the rendering of place or personal names and of religious terminology in Karamanlidika, such as the retention of the Greek word (with or without the addition of a Turkish suffix), the adoption of the Turkish Islamic equivalent, or the creation of a new term.⁴⁰⁰ To those we should add something that occurs in Serapheim's texts – the periphrastic approach – the introduction of a term along with a short explanation introduced by the word *yani* 'namely'.

Place names can be found in both Turkish (e.g., **Κυπρις** [Kibris] 'Cyprus' (KIN1753:33), (APK1782:8)) and Greek forms (e.g., **Κουτάχεια σεχερί** [Kütahia şeheri] 'the town of Kütahya', (NTh1756:79), **Σαζωνία βιλαετι**

³⁹⁸ Eric Hobsbawm, "Inventing Traditions," 5–6.

³⁹⁹ Johanson, *Structural Factors in Turkic Languages*, 5.

⁴⁰⁰ See Xavier Luffin, "Religious Vocabulary in Karamanlidika Texts: the Case of *Cebel-i Sinanin Medhnamesi* (1784)," in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books, Proceedings of the First International Conference of Karamanlidika Studies*. Nicosia 11.-13.09.2008, eds. Evangelia Balta & Matthias Kappler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 281–288.

[Saksonia vilaeti] ‘the province of Saxony’ (HNK1756:65),⁴⁰¹ while personal and biblical names mostly retain their Greek form (e.g., **Ἐφραίμ** [Ephraim] ‘Ephraim’ (KIN1753:37), **Σαμψών** [Sampson] ‘Samson’ (IpK1753:16) [Samson], **Ιούδας** [Ioudas] ‘Judas’ (IpK1753:16), but also occur in Turkish (e.g., **μουσής** [Moysis] ~ **μούσα** [Musa] ‘Moses’, (IpK1753:30), (CSK1756:377), **ταβούτ** [davut] ‘David’ (NTh1756:272)).

Titles connected with religious office are usually in Greek (**ἐφημέριοζ** [efimerioz] ‘ephemeral’, (HNK1756:19), usually with Turkish suffixes when necessary (e.g., to indicate the plural number **κοσμικολάρ** [kosmikos-lar] ‘lay people’, (IpK1753:30)) or with a possessive suffix (e.g., **Καίσαρείας Καπαδοκίας Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος** [Kaisareias Kappadokias Arhiepiskopos-u] ‘Archbishop of Caesarea Cappadocia’, (NTh1756:183)). In this category we can add the case of **παπαζλάρ** [papaz-lar] ‘priests’ in (IpK1753:6) (RAB1782:27), which has entered standard Ottoman in the nineteenth-century at the latest (cf. Redhouse 2000:917). More rarely we come across the Turkish and Greek equivalent as in the case of the word ‘teacher’ (e.g., **χότζα** [hoca] (IpK1753:31) ~ **δάσκαλος** [daskalos] (IpK1753:32)), the word ‘guide’ which refers to the Virgin Mary (e.g., **κουλαούς** [kulaus] (KIN1753:39) ~ **ὁδηγήτρια** [odigitria] (KIN1753:43)), or ‘our father’ (e.g., **πατέροζουμους** [pateroz-umus] (NTh1756:2) ~ **πετεριμής** [pederimis] (NvB1776:fp), (KIN1753:10)).

Translations of the English ‘the Virgin Mary’ differ considerably, with Mary in various languages (e.g., **μαρία** [Maria] (KIN1753:77), (KŞ1758:7), (IpK1753:58), (NTh1756:247), (HNK1756:25), (RAB1782:89), **μεϊρέμ** [Meyrem] (KIN1753:71), (KŞ1758:54), **μεργέμ** [Meryem] (KIN1753:7), (IpK1753:17), (RAB1782:vi), **Μαριὰμ** [Maryam] (BH1783:59)), with the Greek form **παναγία** [Panayia] (e.g., (KIN1753:74), (IpK1753:16), (NTh1756:52), (HNK1756:23), (KŞ1758:30), (CSK1756:3), (BH1783:59), or the various Islamic Turkish forms (e.g., **Σουλτάν Βαλιτουλλάχ** [Sultan Validullah] ‘Sultan Mother of God’ (NTh1756:52),

⁴⁰¹ Luffin, “Religious Vocabulary in Karamanlidika Texts,” 286, questions the use of the Islamic term Kuds-i şerif for Jerusalem as something peculiar for Christians. In the sources used here the term is used extensively in KŞ1758, which is, however, a bilingual edition, so it is used side by side with the Greek equivalent. Nevertheless, I firmly believe that the use of the term Kuds-i şerif was natural for the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia and should not be dealt as solely Islamic in their case.

(APK1782:fp), (HNK1756:10), (CSK1756:3), (RAB1782:21), (BH1783:fp), **Βαλιτουλλάχ Μεργέμ** [Validullah Meryem] ‘Mother of God Mary’, (NTh1756:156), **Μεβλουτουλλάχ Μαρία** [Mevludullah Maria] ‘Mary, the one who gave birth to God’, (HNK1756:52), (CSK1756:3), (RAB1782:89), (BH1783:50), **Σουλτάν Μεβλουτουλλάχ** [Sultan Mevludullah] ‘Sultan, the one who gave birth to God’, (NvB1776:83). We also come across the word ‘virgin’ in Greek, Turkish or both together (e.g., **Παρθένα πικίρ κίζ** [Parthena bikir kız] ‘Virgin, girl of virginity’ (HNK1756:118), (CSK1756:3), (APK1782:iv), **πικίρ κίζ** [bikir kız] ‘girl of virginity’, (KŞ1758:7), (BH1783:50).

Jesus can be found most the times in the Greek form **Ἰησοῦς** [Iisus] (IpK1753:18) **ναζωραϊοζλου ιησοῦς** [Nazoraioz-lu İisus] ‘Jesus of Nazareth’ (IpK1753:123), or as ‘Messiah’ (e.g., **μεσία** [Mesia] (IpK1753:19)), while rarely we come across the Islamic Turkish term **ἱβνη οὐλλάχ** [ibn-i ullah] ‘Son of God’ (NTh1756:146*). Interesting is the case of ‘Archangel Gabriel’, which occurs in various forms Greek, Turkish and in combinations of the two as well (e.g., **τζεπραῖλ** [Cebraıl] (KIN1753:76), (IpK1753:207), (RAB1782:vi), (APK1782:xx), **Ἀρχάγγελος τζεπραῖλ** [Archangelos Cebraıl] (NTh1756:iii), **Γαβριήλ, τζεπραῖλ** [Gabriel, Cebraıl] (IpK1753:133), (NvB1776:151), (BH1783:58), **σερασκέρ γαβριήλ** [Serasker Gabriel] ‘Chief Commander Gabriel’ (IpK1753:158), **ἄγγελος σερασκιάρ πασσί τζεπραῖλ** [Angelos Seraskâr başı Cebraıl] ‘Chief Commander of the angels Gabriel’, (HNK1756:85)).

One other case worth mentioning is the rendition of the term ‘God’, which mostly uses non-Greek words. The term used widely is *Allah* (e.g., **άλλάχ** [Allah] (IpK1753:44), (NTh1756:i), (HNK1756:21), (KŞ1758:76), (NvB1776:127), (PsD1782:vii), (RAB1782:127), (APK1782:18), (BH1783:30), (SBD1783:39)),⁴⁰² while we often come across the Turkish term *Taḡrı* (e.g., **ταγγρι** [Taḡrı] (NTh1756:22), (CSK1756:4), (KŞ1758:3), or ‘Lord’ (e.g., **Ράππι** [Rabbı] (KIN1753:92), (PsD1782:9), (PsD1782:9), (NvB1776:128), (RAB1782:38)), and very rarely the Persian equivalent *Huda* (**Χουτά** [huda] (KIN1753:33, IpK1753:220). The Greek word for God appears in only in passages or parts written in Greek language.

⁴⁰² The word Allah seems to denote other gods as well, with the necessary clarifications (e.g., **Απόλλων Άλλαχλαρινήν Ποῦτ** [Apollon Allahlarının Putı] ‘The idol of God Apollo’ (SBD1783:209)).

When coming to the various holy days, sermons, religious concepts or items, we see the combination of a Greek and Turkish word in order to render the term, and more rarely solely Greek or Turkish renditions. To start with a few examples of only Greek or only Turkish, we could mention ‘Good Friday’, where we come across the Turkish **μπογιούκ τζουμάϊ** [Böyük Cumai] (e.g., (IpK1753:13 (KŞ1758:23) (NvB1776:134) (RAB1782:vii) but also the Greek equivalent **μεγάλη παρασκευή** [Megali Paraskevi] (e.g., (NTh1756:275)). ‘Christmas’ and ‘Epiphany’ are most of the time rendered by the Greek words **Χριστούγεννα** [Hristouyenna] (CSK1756:ix) and **φώτα** [fota] (KIN1753:25), (CSK1756:ix). The majority of the terms are coined with words from both languages bound together (e.g. **άζιμ Πάσχα** [azim Pasha] ‘Holy Easter’ (CSK1756:ix), **ανάστασι γκιούν** [Anastasi gün] ‘rising of Christ’ (IpK1753:197), **τυρινή χαφτασί** [tyrini haftası] ‘Cheese week/Butter week’ (KIN1753:26), **Κιγματλή Υψοσι Σταυρος** [Kiyimatlı Ypsosi Stavros] ‘The discovery of the Holy Cross’ (CSK1756:x), or by using the periphrastic/explanatory approach (e.g., **Πάσχαταν σογρὰ πεσιντζή, Γιανὲ Σαμαρείτις Κυριακησι** [Pascha’dan soğra beşinci, yane Samareitis Kyriaki’si] ‘The fifth after Easter, namely the Sunday of the Good Samaritan’ (CSK1756:ix).

Items of religious importance or rituals are usually rendered in Greek with the Turkish prefix *aziz* ‘holy’ or *azîm* ‘great’ (e.g. **άζιμ λείψανοςλαρ** [aziz leipsanoslar] ‘Great (holy) relics’ (KIN1753:43), **άζιμ εικόνα** [azim eikona] (KIN1753:37) ‘Great (holy) icon’, **άζιζ εικόνα** [aziz eikona] (HNK1756:44), **άζιζ τράπεζα** [aziz trapeza] ‘holy altar’ (HNK1756:57),⁴⁰³ **άζιμ Άρτος** [azim Artos] ‘holy bread’ (RAB1782:102), **Ίλλαχγιὲ άζιζ Λειτουργία** [İllahiye aziz Leitourgia] ‘Divine holy service’ (KIN1753:9), **Άζήμ μύρον** [Azim Myron] ‘Chrism’ (KIN1753:9), **Άζιζ εὐχέλαιον** [Aziz Efhelaion] ‘Holy unction’ (KIN1753:9).

Regarding the description of ritual practices, as already discussed in 2.4.4., the verbs *etmek* ‘to do’ and *olmak* ‘to be’ are used in a process of verbalisation following a Greek noun, in order to denote the action taken. Most of these inventions consist of themes that are rarely used outside a church environment, like those previously mentioned in 3.1.4. **ψάλλ ἐτμὲκ** [psal etmek], **χειροτονὴς ἐτμὲκ**

⁴⁰³ Or **μουκαττὲς Τράπεζα** [mukaddes trapeza] ‘sacred altar’ (KŞ1758:30).

[heirotonis etmek], **καθαιρῆς ἐτμεκ** [kathairis etmek], **ἀφορις ὀλμάκ** [aforis olmak], **συγχωρις ὄλ** [syghoris olmak], **ἐξομολογίς ὀλμάκ** [eksomologyis olmak]. To those we can add terms like **λειτουργία ἐτμεκ** [leitourgia etmek] ‘to perform divine service/mass’ (CSK1756:53), (KŞ1758:37), **Βαπτίς ἐτμεκ** [Vaptis etmek] ‘to perform a baptism’⁴⁰⁴ (NTh1756:15), (HNK1756:51), (KŞ1758:7), (NvB1776:14), (RAB1782:1), (APK1782:29), (SBD1783:27), (BH1783:3), **προφήτηλικ ἐτμεκ** [profitilik etmek] ‘to perform prophecy’ (NvB1776:48), **πανηγῶρ ἔτμεκ** [paniyir etmek] ‘to perform panegyric’ (NTh1756:27), (HNK1756:31), (CSK1756:45), (SBD1783:ix), (BH1783:8).

Lastly, there are various terms that derive from the Islamic Turkish tradition like the various aforementioned names for Virgin Mary, and terms that are considered to carry Islamic connotations like: **βαῖζ** [vaiz] ‘service, admonition’ (IpK1753:viii), **σααπ** [saab] ‘companion of Prophet Mohammed’ (KIN1753:28), (IpK1753:28), (NTh1756:87) (CSK1756:iii), (KŞ1758:3), (NvB1776:13) ~ **σαχάπ** [sahab] (IpK1753:171), (NTh1756:78) (NvB1776:5), (PsD1782:v), (RAB1782:8), (APK1782:x), (SBD1783:vii), (BH1783:2), **μαχσερ** [mahşer] ‘the last judgment’, (NvB1776:94), (PsD1782:44), (CSK1756:34), (RAB1782:33), (SBD1783:x), **ρὸυχ οὐλλάχ** [ruh ullah] ‘the Holy Spirit’ (PsD1782:v), which are used here in a Christian context. Furthermore, the majority of the chapters of the books, which are exclusively Christian in context, end with the phrase **πιχάμτ ιλλάχ** [bihamd illah] ‘with the help of God’ (KIN1753:91), (IpK1753:124), (HNK1756:211), (CSK1756:426), (KŞ1758:84), (NvB1776:151), (PsD1782:281), (APK1782:63), (RAB1782:183), (SBD1783:224), pointing to the use of terms from the Arabic language, and therefore used in the Islamic Turkish tradition, but in a context more similar to Arabic Christianity rather than that of borrowed terms from Islamic traditions. Johann Strauss, after working on Karamanlidika religious texts from various periods and authors, reached the conclusion that there was no standard practice and that several different methods regarding religious terminology were used over time. Nevertheless, it is evident that several authors knew Greek and Arabic versions of

⁴⁰⁴ Regarding this particular term, which was passed on to Turkish through Greek in the form “vaftiz,” it has been mentioned before that it was never recorded in the form “vatpiz”; see Sanjian and Tietze, *Eremya Chelebi Kömürjan’s “The Jewish Bride,”* 71.

the liturgical texts, and that early Karamanlidika religious texts are more similar to those of Anatolian Christians than pro-Islamic Turkish traditions, so terminology does not seem to derive from Turkish language but it is rather connected to Arabic Christianity.⁴⁰⁵ Concerning how this phenomenon arose, it is something that still needs to be researched, with the possibilities being: coming from above via the patriarchal institutions, or via Christian (and Muslim) exchange on the ground between the Arab provinces and Anatolia.

The techniques used in Serapheim's texts resemble very much the findings of Luffin (2010) on *Cebel-i Sinanin Medhnamesi* (1784) and can be summarised as follows. Saints retain their Greek names but preceded by *aziz*. Mary, Jesus and David, are encountered in their Greek form and forms of other origin, mainly Arabic, the same being the case in Serapheim's texts for these three terms. Religious and liturgical terms are to be found in Greek and the dialogues between God and Moses are in Greek followed by a translation in Turkish, introduced by the word *yani*. The concept of the prophet is usually rendered by *peygamber* but also by *προφήτης*, and religious titles are usually in Turkish. Finally, place names from Biblical tradition retain their Greek forms, and many place names are encountered in their Arabic form.⁴⁰⁶ All the aforementioned possibly point out, if not yet to a Karamanlidika religious tradition, at least to the communication of religious circles and the distribution of Karamanlidika printed books within them.

Moving further, when dealing with religious vocabulary in Karamanlidika, the main difficulty lies in our meagre knowledge of the semantics of many words, since dictionaries are not always helpful. An interesting case is the word **γενίτζερι** [yeniçeri] 'janissaries', appearing on various occasions. In Serapheim's texts, it does not have any connection with the special Ottoman army corps but carries the meaning of 'army' in a more general or religious sense (e.g. IpK1753:12, 15, 184, KŞ1758:17, 31), e.g.:

Γενιτζεριλέρ Χριστός ἐφέντι σταυρός ἐπικτέ (IpK1753:162)

⁴⁰⁵ Johann Strauss, "Le lexique technique du Christianisme en Karamanli: Remarques préliminaires" in *Cultural Encounters in the Turkish-Speaking Communities of the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Evangelia Balta (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2014), 210–211.

⁴⁰⁶ Luffin, "Religious Vocabulary in Karamanlidika Texts," 282–285.

[Yeniçeriler Hristos efendi-i stavros ettikte]

‘The soldiers took Christ of the cross’

In NTh1756 we see for the first time the use of the word ἄσκερ [asker] ‘army’ (NTh1756:34) instead of γενίτζερι [yeniçeri] from the previous editions, while in CSK1756 from the same year it is used with the meaning of high-ranking officer (CSK1756:10). In one of the last books, SBD1783, we see the combination σιμαβί γενίτζερι [simavi yeniçeri] ‘soldiers of the heavens’ (SBD1783:40) in an effort to denote angels. The case of *yeniçeri* illustrates the importance of research on semantics in Serapheim’s texts – it is a desideratum for the future but not the first priority for this research. Returning to the quest of an explanation regarding the terms that are also used in the Islamic Turkish tradition, we have to take a closer look at KIN1753.

3.2.1. *The case of Kolay İman Nasihetü 1753*

The book KIN1753 is one of the first two editions by Serapheim and it is extremely important as regards the issue of religious terminology in Karamanlidika. Being one of the first books ever printed in Karamanlidika, it may provide information on how religious terms were coined, recorded or disseminated in a language that was not considered one of the traditional languages used by Christians. The structure of the book comprises two parts, with the first being a dialogue, a very popular way to introduce learning in books and something that harks back to the oral origins of the pedagogic process⁴⁰⁷ between the teacher and the apprentice. The second part explains through the answers the basic issues and concepts of the Christian faith, providing thus a detailed catalogue of terms in Turkish. Furthermore, KIN1753 is the only book of the kind by Serapheim (or at least the only one available) that was printed in Greek as well and it provides us with insights into how the various terms were treated in the transition from Greek to Turkish.

The two parts address through the dialogue between teachers and apprentice the

⁴⁰⁷ Downes, *Language and Religion*, 88. Concerning another case of such dialogues in Karamanlidika see also Luffin, “Religious Vocabulary in Karamanlidika Texts,” 284.

fundamental concepts of Christianity, such as the definition of a Christian, the good works of faith, the Creed, Sunday's prayer, the fruits of the Holy Spirit, the Ten Commandments, excusable and deadly sins, etc. Similar to this is the structure of the first book ever printed in Karamanlidika in 1718, *Κιουλζάρι ιμάνι Μεσιχί* [Gülzar-i iman-i mesihi] 'Anthology of the Christian faith', which is written in two languages, Greek and Turkish, addressing the same subjects. This suggests not only the educational character of these books, but might even point to a pre-existing tradition in oral or manuscript form in Turkish language. A rough comparison between KIN1753 and *Gülzar-i iman-i mesihi* illustrates not only differences in phonology but also in the vocabulary in terms of the terminology used. Specifically, in the Creed, there are small differences in the vocabulary; in the Ten Commandments, some of the Commandments are different, and the Greek parts in the latter are written in a more simple language (e.g., the word μην [min] 'expressing negation' is used instead of the more archaic and the one usually used in the scriptures ου [ou]). The differences in the context of the Ten Commandments could be attributed to editing errors but equally to differences in dogma.

Concerning the terminology used in KIN1753, we observe that besides very few exceptions that appear both in Greek and Turkish language and that are used strictly in a Christian context, the rest of the terms are exclusively Turkish (mostly of Arabic origin).

This is natural as the book explains or teaches fundamentals of the Christian faith to Turkish-speaking people, and anything different would not serve the book's purpose. But can we identify these terms as Islamic? For most of them the answer is no. The majority of the words could easily be used in everyday life, and probably were. Words like *γελάν* [yelan] 'lie', *ιπατέτ* [ibadet] 'wish', *ιμάν* [iman] 'faith', *ιταατσισλίκ* [itaatsızlık] (disobedience), *κιουνάχ* [günah] 'sin', *λουτιλίκ* [lutilik] 'incest', *μεκρεμέτ* [mekremet] 'generosity', *οβκέ* [övke] 'anger', *τεμπίχ* [tembih] 'command', *χιλλέ* [hille] 'fraud', are used in religious contexts but are also part of people's everyday lives. On the other hand, we also come across words that could be regarded as Islamic due to the significance they carry for the Islamic religion.

Words or terms like **κιουφοῦρ** [küfür] ‘blasphemy’,⁴⁰⁸ **αλλαχούν μερχαμετού** [allahun merhametü] ‘God’s mercy’, **τοπέ ιστιραφλίκ κιουναχλάρ** [töbe istiraflık günahlar < tövbe istiğfar et] ‘repentance’, **τοά** [doa] ‘prayer’, are probably used in the Islamic religion, but like the rest they constitute part of a code used among Turkophone Christians without any Islamic connotations. A connection of these terms with Christian Arabic is more than possible, and a theory of how these influences would have run remains a desideratum for the future.

While the choice of Turkish vocabulary was the natural thing to, do the number of Greek words used is something we need to examine more thoroughly. Previously Luffin (2010) suggested a number of reasons for the retention of Greek words in Karamanlidika texts, such as the effort to avoid terms that were considered Islamic, to retain the sacredness of the term, avoid finding an equivalent in Turkish, or simply the use of vocabulary commonly used by Turkish-speaking people in their oral communication surrounding their ecclesiastical traditions.⁴⁰⁹ From what we see here they were not avoiding Islamic terms but embracing them, as it was more natural to them linguistically, since they were Turkish speaking. We also see that Turkish equivalents were coined through prefixes or even with the addition of Turkish suffixes.

In my opinion, the aforementioned practices were used by lay people and lower clergy, while upper clergy would avoid Islamic terms and instead introduce Greek, in order to retain the sacredness of the term and also for educating in the “correct” form of the religion. Another option was a blend of Greek-Turkish terms, which would have made them more accessible, and through dissemination these became part of common oral communication, as we shall see later on.

3.2.2. *A borderline in lexis*

The religious vocabulary for various reasons is particular. On the other hand, it is very similar to Karamanlidika books edited by other authors from the same period, something that points to a Turkish-speaking tradition in religious books. There are

⁴⁰⁸ The word carries the meaning of both blasphemy and apostacy. In KIN1753’s context it is used as blasphemy.

⁴⁰⁹ Luffin, “Religious Vocabulary in Karamanlidika Texts,” 285–286.

terms with which the author is quite flexible, using synonyms from one or both languages, while for other terms he insists on one form and sometimes creates terms by adding Turkish suffixes to Greek words, or with the use of the compound marker.

As noted in 3.2., words referring to religious offices are usually in Greek, with few exceptions; the names of saints and various religious artefacts are also in Greek, with the addition of the Turkish word *αζιζ* [aziz] ‘holy/saint’, e.g. *αζιζ εικόνα* [aziz eikona] ‘holy figure’. The few exceptions include terms for Archangel Gabriel and Moses. Special treatment seems to have been reserved for the Virgin Mary and Jesus (to a lesser degree), with a variety of names in Greek, Turkish and of Arabic origin, which are, however, considered normal in Turkish.

Probably the most interesting finding is the absolute absence of the Greek word for God in the Turkish text – it is used only in Greek passages. As already discussed in 3.2., God is always referred to as *Allah* or *Rabbi* or *Tayri*. It seems that although the majority of terms are in Greek, probably illustrating the effort to teach people the “correct ways”, the use of the word *Allah*, which was possibly deep rooted and the ongoing practice, was a red line that was not to be crossed, namely should not be translated into Greek, since “knowledge is embedded in what people already know in what they trust and in what they believe in”⁴¹⁰. This was probably the obvious, unmarked choice in sociolinguistic terms, and the use of the Greek word might seem unwelcome or strange to the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia.

The strategy is followed in other books and we observe that the terminology is affected by the background of the author. Serapheim, originating from Asia Minor, uses *Allah*, Turkish of Arabic origin and the Turkish word *Tayri*, while the author of another book in Karamanlidika about Mount Sinai and member of the monastery uses, besides *Allah*, the Persian word *Huda*, which is quite common in the Middle East.⁴¹¹ The use of the word *Allah* continued until the end of Karamanlidika book

⁴¹⁰ Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures*, 280

⁴¹¹ See Luffin, “Religious Vocabulary in Karamanlidika Texts, 282–288. For the use of the words *Αλλάχ* and *Ταγγρι* see also Gavriel, “Η Τουρκική με το Ελληνικό αλφάβητο” 345. See also Walker, “Ascetic Literacy: Books and Readers in East Syrian Monastic Tradition,” 315, who mentions that “while Syriac remained the dominant language of communication and instruction, some monasteries adopted Persian as their principle language and others in Central Asia, Sogdian and eventually Turkish.”

production in the early twentieth-century and was so deep rooted that it was inscribed in Greek script even on various ecclesiastical silverware, icons, liturgical textiles⁴¹² and also on gravestones.⁴¹³

In fact, the word *Allah* and other words in older forms mentioned in this study, like *itdim*, *sighoris ol*, etc. are found on nineteenth-century gravestones ⁴¹⁴ and in codices from the same century in the Centre for Asia Minor Studies in Athens, which point to their use explicitly for religious purposes.

Another group of words is the combination of a Greek noun (usually by removing the inflectional ending) with a Turkish verb for creating religious terminology, already mentioned in 3.1.4.. Additionally, we see the invention of terms from existing materials, terms that would be rarely used outside a church environment like **κερέμ ἐτιτζή** [kerem edici] ‘merciful’ (APK1782:viii), **σεγτάν ἀτεμελερὶν κὰτλ ἐτιτζησίτιρ** [şeytan ademlerin katl edicisidir] ‘Satan is the killer of men’ (BH1783:125).

All of these were possibly conventions created for the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia and would rarely be used outside a religious environment, but this issue warrants further research that must include some manuscript material, which for the time being is unfortunately unavailable.

⁴¹² See Anna Balian, “Karamanli Patronage in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: the Case of the Village of Germir/Kermira” in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Karamanlidika Studies. Nicosia 11-13.09.2008*, eds. Evangelia Balta, Matthias Kappler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010a), 45–62.

⁴¹³ Merih Erol, “Cultural Manifestations of a Symbiosis: Karamanlidika Epitaphs of the nineteenth-century,” in *Cultural Encounters in the Turkish-Speaking Communities of the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Evangelia Balta (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2014), 92–93.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid*, 88–91.

3.3. From Greek to Turkish language

When addressing the translation of religious texts, as described in 0.7.2.4., a number of techniques can be applied, often closely connected to both the beliefs of the translator and the needs of the audience. What is important for us here is on the one hand the communication of the meaning and on the other the structural differences between the two implicated languages, which might be reflected in the translation of certain passages.

Turkish, and Turkic languages in general are often described as SOV languages, namely the subject of the sentence is found in initial position, the object in medial and the verb usually in the final position. Research has shown that case and word order systematically vary due to sentence perspective⁴¹⁵ and our knowledge on the word order of regional Turkish varieties remains meagre, which could also point to differences from standard Turkish. The Greek language is described as an SVO language, namely the subject of the sentence is found in initial position, the verb in medial and the object in the final position.

The case of Karamanlidika religious editions complicates the situation even more. We are dealing with editions written for the most part in a variety with regional elements (as seen in 2.4.) destined for a Turkish-speaking population. This Turkish variety has a counterpart in the language of sacred books and religion, which is Greek. Previous studies proved that certain social circumstances, could lead to the adoption of typologically divergent elements that deviate from their counterparts in the recipient language. Such cases are Inner Anatolian Greek under the Turkish influence, where a Greek speaking population was almost entirely detached by Greek speaking people and surrounded, and therefore interacted, with Turkish speaking communities. Similarly are the cases of Northern Tajik and Karaim, with the latter illustrating, apart from other changes, a heavily de-Turkicised clausal structure⁴¹⁶ due to contact situation with Indo-European languages. This is not the case with Karamanlidika but, at least in ecclesiastical contexts and especially in liturgical language, it would be interesting to see the impact of Greek language (if any), since there are certain translations that stick

⁴¹⁵ See Erguvanli, Emine Eser. *The Function of Word Order in Turkish Grammar* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1984); Johanson, *Structural Factors in Turkic Language*, 26.

⁴¹⁶ Johanson, *Structural Factors in Turkic Language*, 59.

closely to the original for the sake of accuracy. Concerning HNK1756 it was suggested previously that although elements copied from Greek are attested, its syntax constructions are genuinely Turkish.⁴¹⁷

Furthermore, there are other factors involved, such as when these books were translated (since as mentioned before we are dealing with translated texts and time is crucial when the language is in a transitional stage), what happened with the several reprints (did they keep the original language or did they make changes) and what the role of typesetters was, something already referred to in 2.3.3. For example, we come across an archaic word in a reprint of a book, decades after the first edition. Is it an archaic form used to serve a specific purpose, did the typesetter reproduce what he was seeing in the first edition, or is it that the language was, and still is, in a transitional stage?

With the primary sources for this research belonging to the first printed Karamanlidika books, and in the absence of studies in religious manuscripts of previous times, the role and possible influence of religious manuscripts from previous periods cannot be justified here.

In order to restrict the size of this chapter, given the large amount of Serapheim's texts, a choice was made to use selected examples from all editions. These examples consist of passages that appear in Greek with a Turkish translation and the opposite, presented here in plain form for Greek text and bold italics for Turkish. This will enable us to trace and analyse the various translation techniques used by Serapheim, with the findings being subdivided into two categories – translations that have as a priority to pass on the meaning and do not copy the word order of the Greek passage, and translations that carry formulaic utterances. In the second part of this chapter an effort will be made to interpret the role of these translations.

3.3.1. Meaning as a priority

example 1 (IPK1753:73)

The passage forming the first example refers to ancestral sin. With both passages conveying generally the same meaning, the verb in the Turkish passage is located

⁴¹⁷ Brendemoen, "Karamanlidic Literature and its value," 22.

in the final position and we encounter the use of a different verb – in the Greek passage the deed of sin is “diminished” while in the Turkish one it is “torn up”. Also, the second verb of the Turkish passage (to pardon) is expressed once more in the Greek version with a participle. Furthermore *ἰνσάν μιλλετι* ‘the community of people’ and *ἀλλὰχ* ‘God’, are absent from the Greek text, with the latter being the hidden subject of the Greek sentence.

<i>μπιζ</i>	<i>ἰνσάν μιλλετι</i>	<i>ντὲρ,</i>	<i>οὐλοῦ</i>	<i>ὀλμάϊλαν</i>
<i>biz</i>	<i>insan milletti</i>	<i>der,</i>	<i>ülü</i>	<i>olmailan</i>
<i>WE</i>	<i>PEOPLE COMMUNITY.POSS3</i>	<i>SAY.PRE/IMPF.3SG</i>	<i>DEAD BE.CONV.WITH</i>	

<i>κιονναχλαριμιζτάν,</i>	<i>ντιριλττι</i>	<i>μπιζή</i>	<i>ἀλλὰχ,</i>
<i>günahlarımızdan,</i>	<i>dirildi</i>	<i>bizi</i>	<i>Allah,</i>
<i>SIN.PL.POSS.1PL.ABL</i>	<i>REVIVE.PASTDI.3SG</i>	<i>WE.ACC</i>	<i>GOD.NOM</i>

<i>χριστοζοῦν</i>	<i>βασιτεσίλε,</i>	<i>βὲ</i>	<i>τζοῦμλε</i>	<i>μπορτζουμουζοῦ</i>
<i>Hristoz'un</i>	<i>vasitesile,</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>cümle</i>	<i>borcumuzu</i>
<i>CHRIST.GEN</i>	<i>BY THE MEANS OF</i>	<i>AND</i>	<i>ALL</i>	<i>DEBT.POSS.1PL.ACC</i>

<i>μπαγισλαττι</i>	<i>μπιζέ,</i>	<i>βὲ</i>	<i>σουτζλαριμιζί</i>
<i>bağışla(t?)di</i>	<i>bize</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>suclarimizi</i>
<i>PARDON.PASTDI.3SG</i>	<i>WE.DAT AND</i>	<i>MISTAKE.PL.POSS.1PL.ACC</i>	

<i>ταχί,</i>	<i>βὲ</i>	<i>κιονναχλαριμιζήν</i>	<i>τεμεσιτινοῦ</i>
<i>dahı,</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>günahlarımızın</i>	<i>temesitiniü⁴¹⁸</i>
<i>FURTHER</i>	<i>AND</i>	<i>SIN.PL.POSS1PL.GEN</i>	<i>DEED.POSS.</i>
<i>3SG.ACC</i>			

γιρττοῦ.
yirttü.
TEAR.PASTDI.3SG

⁴¹⁸ cf. “temessük”

[We, the community of people, who were said to be dead with sins, were revived as God pardoned us from all of our debts and mistakes through Christ, and tore up the deed of our sin.]

κ' ἡμᾶς νεκροῦς ὄντας τοῖς παραπτώμασι,
AND WE.ACC DEAD.ACC BE.PART ART.M.PL.DAT MISTAKES.DAT

σηγεζωοποίησε τῷ Χριστῷ. χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν
REVIVIFY.AOR.3SG ART.M.S.DAT CHRIST.DAT ENDOW.PART WE.DAT

πάντα τὰ παραπτώματα, ἐξαλείψας
EVERY ART.N.PL MISTAKES.ACC DIMINISH .PART

τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον
ART.N.PL BY WE.GEN WRITTEN.ACC

[(God) along with Christ brought us back to life, us who were dead because of our crimes. After He spared us of all our crimes and wiped out the contract (ancestral sin).]

example 2 (NTh1756:27)

In the second example we come across the noun “Μακάριος” ‘blissful’, a very typical noun in a Christian orthodox context. The noun is rendered in Turkish by **μουντλού** ‘happy’. The Greek participle **διηγούμενος** ‘the one who listens’, is translated into Turkish by a very “un-Turkic” cleft construction and a finite verb in optative/future.

<i>Γιάνε</i>	<i>νέμουντλούτουρ</i>	<i>ὀλκίμσεκι,</i>	<i>τιγνλεητζιλεριν</i>
<i>yane</i>	<i>ne mutludur</i>	<i>olkimseki,</i>	<i>digleicilerin</i>
<i>NAMELY</i>	<i>HOW.HAPPY.COP3</i>	<i>THAT.SOMEONE.REL</i>	<i>LISTENER.PL.GEN</i>

<i>κουλακλαρινὰ</i>	<i>βὰζ</i>	<i>ἐγίλεε.</i>
<i>kulaklarina</i>	<i>vaz</i>	<i>eyilee.</i>
<i>EAR.PL.POSS.3.DAT</i>	<i>PREACH</i>	<i>DO.OPT.3SG</i>

[Namely, how happy is the one who will preach to the ears of listeners.]

<i>Μακάριος</i>	<i>ὁ</i>	<i>διηγούμενος</i>	<i>εἰς</i>	<i>ὦτα</i>
<i>BLISSFUL.NOM</i>	<i>ART.M.SG.NOM</i>	<i>NARRATE.PART.M.SG.NOM</i>	<i>IN</i>	<i>EAR.PL</i>

ἀκουόντων.

LISTEN.PART.PL.GEN

[Blissful is he who narrates to listening ears.]

example 3 (CSK1756:16)

Once more example of similar sentence order, example three follows the pattern of similar tense/person structures while it has minor differences in words. The noun ‘Lord’ is rendered by two nouns in the Turkish passage (*Rabbül efendi*). Also, the structure *töbeye gelinceedek* ‘until repentance comes’ is to be assumed in the Greek passage, where we see only “ὡς τὸ ἐπιστρέψαι”, namely ‘until the return’ (from sin). Furthermore, the verb *ömürlemek* is not attested in modern standard Turkish and might be a formation by Serapheim.

<i>ὁμουρλοῦμι</i>	<i>πὲν</i>	<i>ντὲρ</i>	<i>ῥάπιλ ἐφέντι,</i>
<i>ömürlüim</i>	<i>ben</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>Rabbil efendi,</i>
<i>ALIVE.COP1SG I</i>	<i>SAY.PRE/IMPF.3SG</i>		<i>LORD OF THE LORDS</i>

<i>ἴμιτι</i>	<i>κιονναχκερὶν</i>
<i>imdi</i>	<i>günahkerin</i>
<i>THUS</i>	<i>SINNER.GEN</i>

<i>οὐλουμοννοῦ</i>	<i>ἰστεμέμ,</i>	<i>τοπεγὲ</i>
<i>ülümünü</i>	<i>istemem</i>	<i>töbeye</i>
<i>DEATH.POSS.3SG.ACC</i>	<i>WISH.PRE/IMPF.NEG.1SG</i>	<i>REPENTANCE.DAT</i>

<i>κελήντζεετεκ,</i>	<i>ὄλτεμ</i>	<i>ὁμουρλενὲ</i>	<i>ὄλ</i>	<i>ταχί.</i>
<i>gelinceedek,</i>	<i>oldem</i>	<i>ömürlene</i>	<i>ol</i>	<i>dahi.</i>
<i>COME.CONV UNTIL THAT MOMENT ALIVE.WF.LEN.OPT.3SG HE TOO.</i>				

[I am alive says the Lord, thus I do not wish the death of the sinner, may he remain alive until the moment of repentance]

<i>ζῶ</i>	<i>κι</i>	<i>ἐγὼ</i>	<i>λέγει</i>	<i>Κύριος,</i>	<i>οὐβούλομαι</i>
<i>LIVE.PRE.1SG</i>	<i>AND</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>SAY.PRE.3SG</i>	<i>LORD</i>	<i>NOT.WISH.PRE.1SG</i>

<i>τὸν</i>	<i>θάνατον</i>	<i>τοῦ</i>	<i>ἁμαρτωλοῦ,</i>	<i>ὥς</i>	<i>τὸ</i>
<i>ART.M.ACC</i>	<i>DEATH.ACC</i>	<i>ART.M.GEN</i>	<i>SINNER.GEN</i>	<i>UNTIL</i>	<i>ART.N</i>

<i>ἐπιστρέψαι</i>	<i>καὶ</i>	<i>ζῆν</i>	<i>αὐτὸν</i>
<i>RETURN.INF</i>	<i>AND</i>	<i>LIVE.INF.</i>	<i>HE.ACC.</i>

[The Lord says: I too live (and) I do not wish the death of the sinner, so that he may return and live.]

example 4 (CSK1756:160)

In example four we observe the first part with the verb in final position, with a postponed object in the second sentence, probably copying the Greek text.

<i>Ράππιγη</i>	<i>όγιουμτè</i>	<i>κκιορούρτιμ,</i>	<i>βè</i>
<i>Rabbiyi</i>	<i>öğümde</i>	<i>görürdim,</i>	<i>ve</i>
<i>LORD.ACC</i>	<i>FRONT.POSS.1SG.LOC</i>	<i>SEE.PRE/IMPF.COP.PAST1SG</i>	<i>AND</i>

<i>κκιοζλερίμ</i>	<i>τάϊμ</i>	<i>Ράππιτέγιτι.</i>	<i>βè</i>	<i>ταχì,</i>
<i>gözlerim</i>	<i>daim</i>	<i>Rabbideyidi.</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>dahì,</i>
<i>EYE.PL.POSS.1SG</i>	<i>ALWAYS</i>	<i>LORD.LOC.COP.PAST.3SG</i>	<i>AND</i>	<i>THUS</i>

<i>σανà</i>	<i>τικìπ</i>	<i>καλτιρτίμ</i>	<i>κκιοζλερίμì.</i>
<i>sana</i>	<i>dikip</i>	<i>kaldırdım</i>	<i>gözlerimi.</i>
<i>YOU.DAT</i>	<i>SET UP.CONV</i>	<i>LIFT.PASTDI.1SG</i>	<i>EYE.PL.POSS.1SG.ACC</i>

[I was seeing before me the Lord, and my eyes (turned) forever towards the Lord, and towards you I lifted my eyes.]

<i>Προωρόμην</i>	<i>τὸν</i>	<i>Κύριον</i>	<i>ἐνώπιόν</i>	<i>μου,</i>
<i>SEE.PAST.IMPE.1SG</i>	<i>ART.M.ACC</i>	<i>LORD.ACC</i>	<i>INFRONT</i>	<i>CLITIC.1SG.GEN</i>

<i>καὶ</i>	<i>οἱ</i>	<i>ὀφθαλμοί μου</i>	<i>διὰ</i>	<i>παντὸς πρὸς</i>
<i>AND</i>	<i>ART.M.PL</i>	<i>EYES POSS.1SG</i>	<i>FOR EVER</i>	<i>TOWARDS</i>

<i>τὸν</i>	<i>Κύριον</i>	<i>καὶ</i>	<i>πρὸς</i>	<i>σὲ</i>	<i>ἤρα</i>
<i>ART.M.ACC</i>	<i>LORD.ACC</i>	<i>AND</i>	<i>TOWARDS</i>	<i>YOU.ACC</i>	<i>LIFT.AOR.1SG</i>

<i>τοὺς</i>	<i>ὀφθαλμούς</i>	<i>μου.</i>
<i>ART.M.PL.ACC</i>	<i>EYES.ACC</i>	<i>POSS.1SG</i>

[I was seeing before me the Lord, and my eyes turned towards the Lord, and towards you I lifted my eyes]

example 5 (KŞ1758:53)

In this long passage we encounter once more the similar word order and tense/person structures. The example illustrates phenomena analysed in previous chapters, like the various names that retain their Greek form in both passages; the word *kible* in the Turkish passage, a noun which often has Muslim connotations for indicating direction; and the absence of the name of the tree Elias slept under. This could be attributed to a mistake but also to the simplicity the Turkish text often has, avoiding extra or unnecessary information.

<i>Bè</i>	<i>όνοῦν</i>	<i>γιαματζηντὰ</i>	<i>Κανὰ τῆς</i>	<i>Γαλιλαίας</i>
<i>Ve</i>	<i>onun</i>	<i>yamacında</i>	<i>Kana tis</i>	<i>Galileas</i>
<i>AND</i>	<i>HE.GEN</i>	<i>NEXT TO THAT</i>	<i>CANAAN OF</i>	<i>GALILEE</i>

<i>βάρτουρ,</i>	<i>όντάκι</i>	<i>Χριστὸς</i>	<i>ταβέτ</i>	<i>όλουντοῦ,</i>
<i>vardur,</i>	<i>ondaki</i>	<i>Hristos</i>	<i>davet</i>	<i>olundu,</i>
<i>EXISTENT.COP.3SG</i>	<i>REL</i>	<i>CHRIST</i>	<i>INVITE</i>	<i>BE.PASS.PASTDI.3SG</i>

<i>βαλιτεσίγηλεν</i>	<i>περαπέρ</i>	<i>τουγιουνέ,</i>	<i>βè</i>	<i>ἴκ</i>
<i>validesiyilen</i>	<i>beraber</i>	<i>düyüne,</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>ilk</i>
<i>MOTHER.POSS.3SG.WITH</i>	<i>TOGETHER</i>	<i>MARRIAGE.DAT</i>	<i>AND</i>	<i>FIRST</i>

<i>μουτζουζετή</i>	<i>ὄρατα</i>	<i>γκιοστερτεῖ,</i>	<i>σουγιού</i>	<i>σαραπᾶ</i>
<i>mücüzeti</i>	<i>orada</i>	<i>gösterdi</i>	<i>suyu</i>	<i>şaraba</i>
<i>MIRACLE.ACC</i>	<i>THERE</i>	<i>SHOW.PASTDI.3SG</i>	<i>WATER.ACC</i>	<i>WINE.DAT</i>

<i>μουκαλίπ</i>	<i>έττει´</i>	<i>βè</i>	<i>Κουτλουσερρίφτεν</i>	<i>κιπλè</i>
<i>mukalib</i>	<i>etti;</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>Kutluşerriften</i>	<i>kible</i>
<i>TRANSFORM.PASTDI.3SG</i>	<i>AND</i>	<i>JERUSALEM.ABL</i>	<i>SOUTH</i>	

<i>ταραφινὰ</i>	<i>κιττικτè,</i>	<i>ìkì</i>	<i>μìλ</i>	<i>άρασιντὰ,</i>
<i>tarafina</i>	<i>gittikte ,</i>	<i>iki</i>	<i>mil</i>	<i>arasında,</i>
<i>SIDE.POSS.3SG.DAT</i>	<i>GO.CONV</i>	<i>TWO</i>	<i>MILES</i>	<i>BETWEEN</i>

<i>προφήτη Ἠλία</i>	<i>μοναστηρι</i>	<i>βάρτουρ,</i>	<i>ὄρατάκι</i>
<i>profiti Īlia</i>	<i>monastiri</i>	<i>vardur,</i>	<i>oradaki</i>
<i>PROPHET ELIAS</i>	<i>MONASTERY.POSS3</i>	<i>EXISTENT.COP.3SG</i>	<i>REL</i>

<i>Ἠλία πεγαμπέρ</i>	<i>οὐγιουκουγιᾶ</i>	<i>τουστοῦ</i>	<i>πήρ</i>	<i>ἀγατζ</i>	<i>ἀλτηντά.</i>
<i>Īlia pegamber</i>	<i>uyukuya</i>	<i>düştü</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>agac</i>	<i>altında.</i>
<i>ELIAS PROPHET SLEEP.DAT</i>	<i>FALL.PASTDI.3SG</i>	<i>ONE</i>	<i>TREE</i>	<i>UNDER.</i>	

[And next to that is Canaan of Galilee, to which Christ was invited with his mother to a wedding where he performed his first miracle; transforming water into wine; and went around two miles south of Jerusalem, where the monastery of prophet Elias stands, where prophet Elias fell into sleep under a tree.]

<i>Καὶ</i>	<i>πλησίον αὐτοῦ</i>	<i>, εἶναι</i>	<i>ἡ</i>	<i>Κανὰ</i>	<i>τῆς</i>
<i>AND</i>	<i>CLOSE</i>	<i>HE.GEN BE.PRES.3SG</i>	<i>ART.F</i>	<i>CANAAN.NOM</i>	<i>OF</i>

<i>Γαλιλαίας,</i>	<i>εἰς</i>	<i>τὴν</i>	<i>ὁποῖαν</i>	<i>προσκληθεῖς</i>	<i>ὁ</i>
<i>GALILEE.GEN</i>	<i>TO</i>	<i>ART.F.ACC</i>	<i>REFL.ACC.</i>	<i>INVITE.PART.M.SG</i>	<i>THE</i>

<i>χριστὸς</i>	<i>μὲ</i>	<i>τὴν</i>	<i>μητέρα</i>	<i>αὐτοῦ</i>	<i>εἰς</i>
<i>CHRIST.NOM</i>	<i>WITH</i>	<i>ART.F.ACC</i>	<i>MOTHER.ACC</i>	<i>HE.GEN</i>	<i>TO</i>

<i>τὸν</i>	<i>γάμον,</i>	<i>ἐποίησε</i>	<i>τὸ πρῶτον</i>	<i>θαῦμα,</i>
<i>ART.M.ACC</i>	<i>MARRIAGE.ACC</i>	<i>PERFORM.AOR.3SG</i>	<i>ART.N FIRST</i>	<i>MIRACLE</i>

<i>μεταβαλὼν</i>	<i>τὸ ὕδωρ</i>	<i>εἰς</i>	<i>οἶνον·</i>	<i>πηγαινάμενος</i>	<i>δὲ</i>
<i>TRANSFORM.PART</i>	<i>ART.N.ACC</i>	<i>WATER.ACC</i>	<i>TO WINE.ACC</i>	<i>GO.PART.M.SG</i>	<i>CONJ</i>

<i>ἀπὸ</i>	<i>τὴν</i>	<i>Ἱερουσαλήμ</i>	<i>κατὰ μεσημβρίαν</i>	<i>μῖλια δύο</i>
<i>FROM</i>	<i>ART.F.ACC</i>	<i>JERUSALEM</i>	<i>TOWARDSMIDDAY.ACC</i>	<i>MILE.PL TWO</i>

εἶναι μεναστήριον τοῦ προφήτου Ἡλίου,
BE.PRE.3SG. MONASTERY ART.M.GEN PROPHET.GEN ELIAS.GEN.

εἰς τὸν ὅποιον τόπον, ἐκοιμήθη ὁ
TO ART.M.ACC REL.M.ACC PLACE.ACC SLEEP.PASS.AOR.3SG ART.M.NOM

Προφήτης Ἡλίας, ὑποκάτω εἰς ἓνα δένδρον ὀνομαζόμενον, ἄρκευθος.
PROPHET ELIAS.NOM UNDER IN ONE TREE NAME.PART.ACC JUNIPER.

[And nearby him the Cana of Galilee is located, to which after he was invited, Christ along with his mother (went) for a marriage, (and) he performed his first miracle, namely transforming the water to wine. Leaving Jerusalem during midday, two miles away is the monastery of the Prophet Elias. In that place the Prophet fell asleep underneath a tree named juniper.]

example 6 (RAB1782:53)

The final example of this subchapter illustrates how the Turkish passages often are more detailed and descriptive than the Greek ones. In the Greek text Jesus will come and solely save the sinners, while in the Turkish one he will forgive, pardon and offer them salvation. This could be attributed also to a difference in traditions, where some concepts are to be said in certain ways, as in “heyatlı ömürlü olan” instead of the Greek “ζῶντος”.

<i>γιανία, Ἱμὰν γκετηρίριμ</i>	<i>Ῥάπιλ σαναῖ,</i>	<i>βὲ</i>
<i>yania, iman getiririm</i>	<i>Rabbil sana,</i>	<i>ve</i>
<i>NAMELY FAITH BRING.PRE/IMPF.ISG</i>	<i>LORD YOU.DAT</i>	<i>AND</i>

<i>Ἰκράμ ἐτέριμ, μέσελα</i>	<i>σένσιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς</i>
<i>İkram ederim mesela</i>	<i>sensin İisus Hristos</i>
<i>HONOR DO.PRE/IMPF.ISG SUCH AS</i>	<i>YOU.COP.2SG JESUS CHRIST</i>

<i>κεντίν, χειατλή</i>	<i>όμιουρλοῦ</i>	<i>όλάν</i>	<i>Άλλαχταάλλε</i>
<i>kendin, heyathl</i>	<i>ömürlü</i>	<i>olan</i>	<i>Allah'taalle</i>
IN PERSON	ALIVE ALIVE	BE.PART	GOD ALMIGHTY

<i>χαζρετλερίν</i>	<i>όγουλοῦ,</i>	<i>τουνιαῶ ούστουνε</i>	<i>γκελτήν</i>
<i>hazretlerin</i>	<i>oğlu,</i>	<i>dünya üstüne</i>	<i>geldin</i>
HOLY.PL.GEN	SON.POSS.3SG	EARTH UPON	COME.PASTDI.2SG

<i>κιουναχκιαρλαρά</i>	<i>μαγφιρέτ,</i>	<i>βέ</i>	<i>ἄφβ</i>	<i>έτμελιγή</i>
<i>günahkarlara</i>	<i>mağfiret,</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>afv</i>	<i>etmeliyi</i>
SINNER.PL.DAT	FORGIVNESS	AND	PARDON	DO.VN.POSS.3SG

<i>βερμεσινε,</i>	<i>βέ</i>	<i>όνλαρι</i>	<i>χελάς</i>	<i>έτμεσινε.</i>
<i>vermesine,</i>	<i>ve</i>	<i>onları</i>	<i>helas</i>	<i>etmesine.</i>
GIVE.VN.POSS.3SG.DAT	AND	THEY.ACC	SALVATION	DO.VN.POSS.3SG.DAT

<i>όλκι</i>	<i>κιουναχκιαρλαρίν</i>	<i>τζοῦμλεσινην</i>	<i>πασλαρί</i>
<i>olki</i>	<i>günahkarların</i>	<i>cümlesinin</i>	<i>başları</i>
THOSE CONJ	SINNER.PL.GEN	ALL. POSS.3SG.GEN	HEAD.POSS3PL

<i>μπένιμ</i>	<i>κεντίμ. βέ</i>	<i>όνλαρτάν</i>	<i>ππάς</i>	<i>Ίλερίγιμ.</i>
<i>benim</i>	<i>kendim ve</i>	<i>onlardan</i>	<i>baş</i>	<i>İleriyim.</i>
MYSELF	AND	THOSE.ABL	HEAD FURTHER	COP.ISG

[Namely, I confess my faith to you Lord and honour you, that you are Jesus Christ, son of the existing God Almighty, who came to earth to give pardon and forgiveness to our sins and give salvation to every sinner with the utmost sinner to be me]

Πιστεύω κύριε, κὶ ὁμολογῶ. ὅτι σὺ εἶ
 BELIEVE.PRE.1SG LORD.VOC AND CONFESS.PRE.1SG THATYOU BE.PRE.2SG

Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ζῶντος, ὃ ἐλθὼν
 JESUS CHRIST.NOM ART SON OF GOD.GEN ALIVE.PART ART.M.SG
 COME.PART.

εἰς τὸν Κόσμον ἁμαρτωλοῦς σῶσαι, ὃν
 TO ART.M.ACC EARTH.ACC SINNER.PL.ACC SAVE.INF
 REL.PL.GEN.

πρῶτος, εἰμὶ ἐγώ.
 FIRST BE.PRE.1SG I.

[Oh Lord, I believe and I confess that you are Jesus Christ. the son of the living God, who came to the world to save the sinners, of whom I am the first one]

3.3.2. *Teaching religion*

It was previously mentioned that in texts of religious character there often is a conscious effort to maintain the word order of the original text, which might result in unintelligible translations.⁴¹⁹ In Serapheim's texts a variety of techniques are used. The main corpus is written in a colloquial language.⁴²⁰ For quotations in Greek language, with a following translation/explanation in Turkish, on many occasions the Turkish part copies the order of the sentence constituents. The syntax remains primarily Turkish, following the pattern subject-object-verb, reaffirming that the need of the intended audience for simple, comprehensive language determines the translation technique.

The aforementioned techniques are probably connected to the character of the

⁴¹⁹ Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples*, 182. Murre-van den Berg, *From a spoken to a written language*.

⁴²⁰ Especially for this issue in HNK1756 see Brendemoen, "Karamanlidic Literature and its value as a source for spoken Turkish in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries," 5–25.

books, which was primarily educational. Serapheim's books were meant to serve as handbooks for functional literacy, and like the majority of religious books of that time, they described detailed religious practices primarily for priests, and then for the rest, and thus disseminated religious terminology throughout the community.

The educational character of the books is mentioned by Serapheim in his prologue from IPK1753:5, where we read: "the teachings of faith, and the lessons deriving from it, are acquired from the knowledge and unremitting reading of religious books".⁴²¹ That they were intended to enhance literacy is indicated by passages such as the following, where the letters of the name Mariam (Mary) are explained one by one in terms of pronunciation and also with their position within the alphabet. The author, while explaining how Mary was given her name, takes the opportunity to explain to the reader how important this name is and also to give a short lesson on Greek letters.

... βὲ ἰσμινὲ Μαριάμ τετιλέρ. ζῆρα μοῦ ἴσιμ, μοῦ σοζοῦν ἴλκ χαρφὶ, μῆ. ντετικλερὶ, εἰγριμιτόρτ χαρφλαρὶν ἀρασιντὰ ὅλαν, μῆ γιαζισὶ, μανὲ βερμεσὴ μπουτοῦν μπούτουρκι, γιαληνὶζ, μοῦ κεντισὴ τεμέκτιρ. βὲ μοῦ χαρφὴν γιαματζηντὰ ὅλαν ἱκιντζὴ χάρφ ἄλφα, βάρτηρ. βὲ μπουνοῦν μανεσηνὴν τεμεσση. μοῦ χέμεν γιαληνὶζ τεμέκτιρ. βὲ οὔτζουντζοῦ χάρφ, ρὸ. ἱρακάμηρ, βὲ μπουνοῦν μανεσὴ ταχὶ, κουρταριντζὴ τεμέκτιρ. βὲ τορτουτζοῦ χάρφ ἰῶτα ἱ. ἱρακαμίτηρ. μανεσὴ μοῦκι, ξεχιρτὲν τεμέκτιρ. βὲ πεσιντζὴ χάρφ, κίνε μπὶρ ἄλφα χαρφίτηρ. μανεσὴ μοῦκι, τζέμι τζουμλεῖ τεμέκτιρ. βὲ ἄλτιντζὴ χάρφ, κίνε μπῆρ μῆ, χαρφίτηρ. βὲ μπουνοῦν ταχὶ μανεσὴ μπούτουρκι, ἐγληγὲ χουσουμέτ ἐτὲν τουσμὰν σεγτὰν τεμέκτουρ. ἴμιτι μοῦ ἴσσημτε ἀλτὶ χάρφ γιαζηλίτηρ, βὲ μοῦ ἀλτὶ χαρφλαρὶν μανελερινὴ γιοκιουνοῦ τεμαμὶ μοῦ σοζλέρτηρ.

[...ve ismine Mariam dediler. Zira bu isim, bu sözün ilk harfi, mi. dedikleri, iyirmi dört harfların arasında olan, mi yazısı, mane vermesi bütün budurki, yalnız, bu kendisi demektir. ve bu harfin yamacında olan ikinci harf alfa, vardır. ve bunun

⁴²¹ "ἡ διδασκαλία τῆς πίστεως, καὶ τὰ διδάγματα τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν ἔργων ἀποκτῶνται ἀπὸ τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ συνεχεῖ ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν βιβλίων."

manesinin demesi. bu hemen yalnız demektir. ve üçüncü harf, ro. irakamdır, ve manesi bunun manesi dahi, kurtarıncı demektir. ve dördüncü harf iota <◇> irakamıdır. manesi buki zehirden demektir. ve beşinci harf, gine bir alfa harfidir. manesi buki, cem-i cümlei demektir. ve altıncı harf, gine bir mi, harfidir. ve bunun dahi manesi budurki, eyliye husumet eden düşman şeytan demektür. imdi bu isimde altı harf yazılıdır, ve bu altı harfların manelerini yokunu tamamı bu sözlerdir.] (BH1783:59)

‘...and they give her the name Mariam. Because regarding this name its first letter is called *mi*, one of the 24 letters (of the Greek alphabet) that is written always in this way and it is pronounced *mi*. Following this is the letter *alfa* and it is called in this way, and pronounced alone. The third letter, *ro* in this figure, is pronounced as in *kurtarıncı* ‘saviour’. The fourth letter *iota* has the following figure <◇> and it is pronounced as in *zehirden* ‘from poison’. The fifth letter is again an *alfa* and it is pronounced in this way in all sentences. And the sixth letter, again a *mi*. In this way, the one who hates goodness is called devil. This name is written in six letters, and the meaning of these six letters is this.’

The second purpose of the books, the thorough description on how to perform religious rituals, is evident not only in the various ceremonies we come across in the books but also in the testimony of Serapheim himself. In the book KIN1753:25, he describes the fasting days throughout the year, and mentions that in 1751 in Ankara, people did not know what they should do on the day before the Epiphany. Although the introductions of his books are full of references to the “intellectual decay” of the people of the East, this is one of the rare occasions when he talked about a specific event, which helps us understand what he meant when saying that. This also supports what was mentioned in 0.7.2.1., namely that as long as the religious authorities did not have the means to promote the “correct” ways, people practised religion in their own way. Basic rituals and prayers are recurring in Serapheim’s publications, such as marriage in NvB1776:73-83 and HNK1753:177-211. In the latter not the only is the ritual described but plausible scenarios are also given as to which types of relatives can be married. Other rituals

that appear often are prayers for someone who is on his death bed (e.g., NvB1776:115-120, RAB1782:137) and the engagement ceremony (e.g., NvB1776:69-72, RAB1782:105). Prayers like *Πάτερ ημών* [Pater imon] are also repeated (e.g., HNK1753:108, KŞ1758:71, RAB1782:65-67).

If we take a closer look to the description of these rituals, we observe that the general description of the ritual is in Turkish while the texts which the cleric has to perform remain in Greek. In short, not everything is to be translated, e.g., in the engagement ceremony:

Ίμτι σόγρα, Παπάς Δισκλέλιτε όλαν Γιουζουκλερί άλήρ, βέ ‘Αλτοϋν γιουζουγιου, ‘Ερκέκ όλανήν Πασιντά Σταυρόσλαγην τοκαντηρίρ, άτέτ ουζρέ, ουτζ κερέτ.

[İmdi sogra, Papas Diskletlite olan Yüzükleri alır, be Altun yüzüyü, Erkek olanın Başında Stavroslayın dokandırır, adet üzre, üç keret.]

‘Later on, the priest takes the rings from the tray and performs the sign of the cross three times on the man’s head with the golden ring.’

Άρράβωνίζεται, ‘δοϋλος τοϋ Θεοϋ, (**‘Αβρετήν ισμηνή άγγάρ.**) Είς τὸ ὄνομα τοϋ Πατρὸς, κί τοϋ ‘Υιοϋ, κί τοϋ ‘Αγίου Πνεύματος νυν κί άει κί εις τοϋς αιώνας τῶν αιώνων. ‘Αμήν.

[Avretin ismini anar]

‘To be engaged, the servant of God (reads the name of partner) In the name of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, for now to eternity, Amen’ (NvB1776:70)

In the Christening ceremony we observe that the items used also retain their Greek names (see 3.2.) and the prayer is written in Greek language:

Παπὰς Θυμαιατὸς ἀλὴρ ἑληνέ, Κολυμβήθραγια γκιτέρ, βέ τζέβρι ἐτραφινή
 Θυμαιατὸς βερὶρ, βέ θυμιατοσου᾽γκερή βερήρσιν, προσκυνῆς ἐτέρ, βέ σόγρα ἀβάζ
 ἐτέρ. Εὐλογημένη ἡ Βασιλεία τοῦ Πατρὸς, κὶ τοῦ Ὑιοῦ, κὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος,
 νυν κὶ ἀεὶ κὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

[Papas Thimiatos alır eline, Kolimvithra'ya gider, ve çevr-i etrafını thimiatos verir,
 ve thimiatos'u geri verirsin, proskinis eder, ve soğra avaz eder. Evloyimeni i
 Vasilia tou Patros, ki tou Yiou, ki tou Ayiou Pnevmatos. nin kai aei kai eis tous
 aionas ton aionon. Amin]

‘The priest takes the incense in his hand, goes to the font and spreads incense in the
 surrounding area, he gives back the incense, bows and then begins to chant,
 Blessed the kingdom of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and forever,
 and evermore. Amen’ (NvB1776:93)

The strategy of focusing on expanding the knowledge of religion in both languages
 is evident in RAB1782:64, where Serapheim gives both forms and stresses the
 need of having knowledge of the Seven Sacraments. On several occasions we see
 that in the Turkish context they were using the Greek term but in a simpler form,
 something we come across in Greek-speaking Christians as well. Numbers 4, 5, 6
 are Turkish terms, number 1 is a Greek term that has been adapted morphologically
 to Turkish, and 2, 3 and 7 are unadapted Greek terms:

1. Βαπτὶς	ἀ. Τὸ Ἅγιον Βάπτισμα. ‘Christening’
2. Μύρον	β’. Τὸ Ἅγιον Μύρον. ‘Chrism’
3. Κοινωνία	γ’. Ἡ Θεία Λειτουργία. ‘Holy Communion’
4. Ρουχπανλίκ	δ’. Ἡ Ἱερωσύνη. ‘Priesthood’
5. Τογπερκιαρλίκ	ε’. Ἡ Μετάνοια. ‘Repentance’
6. Ἐβλενμεκλίκ ⁴²²	στ’. Ὁ Τίμιος Γάμος. ‘Marriage’
7. Εὐχέλαιον	ζ’. Τὸ Ἅγιον Εὐχέλαιον. ‘Unction’

⁴²² Elsewhere it can also be found as “στέφανος ολμακ” [stefanos olmak] using the practice
 described in 3.2.; see NvB1776:73.

Such information can be found also in books that do not describe ceremonies, such as PsD1782:261, where we read about how and when to use the book:

Κερέκτιρκι μπιλελήμ, γιάνια μπούσεκιλ τζάηζτιρ Ψαλτήρι μπιουτοῦν σενὲ ὁκουνσοῦν. Σεπτέμβριος ἁῖοῦν εἰγυρμισιντὲν, χερ γκιοῦν οὔτζ (3) Κάθισμα ὁκούρους ὀρθροστα. βὲ Ἐσπερινοστὰ ταχί, πρὸς Κύριονλαρι ὁκούρους. ἀγρυπνίατα, πολυέλεοςζου ταχί τερακὺ ἐτέριζ.

[Gerektirki bilelim, yania bu şekil caizdır Psaltiri bütün sene okunsun. Septemvrios ayun iyirmisinden, her gün üç Kathisma okurus orthros'ta. Ve Esperinos'ta dahi, pros Kyrion'ları okurus, agrypnia'da, polyeleosz'u dahi teraki ederiz.]

‘We ought to know that the *Psalter* in this form must be read throughout the year. After the twentieth of September, every day we read the *Kathisma* at the *Orthros*. And then in the Vespers we read [the prayers which begin with] *pros Kyrion* (‘to the Lord’), and during the night prayers we raise the chandelier’.

The book also disseminated religious terminology and phrasing by explaining invocations in Greek and Turkish. Examples like, ἐλεήσόν με ὁ Θεός. **ῥάχμ ἐγλὲ μπενὶ ‘Αλλάχ.** ‘Have mercy on me God’, Κύριε εἰσάκουσον τῆς προσευχῆς μου, **Γιάρεππι καποῦλ ἐγλὲ ἱπατετιμὶ μπενὶμ.** ‘Lord accept my prayer’, are prayers (their beginning or ending), which, as mentioned before, tend to copy the existing structure in order to give an aura of “sacredness”. It should be taken into consideration though that the Turkish translation of Greek religious phrases was probably just an effort to create the knowledge required for religious participation. Another process is the gradual adoption of Turkish instead of Greek in such passages, such as the well-known trisagion (“must be said three times”) prayer, where the form of the instruction is given in Greek but then the action takes place in Turkish:

Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς γ' κερετ. [Holy God three times] ἅζιζ 'Αλλάχ, 'Αζιζ κουβετ, 'Αζιζ οὐλουμσους, ἐσιρκὲ μπιζή.

[aziz Allah, Aziz kuvet, Aziz ölümsüs, eşirge bizi.]

‘Holy God, holy (and) strong, holy immortal, have mercy on us.’

Furthermore, we come across rituals that start with Greek and continue in Turkish, giving the sense that this will be the form from now on, as in the Euchologyion in RAB1782:77 where Serapheim gradually stops using Greek in the titles and then also in the supplications, e.g.:

Τοῦ Κυρίου Δεηθῶμεν. Ῥάππιε νιάζ Κιλαλήμ... Ῥάππιε νιάζ Κιλαλήμ.

[Supplicating to God]

Summarising this chapter, we see that Serapheim used various techniques of translation according to the purpose of the texts. The first technique aims for the communication of the meaning regarding religious issues outside liturgy and rituals. Here we see that the Turkish translation of the Greek passages followed its own rules and did not copy any structural elements from Greek. Regarding the language of liturgy and rituals, Serapheim tries to copy the Greek word order, namely putting the objects into a postverbal position. Educating people in Christian religion was one thing; educating them in the ways and language of the rituals was another. Therefore, as we saw in the third part of the chapter, certain themes remained untranslated while others, within the course of liturgy, were first written in Greek, then in Turkish, and gradually Turkish took over completely, maybe in an effort to formulate a version of the liturgy and rituals in Turkish.

Conclusion

Serapheim Attaliates, the Turkophone Orthodox cleric from Antalya, is probably the most important figure of eighteenth-century Karamanlidika. Through the description of his life, we explored his actions and travels, the difficulties he faced in printing his books and also how he and the monastery of Kykkos mutually benefited from their relationship. This study has tried to interpret Serapheim's role in and impact on the Christian Turkophone Orthodox population of Anatolia through the analysis of the language used in his books. Through the analysis of graphematics, phonetics and phonology we have observed the various dialectal elements for the south-western regional and Inner Turkish varieties, which point to his place of origin, but also many other elements that could be attributed to dialectal influence from other places where he resided and travelled. The analysis of the morphology, lexicon and the translation techniques has moved the discussion beyond dialectal issues and illustrated examples that suggest that the language in certain contexts and ceremonial parts should be seen as archaising. Although in terms of morphology the language of the books can be characterised as colloquial in the most part, the use of various older forms of morphemes in certain contexts, along with the vocabulary and the word-to-word translation technique, might have its roots in the beliefs Serapheim had as a cleric about language and the status of Christianity among the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia.

Since Serapheim believed that his fellow Anatolians had moved away from the ways of their religion and had fallen into a routine of lax practices and limited knowledge of Greek language, the question that arises from this thesis is: did he employ certain techniques to educate them in the Christian ways, and also try to formulate a form of liturgical language fitting his (or the clergy's in general) standards and beliefs?

4.1. Implementing religious register

(τζούνκι ρώμτζα λισανηντάν άγναμάςσινιζ)

The quotation τζούνκι ρώμτζα λισανηντάν άγναμάςσινιζ [çünkü romca lisanından ağnamassınız], found in the introduction of NTh1756:8-9, is translated as 'because you are ignorant of the Greek language'. Serapheim's basic motivation of providing texts in the language of his fellow Anatolians, was the lack or religious texts in Turkish language and the community's meagre knowledge or ignorance, of

the liturgical texts and practices.

The first Karamanlidika books were written to be heard, as we often come across phrases like **Ἰμιτι ποῦ Κιταπή χερ Κυριακή Παπαςλάρ ὁχουγιᾶ χαλκᾶ** [İmdi bu Kitabı her Kiriaki Papaslar ohuya halka] ‘Now every Sunday priests will read this book to the people’ (CSK1756:4), **ἴμιτι, κουλάκ βέρην** [imdi kulak verin] ‘now hear’ (literally, give ear) (APK1782:7), **Ἰμιτι κουλάκ βερελοῦμ, τζοῦμλε Χριστιανλίκ, τηγνελοῦμ, Ἑορτηνὴν μουπαρεκλιγηνί, ἀγναῖαλοῦμ**, [İmdi kulak verelüm, cümle Hristianlık, diñneelüm, Eorti’nin mubarekliyini, aḡnayaalum], ‘Now, all the Christians, let us give our ears, let us hear, so that we will understand the holiness of this celebration’ (BH1783:51). Later on, the same books were used as school books, and therefore whatever elements the books contained, dialectal and/or archaic, were probably becoming more established. The duration and intensity of use in the religious environment and in schooling may have led to passing elements from liturgical language to everyday language. This hypothesis, if true, would apply both to Greek and Turkish forms, since on several occasions liturgical texts were deliberately bilingual. This is very well explained by Serapheim himself in one of his prologues, where he mentions that some parts of the liturgy should be performed bilingually.

Βὲ ρώμτζα, βὲ ταχί ττούρκτζε γιαζμαμιζήν βετζή πούτουρκι, ζῆρα ὅλ κιονντὲ Ἴκι λισάνιλαν ὁκουρλάρ τάϊμα Εὐαγγέλιον, Ἰντζιλή τζεβαπλارى. Γιανγισλίκ ὀλμασιν ντεῖ, Ἴκσι ταχί γιαζιλτεῖ, κολαῖ ὀλμάκ Ἰτζήν ὁκουῖαν κίμσελερε, βὲ μουμιὲν Χριστιανλιγᾶ. (RAB1782:10)

[Ve romca ve dahi türkçe yazmamızın veci budurki, zira ol günde İki lisanılan okurlar daima Evangelion, İncili cevabları. Yañıslık olmasın dei, İkisi dahi yazıldı, kolay olmak İçin okuyan kimselere, ve mümien Hristianlıḡa.]

‘And our manner of writing, in Greek and also in Turkish, is so since now the responses of the Gospel must always be read in both languages. To avoid mistakes, it has been written in both (languages) in order to be read easily by anyone and the faithful Christians.’

References from travelogues of people who witnessed the celebration of the Mass in Turkophone Christian communities in Anatolia during seventeenth to nineteenth centuries indicate that the Mass was performed in Greek, with the priest not knowing a word of what he was saying, and on other occasions they refer to a mixture of languages (what we call today code-switching) like the example *Patir bizim ho en tois ouranois* ‘Our Father in heavens’, found in 0.2. of this study. Furthermore, they also reported that the Mass was performed partly in Turkish, but never exclusively, something that would suggest that Serapheim’s efforts (and perhaps of unknown others) did indeed have some effect, or had just helped bring to print and disseminate a practice that was already established. This situation was perceived and described by the travellers, who experienced it – as outsiders in terms of language and maybe faith – as something irregular, since they did not belong to the Turkophone Christian Orthodox community. They believed that the bilingual liturgy was the outcome of the coexistence of their everyday Turkish language and the language of the books of their faith, which was, as they probably assumed, Greek. This was due to the use of the Greek alphabet (so the book could have been a Karamanlidika one), or the notion that Christian Orthodox books are written mostly in Greek. To some degree they were correct, but this mixed code was rather the outcome of a pattern followed in the books, where certain parts of the book had to be in Greek. For example, in the ritual of the marriage from NvB1776:73 the glorification of God is in Greek while the rest of the text is in Turkish.

Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι. ‘Glory to you God, glory to you’

Νέμουτλου, τζοῦμλε, ‘Αλλάχ κορκουσουντὰ ὀλανλαρά. ‘Blessed all those who are afraid of God’

Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι. ‘Glory to you God, glory to you.’

‘Αλλαχίν Ταριχιντέ, γκιτενλερε. ‘To those who walk the path of God.’

Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι. ‘Glory to you God, glory to you.’

Ἐμεκλεριγγήν μαξουλατιγγή φεραχλανάσιν. ‘Enjoy your work’s harvest.’

Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι. ‘Glory to you God, glory to you.’

Μουτλοῦ ὀλάσιν, βὲ ἐηίκλερέ ναῖλ ὀλάσιν. ‘May you be blessed and attain goodness.’

Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι. ‘Glory to you God, glory to you.’

This is one among the various rituals that were meant to be performed in both languages and it explains clearly the mixed result mentioned in the travelogues, which might have been the outcome of a long procedure where the use of stereotyped formulas in a liturgical language resulted in code-switching situations. The oral character of Christianity and especially early Karamanlidika books has been stressed several times, but we need to keep in mind that people are still listeners rather than readers in religious matters, so they hear and reproduce things often without fully understanding them.

4.2. Can we refer to a sacred language?

We saw that Serapheim used the correct conventions of Greek orthography in Greek words and in substantial passages in Greek language. It is obvious that he had mastered Greek very well and he was aware of its intricacies. In the Turkish parts of his books there are some efforts at codification in the writing system, which suggests that codification and standardisation was not among his foremost priorities, being trumped by the need to educate the people in the “correct”, as he said, ways of religion.

When considering eighteenth-century Turkophone Christian Orthodox people and Karamanlidika books we need to keep in mind that we are dealing with a complicated, multi-layered development in a transitional period. Before the invention and spread of printing, variations were tolerated and were somewhat inevitable, but then this situation changed rapidly.

During the eighteenth-century the Turkophone Orthodox Christians of Anatolia were an illiterate community that, according to the clergy, needed to be educated.

But what was really at stake was people's competence in the correct form of religion, rather than literacy. Therefore, it is possible that although the books were written in the vernacular, some parts of liturgy (those considered more important) were written in Greek or in Turkish but in archaic forms, which would be considered more formal or appropriate, for the same reasons people change the way they talk or write according to the occasion.

Serapheim seems to have incorporated many different techniques when writing his books, so when dealing with the religious vocabulary and the liturgical parts they appear to fit the definition of a formulaic language which ascribed sacredness, thus a sacred language. However, a quantitative analysis and research focused on how the words functioned, how people used them and in what context is needed. A quantitative analysis will enable us to see the occurrence and frequency of Greek and Turkish terms and also the occurrence and frequency of archaisms. A thorough quantitative analysis of Serapheim's books, based on a chronological division of the material, that will tackle the prologues separately from main text, and the liturgical parts separately from the non-liturgical parts, along with research on semantics, is a desideratum in order to draw firmer conclusions.

We can, however, be almost certain about the impact Serapheim's editions had during the eighteenth-century, and with their re-edition in the nineteenth their influence probably remained, in terms of the codification of language and religious practices. One can trace words like *Allah* and *Azimetlû* in religious contexts in twentieth-century books and also in manuscripts and codices from central Asia Minor. The use of the word *Allah* shows that, although many Greek religious terms were found in Karamanlidika religious books and maybe in the language of people, the Greek word for God never reached legitimisation among of the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia, who kept the enduring practice they had for centuries. On the other hand, the appearance of archaic forms like *Azimetlû* shows how the occurrence of these archaic forms in religious book helped their preservation, at least in their written form.

The aforementioned illustrate the importance of religious rituals and language and how they affected people in various ways. At the same time these texts also include dialectal elements as described in this research. It appears that books like

the ones Serapheim produced helped the standardisation of rituals and drove not only the religious register and practices but also orality and, of course, writing. It is certain that a tradition of Turkish religious books existed in manuscript form before Serapheim's books and the invention of printing presses. They would have been indispensable for the present research, but in terms of such primary sources before the advent of printing we are still, like the Anatolian Christians, "covered in darkness".

πὶλ χάμτ ἰλλάχ, τεμῶμ ὀλτοῦ

Appendices

Appendix 1 Passages from primary sources

1.1. Passage from SB1783:10–11

Ιλεριλερτέν, πήγγ γετίγιουζ έλλη οϋτζ σενεσιντέ, 'Ικί τουρλοϋ Κιτάπ πασμαϊά βερμεμίζηλεν 'Ρουχανι Μεντζηλής κουρτοϋκ σενήν τηζαρινγά, ιλλαχιγέ Σουφρασι τοσσετήκ, ταττηκτά, τὸκ ολάσιν ντεϊ. μπιρισι ὄνλαριν 'Ιπιλά Κελαμι, βέ ὀπηρισι 'Ιμάν μεσιχή ἀνγίλήριτε. Πάτεχου έλλη άλττεϊ σενεσηντέ κίνε τεκράρ γκελτικ, Κυριακοδρόμι Κιταπή, βέ Νέος Θησαυρός γενγή χαζνέ ἀνγιλάν Κιταπή παστηρητήκ, χατζετναμέ τετιγιμίζ Πασκά μπήρτουρλλου γάηρου Κιτάπηλαν. σόνρα κίνε, 'Ιλαϊκσίς ταρικίγιλεν, τζηρκλή λεκελήγικεν, κιουναχλαριμιζ πησλερίγιλεν Μητροπολουτοϋκ παϊασινά νάϊλ ὀλτουκτάν σόνρα, 'Αζήζ Κλήμεντος 'Αγκαρά Μητροπολουτοϋν σσεχίτ ὀλτουγοϋ τζαφαλάριλαν ὀμιουρουνὸν τεμām έτμεσινι μπεάν έττήκ, πάζι 'Ικτιζαλή ὀλάν, Κελήσεμιζε μουταλικ ταρικλέριλε· σίμιτι κινέ γκελτικ Ψαλήρι Κιταπή, 'Ιτζάτ έττήκ, βέ Πασκά μπήρ Κιτάπ ταχί, Παχάρι ζουμπιουλμανέ Εϋχολλογητε ὀλάν πιουτοϋν Εϋχληερι παστηρητήκ, βε πασκά κίνε, Παχάρι χεγιάτ κιταπή. βε ταχί μπου Κιταπή παστηρητήκ, Σιμαβή Παχτζέ ττονανανμασήτετηγιμιζή...

1.2. Passage from NTh1756:8–9

μποϋ ζήκρ ὀλουνάν (Νέος Θησαυρός) ντετιϊμίζ, γιάνε Γενή Χαζνέ, τζούνκι σουρατι κάτιμι ἵπτητατεν, γαγέτλε γιαγνής βέ έκσικ γιαζμάϊλαν, βέ γιορταμσίς ὀλμάϊλαν, οϋτζ κερέτ έμέκ τζεκιπ, τουζελττιμ κεντιμ, έλ γιαζισίϊλαν γιαζτιμ. γιορταμά κοτοϋμ νίτζεκι πακάρσις, ποϋ γιορταμτά, τεκράρ κινέ ζίατε έμέκυλεν κιόζ νουροϋ άκιττιμ, ἕκ έββέλ ποϋ ζήκρ ὀλουνάν Χριστιανλάρ, ικί Καρτασίν χεβαςλαρι ιτζήν σογρὰ τζούμλαλεμίν, 'Ορθόδοξος Χριστιανλαρήν κιφαετληγή ιτζήν, ποϋ κιταπή τούρκ λισανιντάν τευφσίρ ὀλουνμούσικαν, τεκράρ κεντιμ, ζαχμέτιλεν τουζελττιμ, πασμαγια κότουρτοϋκ ὅλ ικί μουπαρέκ ζήκρ ὀλουνάν κίμσελεριν, χάριτζ μαςραφλαρίϊλαν. ἴμιτι τζούμλεσι ὀχοϋίτ έξπερλετικτέ ποϋ Γενι Χαζνεϊ, ρούχ, βέ τζάν ταραφιντάν σιφελικ, βέ σεφαλικ πουλούρ. βέ φεράριλαν σιάζ ὀλοϋρ, κιόγ γιουζουνοϋν τουκενμές ὀμουροϋ ιτζήν. Για μουμίν Χριστιανλάρ, σιζλερέ σίμιτι μποϋ γενι Χαζνεϊ πεάν έϊλετιμ, ὅλκι κάτιμι έβελετέν, τζὸκ κίμσελερτεν πεάνιτη. σιζλερέ ἄντζα καρανλικ ὀρτουλοϋίτι. (τζούνκι ρώμτζα λισανηντάν ἀγναμάςσινιζ.)

1.3. Passage from KIN1753:60–61

Ἰμιτι μποῦ Ἀζιμετλοῦ μουπαρέκ Μοναστήρ μπάζι ταζρά τουςμανναροῦν
κεμληντέν, βέ σεητάν σεριντέν κίμσε μπιλμές, πίν γετί γιούς έλλι μπήρ σενεσιντέ,
νοέμβριος άγιουντά, τεκράρ γεκπαρέ άτεζτέν Γιαντί χαράπ όλτοῦ. Ε᾽κκλησά,
Κιταπλαρήλαν, άσλα μπήρ σεγ κουρτουλματι, Εικοναταν ματέ. Γ᾽μιτι μεσφαρέτ
όλουντοῦ μποῦ άζήμ Εικόναη κατεμι έσκι μπίρ μουκελέφ Μοναστηρά σιμιτλίκ
Κοσυννάρ ντεϊ, όλκι μοναστήρ Ροχπάν μεκιανλιγοῦ τενιλούρ ιζμί. ᾽Αντζα σιμιτλίκ
μποῦ Ἀζιμετλοῦ Εικόναη ὄρατα Μοναστηρά γιακίν (Βασιλική ντερλέρ) μπίρ γερέ
κοτουλάρ, ιτζηντέ ᾽Εκκλησασίηλαν. βέ τουρλοῦ Ζουλουμλουκλαρτάν
έλκογιάματαλαρ Ροχπανλάρ γιαπιτιμαγιᾶ. Νιετλεροῦ ᾽αντζα τεκράρ μποῦ
μοναστηροῦ γιαπιτιμαγιᾶ, νιτζεκι έββέλ ζεμανναρτέ ταχί Γιαντί, κινέ Μεητανά
κελτί μπάζι Χριστιανλαροῦν ᾽Ιματίηλαν. Σίμιτι ᾽αντζα μπούραγια ᾽Ισαρέτ ιττιμιζίν
βετζί μποῦτουρκι, τζούμνε Μουουμίν ᾽Ορθόδοξος Χριστιανλαρτάν Γιαρτίμ ᾽Ιμτᾶτ
᾽Ιμεγέ, μποῦ γενι Γιαπουηᾶ, ᾽Εσκι Κτήτορος λάρηλαν ᾽Αταλαροῦ Μνημονίς
όλσοῦν. Βέ ᾽Αζίμ Βαλιτουλλαχοῦν Ναζάρι Κερεμί Τᾶημ μπουνου Χιφζ ιτίπ Χέρ
τουρλοῦ Κιορουνμούς, Κιορούνμετικ

Καζελερτέν Σακλασίν. βέ Μουφρετ ᾽Ογλουνᾶ

᾽Ριτζατζί όλσοῦν Τζούμνεμιζοῦ ᾽Επέτι

Χεγιατά νάσπᾶ ᾽Εγλεγέ.

᾽Αμήν.

1.4. Passage from KIN1753:92

Νιαζίμ μπουττουρ τζούμνε μουουμίν βέ ὀρθόδοξος, χριστιανλαρά, νετζέ γιανγούς, βέ εκσίκ βάρισα, κερék γιαζουλαρτά, κερék τζεβαπλαρτά, μαζούρ βέ κερém ὀλσοῦν, ζήρα μπιζτέν ντεϊλτουρ, ἴλλε μπαςμα ταχί έββέλ σίμιτι ὀλμάϊλαν, ντουζέλμετι. κεζάλικε άσαλλεττέν κεντίμ κελτίμκι βενετιγέ, κουσουρσοῦς ὀλσοῦν ντεϊ, ἄντα μπουνοῦ μπασαννάρ, τούρκτζε τιλλιντέν χεπαρσίς ὀλμάϊλαν, τζόκ ζαχμέτιλεν οὔτζ κερét κεντίμ ντουζελτίμ, ἴλλε κίνε ὀλματι, κουσουρσοῦς μπίρ ἄλλάχ, ἄχζου κάπζ ιτίπ καπούλ έγλεϊν μπουνοῦ μουχαπετλοῦ, πάκ κάπλιλεν, μπουκι, έγκουρλοῦ.μουρβετλοῦ, εύλαβείς, ιχτικατλοῦ, Χοτζά Γεώργη Κουπετζόγλου τετικλερί, ἄνοῦν ιμτᾶτι κουβετίϊλεν ὀλτοῦ.χάρτζ βέ μασραφά ὀλ ταχί γιαρτίμ έγλετί, ζήρα μπογλέ σεγλερέ μπιζίμ, κουτρετιμιζ γιόγουτι, ἄντζα μιλλετιμιζέ μουχαπετιμís ὀλμάϊλαν, μπαςλατίκ, μπουῦ ισί, ράππι τουάλενην λούτφου ιχσανίγιλαν, ὀλκι ιχσανινή ναζάρ ιτούπ, κερεμλέρσε, κινέ χαζούρις ταχί σάγιρ

ιχτιζαλοῦ σεγλέρ έγλεμεγέ, ὀρθόδοξος χριστιανλαροῦν μετέτι ιμτατίγιλαν.

σιμιτιλίκ μπουνοῦ καπούλ έγλεϊπ ἄλλάχ ἄζήμισανά

σιούκιουρ έγλεϊουν, βέ χαζρέτι βαλιτουλλαχάταχί,

κι ιχσάν κερém έγλεσινέρ

τζούμνε σιζλερέ,

άμην.

Appendix 2 Depictions from primary sources

2.1. Virgin Mary from Neos thisavros 1804 (1746)

Sofia Library, Bulgaria



2.2. Virgin Mary from Neos thisavros 1804

IMHA Thessaloniki, Greece



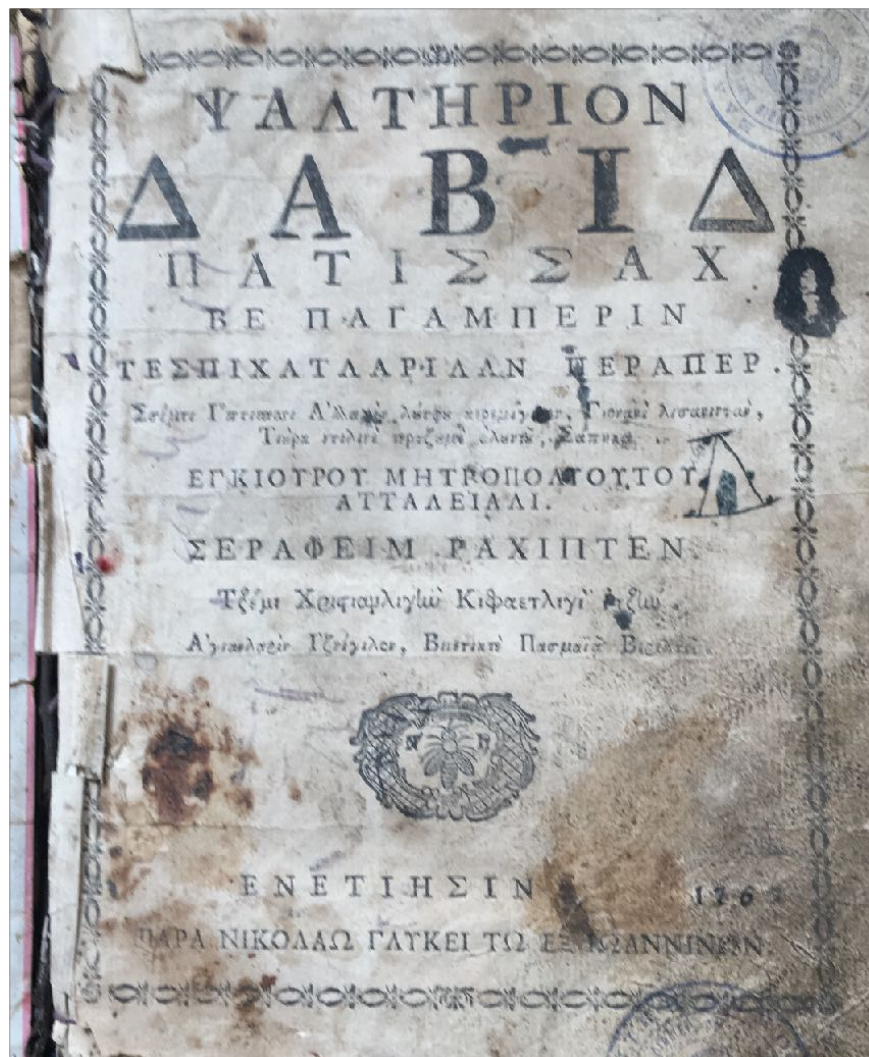
2.3. Virgin Mary from Neos thisavros 1756

Aristoteleio UniversityThessaloniki, Greece



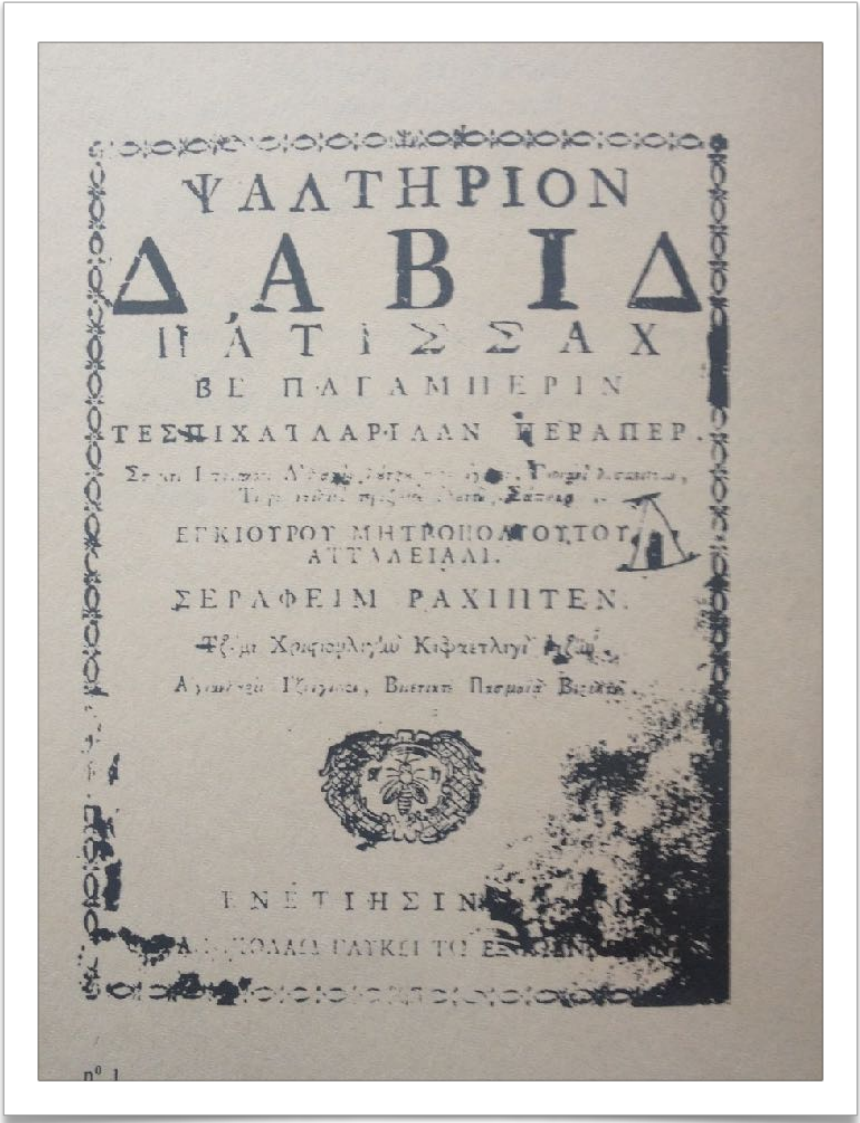
2.4. Psalterion of David 1810

Municipal Library of Nea Ionia, Greece



2.5. Psalterion of David 1810 (1767)

From SDI:44



Appendix 3

Depictions concerning writing system from BH1783

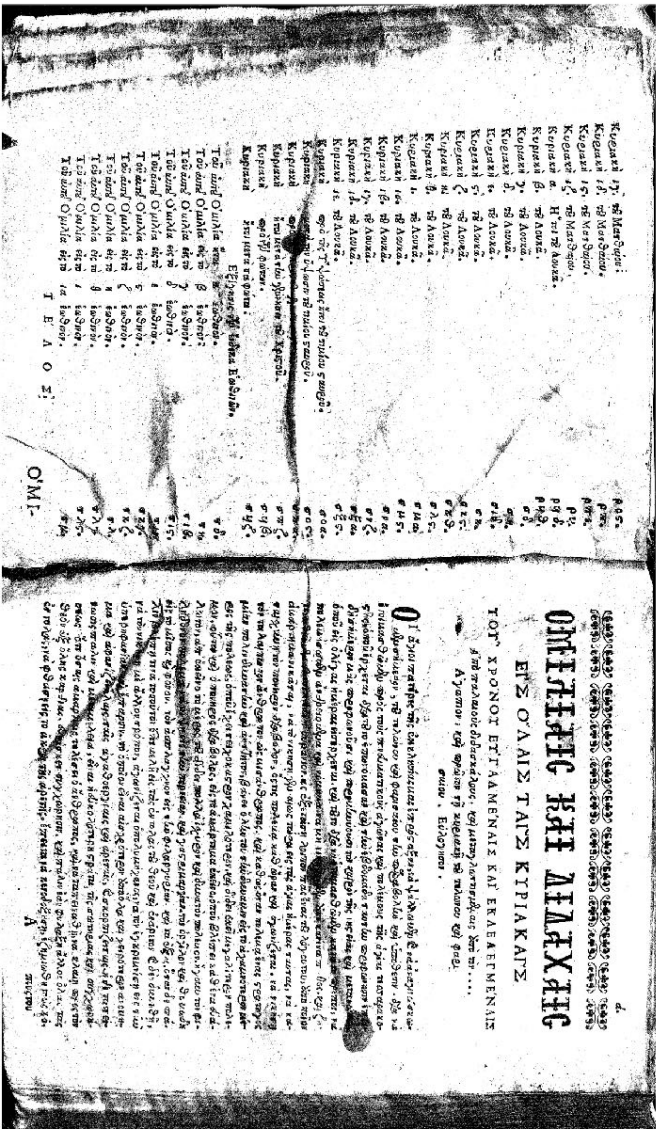
νὶ Χεισοζὲμ τεκράρ σοιὺ κελανῶν νοβασινὰ κλῶε ναῖλ ὀλαγίμ.
Ἰχτιάρ μπῆ τζεβαπλαεὶ σογλετικτέ, σαγινὰ σολβινὰ παντῆ. Ἀ-
ζίζῃ γκιορῆρμικὶ τεγῆ, βὲ ἰνὶ ῥαφινὰ πανμάϊλαν, παντῆκὶ
πεφάτ ὀλμῆς. Ἀζίζ, ἐλλεεὶ παγλή, βὲ πασὶ παπὴ ῥαφιντῶν.

γμετζετὲ Ἄγιος Ἰπατὲρ ἐτέρικον, εἰς κελγιά βαρτῆ, βὲ τζῆζιε
εἰς κελτῶν σόνρα, τρεσεντὲ πακάρικὶ, Χεισὸς ἐφώτι κελτῶν, σα-
ελμῖοσιτε μπανᾶ, βὲ ὅπμῆ βερίετῃ μπανῶ, βὲ μπουνῶ πασ-
σινὰ μπῆρ τᾶτζ κελτῶν, βὲ ντετῆ μπανᾶ. Κόρημα Γεώργιε,

Appendix 4

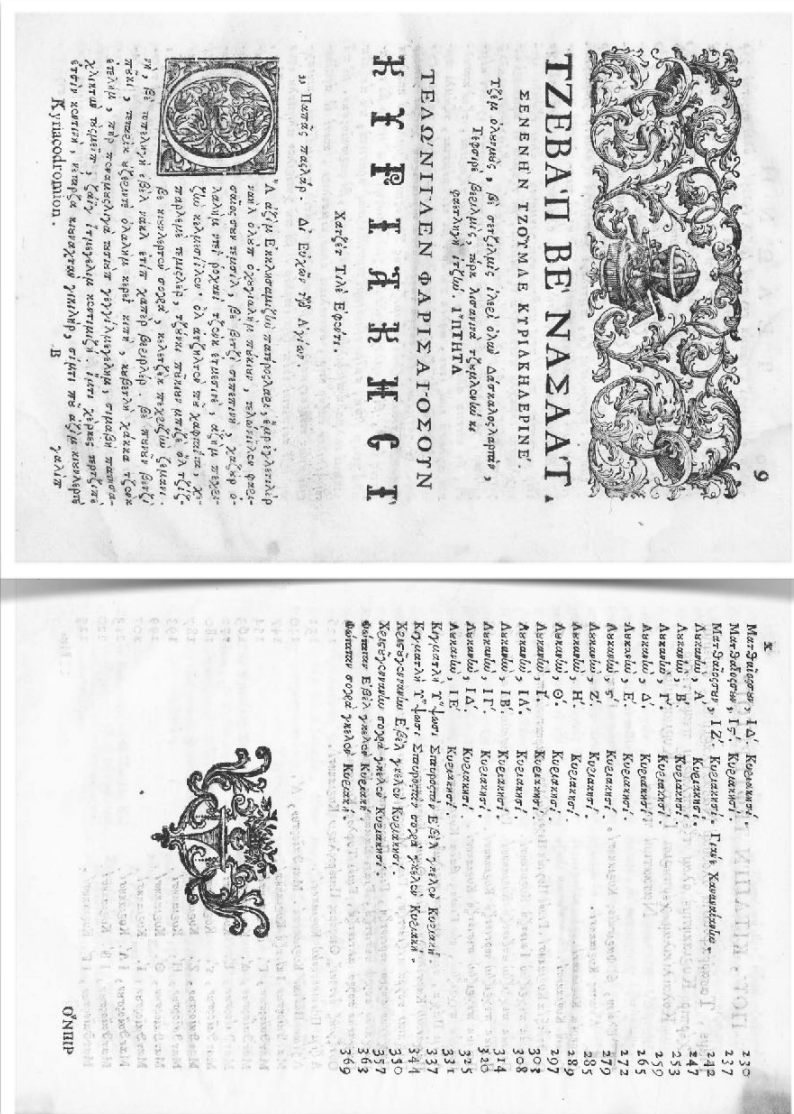
4.1. Κυριακοδρόμιον 1657

(<http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr>)



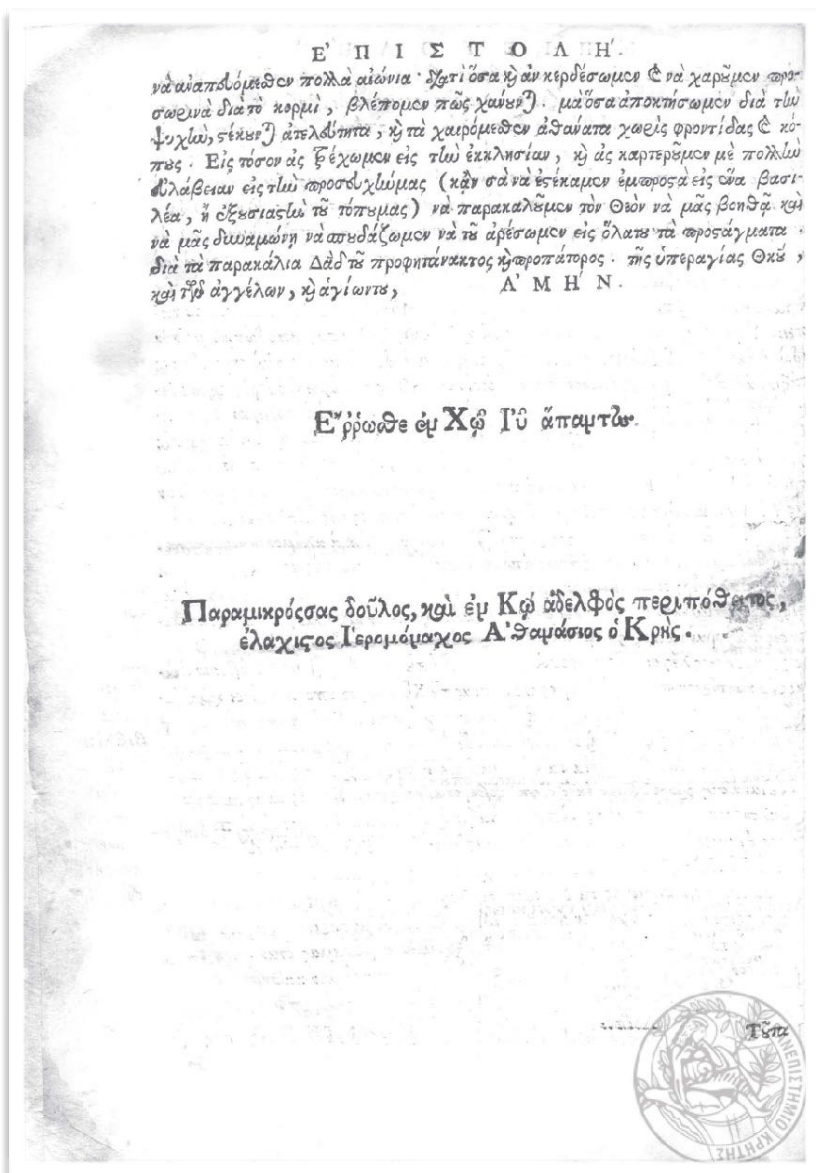
4.2. Τζοδυμλε Σενενήμ Κυριακληρινέ 1756

(<http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr>)



4.3. Λόγοι ψυχοφελείς 1705

(<http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr>)



4.4. Ιπτιλὰ Κελαμί. Τζανὰ Κιφαετλοῦ 1753

(<http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr>)

λαςλικλαριμὰ μπακάσις. ἔμσογγυμτὰ σιζῶν ταπιεττὲν κε-
λὲν σαλιχλιγιμιζέ. ἴμτι σερίφι ἰλλαχιγὲ μποαλαριμίζ,
ταῖμ καλογγῶζά ἴμτὰτ γιατίμ, βέ μάζαρ ὀλσῶν χι'φζ ἰ-
λαμ' ἐπετί, σιγιμμάκ κερὲμ ὀζρέ.

σατέτω ἀζαμετλῶ ἰζετιμιζῶν ταῖμ
ἔμρι σεριφιμιζτε καλογγῶς

ἀτάλιαλα
σεραφέμ.

Bibliography

Appendix: Serapheim's Karamanlidika and Greek editions

Karamanlidika editions

(1746)

1. *Νέος Θησ[αυρός]*, Venice [NAC:1], Reprints: 1756 [SDI:8], 1795 [SDI:23], 1796 [NAC:2], 1804 [SDI:34].

1753

2. *Ιπιτλά Κελαμί. Τζανὰ Κιφαετλοῦ*, Venice [SDI: 4], Reprints: 1806 [SDI:36], Istanbul 1807 [SDI:41].
3. *Κολάι μιάν νασιχετού*, Venice [SDI: 5], Reprints: 1806 [SDI:37].

1756

4. *Τζοῦμλε Σεενεήμ Κυριακληρινὲ Τζεβὰπ βὲ Νασσατλάρ*, Venice [SDI:6], Reprints: 1795 [SDI:24], 1805 [Add:4].
5. *Χατζῆτ Ναμὲ Κιταπὴ Σουλτὰν Βαλιτουλάχ Παναγία Μεβλουτουλλαχὴν*, Venice [SDI:7], Reprints: 1809 [SDI:42], 1832 [SDI:69].

1758

6. *Κουτλουσερρίφ*, Leipzig [SDI:9], Reprints: 1780 [SDI:14], 1799 [SDI:26].

1767

7. *Ψαλτήριον Δαβίδ πατισσάχ βε παγαμπερίν τεσπιχατλαριλάν περαπέρ*, Venice [Add, 1], Reprints: 1782 [SDI:16], 1810 [SDI:44], Istanbul 1822 [SDI:63].

1776

8. *Νακλιέτ βε πεαντηρ αζηματλου πετεριμης Κλημεντος*, Venice [SDI:13].
9. *Ροῦχ Αφιετλιγῆ. Παχάρι Ζουμπιουλναμέ* [Add:2], Venice, Reprints: 1782 [SDI: 17], 1794 [SDI:22], 1806 [Add:5]. 1782

1782

10. *Αζήμ Πατησάχ Μοναστήρ, Κύκκουνουν. Χεκμετλοῦ βασιτουλλάχ Εἰκόνα τασφηροῦν, χαγνρλή πηνγαροῦν χεκμετναμέ ταριχὴ πεαννηντάτηρ*, Venice [SDI:15], Reprints: 1816 [SDI:52].

1783

11. *Σημαβὴ Παχτζῆ Ττονανμασσή*, Venice [SDI:18], Reprints: 1806 [SDI:35].
12. *Παχαρι Χεγιάτ Γιάνια, Αζιζ Σσεχίτ όλάν, Μάρτυροσλαριν Νακλιετή*, Venice

[SDI:19], Reprints: 1806 [SDI:40].

Greek editions⁴²³

1755

1. Έκθεσις κανόνων ρητορικών ιεροκυρύξι μάλιστα σθμβαλλομένων στο Ἀκολουθία του οσίου και Θεοφόρου πατρός ημών Χριστοδούλου του θαυματουργού, Venice.

1756

2. Ερμηνεία εις το τέταρτον βιβλίον της του Θεοδώρου Γαζή Γραμματικής φιλοπονηθείσα παρά του εν ιεροδιδασκάλοις σοφολογιωτάτου κυρίου Γερασίμου Βυζαντίου της εν Πάμω καθηγητού Σχολής. Νυν πρώτον τύποις εκδοθείσα δε τη επιμελεία του σοφολογιωτάτου διδασκάλου κυρίου Εφραίμ [...] επιστασία δε και επιστασία δε και επιδιορθώσει του λογιωτάτου κυρίου Σεραφείμ Πισσιδείου, Venice, Reprints: 1757.

1758

3. Βιβλίον Καλούμενον Ραντισμού Στηλίτευσης [...] Δι' επιστασίας και επιμελείας του πανοσιολογιωτάτου κυρίου Σεραφείμ του Πισσιδείου, Leipzig.

4. Ευαγγελική Σάλπιγξ εκφωνηθείσα παρά του ποτέ σοφωτάτου ιεροδιδασκάλου κυρίου Μακαρίου, καθηγεμόνος χρηματίσαντος του κατά την νήσον Πάτμον Ελληνομουσείου. Το πρώτον τύποις εκδοθείσα [...] σπουδή δε και επιστασία του Πανοσιολογιωτάτου Κυρίου Σεραφείμ του Πισσιδείου, Leipzig.

5. Θέατρον πολιτικόν, μεταγλωττισθέν εκ της λατινικής εις την ημετέραν απλήν διάλεκτον παρά του υψηλοτάτου και σοφωτάτου αυθέντου της Ουγγροβλαχίας Νικολάου του Μαυροκορδάτου [...] Σπουδή δε, επιμελεία και επιστασία του πανοσιολογιωτάτου κυρίου Σεραφείμ του Πισσιδείου, Leipzig.

1782

6. Η περιγραφή της ιεράς, σεβασμίας και βασιλικής μονής της Υπεραγίας Θεοτόκου, της και μλεγα εχούσης το αιδέσιμον για τον ιστορήσαντα αυτήν Απόστολον Λουκάν τον Ευαγγελιστήν, του Κύκκου επιφημιζομένης κατά την νήσον Κύπρον [...] μετ' επιμελείας και ακριβούς ζητήσεως και διορθώσεως του πανιερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου πρώην Αγκύρας κυρίου Σεραφείμ του Πισσιδείου, Venice, Reprints:

⁴²³ As cited in Kitromilides 2002: 248–249.

1817, 1819.

7. *Σύνταγμα ήτοι χρηστοήθεια [...] Παρά του πανιερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου πρώην Αγκύρας κυρίου Σεραφείμ του Πισσιδίου, εις ωφέλειαν της κοινότητος του Γένους ημών. Δαπάνεσι μεν του παναιδεσίμου καθοδηγουμένου της Ιεράς Μονής του Κύκκου πειφημιζομένης κυρ Μελετίου ιερομόναχου, Venice.*

1783

8. *Εγχειρίδιον καλούμενον Θηκαράς, εν ω εισί γεγραμμένοι ύμνοι τε και ευχαί εις δόξαν της υπερυμνήτουκαι αδιαιρέτου Τριάδος, Πατρός, Υιού και Αγίου Πνεύματος, Venice.*

9. *Πνευματική Κιθάρα, ήτοι λόγοι ψυχοφελείς εις μερικάς τινάς περικοπάς των Κυριακών του θείου Ευαγγελίου, συνετεθέντες και εκφωνηθέντες παρά του πανιερωτάτου Μητροπολίτου πρώην Αγκύρας κυρίου Σεραφείμ του και Πισσιδείου, Venice.*

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Κολάι ιμάν νασιχετού (1753) Venice [SDI: 5].

Τζοῦμλε Σενενήμ Κυριακληρινέ Τζεβὰπ βέ Νασαατλάρ (1756) Venice [SDI:6].

Χατζέτ Ναμέ Κιταπή Σουλτάν Βαλιτουλάχ Παναγία Μεβλουτουλλαχίν (1756) Venice [SDI:7].

Κουτλουσερρίφ (1758) Leipzig [SDI:9].

Νακλιέτ βε Πεαντηρ Αζήματλου Πετεριμης Κλημεντος (1776) Venice [SDI:13].

Ψαλτήριον Δαβίδ πατισσάχ βε παγαμπερίν τεσπιχατλαριλάν περαπέρ (1782) Venice [SDI:16].

Ρούχ Αφιετλιγή. Παχάρι Ζουμπιουλναμέ (1782) Venice [SDI:17].

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Summary

This thesis deals with the first century of Karamanlidika printing and more precisely the Turkophone Christian Orthodox cleric Serapheim Attaliates, one of the most important figures in and a pioneer of Karamanlidika publishing. Through the study of his life and of the language used in Serapheim's books, an effort is made to trace the motives and beliefs that urged him to publish his books, his techniques, and the impact his books had on the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia and on Karamanlidika as a phenomenon.

The major question of this thesis is what Serapheim's works tell us about the form and function of Karamanlidika texts in the Anatolian context, about their connection to the Turkish Anatolian dialects and about the wider historical and cultural context of the Christian Turkophone Orthodox of the region. Serapheim's works reflect a conscious use of everyday speech in the Anatolian Turkish dialect of the south-western region in the eighteenth century, rather than the elaborate Ottoman Turkish language used by the elite.

Chapter one examines the events of Serapheim's life, from Asia minor to Cyprus, from there to Venice and again back to Asia Minor. It discusses the circumstances in which Serapheim arrived in Cyprus and entered the brotherhood of Kykkos monastery, and the fruitful co-operation between Serapheim and the brothers of the Kykkos monastery. This relationship was the start of big print runs of Karamanlidika books and helped the further expansion of the monastery in Asia Minor. The major advantage of this cooperation was that the books could be easily distributed by the network of branches of Kykkos Monastery in Asia Minor. Thus, they reached their intended audiences, providing religious material for the Turkophone Christian Orthodox of Anatolia.

According to his early biographers and taking into consideration the totality of his work, we could say that Serapheim Attaliates, the priest from Antalya in Asia Minor, belonged to the first generation of clerics who in the eighteenth century became translators, editors and writers – a time when all of these jobs were done by clerics. Serapheim's thorough education made him an exception among the illiterate or semi-literate clergy of eighteenth-century Anatolia. This was probably one

of the reasons he was chosen to serve as Metropolitan of Ankara between 1773 and 1779. During the following decade, he continued his publishing activities and also served as a preacher.

As discussed in Chapter one, for most of his life Serapheim travelled around in the triangle Asia Minor–Cyprus–Venice; as a result the analysis reveals linguistic elements from a wide area in addition to his home language from Asia minor. This leads us to the linguistic discussion of the phonetics and phonology of Serapheim's books in Chapter two.

In Chapter two the writing system, the phonetics, and the phonology of the primary sources are discussed. This discussion identifies a number of Turkish dialectal phenomena. Of course, this does not mean that the writing system and the two linguistic levels mentioned point explicitly to dialectal elements, but they help to define the diatopic aspects in the language of the books.

Regarding the writing system, in the case of our corpus, every edition uses the particular types of the respective printer. So far, no significant differences with regard to orthography between the various printers have been identified. We may surmise that perhaps both the author and the printer did not entirely ignore the setting – in the typographical sense – of the Karamanlidika part of the books, but they certainly paid less attention to it than they might do to printing in Greek. The main reason for this was the lack of a standardised writing system, even though the author intended to contribute to setting some rules.

Regarding phonetics and phonology, the language in the works of Serapheim exhibits great similarities with the south-western Turkish dialects. At the same time, Serapheim's texts display similarities and differences both to other Karamanlidika sources and within the Serapheim corpus itself. This suggests that the language of the author, for reasons we cannot be sure of, is changing from one book to the other. This, beyond the need for a more detailed study on Serapheim's works, probably points to various dialectal and cultural influences the author was exposed to during his travels – all of which may have affected his use of language.

Moving on to the third chapter, morphological characteristics (based on a diachronic analysis), the lexicon, and word order (based on translation techniques) are discussed. The findings of the morphology section can be divided into four cat-

egories. First, suffixes that illustrate a transition stage of Ottoman Turkish; second, suffixes that tend to be conservative and retain older forms; third, suffixes in forms that are not attested in other Turkish sources until today, and fourth, Greek words with Turkish suffixes. Concerning the first category, it may be stated that, considering that syllables closer to the stem assimilate to the previous vowel, this reflects an intermediate stage between Middle and New Ottoman.

The second category can be divided into two sub-categories. The first includes suffixes attested in the early editions mainly from 1753 to 1756 in old forms, which can be attributed to previous stages of the language (Old to Middle Ottoman), as they change in books from later years. The second sub-category includes suffixes attested in older forms in the majority of editions and previously described as conservative and used in religious language. Based on the number of findings and their usage, we could argue that their older form was an effort to convey an ecclesiastical tone. This might also be the case for the third category – forms that are not attested elsewhere and cannot be justified by historical reasoning, like the rounded form {DU} in the third person singular, and the rounded form for the accusative {(y)U}. One may hypothesise that the author believed that rounded forms sounded more formal, thus creating forms that had not existed before. The absence of old forms of suffixes in 18th-century sources of non-religious content may indicate that the older forms were no longer in use in everyday language, which makes a hypothesis of a bias towards rounded forms by Serapheim plausible.

The last category of Greek words with Turkish suffixes (as well the *izafet* constructions) falls into the category of religious register, since the majority are found in a religious context. Many of these older forms are also attested elsewhere but are in completely different contexts, in texts of a non-religious nature; as they are 19th-century Karamanlidika they probably imitated the historical writing of the Ottoman language and therefore used archaic forms of suffixes.

In general, we could sum up by saying that Serapheim's books reflect a mixed usage of old and colloquial forms of suffixes. The differences in morphology from one book to another, or even within the same book – with some parts more closely resembling Middle Ottoman and others tending to be more similar to modern forms – and the existence of more than one factor of influence, make it difficult to draw

firm conclusions as to the type of language that Serapheim used. Since the developments of harmonies were nearly completed by the mid-18th century it is difficult to say which of them can be attributed to an older stage of language and which are closely related to the author's beliefs about language, and the genre of the books.

The books that constituted the primary sources of our study, being translated from Greek and being of religious nature, illustrate Greek elements at various levels and use techniques connected to the translation of religious material. By studying these sources, it is possible to reconstruct the vernacular to some extent, which, however, is always very different from the written language. The use of a form of the vernacular was a way to propagate Christian morals and ideas in a period in which, according to the clergy, most lay people were uneducated and therefore "losing track of their faith". Furthermore, it is possible that the "vernacular technique" is inverted when citing prayers or the procedure of rituals, by introducing archaisms, neologisms and terms that would be difficult to use outside the religious environment. This is part of the sociolinguistic discussion in Chapter three, where an effort is made to interpret the cause, strategy and impact of this material.

Although in terms of morphology the language of the books can be characterised as mostly close to/reflecting the spoken vernacular, the use of various older forms of morphemes in certain contexts, along with the vocabulary and the word-to-word translation technique, may have its roots in the beliefs Serapheim had as a cleric about language and the status of Christianity among the Turkophone Orthodox of Anatolia. Since Serapheim believed that his fellow Anatolians had moved away from the ways of their religion and had fallen into a routine of lax practices and limited knowledge of Greek, the question that arises from this thesis is: did he employ certain techniques to educate them in the Christian ways, and also try to formulate a form of liturgical language fitting his (or the clergy's in general) standards and beliefs?

The closing part of this thesis discusses this question. The quotation **τζούνκι ρόμπζα λισανητάν άγναμάςσινιζ** [çünki romca lisanından ađnamassınız], found in one his introductions, is translated as 'because you are ignorant of the Greek language'. Serapheim's basic motivation of providing texts in the language of his

fellow Anatolians was the lack of religious texts in Turkish and the community's meagre knowledge – “ignorance” – of the liturgical texts and practices.

The first Karamanlidika books were written to be recited and listened to. Later on, the same books were used as school books, and therefore whatever elements the books contained, dialectal and/or archaic, were probably becoming more established. The duration and intensity of use in the religious environment and in schooling may have led to elements passing from liturgical language to everyday language. This hypothesis, if true, would apply both to Greek and Turkish forms, since on several occasions liturgical texts were deliberately bilingual. This is very well explained by Serapheim himself in one of his prologues, where he mentions that some parts of the liturgy should be performed bilingually.

This situation was perceived and described by travellers who experienced it – as outsiders in terms of language and maybe faith – as something irregular. They believed that the bilingual liturgy was the outcome of the coexistence of the believers' everyday Turkish language and the language of the religious books, which was Greek. This was due to the use of the Greek alphabet (so the book could have been a Karamanlidika one), or the notion that Christian Orthodox books are written mostly in Greek. To some degree they were correct, but this mixed code was the outcome of a pattern followed in the books, where certain parts of the book had to be in Greek.

When considering 18th-century Turkophone Orthodox Christians and Karamanlidika books we need to keep in mind that we are dealing with a complicated, multi-layered development in a transitional period. Before the invention and spread of printing, variations were tolerated and were somewhat inevitable, but then this situation changed rapidly. During the 18th century the Turkophone Orthodox Christians of Anatolia were an illiterate community that, according to the clergy, needed to be educated. But what was really at stake was people's competence in the correct form of religion, rather than literacy as such. Therefore, although the books were written in the vernacular, some parts of liturgy (those considered more important) were written in Greek or in Turkish, but in archaic forms that would be considered more formal or appropriate. Serapheim incorporated many different linguistic varieties and variants in his books, so when dealing with the religious

vocabulary and the liturgical parts they fit the definition of a formulaic language which to some extent might have functioned as a “sacred language”.

Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift gaat over de eerste eeuw van de Karamanlidika-drukkunst en meer in het bijzonder over de Turkstalige Christelijk-Orthodoxe geestelijke Serapheim Attaliates, één van de belangrijkste figuren en een pionier in de Karamanlidika-uitgeverij. Door bestudering van zijn leven en van de taal van Serapheims boeken wordt getracht de motieven en geloofsovertuigingen te achterhalen die hem ertoe aanzetten zijn boeken en zijn technieken te publiceren, en de impact die zijn boeken hadden op de Turkstalige Orthodoxen van Anatolië en op Karamanlidika als fenomeen.

De grote vraag van dit proefschrift is wat de werken van Serapheim ons vertellen over de vorm en functie van Karamanlidika in de Anatolische context, over hun verbondenheid met de Turkse Anatolische dialecten en over de bredere historische en culturele context van de Christelijke Turkstalige Orthodoxen in de regio. Serapheims werken weerspiegelen een bewust gebruik van het alledaagse spraakgebruik in het Anatolische Turkse dialect van de zuidwestelijke regio in de achttiende eeuw in plaats van de sierlijke Ottomaanse Turkse taal die door de elite wordt gebruikt.

Hoofdstuk één gaat in op de gebeurtenissen van Serapheims leven, van Klein-Azië tot Cyprus, vandaar naar Venetië en weer terug naar Klein-Azië. Het bespreekt de omstandigheden waarin Serapheim op Cyprus is aangekomen, is toegetreten tot de broederschap van het Kykkosklooster en de vruchtbare samenwerking tussen Serapheim en de broeders van het Kykkosklooster. Deze relatie was het begin van grote tirages van Karamanlidika boeken en hielp bij de verdere uitbreiding van het klooster in Klein-Azië. Het grote voordeel van deze samenwerking was dat de boeken gemakkelijk verspreid konden worden door het netwerk van takken van het Kykkosklooster in Klein-Azië. Zo bereikten ze hun beoogde publiek en leverden ze religieus materiaal aan voor de Turkstalige Christelijk-Orthodoxen van Anatolië.

Volgens zijn vroege biografen en rekening houdend met het geheel van zijn werk zouden we kunnen zeggen dat Serapheim Attaliates, de priester uit Antalya in Klein-Azië, behoorde tot de eerste generatie geestelijken die in de achttiende eeuw

vertalers, redacteuren en schrijvers werden - in een tijd waarin al deze werkzaamheden werden verricht door geestelijken. Serapheims grondige opleiding maakte van hem een uitzondering binnen de ongeletterde of semi-geletterde geestelijkheid van het achttiende-eeuwse Anatolië. Dit was waarschijnlijk één van de redenen waarom hij werd gekozen om te dienen als Metropoliet van Ankara 1773-1779. Later zien we dat hij zijn uitgeversactiviteiten voortzette en ook als prediker optrad.

Zoals besproken in hoofdstuk één, reisde Serapheim het grootste deel van zijn leven rond in de driehoek Klein-Azië, Cyprus, Venetië; de analyse onthult daarom taalkundige elementen uit een groot gebied, naast deze van zijn moedertaal uit Klein-Azië. Dit leidt ons tot de taalkundige bespreking van de fonetiek en fonologie van Serapheims boeken in hoofdstuk twee.

In hoofdstuk twee worden het schrijfsysteem, de fonetiek en de fonologie van de primaire bronnen besproken. Deze bespreking identificeert een aantal Turkse dialectische verschijnselen. Dit betekent natuurlijk niet dat het schrijfsysteem en de twee genoemde taalkundige niveaus expliciet verwijzen naar dialectische elementen, maar ze helpen wel om de diatopische aspecten in de taal van de boeken te definiëren.

Wat betreft het schrijfsysteem, in het geval van onze corpus, gebruikt elke editie de specifieke types van de respectievelijke drukker. Tot nu toe zijn er geen significante verschillen met betrekking tot de orthografie tussen de verschillende drukkers vastgesteld. We kunnen veronderstellen dat zowel de auteur als de drukker misschien niet helemaal de zetting, in de typografische zin, van het Karamanlidikagedeelte van de boeken heeft genegeerd, maar er zeker minder aandacht aan heeft besteed dan aan het drukken in het Grieks. De belangrijkste reden hiervoor was het ontbreken van een gestandaardiseerd schrijfsysteem, hoewel we te maken hebben met de inspanningen van de auteur om een aantal regels op te stellen.

Wat de fonetiek en de fonologie betreft, vertoont de taal in het werk van Serapheim grote overeenkomsten met de zuidwestelijke Turkse dialecten. Tegelijkertijd vertonen de teksten van Serapheim overeenkomsten en verschillen met de rest van de onderzochte bronnen en in het corpus zelf. Dit suggereert dat de taal van de auteur, om redenen waar we niet zeker van kunnen zijn, verandert van het ene boek

naar het andere. Dit wijst waarschijnlijk op verschillende dialectische en culturele invloeden waaraan de auteur tijdens zijn reizen werd blootgesteld, en die zijn taal mogelijkwerwijs allemaal hebben beïnvloed, naast de noodzaak van een meer gedetailleerde studie van Serapheims werk.

In het derde hoofdstuk worden de morfologische kenmerken op basis van een diachronische analyse, het lexicon en de woordvolgorde op basis van vertaaltechnieken besproken. De bevindingen van de afdeling morfologie kunnen worden onderverdeeld in vier categorieën. Ten eerste, achtervoegsels die een overgangsfase van het Osmaans-Turks illustreren; ten tweede, achtervoegsels die meestal conservatief zijn en oudere vormen behouden; ten derde, achtervoegsels in vormen die tot op heden niet in andere Turkse bronnen worden bevestigd, en ten vierde, Griekse woorden met Turkse achtervoegsels. Wat de eerste categorie betreft kan worden gesteld dat, gezien het feit dat lettergrepen die dicht bij de stam staan met de vorige klinker assimileren, een tussenstadium tussen het Midden en Nieuwe Ottoman weerspiegelen.

De tweede categorie kan worden onderverdeeld in twee subcategorieën. De eerste omvat de achtervoegsels die in de vroege edities van voornamelijk 1753 tot 1756 in oude vormen werden bevestigd, en die kunnen worden toegeschreven aan eerdere stadia van de taal (Oud tot Midden-Ottomaans), omdat ze in boeken van latere jaren veranderen. De tweede subcategorie omvat achtervoegsels die in de meeste edities in oudere vormen worden bevestigd en eerder als conservatief werden beschreven en in de religieuze taal werden gebruikt. Op basis van het aantal bevindingen en het gebruik ervan kunnen we stellen dat hun oudere vorm een poging was om een kerkelijke toon aan te geven. Dit zou ook het geval kunnen zijn voor de derde categorie, die betrekking heeft op vormen die niet elders zijn bevestigd en die niet kunnen worden gerechtvaardigd door een historische redenering, zoals de afgeronde vorm {DU} in de derde persoon enkelvoud, en de afgeronde vorm voor de accusatief {(y)U}. Men kan veronderstellen dat de auteur geloofde dat afgeronde vormen formatiever klonken, waardoor er vormen ontstonden die voorheen niet bestonden. De afwezigheid van oude vormen van achtervoegsels in achttiende-eeuwse bronnen van niet-religieuze inhoud kan erop wijzen dat de oudere vormen niet langer in de alledaagse taal werden gebruikt, wat

een hypothese van een voorkeur voor afgeronde vormen van Serapheim aan-nemelijk maakt.

De laatste categorie Griekse woorden met Turkse achtervoegsels (evenals de *izafet*-constructies) valt in de categorie van het religieuze register, aangezien de meerderheid in een religieuze context wordt aangetroffen. Veel van deze oudere vormen worden ook elders bevestigd, maar bevinden zich in een geheel andere context, in teksten van niet-religieuze aard; aangezien het negentiende-eeuwse Karamanlidika betreft, imiteren ze waarschijnlijk de historische geschiedschrijving van de Ottomaanse taal en gebruikten ze daarom archaïsche vormen van achtervoegsels.

In het algemeen kunnen we samenvattend zeggen dat Serapheims boeken een gemengd gebruik van oude en alledaagse vormen van achtervoegsels weerspiegelen. De verschillen in morfologie tussen de boeken onderling, of zelfs binnen hetzelfde boek, waarbij sommige delen meer lijken op Midden-Ottomaans en andere meer op moderne vormen, en het bestaan van meer dan één factor van invloed, maken het moeilijk om harde conclusies te trekken over het type taal dat Serapheim gebruikte. Aangezien de ontwikkeling van de harmonieën halverwege de achttiende eeuw bijna voltooid was, is het moeilijk te zeggen welke van deze harmonieën kunnen worden toegeschreven aan een ouder stadium van de taal en welke nauw verwant zijn aan het geloof van de auteur over taal, en het genre van de boeken.

De boeken die de primaire bronnen vormden, die uit het Grieks werden vertaald en van religieuze aard zijn, illustreren Griekse elementen op verschillende niveaus en maken gebruik van technieken die verband houden met de vertaling van religieus materiaal. Door deze bronnen te bestuderen, is het mogelijk om de volkstaal, die echter altijd heel anders is dan de geschreven taal, tot op zekere hoogte te reconstrueren. Het gebruik van een vorm van de volkstaal was een manier om de Christelijke moraal en ideeën te propageren in een periode waarin, volgens de geestelijkheid, de meeste leken ongeschoold waren en dus "hun geloof uit het oog verloren". Bovendien is het mogelijk dat de "vernaculaire techniek" wordt omgekeerd bij het aanhalen van gebeden of de procedure van rituelen, door het introduceren van archaïsme, neologismen en termen die buiten de religieuze omgeving

moeilijk te gebruiken zijn. Dit maakt deel uit van de sociolinguïstische discussie in hoofdstuk drie, waarin getracht wordt de oorzaak, de strategie en de impact van dit materiaal te interpreteren.

Hoewel in termen van morfologie de taal van de boeken kan worden gekarakteriseerd als overwegend gesproken, kan het gebruik van verschillende oudere vormen van morfemen in bepaalde contexten, samen met de woordenschat en de woord-naar-woordvertaaltechniek, zijn wortels hebben in de overtuigingen die Serapheim had als geestelijke over taal en de status van het Christendom onder de Turkstalige Orthodoxen van Anatolië. Aangezien Serapheim geloofde dat zijn mede-Anatoliërs zich hadden afgewend van hun geloofsovertuiging en waren vervallen in een routine van laksheid en beperkte kennis van de Griekse taal, is de vraag die vanuit dit proefschrift rijst: paste hij bepaalde technieken toe om hen op te voeden op Christelijke wijze, en probeerde hij ook een vorm van liturgische taal te formuleren die paste bij zijn (of de geestelijken in het algemeen) normen en overtuigingen?

In het laatste deel van dit proefschrift wordt deze vraag besproken. Het citaat **τζούνκι ρόμτζα λισανηντὰν λισανηντὰν ἀγναμάςσινιζ** [çünkü romca lisanından aḡnamassınız], gevonden in één van zijn inleidingen, is vertaald als 'omdat je de Griekse taal niet kent'. Serapheims basismotivatie om teksten in de taal van zijn mede-Anatoliërs aan te bieden was het gebrek aan religieuze teksten in de Turkse taal en de geringe kennis of onwetendheid van de gemeenschap over de liturgische teksten en praktijken.

De eerste Karamanlidika boeken werden geschreven om voor te lezen en te beluisteren. Later werden dezelfde boeken gebruikt als schoolboeken, en daarom werden de elementen die de boeken bevatten, dialectisch en/of archaïsch, waarschijnlijk meer en meer ingeburgerd. De duur en intensiteit van het gebruik in de religieuze omgeving en in het onderwijs kan ertoe geleid hebben dat elementen van de liturgische taal naar de alledaagse taal werden doorgegeven. Deze hypothese zou, als ze waar is, van toepassing zijn op zowel Griekse als Turkse vormen, aangezien liturgische teksten bij verschillende gelegenheden bewust tweetalig waren. Dit is zeer goed te verklaren door Serapheim zelf in een van zijn prologen,

waarin hij vermeldt dat sommige delen van de liturgie tweetalig zouden moeten worden uitgevoerd.

Deze situatie werd door de reizigers waargenomen en beschreven, die het - als buitenstaanders in termen van taal en misschien geloof - als iets onregelmatigs ervoeren. Zij geloofden dat de tweetalige liturgie het resultaat was van het naast elkaar bestaan van hun dagdagelijkse Turkse taal en de taal van de boeken van hun geloof, het Grieks. Dit was te wijten aan het gebruik van het Griekse alfabet (dus het boek zou een Karamanlidika kunnen zijn), of het idee dat Christelijk-Orthodoxe boeken voornamelijk in het Grieks zijn geschreven. Tot op zekere hoogte waren ze correct, maar deze gemengde code was eerder het resultaat van een patroon dat in de boeken werd gevolgd, waarbij bepaalde delen van het boek in het Grieks moesten zijn.

Als we kijken naar de achttiende-eeuwse Turkstalige Christelijk-Orthodoxe mensen en de Karamanlidika boeken, moeten we er rekening mee houden dat we te maken hebben met een gecompliceerde, veelgelaagde ontwikkeling in een overgangperiode. Vóór de uitvinding en verspreiding van de boekdrukkunst werden variaties getolereerd en waren ze enigszins onvermijdelijk, maar toen veranderde deze situatie snel. In de achttiende eeuw waren de Turkstalige Orthodoxe Christen en van Anatolië een ongeletterde gemeenschap die volgens de geestelijkheid moest worden opgeleid. Maar wat echt op het spel stond was de competentie van de mensen in de juiste vorm van religie, en niet de geletterdheid als zodanig. Daarom is het mogelijk dat, hoewel de boeken in de volkstaal werden geschreven, sommige delen van de liturgie (die als belangrijker werden beschouwd) in het Grieks of in het Turks werden geschreven, maar dan in archaïsche vormen, die als formeler of gepaster zouden worden beschouwd, om dezelfde redenen dat mensen de manier waarop ze praten of schrijven naar gelang de gelegenheid veranderen.

Serapheim lijkt bij het schrijven van zijn boeken veel verschillende taalvariëteiten en -varianten te hebben opgenomen, dus als het gaat om de religieuze woordenschat en de liturgische delen lijken ze in eerste instantie te voldoen aan de definitie van een formuletaal die, als hypothese, aan de sacraliteit kan worden toegeschreven, wat resulteert in een "heilige taal".

Curriculum Vitae

Stylios Irakleous was born in Nicosia on 4 June 1984. He graduated from Archbishop Makarios III Lyceum in 2002. He holds a degree in Turkish Studies from the University of Cyprus (2008) and an MA in Area Studies from Leiden University (2011). He has been working on his dissertation at Leiden University Centre for the Study of Religion since 2012. Currently he works as a Research Associate at the Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies Department at the University of Cyprus.