Following the Traces of Turkish-speaking Christians of Anatolia

Guest Editor

Evangelia BALTA

Türkçe Konuşan Anadolulu Hristiyan Halkın İzlerinde

Hazırlayan
Evangelia BALTA

CİLT I

THE SOURCES OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES
150

Edited by
Cemal Kafadar & Gönül Alpay Tekin
TURKISH SOURCES
CL

Following the Traces of Turkish-speaking Christians of Anatolia

Guest Editor
Evangelia BALTA

VOLUME I

Published at
The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations
Harvard University
2021

Class of 2019

Class of 2017

Class of 2018

Contents - İçindekiler

VOLUME II

The first printed grammar of Turkish in Greek and European *Ars grammatica*

*Matthias Kappler**

Before printing: the first learners and the manuscript tradition

Ottoman Greek grammarianism (i.e. the activity of composing grammars of Ottoman Turkish in Greek), according to our knowledge today, starts with translated and adapted pieces from European grammars: the first known sample of such an adaption is a manuscript conserved in the Megisti Lavra Monastery in Mount Athos. The document is dated 1664, bears a colophon with the name of the scribe, and is actually a translation of Giovanni Molino's *Brevi rudimenti del parlar turchesco*, an appendix to the second edition of his *Dizionario della Lingua Italiana Turchesca*, which had been printed in Rome in 1641.[1] The second case of a Greek-Ottoman grammar, which might have been composed even slightly earlier than *Kanones 1664* since it bears no date, is an incomplete translation of André Du Ryer's *Rudimenta grammatices linguae turcicae*, which had been printed in Paris in 1630.[2] The two works are bound together in the same Athos Codex (no. 1299), but are from different hands, and, in spite of the similar title, are completely different in contents.

The third manuscript grammar of this type, and at the same time the first original work, i.e. not being a translation, is Kanellos Spanos the Peloponnian's *Γραμματική της τουρκικής γλώσσης*, completed, according to the findings by Siakotos,[3] in 1730, and conserved at the National Library of Greece (henceforward *Grammatiki Spanos*). Although, as said before, we are dealing with an original composition, it has been shown[4] that the models of this grammar were again European works: first of all Jean Baptiste Daniel Holdermann's *Grammaire turque*, printed in Istanbul in 1730 (raising doubts about Siakotos' datation for the *Grammatiki Spanos* in the same year), and, indirectly, but at some points also explicitly, Meninski's well-known grammar and dictionary, to which we will come back immediately below.

In fact, the fourth Greek Ottoman grammar manuscript known so far, is an abbreviated translation of the above-mentioned seminal *Grammatica turcica* by Franciscus Mesgnien Meninski (better known

---

* Ca' Foscari University of Venice

[1] See Kappler (1999). The full title of the manuscript is *Σύντομοι κανόνες της των Τούρκων διαλέκτου*, and will be abbreviated henceforward as *Kanones 1664*. Molino's grammar has further been copied in one of the best-known *Transkriptionstexte*, the so-called Illésházy manuscript, dated 1668, where the Turkish words and paradigms have been transcribed according to the Hungarian orthography, cfr. Németh (1970).

[2] The title of this work is *Γραμματική τουρκική, κανόνες*, and will be abbreviated henceforward as *Grammatiki Kanones*. See Kappler (2001) for this work, and also for a comparison with *Kanones 1664*.

[3] Siakotos (2006: 280-281).

[4] Kappler (2014a: 110).

LINGUARUM ORIENTALIUM
TURCICÆ, ARABICÆ, PERSICÆ
INSTITUTIONES
SEU
GRAMMATICA
TURCICA,
IN QUA
Orthographia, etymologia, fyntaxis, profodia, & reliqua eò fpectan-
tia exactè tractantur, exemplifque perfpicuis illuftrantur
&
CUJUS SINGULIS CAPITIBUS
PRÆCEPTA
LINGUARUM ARABICÆ ET PERSICÆ
Subjiciuntur
Accedunt nonnulla adnotatiuncula in Linguam Tartaricam, five
Tataricam, ex qua originem trahere videtur Turcica, & præterea Harmonica Conjugatio
Verbi Turcice-Arabice-Perfici, Latinè, Germanicè, Italicè, Gallicè, & Polonicè explicati, ac
demum ad calcem operis annum & alterum Carmen, ac Narratio quædam tam
Perficè, quàm Turcicè feorfim idiomate à celebribus Authoribus con-
fcripta ad etymologiam exercitationis ergo revocata
adjiciuntur
Omnia ad captum methodumque Noftratium concinnata
Operâ, typis, & fumptibus
FRANCISCI à MESGNIEN MENINSKI
SS. Sep. Equitis Hierofolymitani, Sac. Cæf. Majeft. Confiliarii,
ac linguarum Orientalium Interpretis primarii.

Cum gratia & Privilegio Sacra Cæfarea Majeftatis.

VIENNÆ AUSTRIÆ, M. DC. LXXX.

for being the author of the famous dictionary *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae-Arabicae- Persicae*[5]), printed separately from his dictionary in 1680 in Vienna. Unlike its predecessors, this manuscript explicitly refers to its model bearing Meninski's name even in the title: *Χειραγωγία είτ' ουν γραμματική Φραντζίσκου μεσγνιέν Μενίνσκη [...]* (henceforward *Cheiragogia*). As already mentioned, Meninski's grammar influenced also *Grammatiki Spanos*, both directly and indirectly (via Holdermann), and had a strong impact on Turkish grammarianism in Europe until the twentieth century.[6] *Cheiragogia* has received the terminus post quem 1770 by Fotopoulos (1993), who is the only scholar to have dealt with the work, and it has never been studied from the linguistic point of view, nor has it yet been edited. This grammar, as explained in the prologue (f. 1a), was commissioned by the brothers Michail and Nikolaos Gkikas, sons of the Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia Skarlatos Gkikas, probably in order to provide a handbook for their daily study of Turkish to which they were certainly committed as members of a Phanariote

5 A second enlarged edition of the dictionary, which contains more than 9000 lemmata, was printed in 1780-1802, still in Vienna. The grammar part with dialogues, texts and analyses was reedited separately in 1756 see Stachowski (2000: xxviii). The edition Vienna 1680 has been reprinted in Istanbul 2000 [Türk Dilleri Araştırma Dergisi 30]. To my knowledge, neither the d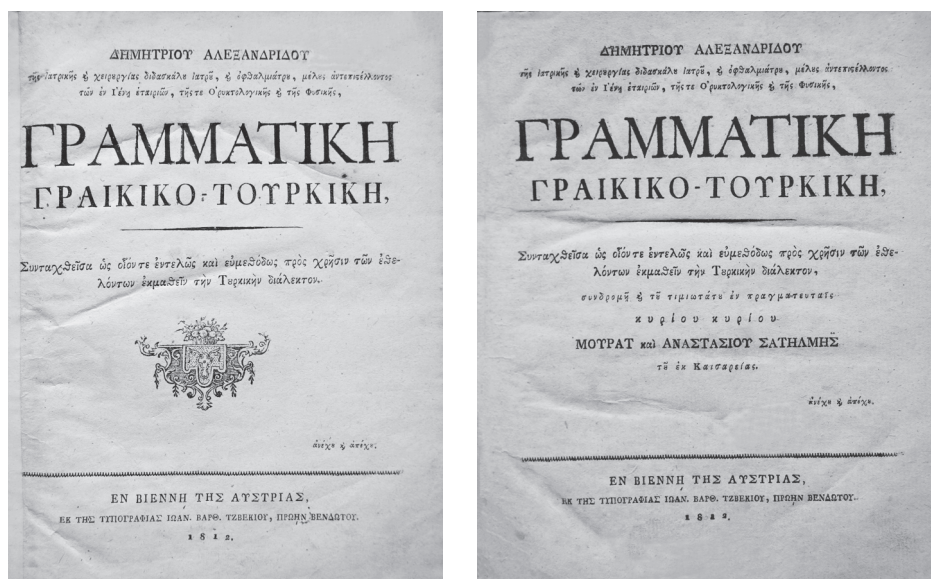ictionary, nor the grammar have ever been studied linguistically, except a short study on the language of the dictionary by Zieme (1966). On the historical background and the person of Meninski see Stachowski (2000).

6 Jean Baptiste Daniel Holdermann's aforementioned *Grammaire turque en méthode courte et facile pour apprendre la langue turque* (Istanbul: Müteferrika, 1730) was only one among many others of his time who copied most of the "rules" from Meninski cf. Kalus (1992: 85), Menz (2002: 296). For the seventeenth century we can mention here M.J. Schiederdecker's *Nucleus institutionum arabicarum enucleatus, variis linguae ornamentis atque praeceptis dialecti Turcicae illustratus* (Lipsia 1695), characterized by Babinger (1919: 118) as a "synthesis of Meninski's grammar". Other examples can be found in later Italian grammars, such as Bernardino Pianzola's *Breve grammatica e dialoghi per imparare le lingue italiana, latina, greco-volgare e turca*, printed in Padua in 1781 see Bellingeri (1984: 671), or Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano's *Primi Principi della Grammatica Turca* (Roma 1794); see examples in Kappler (2016: 214). An interesting Venetian adaption of Meninski's grammar is a private manuscript (thus probably not intended for publication, but serving as personal notes of a language learner) dated 1711, the *Memoria locale di Precetti Grammaticali Turchi* ("Local memory of Turkish grammatical rules"), compiled by Pietr'Antonio Rizzi, a member of the Venetian "language youth" (*giovani di lingua*), see Kappler (2014b). Meninski's grammar is still a reference work even for twentieth-century grammars, e.g. for the well-known *Grammaire de la langue turque (dialecte osmanli)* by Jean Deny (1921).

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΔΟΥ

ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΗ
ΓΡΑΙΚΙΚΟ-ΤΟΥΡΚΙΚΗ,

ΕΝ ΒΙΕΝΝΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΣΤΡΙΑΣ,

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΔΟΥ

ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΗ
ΓΡΑΙΚΙΚΟ-ΤΟΥΡΚΙΚΗ,

ΜΟΥΡΑΤ καὶ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΥ ΣΑΤΗΛΜΗΣ

ΕΝ ΒΙΕΝΝΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΣΤΡΙΑΣ,

family, although Fotopoulos assumes that a printed version was also planned. As translators from Latin to Greek the prologue mentions three names: Christodoulos Vranas from Ioannina, Vasilakis Vyzantios, and Georgios Saoul.[7]

Our knowledge about manuscript grammars stops here, but a few decades after the composition of *Cheiragogia* the first ever printed Greek grammar of Ottoman Turkish, *Γραμματικὴ γραικικο-τουρκική*, composed by Dimitrios Alexandridis (Tarnovo/Thessaly 1785? – Vienna 1851), appears in Vienna in 1812. The work inaugurates the printed Turkish grammar activity in Greek, which becomes extremely productive throughout the nineteenth century.[8] It does not refer explicitly to a model, but, as will be shown in the present contribution, it faithfully follows Meninski's grammar. The fact that both grammars, Meninski's and Alexandridis', were printed in Vienna, though with a difference of 132 years, could be considered as an additional factor of relatedness.

It seems quite obvious that the nineteenth century Ottoman Greek grammars basically refer to the Greco-Latin description model, complying with the norm in all European grammars (for all extraeuropean languages, not only for Turkish) from the sixteenth century and afterwards, which implies that the

---

[7] See Fotopoulos (1993), in particular p. 63 (for the prologue), p. 67 (for the planned printed version), and pp. 67-69 (for more detailed information on Georgios Saoul).

[8] See Kappler (2007) for an overview. Tabaki (1984: 319) mentions that there have been attempts for grammar manuscripts before 1812, referring to Gheorghe Cronţ, "L'Académie de Saint-Sava de Bucarest au XVIIIe siècle. Le contenu de l'enseignement", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 4 (1966): 460. Since I did not have access to Cronţ's article I cannot verify if the reference concerns concrete titles, and if those titles are the ones presented here, or other works. Tabaki (ibidem) also remarks that Alexandridis' grammar was copied in manuscript form during the nineteenth century which testifies its distribution and use.

metalanguage determines the descriptive model.[9] Although this is true for a number of phenomena, it has been observed[10] that several parts of the language description in Ottoman Greek grammars can be traced back to the influence of the Arabic grammar tradition, underlining the "mediator" position of Ottoman Greeks who, from the Phanariote period onwards, offered themselves, and were used as combining actors between the Ottoman power and the Orthodox *millet*. Alexandridis himself was a prototype of a Phanariote intellectual. As shown by Tabaki and stated by the author himself in an announcement of his book (in his own journal *Ελληνικός Τηλέγραφος* 5/1812), Alexandridis wrote his grammar in order to give the chance to Orthodox Christians to access high positions in the Ottoman state, and to facilitate exchanges through the knowledge of the "ruling language".[11] His grammar, though, presents less features from the Arabic tradition, and is not only clearly based on the Greco-Latin grammar model, but can be even considered as a (partial) translation from the aforementioned influential *Grammatica turcica* by Meninski. Of course, like almost all his colleagues in those times, Alexandridis does not refer explicitly to his sources, so there might also be other unspoken models concealed in the text to be discovered, one of them we will unveil in this contribution.

Thus the present study is not a complete presentation of Alexandridis' grammar, let alone an edition of the book, but it tries to disentangle the complicated web of relations, implicit references and sources through the analysis of selected examples on all the described language levels (graphematics and phonetics, (morpho)-phonology, morphology and syntax), as an attempt to provide a further understanding of Alexandridis' grammar against the backdrop of its intercultural connections, and within the context of European and Greek grammarianism.[12] In other words, the methodological approach is that of a linguist, but the results might be interesting for historians and scholars of cultural studies, too.

Getting started: the graphic representation of sounds and the issue of the 'three languages'

The entire information about phonetics and sounds is contained in the chapter about writing and orthography at the beginning of every traditional grammar book. The reason is that the concept of "letters" (ḥurûf / γράμματα) in both Arabic and Greco-Latin language description models stands for the modern concept of phonemes and sounds. "Letters" are intended as both graphic and phonetic symbols; there is

---

[9] Stockhammer (2014: 320-321).
[10] Kappler (2007).
[11] Tabaki (1984: 318).
[12] Given the framework of the present volume, it should be stressed that the book is included in the new *Karamanlidika* bibliography, see Salaville – Dalleggio – Balta (2018: 214-216), because of its vast material of Turkish words in Greek alphabet, and constitutes thus a part of the Karamanlidika corpus, although it does not address a Turkophone readership as the "classical" Karamanlidika products (cf. Evangelia Balta's definition of a Karamanli book as "any printing containing a Turkish text in Greek characters"; Balta (1987: xvi). Cf. also Pinelopi Stathi's list of grammars and dictionaries in the Karamanlidika bibliography (Stathi 1994).

no distinction between the two, similarly to all pre-structuralist grammar descriptions in East and West.[13]

According to this principle, the title of the first part (Μέρος Α᾽) is "orthography" (Περί ορθογραφίας), with the first chapter (Κεφάλαιον Α᾽) being "Περί γραμμάτων και της προφοράς αυτών" (About letters and their pronunciation; Alexandridis 1812: 1-11), which shows the equivalence of letter (γράμμα) and sound ("pronunciation", προφορά). The titles and terminology follow Meninski's headlines (Pars prima: De orthographia / Caput primum: De literis). The twenty pages of Meninski's "Pars prima" in seven chapters are abbreviated by Alexandridis into 11 pages and four chapters, omitting extensive paradigm and scripture tables, as well as many of Meninski's rules for pronunciation. The first paragraph basically provides the information that "the Turks adopted from the Arabs not only the Islamic religion but also the alphabet", and that "as commonly most Eastern nations do, they read from the right to the left" resulting in the fact "that their books begin where ours have their end". A comparison between Meninski's original text and Alexandridis' adaptation might be useful to understand the (somewhat freely translated) equivalence:[14]
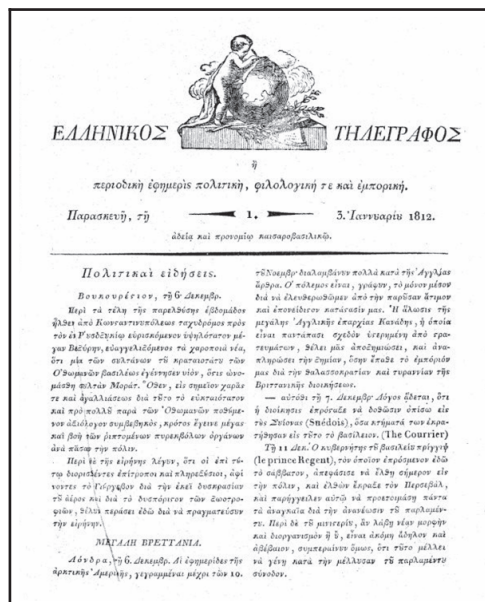
> Sciendum in primis Turcas Persasque ex quo Mahometismus invaluit ab Arabibus, ut religionem, ita etiam literas sumpsisse, cosdemque nexus ac ductus characterum usurpare, adeoque (quod plerisque Orientalibus commune est) à dextra ad sinistram versus legere, ita ut necessario initium librorum sit ubi nostrorum finis esset. (Men 1)

> Οι Τούρκοι παρέλαβον την θρησκείαν και τα γράμματα παρά των Αράβων, δι᾽ ο και γράφουσι και αναγινώσκουσι, κατά την συνήθειαν των περισσοτέρων ανατολικών εθνών, από δεξιάς επ᾽ αριστεράν, εις τρόπου, ώστε τα βιβλία αυτών αρχίζουν, όπου τα εδικά μας έχουν το τέλος. (Alex 1)

It is interesting to remark that the passage immediately following this introductory sentence is not adopted by Alexandridis at this stage, but it is summarized (not "translated") in his epilogue, i.e. at the end of his grammar:

---

[13]   See in history of general linguistics: Mounin (1967: 107ff, 120). Cfr. the tripartition of "γράμμα" by the Stoics (Diogenes Laertius) and the principle of γράμμα and στοιχείον in the sixth section of *Technê Grammatikê* in Robins (1993: 54); for Arabic linguistics, where ḥurûf can also denote morphological items ("particles"), see Dichy (1990), and Owens (1990: 245).

[14]   Henceforward Meninski (1680) and Alexandridis (1812) are abbreviated as Men and Alex respectively.

Sciendum secundo, Turcas non tantum ad supplendos defectus suae origine alias & usu barbarae linguae, sed etiam ad elegantiam sermonis, qui modo cultissimus dici potest, uti passim tam in loquendo, quam praecipue in scribendo vocibus, phrasibus sententiisque linguae Arabicae origine, usu, majestate, & verborum copia nobilissimae ac antiquissimae, simul & Persicae nulli forte alii suavitate ac elegantia secundae, ita ut qui has duas ignorarit, Turcicam rite callere nunquam possit, ideoque singulis capitibus hujus Grammaticae Turcicae subjungi observationes ac praexeptiones utriusque linguae Arabicae & Persicae. (Men 1)

Η Τουρκική διάλεκτος είναι πτωχοτάτη, δι' ο και δανείζεται από την Αραβικήν και Περσικήν όχι μόνον όσα δεν έχει, αλλά και πολλά, τα οποία έχει, προς καλλωπισμόν της γλώσσης. (Alex 117)

The basic difference is that Meninski uses the argument of the Arabo-Persian contribution to the "defective and barbarian" Turkish language in terms of *elegantia* and *suavitas* in order to justify his method of writing his work in a threefold way, expounding not only Turkish, but also Arabic and Persian grammatical rules. On the other hand, Alexandridis, after the above-quoted sentence about "embellishment" of Turkish thanks to Arabic and Persian, only makes a few remarks in his epilogue about some selected features of Arabic and Persian nouns and infinitives, and at the same time he spares most of the rules given by Meninski for the two languages throughout the whole book.

Meninski's approach of a "grammar of three languages" (and also his language attitude in aesthetical terms, such as "elegance" and "sweetness") can be seen as an anticipation of the idea of Ottoman as *elsine-i selâse*, a construct of "three languages", which later on, during the nineteenth century, will be combined with the ideology of Ottomanism.[15] This ideology is also reflected in many Greek Ottoman grammars of the later nineteenth century, such as Ioannis Chloros' work, the most widely used Greek grammar of Turkish until the beginning of the twentieth century.[16] Concerning Meninski, the idea that a grammar of Turkish has to be seen in the context of three languages results clearly from the title of the whole work (*Linguarium Orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae Institutiones seu Grammatica Turcica [...] cujus singulis capitibus praecepta linguarum arabicae et persicae subjiciuntur*), and is evident throughout the book.[17] Alexandridis, probably for the sake of simplicity, chooses not to overload his grammar book with too many Arabic and Persian rules, which is one of the reasons for its relative brevity, and therefore completely skips this part of Meninski's work. In that, Alexandridis was not the first one to question critically the learning of Ottoman as an effort to learn three languages: by the end of the eighteenth century the Armenian Cosimo Comidas de Carbognano (alias Kömürciyan) had already made

---

[15] More specifically Helleno-Ottomanism, concerning Ottoman Greeks; cf. Anagnostopoulou − Kappler (2005-2006: 47-61).

[16] See for this topic Kappler (2007: 87).

[17] Cf. for instance, the first sentence in the "foreword to the reader" (p. [iii]): "Trium simul Linguarum Institutiones Grammaticae tibi exhibeo, amice Lector".

an attempt to simplify Meninski's rules in order to address the practical needs of learners. So, he wrote in his *Primi Principi della Grammatica Turca* (Roma, 1794; p. 7) about the non-accommodating aspect of Meninski's grammatical approach:

> […] la celebre Gramatica del Meninski per essere molto diffusa non era accomodata all'abilità d'ognuno, e per intenderla si richiedeva una intiera cognizione della Lingua Araba, e Persiana.

Another aspect of the "three language approach" can be detected in the description of sounds, where we find an interesting difference between Alexandridis and his model: Meninski correctly considers all Arabic graphemes as consonant signs, with the exception of *elif*, *vav*, and *ye*, which might "often have the sound of vowels", especially at the end of a syllable:

> Sunt quidem, ut apud Hebraeos, ita apud Arabes & Turcas literae omnes consonantes, sed ي و ا *elif*, *waw*, *je* habent etiam saepe sonum vocalium in fine syllabae [...]. (Men 3)

Alexandridis, instead, considers *'ayn* and *elif* as vowels; all the other letters are called consonants, adding that *vav* and *ye* (plus *he*) can serve as both vowels and consonants:

> Όλα τα γράμματα των Τούρκων (πλην των μόνων φωνηέντων ا ελὶφ και ع ἄϊν, και των γραμμάτων ه χ, και و , ঌάঌ και ي γ, τα οποία πότε μεν είναι σύμφωνα, πότε δε φωνήεντα), είναι σύμφωνα. (Alex 3)

This apparently only slight difference concerning the Arabic pharingeal fricative *'ayn*, can be interpreted, in a deeper analysis, as a sign of a fundamental difference in the methodological approach of the two books due to the different historical contexts and cultural backgrounds of their authors: Meninski was a philologist and scientist with academic education in mathematics, physics and Oriental languages, including Arabic and Hebrew, while Alexandridis was a *iatrophilosophos* and journalist with widespread interests in history, geography, and politics.[18] Meninski, as an outstanding academician and orientalist of the seventeenth century, and thanks to his knowledge of Semitic languages (having used the –by that time well-known – *Grammatica Arabica* by Thomas Erpenius, Leiden 1613, to which he refers explicitly,[19] and knowing very probably also the *Grammatica Ebraea Generalis*, Leiden 1627, by

---

[18] Including, however, linguistic studies, too: in his journal *Ελληνικός Τηλέγραφος* he dedicated many pages to announce new linguistic publications, like dictionaries, for Oriental languages, such as Arabic, and even Chinese, and encouraged comparative linguistic studies see Tabaki (1984: 329-330), Kehayioglou (1989: 69). For Meninski and his life see Stachowski (2000: xxiii).

[19] See p. [iv] in the foreword: "[...] ex Grammatica Arabica aliquid praelegendum suaderem, in quo maxime Thomae Erpenii Consilium ejusdem Grammaticae Arabicae praefixum ut sequeretur autor essem." Throughout the grammar, Meninski refers constantly to Erpenius. Moreover, he refers extensively to Matthias Wasmuth's *Grammatica Arabica* (Amsterdam 1654), and to Filippo Guadagnoli's *Institutiones Grammaticae Arabicae* (Rome 1642). Another source used by Meninski is Francesco Maria Maggio's *Syntagmaton linguarum orientalium*, which in his second volume includes a description of the Arabic alphabet and a grammar of Turkish

Franciscus Mesgnien Meninski

the same author), was certainly aware of the consonantal value of *'ayn* (and *hamze / elif*) in Arabic and Hebrew, while Alexandridis assumes that the Arabic letter, which is not pronounced in Turkish, stands for a vowel, taking thus the actual pronunciation as a starting point, without considering the etymological and philological dimension. On the other hand, Alexandridis did know Arabic, after all he had translated, and published in 1807, a whole work from Arabic into Greek, namely Abû-l-Fidâ's *Geography*.[20] But we could say, in modern terms, that Alexandridis' approach is more "synchronical" than Meninski's, and certainly more "practical".[21] Furthermore, as we see in the quote above, Meninski evokes Hebrew, as well. Actually, throughout his grammar he relates to Hebrew more than once,[22] while Alexandridis does not. This is because of Meninski's humanistic approach to *Ars grammatica* in the seventeenth century, as many intellectuals, often (but not only) by religious education, had knowledge of Hebrew –something we obviously cannot assume for the Greek Ottoman society in the early nineteenth century– and the general focus on Hebrew in all kinds of linguistic considerations.[23]

 Meninski proceeds with explaining the pronunciation in two steps: first he starts from the Latin alphabet, and then from the Arabic graphemes, providing for each graphic sign an explanation how it should be pronounced in Turkish, adding Turkish examples, as well as comparisons with European languages, – mainly French, Italian, German, and, of course, Polish, which was his second, and probably principally used language.[24] Alexandridis follows him in this "duplex" method, but he abbreviates substantially the

---

(*Liber secundus complectens arabum et turcarum orthographiam ac turcicae linguae institutiones*; Rome 1643), for instance in the part of the phonetic explanation of *'ayn* (p. 6), but also at many other points (e.g. p. 18).

[20]   His translation, though, was praised but also heavily criticized by the Arabist Silvestre de Sacy; see Tabaki (1984: 333ff.); cf. on this issue also Tabaki (1993).

[21]   The other source which was used, as we will discover in the following chapter, by Alexandridis, i.e. Viguier 1790, considers "ayin" as "demi ton ascendant" (Viguier 1790: 4), i.e. as a prosodic phenomenon. Actually, on p. 46-47 Viguier describes the sound in terms of "notes" (e.g. " 'Osman [...] se prononce comme s'il étoit écrit O-'osmann, sur les notes MI, FA, MI"), and he compares *'ayn* to a sigh ("par forme de soupir"). It seems, thus, that Alexandridis follows his own approach; however, there is one point in Viguier which could have influenced Alexandridis in considering *'ayn* as a vowel: "L'Ayin à la suite d'une Consonne finale, fait entendre le demi son d'une Voyelle harmonique non-écrite, en relation avec celui de la Voyelle écrite antérieure" see Viguier (1790: 54).

[22]   See also the appendix to the *First Part* of the book "De correspondentia literarum Arabico-Turcicarum cum Syriacis, & Hebraicis", p. 20, where the alphabets and some samples are given comparatively for the Arabic, the Syriac and the Hebrew scripts.

[23]   Cf. the interesting analysis by Umberto Eco in the first two chapters of his book about the "search for a perfect language" see Eco (1993).

[24]   It should be recalled here that Meninski, though being born French (in Lorraine) spent most of his life in Poland, travelling several times to Turkey and to Vienna, see Stachowski (2000).

first part giving only a selection of Latin characters. Here, Alexandridis makes again a very practical choice: he provides explanation only for those sounds (or graphemes) which do not exist in the phonology of Greek (or in its graphic system), namely b <μπ>, d <ντ>, c[25] <δζ>, y <ι̯>, ş <ö>, ö<ö>, ü <ȣ̈>, ı <η>. Particularly the last sound (the high unrounded velar ı) is of interest, noted with <y> (borrowed from Polish orthography) by Meninski, who adds a detailed phonetic description and refers to Polish, whereas Alexandridis, who generally skips Meninski's references to Polish, since his target readership is not likely to know that language, relates to the Romanian î, adding thus a language much closer to his Phanariote readers, and cutting short the long Meninskian explanation:

> Litera *y* utor ad exprimendum vocalem ˛ ante & post consonantes duras supra designatas, estque medio quodam sono efferendum inter *e*, & *i*, quod facile siet, si volens proferre *i* non applices linguam dentibus inferioribus, sed eam potius retrahas, & sine compressione oris proferas, & paulo quidem vehementiorem emittendo spiritum, quam Poloni faciant in prolatione sui *y* proxime ad hoc Turcicum accedentis. (Men 5)

> η. Τούτο το φωνήεν προφέρεται απαραλλάκτως ως παρά Βλάχαις το η εἰς τας λέξεις πούηνε άρτος, ηιβέτζου μανθάνω, ήντρου μέσα κτ., π.χ. [...][26] αλτήν χρυσάφι. (Alex 4)

This is thus a good example how Alexandridis tries to simplify Meninski's laborious descriptions by relying on the cultural background of his target readership. In order to get an overview over the transcription system adopted by Alexandridis, as opposed to Meninski, see the following tables:

Table 1: Consonants

IPA	Alex 4-6	Men 3-4	Arabic grapheme(s) used in both works
p	π	p	پ
b	μπ	b	ب
t	τ	t	ت
t	ττ, ντ	t, d	ط
d	ντ	d	ض, د
k	κ	k	ق
c	κ	kⁱ	ك
g	γγ	g	ك
ɟ	γγ	gⁱ	ك

---

25 Transcription is given here in the modern Turkish orthography, i.e. c would correspond to IPA ʤ, y to j, ş to ʃ, and ı to ɨ.

26 *altın* in Arabic script.

IPA	Alex 4-6	Men 3-4	Arabic grapheme(s) used in both works
f	φ	f	ف
v	β	w	و
s	σ	s	س, ص, ث
s	σσ	s	ص
z	ζ	z	ز, ذ, ض, ظ
ʃ	ö	ś	ش
ʒ	ζ	j with three dots	ژ
ʧ	τσ	ć	چ
ʤ	τζ	ğ	ج
h	χ	h	ه, ح
x	χ	ch	خ
ɣ	γ	gh	غ
m	μ	m	م
n	ν	n	ن
ŋ	ν, γγ, ι	n-, ng	ڭ
r	ρ	r	ر
l	λ	l	ل
j	γ, γι, ï, ι	j	ي

Table 2: Vowels*

	Alexandridis	Meninski
a : e	α : ε	a, ā : e
ı : i	η : ι	y : i, ī
o : ö	o : ö	o : ö
u : ü	ȣ : ŏ	u, ū : ü

* First column noted according to modern Turkish orthography

As can be seen from Table 2, Alexandridis does not distinguish between short and long vowels, while Meninski does for some of them, especially for /a/, explaining that Turks usually do not pronounce long vowels, while Arabs do (giving an Austrian German example for a short [a] "[...] ut a Germanicum, seu Austriacum in dictione, v.g. Vatter[27] / Pater"; p. 3).

---

[27] Whereas Standard German *Vater* would have a long [a:]. In a later chapter Meninski comes back to vowel lengthening by Arabs and Persians, "non tantum in carmine, sed etiam in prosa" (p. 20).

Although Alexandridis generally follows Meninski and systematically cuts passages about Arabic, there are some albeit small but significant additions, too. From the phonetic point of view, he remarks on the assimilation nl > nn providing the example *onlar > onlar* (οννάρ αντί ονλάρ, p. 5). This is interesting not only because of it being a rare instance of addition in respect of Meninski (see for other instances our chapter about syntax below), but also because it points to Alexandridis' informator who in this case might be a dialect speaker, since the assimilation nl > nn is present in many Balkan Turkish, as well as in South-West Anatolian dialects, and it is attested in eighteenth-century texts,[28] although it is also known in modern colloquial standard Turkish.[29] Furthermore, the observation, similarly to the abovementioned description of *'ayn*, accounts for Alexandridis' particular attention to spoken Turkish and the more practical aim of his book, as opposed to Meninski's "philologically scientific" approach, – not to speak of the time difference of nearly 150 years by the diachronic development of Turkish reflected in Alexandridis' transcription.

The entangled practice of plagiarism: morphonology and morphology

One of the major differences between Alexandridis and his model consists in the treatment of morphonological vowel assimilation. Meninski does not systematically include a separate description of vowel assimilation in stems or suffixes, while Alexandridis has a whole section (pp. 10-11) within his fourth chapter "Some orthographical observations". Here, he speaks about "harmonic relation" (αρμονική σχέσις), once he also talks about "harmony of vowels" (αρμονία των φωνηέντων, p. 11), a term which is still used today in many traditional grammars. The division into labial and palatal harmony is termed "first harmonic relation as two to one" (Α' αρμονική σχέσις ανά δύο προς εν), i.e. labial harmony, and "second harmonic relation as four to one" (Β' αρμονική σχέσις ανά τέσσαρα προς έν), i.e. palatal-velar harmony. He gives a scheme and goes on stating that "[...] some of the suffixes have only the first relation [...]. Other suffixes have only the second relation [...]. However which suffixes adopt the first relation and which the second, we will annote at the relevant place." (p. 10; for the Greek text see below). These two "harmonic relations" are thus considered the base of all the declension, conjugation and other paradigms throughout the whole grammar.

At first blush, the harmony rules appear to be an innovative contribution by Alexandridis, since neither Meninski nor the latter's direct followers (Holdermann for the European tradition and *Grammatiki Spanos* for the Ottoman Greek production) apply such rules, providing instead complicated paradigms for each morphology chapter. On the other hand, Ottoman Greek grammarians *after* Alexandridis do apply such rules, calling them also "harmony" and using virtually the same formulation and examples. More precisely, the same vowel harmony rules can be found in Adosidis (1850), Konstantinidis (1874) and Fotiadis (1897), but also other grammarians of the nineteenth century follow similar schemes. All of them use the above-mentioned terminology ("first harmonic relation as two to one", and "second

---

28   For detailed references on Balkan Turkish see Németh (1965: 70); Kalay (1998: 48-49); Petrou (2019: 255-256); On South-West Anatolian dialects see Korkmaz (1994: 74); On eighteenth-century texts see Hazai (1973: 353).
29   See Göksel – Kerslake (2005: 9): "/l/ generally gets assimilated with a preceding /n/ in fast speech".

harmonic relation as four to one"), and illustrate the rules with almost the same tables. Adosidis (henceforward Ado) proceeds very similarly to Alexandridis with the description of the harmony rules; in order to see clearly the parallel structure in the two grammars, look at the following passage (the first one being Alexandridis' "original" formulation quoted above in English translation):

> Σημείωσαι λοιπόν, ότι μερικαί καταλήξεις έχουσι μόνον την Α' σχέσιν [...]. Άλλαι δε καταλήξεις έχουσι μόνον την Β' σχέσιν, [...].Ποίαι όμως καταλήξεις δέχονται την Α' σχέσιν, και ποίαι την Β', θέλομεν σημειώσει εν οικείω τόπω. (Alex 10)

> Εκ των καταλήξεων λοιπόν [...] τινές μεν υπόκεινται εις την ά. σχέσιν, [...] Άλλαι δε καταλήξεις ... υπόκεινται εις την β. σχέσιν, [...] Ποίαι όμως καταλήξεις ... υπόκεινται εις την ά. σχέσιν, και ποίαι την β., μέλλομεν σημειοῦν εν οικείω εκάστης τούτων τόπω. (Ado 30)

The grammarians Konstantinidis and Fotiadis apply the same terminology for the two types of harmony, but employ different formulation for their description.[30] After the tables, Adosidis uses almost the same wording as Alexandridis when stating that these rules constitute the "key" of the knowledge of Turkish grammar and advising the reader to "memorize well what has been said":

> Αύτη η αρμονική σχέσις είναι η κυρία βάσις και κλείς των Τουρκικών κλίσεων και του σχηματισμού των ρημάτων, και διαφόρων παραγώγων λέξεων, δι' ό και ας εντυπώση καλώς εις την μνήμην του ο αναγνώστης όσα εσημειώσαμεν ενταύθα. (Alex 10)

> Η περί αρμονίας των γραμμάτων εκτεθείσα θεωρία είναι η κλεις της προφοράς των οθωμανικών λέξεων, εφ' ω και ο αναγνώστης οφείλει να εντυπώση καλώς εις την μνήμην του όσα ερρέθησαν ανωτέρω. (Ado 32)

The nearly identical wording in the two grammars suggests that Adosidis had in mind Alexandridis' work when composing his own, and that he obviously knew it (although he never mentions it[31]). But how about Alexandridis: was he the first one to use the term "harmony"? Certainly not, and a deeper analysis along with a comparison with the European grammar tradition shows another not yet identified source (which, as his first source Meninski, obviously is never mentioned by Alexandridis): Pierre-François Viguier's *Elemens de la langue turque* (Constantinople 1790, henceforward Vi), which had been a model for many subsequent grammars in the nineteenth century. Viguier includes his remarks about "harmonic relations" (hence the terminology in Alexandridis) in his section about morphology,

---

[30] See Konstantinidis 1874: 9-10, and Fotiadis 1897: 33, respectively.

[31] Neither does Adosidis mention his principal model, namely James Redhouse's *Grammaire raisonnée de la langue ottomane* (Paris 1846), cf. also Fotiadis (1897: iii) who states that Adosidis' model was Redhouse, except for the chapter about syntax (Redhouse 1846: 244-276), which is lacking in Adosidis. At various points Adosidis' book is a mere translation of Redhouse, who was a model also for many other Ottoman Greek grammars throughout the century.

firstly in his table VI "Rapport harmonique de la Voyelle finale du Nominatif, avec celle des Cas Obliques" (p. 8), and in table VIII "Rapport harmonique de la Voyelle finale de l'Infinitif & de l'Impératif, avec celle des autres Tem[p]s" (p. 15), where he gives exactly the same schemes as Alexandridis and Adosidis provide, and then in his "Développement des tables", which is the actual descriptive part of his grammar. His terminology is the same as we have seen in the printed Ottoman Greek grammars:

> La combinaison harmonique des Voyelles peut avoir lieu dans le rapport de quatre à une, ou dans celui de deux à une. (Vi 47)

A little further down he goes on considering the harmonic relations again as a "key" for the Turkish language:

> Ainsi les voyelles peuvent se prendre de quatre à quatre, ou de deux à deux: & cette réciprocité devient la principale clef de la langue Turque usuelle, soit dans les Déclinaisons, soit dans les Conjugaisons; en établissant ces deux Règles fondamentales, que l'on développera graduellement. (Vi 48)

The formulation is thus exactly as Alexandridis', and partly that of Adosidis, who, in turn, copied from Alexandridis. The difference between the two Greek grammars is also illuminating: while Alexandridis considers harmony the "base and key for the Turkish declensions, and the formation of the verbs and of various derived words", and in this literally follows Viguier, Adosidis refers to a "key for the pronunciation of the Ottoman words". The difference is so significant because, within the context of a morphonological phenomenon such as vowel harmony, Alexandridis and Viguier refer to morphology (although the passage is to be found in the chapters about sounds and alphabet), while Adosidis refers to a phonological (or, speaking about "pronunciation", even phonetical) framework.

Summing up the "harmony issue", it becomes evident that in this point Alexandridis was not following his elsewhere faithfully copied model Meninski, but drew on another source, while he was then copied by his successors in the Ottoman Greek society. These nineteenth-century Greek grammarians had in turn also other European models, such as Redhouse's grammar, and at the same time, given their mediators' role, they relied entirely, exactly like Redhouse did, on the Arabic *hareke*-system when it comes to the application of suffixes.[32] Such an excrescent plagiarism was certainly neither infrequent nor reprehensible in the nineteenth century, yet the unveiling of these complicated relationships is precious not only for the linguistic but also for the cultural analysis. However, since they are unspoken by nature, they are hard to detect.

Word classes and "gaps": more about morphology

An important criterion for the determination of the cultural background of a grammar book is the division into word classes, because it concerns the general structure of a work and implies reference to a certain cultural model. The way a book is structured tells us a lot about the network and the educational

---

[32]   See for this issue Kappler (2007: 90-91).

background of the authors. Are the books written acccording to the Arabic grammar theory of word classes, or rather following the Greco-Latin tradition? Which are the written sources of the authors concerning the structuring, where did they get their information from? It has been shown[33] that the Ottoman Greek grammar books of the nineteenth century use a blended system: the eight word classes of the Greco-Latin system (noun, verb, article, pronoun, participle, adverb, preposition, conjunction) are combined with the three word classes of the Arabo-Ottoman system (noun, verb, particle / *ism*, *fi'l*, *ḥarf/ḥurûf*).[34] On the other hand, Ottoman Turkish grammarians of the nineteenth century tend to alter the traditional Arabic tripartite division into a classification of five classes, e.g. the *Qavâ'id-i 'Oṣmâniyye* by Cevdet Paşa enounces five word classes: noun (*ism*), adjective (*ṣıfat*), verb (*fi'l*), pronoun (*żamîr*) and particles (*edavât*).[35]

This approach is followed by most of the Ottoman Greek grammarians. Not all the grammars specify what they intend by "word class" (which they often translate from the Greek-Alexandrian term μέρη του λόγου, "parts of speech", as εδδζᾶϊ κελάμ / *eczâ'-i kelâm*). However most of them follow implicitly the Greco-Latin system, mixing it in an interesting way with the Arabic system.[36] Coming back to Alexandridis, he divides the material into nouns (in the part about morphology and word formation, Μέρος Β' – Περί Ετυμολογίας[37]), pronouns (Μέρος Γ' – Περί Αντωνυμίας), verbs (Μέρος Δ' – Περί Ρήματος), and particles (Μέρος Ε' – Περί Μορίων). The "article" (or rather the non-existence of such; see below) is treated within the part about the "noun"; the "participle" is treated along with the "verb"; "preposition", "adverb" and "conjunction" are treated with the "particles". This means that the basic division follows the Arabic tradition (*ism, fi'l, ḥarf* or *edât*), with the addition of "pronoun", whereas the eight Western classes are all contained in the respective subdivisions. As can be expected, this division follows exactly Meninski's treatment ("Pars secunda: De nomine ejusque accidentibus; Pars tertia: De pronomine; Pars quarta: De verbo; Pars quinta: De reliquis partibus orationis", including adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections). The difference between the two books is that Meninski

---

[33] See Kappler (2007).

[34] For the foundation of this system in the *Technê Grammatikê* see Robins (1993: 57-61); for the preceding tradition in Aristarch see Matthaios (1999); for the Arabic system see Owens (1988: 28-30).

[35] Aḥmed Cevdet Paşa's widely used grammar book first appeared under the title *Medḫal-i Qavâ'id* in 1851 (1267). For this study the second edition with the better known title *Qavâ'id-i 'Oṣmâniyye* (1885-86 [1304]) was used. For the word classes see in that edition p. 13. In their comparative overview of word classes in Balkan languages, Kahl – Metzeltin (2012: 90-92, 99-100) also include Turkish, though disregarding the "local" grammar production (Cevdet Paşa, but also the Ottoman Greeks), and collocating the beginning of Ottoman Turkish grammarianism (with Holdermann) erroneously into the eighteenth century (p. 99).

[36] The only one who explicitly refers to the Arabic grammar tradition is Fotiadis 1897: in a separate chapter on the word classes (Μέρη τοῦ λόγου, chapter A' of the "Second Book", which is the morphology of his grammar, p. 39), after repeating his attitude towards the principle of the *elsine-i selâṣe* (see above), he states that "according to the Arab grammarians" (κατά τους άραβας γραμματικούς) there are three word classes (μέρη του λόγου / *iczâ-yi kelâm*): noun, verb and particle (όνομα, ρήμα, μόριον / *ism, fiᶜl, ḥarf*).

[37] On the classical concept of "etymology" as "unfolding of words" into what we would call today the division into morphemes, see Robin (1993: 21-22).

does speak about the "Arabic way" of the word classes, using the Arabic terminology (*ism*, *fiʿl*, *ḥarf/ḥurûf*), whereas Alexandridis spares all reference to Arabic grammar.

The application of fixed grammatical patterns, be it from the Greco-Latin or the Arabic tradition, implies that there are categories which are lacking in the one or the other system, and have to be replaced. As for the application of the European description model for Turkish the salient categories of this kind are article, gender, conjunctions and prepositions. We can call these lacking, or rather suppposedly lacking categories in Turkish "gaps". An example for this is the cohesive conjunction "and", whose alleged absence in Turkish resulted in an elaborated rhetoric, which has led to a new tradition of "gap filling" in the European grammar tradition for Ottoman Turkish.[38] In most of the gaps (namely article, gender, and conjunctions) it is possible to refer to Arabic, and (in the case of conjunctions) also to Persian, which is a relatively easy task for grammars that are applying the principle of the "three languages".

As such, Meninski relates immediately to Arabic when he states that the article is not used in Turkish and Persian ("Turcae ac Persae nullum ejusmodi adhibent articulum", p. 21); consequently the whole chapter about the article is entitled "De articulo Arabico". Later Greek "Meninskian" manuscript grammars follow the approach, being sometimes a little rude, such as *Grammatiki Spanos* (around 1730) where we read on f. 22v that "the vulgar Turks have not inherited articles from their ancestors" (Ἄρθρα δε οι χυδαίοι Τούρκοι δεν ηύραν από τους πατέρας των). Also Alexandridis remarks that "Turks do not have an article", but immediately refers to the Arabic article; yet, in accordance with his approach that excludes the treatment of Arabic grammar, he provides examples only in specific expressions ("φράσεις"):

> Οι Τούρκοι δεν έχουσι άρθρον, π.χ. [...] *ανά* σημαίνει 'μήτηρ' και 'η μήτηρ'· μεταχειρίζονται όμως το αραβικόν άρθρον [...] *άλ* εις τινάς αραβικάς φράσεις [...].[39]
> Και τοιαύτας αραβικάς φράσεις μεταχειρίζονται συχνάκις οι Τούρκοι εν τω γράφειν και λαλείν. (Alex 12)

Thus, Alexandridis, as always, and as opposed to Meninski, privileges the actually spoken language (and its written form) without being interested in philological observations that do not reflect it, or that deal with other languages.

A further instance of filling a "gap" can be observed in other categories that in Turkish are lexically present only through Arabic and Persian loanwords, namely the conjunctions and the prepositions.[40] In this context it is interesting to see how Alexandridis, and his models, treat the word class "preposition", which is known to be expressed in Turkish mainly by case suffixes or postpositions.

In order to analyse this issue, it is necessary to have a look at the declension system of nouns. The medieval Arabic grammar tradition distinguishes three cases: nominative (called *rafʿ*), accusative (*naṣb*),

---

[38] See Kappler (2016) for the history of the description of "and".
[39] He cites examples like *el-ḥamdüllillâh*, or *fil-ḥâl*.
[40] As for cohesion, especially through the conjunction "and" in European and Ottoman Greek grammars, the reader may refer to the above-mentioned study Kappler (2016).

and genitive (*ĵarr*). The Greco-Latin traditional grammar is here faced with a divergence: while Greek is recognized to have four basic cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative), Latin has five (plus ablative); to both classifications is added the vocative, while Ottoman Turkish grammars adopt the Greek model of four cases.[41] This "four cases"-system considers DA and DAn (i.e. "locative" and "ablative") as "particles" (*ḥarf* or *edât*), and we have seen that in the attempt to adapt the Arabic system to the European one these "particles" become then "prepositions". Most of the nineteenth-century grammars edited by Greeks follow the Greek, and Ottoman, model, calling DA and DAn "προθέσεις" (prepositions), except Alexandridis, adopting the Latin model with a system of five (+ vocative) cases, i.e. DAn is considered as "ablative", exactly as in traditional Turkish grammars until today (Alex 13). However, in the chapter about "prepositions" (Part Five – Particles) he recollocates DAn under the "prepositions", together with DA, not considered as a nominal case previously. This is due to the approach of his model Meninski, who writes under "Pars Quinta, Caput Secundum – De Praepositione":

> Praepositiones Turcarum, ut apud Hungaros, dicendae sunt postpositiones, quia ponuntur non ante, sed post nomen, ac ei in Nominativo plerumque manenti multae affiguntur inseparabiliter; aliae separatae sunt, sed pariter postponuntur. (Men 132)

Alexandridis does not adopt the term "postposition" from Meninski (neither do the majority of the successive Ottoman Greek grammar generation until the end of the nineteenth century[42]), –and of course he skips the reference to Hungarian–, resulting into the following wording in his adaptation:

> Αι προθέσεις των Τούρκων τίθενται πάντοτε μετά το όνομα, άλλαι μεν ηνωμένως με την λέξιν, άλλαι δε γραφόμεναι διηρημένως, και άλλαι κατ' αμφοτέρους τους τρόπους. (Alex 68)

The suffixes and postpositions provided by both Meninski and Alexandridis are nearly the same: DA, DAn, CA, CIlAyIn, sIz, ile / (y)lA, içün / (y)çün (with only the presence of leyin in Meninski,

---

[41] Aḥmed Cevdet Paşa (1885-86: 51): "In declension the nouns are to be found in four cases" ([...] *terkîbde isimler dörd ḥâl üzere bulunurlar*). For the case system in medieval Arabic grammar tradition see LeTourneau (2006: 347).

[42] The only two grammarians who adapt this terminology (which, as we showed is not new at all, but goes back to Meninski) are Adosidis (1850), and, following him, Fotiadis (1897). Although the relevant chapter in Adosidis bears the traditional title "About prepositions" (Περί προθέσεων), he declares that (Adosidis 1850: 181) "[...] the various relations indicated in our [language] with prepositions, are expressed by the Ottomans with some particles that are placed after the words; that's why we call these particles postpositions" (Τας παρ' ημίν διά των προθέσεων δηλουμένας διάφορους σχέσεις εκφράζουσιν οι Οθωμανοί διά τινών μορίων επιτεθεμένων ταις λέξεσιν. εφ' ω και ονομάζομεν τα μόρια ταύτα επιθέσεις). On the following pages he only uses the term "postposition" (επίθεση). Fotiadis (1897: 119) gives the title "Postpositions" (Επιθέσεις) to his chapter, and the related explanation is much shorter than in Adosidis; this probably shows that the new denomination is already more radicated in terminology: "The Turkish particles are of four kinds: 1. prepositions, which are called postpositions, since they are postponed to words [...]" (Τα τουρκικά μόρια είνε τεσσάρων ειδών: α' προθέσεις, αίτινες ονομάζονται επιθέσεις, καθό επιτασσόμεναι των λέξεων).

lacking in Alexandridis). The contradiction in Alexandridis (DAn as ablative case, but also as "preposition") derives actually also from Meninski, though the latter includes a more specified description in order to explain the discrepancy:

> Casus apud Turcas assignari totidem possunt, quot apud Latinos [...]. Ablativus autem componitur ex praepositione, seu potius postpositione [...] den. (Men 25)

Thus, according to Meninski the "ablative" is constructed in Turkish with a preposition alias postposition, a construction he obviously was familiar with from languages like German and Italian (and Hungarian, as far as "postpositions" are concerned). DA, however, is never considered as "locative", because such a case does not fit into the Latin (and neither into the Greek) system. Alexandridis simply adopts this view, however without reflection, and without the term "postposition". In this case, he does not follow his second model, Viguier, who uses a six-case-system, including a locative, called "commoratif ou habitatif", which indicates "la demeure ou l'habitation" (Vi 55). Redhouse (henceforward Redh), who, as has been shown, is the main model for Adosidis and other nineteenth-century Ottoman Greek grammars after Alexandridis, harshly criticizes the contradiction between "case" and "preposition" in many European grammars of Ottoman Turkish:

> Comme tous mes devanciers, sans aucune exception, ont cru devoir faire accorder les règles étymologiques du nom ottoman avec celle du nom latin, et ont, par conséquent, imaginé six cas dans chaque nombre, j'ai pensé qu'il serait utile de donner ici des exemples de la forme de ces prétendus cas. Ces messieurs m'ont épargné la nécessité de prouver que dans cette circonstance, ainsi que dans bien d'autres, c'est l'esprit du système qui les a égarés, car tous ils ont ensuite rangé les terminaisons de leurs cas parmi les prépositions (ou postpositions), dans leurs chapitres sur cette partie du discours. (Redh:161-162)

Specifically about the locative, and addressing his criticism directly against Viguier, he states, adding also a passage about the "vocative":

> M. Viguier a même inventé un cas pour la préposition ده, et il l'a nommé le cas *commoratif* ou de demeure. Le vocatif, surtout, dans ces exemples, est bien mal imaginé; car l'interjection يَا *ô* est arabe, et n'est pas en usage dans la langue ottomane. (Redh 167)

In fact, Redhouse does not accept the category "case" at all ("Les noms, dans la langue ottomane, ne sont pas soumis aux inflexions des cas"), stating that

> Les rapports de cette espèce de mots dans le discours sont seulement indiqués par la simple juxtaposition, par des prépositions, ou enfin, par des affixes pronominaux. (Redh 39)

This approach can be collocated within the framework of Arabic grammar tradition that considers the "cases", except accusative and genitive, and including dative, as being constructed with "particles". It is very interesting that neither Alexandridis, nor any of his Ottoman Greek successors, apply the Arabic

principle of particles (*ḥarf* or *edât*), but rather the Latin model, resulting in the contradiction "DAn both as a case and a preposition".[43]

In summary, we can say that Alexandridis, on the one hand, provides a word class categorisation which is based on the tripartite Arabic speech part principle, but, on the other hand, strictly applies the Latin case system, with some discrepancies regarding the "preposition gap". In that, he faithfully follows Meninski and his tradition, including the latter's contradictional stance concerning the ablative case. At the same time Alexandridis rejects Viguier's innovation regarding the "locative". And it is even more noteworthy that the successive nineteenth-century Ottoman Greek grammarians, though referring to Redhouse's book in nearly all the other points, continue to insist on the Latin system in this issue, without considering Redhouse's modified "Arabic" approach. Although Ottoman Greek grammarians as cultural "mediators" are known to blend the European and Arabic systems, they seem to tend towards a more "Western" description model in this case, quite contrary to their presentation of morphonology based on the Arabic *hareke*-system.

Extensions and solo efforts: about syntax

Among all the eighteenth-century Ottoman Greek grammars, Alexandridis' book is the only one to dedicate a specific chapter to syntax.[44] He does so at the end of his book (Part Six / Μέρος ΣΤ' "Περί συντάξεως", pp. 81-117), following his main model Meninski who describes syntax in his "Pars Sexta – De Syntaxi" (pp. 145-176), which is adapted by Alexandridis in an abridged version and with different order. Here is the distribution of the chapters and subchapters in the two works:

Table 3: Syntax part in Meninski and Alexandridis / Chapter distribution

Chapter	Men, Pars Sexta "De Syntaxi"	Alex, Μέρος ΣΤ' "Περί συντάξεως"
1.	Caput primum: De modo alloquendi aliquem (Form of address), pp. 145-46 ➔ **Alex chapter 6**	Κεφάλαιον Α': / Περί συντάξεως των ονομάτων (Nominal agreement), pp. 81-86; with subchapters: 81: Συμφωνία επιθέτου μετά ουσιαστικού / 83: Συμφωνία ουσιαστικού μετά οὐσιαστικού
2.	Caput secundum: De ordine constructionis (Word order), pp. 146-149 ➔ **Alex chapter 7**	Κεφάλαιον Β': Περί συντάξεως των συγκριτικών, και των δοτική ή αιτιατική συντασσομένων επιθέτων (Comparative, superlative, adjectives), pp. 86-87

---

[43] Concerning DA, the only Ottoman Greek grammar that considers the suffix as a case is Konstantinidis (1874: 12-13), though not calling it "locative", but "dative II".

[44] Except a very brief chapter (six pages, pp. 65-71) in Kleanthis Charalambidis' *Mecele-i Edebiyat-i 'Oṣmaniyye / Ανθολογία οθωμανική*, Istanbul 1873, which also includes a small grammatical sketch (pp. 7-71). Of course, many remarks concerning syntax are included in all grammars, but in the chapters about morphology or "etymology".

Chapter	Men, Pars Sexta "De Syntaxi"	Alex, Μέρος ΣΤ' "Περί συντάξεως"
3.	Caput tertium: De concordantia nominis cum nomine (Noninal agreement), pp. 149-157; with subchapters: 152: Concordantia Relativi cum antecedente / 153: Concordantia Substantivi cum Substantivo → **Alex chapter 1**	Κεφάλαιον Γ': Περί συντάξεως των ρημάτων (Verbal syntax), pp. 88-106; with subchapters: 88: Περί χρήσεως των τεσσάρων εγκλίσεων / 89: Περί συντάξεως του α' απαρεμφάτου / 92: Σύνταξις του β' απαρεμφάτου / 93: Σύνταξις των μετοχῶν / 101: Συμφωνία ονομαστικής μετά του ρήματος / 101: Σύνταξις του υπαρκτού ρήματος και των παρομοίων / 103: Σύνταξις των λοιπῶν ρημάτων / 104: Ρήματα δοτική συστασσόμενα / 105: Ένια ρήματα αφαιρετική συστασσόμενα / 106: Σύνταξις των παθητικών
4.	Caput quartum: De constructione Comparativi et Superlativi (Comparative, superlative, adjectives), pp. 157-159 → **Alex chapter 2**	Κεφάλαιον Δ': Περί Συντάξεως των μορίων (Syntax of particles), pp. 107-111
5.	Caput quintum: / De Syntaxi Verborum (Verbal syntax), pp. 159-173; with subchapters: 162: Concordantia Nominativi cum Verbo / 163: Constructio Verbi Substantivi / 166: Construction aliorum Verborum / 173: Constructio Verbi Passsivi / 173: Constructio Participii → **Alex chapter 3**	Κεφάλαιον Ε': Περὶ των λοιπῶν της συντάξεως ειδῶν (Other), pp. 111-114
6.	Caput sextum: De reliquis constructionem modi (Other), pp. 173-176 → **Alex chapter 5**	6. Κεφάλαιον ΣΤ': Περί του τρόπου του προσαγορεύειν (Form of address), pp. 114-115
7.	----	7. Κεφάλαιον Ζ': Περί τάξεως των οκτὼ μερῶν του λόγου (Word order), pp. 115-117

It can be seen from the above table that Alexandridis includes one chapter not considered by Meninski, namely the "syntax of particles" (chapter 4 in Alexandridis). Actually, the use of the term "particle" is not frequent in Meninski who mentions it only as the translation of the Arabic term *ḥurûf* (cfr. above previous chapter about word classes). Therefore, Meninski's Fifth Part bears the title "De Reliquis Partibus Orationis" (Other parts of speech), while the title in Alexandridis is "Περί Μορίων" (Particles). Meninski explains at the beginning of the chapter that "particles", i.e. *ḥurûf*, are prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections:

> Reliqua (i.e. exlcuding adverbs) autem adscribunt particulis quas vocant [...] *elhurûfü*, seu in singulari [...] *elharf*, *ut pec*. dicuntur Praepositiones, Conjunctiones & Interjectiones. (Men 124)

Accordingly, throughout his grammar, Meninski uses the term "particles" only as a translation for the Arabic term *ḥurûf*, but not as a term he himself would apply in the framework of his Latin description system. The "particles" discussed by Alexandridis in his forth syntax chapter are mainly subordinate conjunctions, such as *bolayki, keşke, ki*, constructed with finite optative (and "subjunctive" [45]) phrases, as well as other conjunctions, e.g. *eger, çünki*, and a few postpositions (*bile, gibi*) used in adverbial phrases. Alexandridis probably gathered the information from other Meninski chapters, e.g. concerning "conjunctions + optative" he adopts them from Meninski's chapter about the verb flexion, namely the optative part (Men 76), where all the conjunctions evoked by Alexandridis are presented, though adding examples and more explanations not provided by Meninski. Why did he do so, given that elsewhere he makes extensive cuts, but rarely additions (cfr. the section about phonetics above for such rare cases)? We may assume that Alexandridis wanted to "institutionalise" the concept of "particle", used by Meninski only as a translation for Arabic *ḥurûf*, because he supposed that such a concept would be in favour of a quicker comprehension by his readers in the framework of his aim of a practical approach to language acquisition. A support for such an assumption would be that, as mentioned above, Alexandridis also changes the title of the Fifth Part from "Other parts of speech" to "Particles". I have a suspicion that in this matter Alexandridis copied from another model which has still to be explored. Howsoever, since Viguer does not use the term "particles" either, and for lack of evidence from other hitherto unknown sources which could have served as a model here, we must tentatively suppose that this is the only case that Alexandridis makes an extension in terms of a whole chapter, rather than an abridgment, of his source text Meninski.

Although the other syntax chapters are roughly adapted from Meninski, we can observe significant changes that are symptomatical for Alexandridis' practical approach, exceeding the usual abridgments concerning Arabic and Persian grammar.[46] I will exemplify this procedure in the chapter about word order, because it reveals other interesting aspects of Alexandridis' work. First of all, it must be recorded that Alexandridis collocates the word order chapter at the end of the syntax part, i.e. at the end of his whole book, whereas Meninski puts it rather at the beginning of his treatment of syntax (chapter 7 in Alexandridis vs. chapter 2 in Meninski, cfr. above table 3). Meninski, as we have seen in other issues as well, relies on his target readers' knowledge of – or at least familiarity with – both German and Hungarian, when he introduces the chapter about word order comparing the Turkish sentence-final verb position to

---

[45] The term "subjunctive" is used by Meninski (and subsequently by Alexandridis) as conditional (*subjunctivi seu conditionalis modi*), i.e. a modality marked with the suffix sA.

[46] A marginal but curious change concerning the examples might be worth mentioning here: usually Alexandridis adopts Meninski's examples, updating only the morphonological structure of the forms to the contemporary status (which is an issue that should be tackled in future research, see our conclusive chapter below). At one point, however, namely describing the agreement of adjectives and nouns, he decides to change the adjective 'beautiful' when related to 'man' into 'good': "Nomen Adjectivum in Turcicis semper praeponitur suo Substantivo immotum & indeclinatum, ut *g^iüzel ādem*, pulcher homo, *g^iüzel ādeme*, pulchro homini, *g^iüzel ādemlerün-*, pulchrorum hominum, planè ut in Hungaricis". (Meninski 1680: 149; italic in the original source), becomes "Το επίθετον ηγείται πάντοτε του ουσιαστικού άκλιτον [...], οίον **εἲ ανταμλάρ** καλοί άνθρωποι, **εἲ ανταμντάν** παρά καλού ανθρώπου [...]" see Alexandridis (1812: 81-82); bold added by myself), as if the attribute of beauty were not manly enough for a *iatrophilosophos* of the nineteenth century...

similar phenomena in the two main languages of the Habsburg Empire:

> Hungari in constructione multa habent communia cum Turcis; Germani etiam multa, *v.g.* Verbum debet esse semper regulariter in fine, ut apud Germanos plerumque, ita ut aliquando periodus protrahatur ad integram paginam & ultra, nec inveniatur nisi in fine Verbum personale, à quo caetera antecedentia dependent. (Men 146)

On the other hand, Alexandridis, who relates to a readership in the Ottoman Greek context, and not in Austria, although his grammar was printed in Vienna as well, points to the difficulty and differentness of Turkish syntax:

> Οι Τούρκοι, καθώς και παν άλλο έθνος, έχουσιν ιδιαιτέραν τινά τάξιν των οκτώ μερών του λόγου, πλην το ύφος αυτών του λόγου είναι πολυπλοκώτερον παρά το των άλλων εθνών, και τόσον περιοδικόν, ώστε ενίοτε μία ολόκληρος περίοδος γεμίζει όλην την σελίδα, και μόνον εν τέλει απαντά το ρήμα, από του οποίου εξήρτηνται όλα τα προηγούμενα, οία αι διάφοραι μετοχαί, τα προθετικά απαρέμφατα, και τα παρόμοια, εξ ού προκύπτει ουκ ολίγη δυσκολία εν τω αναγινώσκειν τα Τουρκικά βιβλία, μάλιστα δε εις τον πρωτόπειρον ταύτης της διαλέκτου. (Alex 155-116)

In order to make clear the additions to Meninski's text above, I have put the diverging sentences into italic in the following translation of Alexandridis' version: "*[t]he Turks, like every other nation, have a particular order of the eight speech parts, yet the style of these is more complex than that of the other nations*, and so regular that sometimes a whole sentence fills all the page, and only at the end stands the verb, from which the previous [parts] depend, *such as the various participles, the preposed infinitives, and similar, which is the reason for the difficulty in reading Turkish books, especially for the inexpert of this language*". In so doing, the references to Hungarian and German are transferred to "all the nations", generalising the specific order of Turkish to a "particular order of the eight speech parts" in all languages. The real addition is the final phrase, i.e. an admonition about the alleged difficulty of Turkish, which is a well-known topos in European descriptions of that language. For instance, in the above-mentioned grammar account of the Venetian *giovane di lingua* Pietr'Antonio Rizzi (1711), we read about the Turkish language as "a stormy ocean, full of dangerous shallows and treacherous rocks", and the grammar as "a compass" which prevents the imprudent traveler (i.e. language student) from dashing himself against the rocks and bewailing his own destruction, miserable leftover of his unwise behaviour".[47] About thirty years before Rizzi, four other Venetian *giovani di lingua* call Turkish a "language obstructed by thorns and spines" ("linguaggio così intralciato di sterpi, e bronchi"). More such topoi on the "fatigue" and the "difficulty" of Turkish can be found in other Italian sources as well.[48]

---

[47] f. 2r; cf. Kappler (2014b: 107).

[48] On p. 2 of the *Raccolta curiosissima d'Adaggi turcheschi*, printed in Venice in 1688; the quoted phrase occurs in the dedication letter which is dated 04.04.1682. The four *giovani di lingua* are listed on p. 6 as Antonio Pauluzzi, Francesco Frangini (i.e. probably with a Venetian-Greek affiliation!), Stefano Fortis, and Antonio Benetti. The book is a collection of Turkish proverbs offered as a gift to Pietro Donà, son of the then bailo Giovambattista Donà (1627-1699), who was also the author of various works on Ottoman subjects, namely

Despite Alexandridis' simplifying efforts, the "difficulty of learning Turkish" remains a problem in the Ottoman Greek society throughout the nineteenth century. In his work on Ottoman Greek schools of the nineteenth century in Istanbul, Christidis (1865: 44) argues that one of the reasons (besides the lack of idoneous staff) that Turkish was not yet sufficiently taught in the Greek schools at the end of the century, was the "difficulty of Turkish", since it "takes more than two years to learn it", although he does not specify the reasons for this difficulty. However, it can be supposed, as Strauss (1995: 95) suggests for the Ottoman Greeks, that a prominent reason might be that without a rudimentary knowledge of Arabic and Persian the literary Ottoman language could not be sufficiently acquired, which probably discouraged many students (and points to the principle of the "three languages" mentioned above and applied by many grammarians, first of all by Meninski).

The fact that the motive of the "difficult language Turkish" was wide-spread also in other European grammars can be seen in the following passage from Viguier, whom, as we have shown, Alexandridis had consulted for the composition of his grammar book, and who compares the way towards the acquisition of Turkish as full of thorns, and so difficult that only professionals (i.e. "dragomans") can succeed (the passage is drawn from Viguier's dedication letter to the King):

> [...] la voie de l'enseignement, qu'on a coûtume de leur tracer, est si embarassée d'épines, & l'espérance d'un plein succès se montre à leurs regards dans un tel lointain, que le nombre des Sujets de Votre Majesté, qui après les premiers essais ont le courage de la parcourir, est presque tout entier circonscrit dans le cercle des élèves destinés aux places de Drogmans. (Vi vi)

And also:

> [...] la manière d'écrire & de lire la langue Turque offre d'épines et de difficultés révoltantes [...]. (Vi 34)

Thus Alexandridis repeats a commonplace, both by the motive of "difficulty", and by the generalisation of the "eight speech parts". However, this strategy serves his aim to present an easily accessible grammar to his readers without the overloaded Arabo-Persian philological baggage conveyed by Meninski, with whom learners like the Venetian language youth, and others, had to struggle for centuries.

Alexandridis as a precursor for vernacularisation of Turkish: discussion and conclusion

In the narrative about modernity and nation-building, it is widely assumed that the standardisation of vernacular language varieties in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are a premise for nationalism, and that this vernacularisation in the Ottoman areas is directly influenced by European cultural models, first of all by German romanticism.[49] Recently, the European impact on the vernacularisation process in the Ottoman lands has been questioned by Leezenberg (2016) who sees rather a dynamic of interacting

---

Della letteratura de' Turchi, Venice 1688 (thus same year as the printing of the *Adaggi turcheschi*!). On other Italian sources and the topos of "difficulty" see Bellingeri (1989: 22).

[49] Andersen (1991: 71ff. and 67-68).

local factors, focussing on the analysis of non-Western grammar production for Ottoman languages (South-East Europe, Kurdish and Turkish). Notwithstanding the necessity of questioning stereotyped assumptions as a matter of scientific principle, and the accurate pertinence in most of Leezenberg's observations, the analysis for the Turkish part should be revisited.[50] Leezenberg considers Cevdet Paşa's grammar (in its first edition 1851) as the "first grammar of Ottoman Turkish written by local authors".[51] Apart from the fact that there were other attempts of Ottoman Turkish grammarianism before, albeit not printed,[52] and irrespective of the question if Cevdet's work can be considered as a grammar of a vernacular, I would argue that Ottoman Greek production should be viewed as "local" since their origin is deeply Ottoman (Phanariote, in derivation), and that it should be distinguished from the "Western", especially the Italian grammar production for Turkish, which is, as we know, much older,[53] though, on the other hand, Ottoman Greek grammarianism directly relies on European models. If the definition of "local" is "native speaker", most of the Ottoman Greek grammars would admittedly not be "local", but it would be anachronistic to pretend that the Ottoman Christian minorities, Greeks and Armenians in the first place, are not Ottomans in the sense of belonging to the same social and political framework as their Muslim fellow citizens. The Ottoman Greek (and Armenian, which has still to be studied) grammarianism for Turkish is the largest Ottoman grammar production altogether, and it would be certainly a big mistake to neglect it. Given the fact that even the very first manuscript grammars of the seventeenth century (*Kanones 1664* and *Grammatiki Kanones*) are translations from European grammars, and that, as the present contribution has shown, the first printed Ottoman Greek grammar by Alexandridis is also principally an adaptation of several European grammars, namely Meninski and Viguier, the impact of Western grammarianism in the area and through the centuries is beyond doubt. The significance of the Ottoman Greek grammars after Alexandridis is, as we have seen, the blending of Greco-Latin and Arabic grammar traditions, providing intersections and interrelations with Cevdet Paşa which have still to be explored systematically. The picture of the Ottoman (Greek, Armenian, Muslim) grammarianism for the learning of Turkish is therefore a very complex one as far as the interrelations with the Western and the

---

[50] Also for the non-Turkish parts we found some small imprecisions. Dimitri Eustatievici's *Gramatica Rumaneasca* (1757) was indeed the first grammar of Romanian see Leezenberg (2016: 266), but not the first to be printed, since it was not printed before 1968, the first printed grammar being, instead, *Observaţii sau băgări-dă-seamă* by Ianache Văcărescu (1787); Kahl – Metzeltin (2012: 85). Also the observation that "[i]n the 1780s, Dimitrios Katartzis (d. 1807) wrote the first local grammar of spoken Greek" (Leezenberg 2016: 266) is not correct, as the first attempt to describe Demotic Greek was Nicolas Sofianos' Γραμματική Εισαγωγή, composed as early as 1550, though published much later, in 1874, by Émil Legrand, see Kahl – Metzeltin (2012: 84).

[51] Leezenberg (2016: 268).

[52] The first known language description was the *Müyessiretü'l-ʿulûm* by Bergamalı Kadri (1530/31), edited by Esra Karabacak (Ankara 2002). Other works were produced in the seventeenth century (*Eş- Şüẕûr üẕ-Ẕehebiyye ve-l-Qıṭaʿ el-Aḥmediyye fî-l-Luġat it-Türkiyye* by Ibn Muḥammad Mollâh Şâlih (1619; see Ermers 1999 and the edition by Besim Atalay, Istanbul 1949); and the *Miftâḫ ül-belâga ve misbâh ül-fesâḫa* by Isma'il Ankaravî (d. 1041 [1631/32]).

[53] Beginning with Filippo Argenti's *Regola del parlare turco* (Florence, 1533); see Kappler (2014b: 110, footnote 9) for an overview.

Arabic traditions are concerned. Furthermore, an important aspect, in respect to nation-building, is the fact that the printed Ottoman Greek grammars are written within the ideological framework of Ottomanism, including, for the second half of the nineteenth century, Helleno-Ottomanism, which complicates a collocation into familiar patterns of nationalism in the Ottoman provinces, particularly in South-Eastern Europe.

Concerning vernacularisation, this contribution has also shown that Alexandridis' work, as the first printed Ottoman Greek grammar, and unlike many of his successors, focuses on spoken language, and can thus be considered as one of the first "local" descriptions of vernacular Turkish overall. This must be seen as an innovation, also in view of the following generations: although successive grammarians of the area treat Ottoman rather as an elaborated mixture of three languages, Alexandridis' impact on them was strong, for example if we consider the passages copied directly from Alexandridis by Adosidis (1850). Alexandridis' emphasis on the vernacular proceeds, notwithstanding that he faithfully follows his Western model Meninski, by systematically dropping and omitting Meninski's passages concerning Arabic and Persian grammar, and generally most of his remarks on written and elaborated high Ottoman. An aspect related with this topic which could not be considered in this short contribution is the fact that Alexandridis reports only linguistic forms of the vernacular or colloquial speech, omitting older forms mentioned by Meninski, and thus implying a modernisation of the language from a source text written more than a hundred years before. This can be observed in almost all the suffix variation, and also in stems, for example Modern Turkish (< Persian) *keşke* is reported by Meninski (Men 76) as "*k̒aśk̒i* aut corruptum *k̒eśk̒e*", while Alexandridis (Alex 107) reports only the colloquial form "κεöκὲ". This updating of the language material is done systematically. A comparative linguistic investigation of Alexandridis and his source texts as "transcriptional texts" alias Karamanlidika depicting the diachronic evolution of Turkish from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries has to be undertaken in future. In short, Alexandridis transformed the philological grammars of his models, which describe an elaborated and complex Ottoman language in the franework of Arabic and Persian, into a practical grammar book describing a vernacular language.

A last aspect that results from the foresaid concerns the cultural and historical framework of the books. The two grammarians, Meninski and Alexandridis, though having printed their works in the same city, the capital of the multicultural Habsburg Empire, relate to very different target readerships for whom they composed their books. Meninski, a cosmopolitan French-Pole-Austrian philologist, addressed himself to a learned and multilingual public, using the main languages of the Empire (German and Hungarian), plus other languages relatable to his personal linguistic competence (French and Polish), as means of metalinguistic comparison, and he perorates at length with explanations on linguistic and philological topics. Alexandridis, on the other hand, an exponent of the Ottoman Phanariote culture, accomodates his fellow citizens in Istanbul and the Danubian Principalities who are in need of practical guidance in language learning, particularly for professional reasons, be it in the Ottoman administration or for trade, and are looking for easy and accessible explanations without rhetorical ornateness and linguistic excesses. It is noteworthy how this pragmatic approach could be achieved, – or had to be achieved for lack of other models –, with a prototype of classical *Ars grammatica*, such as Meninski's grammar book. It confirms the importance of Meninski's oeuvre, and marks, at the same time, a turning

point in the production of Turkish grammars by Ottoman authors, because Alexandridis' grammar will become the new model for the successive generation of grammarians during the nineteenth century, the generation of the "cultural mediators" recruited from the Ottoman Christian minorities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources (grammar books)

Adosidis Konstantinos [=Ado] (1850). *Στοιχεία της οθωμανικής γραμματικής*, Aftokratoriko Typografeio: Constantinople.

Aḥmed Cevdet Paşa (1304/1885-86). *Qavâʿid-i ʿOs̲mâniyye*, Qarabet ve Qaṣbâr maṭbaʿası: Constantinople.

Alexandridis Dimitrios [=Alex] (1812). *Γραμματική γραικικο-τουρκική,* Typografia Ioan. Barth. Tzvekiou: Vienna.

Fotiadis Apostolos (1897). *Πλήρης Γραμματική της οθωμανικής γλώσσης*, Typois Aristovoulou: Constantinople.

Konstantinidis Alexandros (1874). *d̲arf-i ʿOs̲manî – Οθωμανική γραμματική*, Voutyras: Constantinople.

Meninski Franciscus à Mesgnien [=Men] (1680). *Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae Institutiones seu Grammatica Turcica*, Vienna.

Redhouse James W. [=Redh] (1846). *Grammaire raisonnée de la langue ottomane,* Gide et Cie: Paris.

Viguier Pierre-François [=Vi] (1790). *Elemens de la langue turque*, Imprimerie du Palais de France: Constantinople.

Other references

Andersen Benedict (1991). *Imagined Communities – Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition, Verso: London - New York.

Babinger Franz (1919). "Die türkischen Studien in Europa bis zum Auftreten Josef von Hammer-Purgstalls", *Welt des Islams* 7: 103-129.

Balta Evangelia (1987). *Karamanlidika. Additions (1584-1900). Bibliographie analytique*, Centre d'Etudes d'Asie Mineure: Athènes.

Bellingeri Giampiero (1984). "Sul Turco nel '700: allori speculari e fiochi lumi", in: Gallotta Aldo – Marazzi Ugo (eds), *La conoscenza dell'Asia e dell'Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, Vol. I, Istituto universitario orientale, Napoli: 661-682.

Bellingeri Giampiero (1989). "Fasce 'altaiche' del mappamondo turco-veneziano", in: Stary Giovanni (ed.), *Proceedings of the 28th Permanent International Conference (PIAC)*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden: 11-32.

Christidis Dimitrios (1865). *Τα Σχολεία της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, Istanbul.

Dichy Joseph (1990). "Grammatologie de l'arabe I: les sens du mot *ḥarf* ou le labyrinthe d'une évidence", in: Carter Michael G. & Versteegh Kees (eds), *Studies in the history of Arabic grammar II – Proceedings of the 2nd symposium on the history of Arabic grammar*, Benjamins, Amsterdam: 111-128.

Eco Umberto (1993). *La ricerca della lingua perfetta nella cultura europea*, Laterza: Roma/Bari.

Ermers Robert (1999). *Arabic Grammars of Turkic*, Brill: Leiden.

Fotopoulos Athanasios Th. (1993). "Ελληνική μετάφρασις της τουρκικής γραμματικής του Fr. Meninski κατά τον ιη' αιώνα", *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 5: 62-71.

Göksel Aslı & Kerslake Celia (2005). *Turkish: A Comprehensive Grammar*, Routledge: London/New York.

Hazai György (1973). *Das Osmanisch-Türkische im XVII. Jahrhundert – Untersuchungen an den Transkriptionstexten von Jakab Nagy de Harsány*, Mouton De Gruyter: The Hague/Paris.

Kahl Thede – Metzeltin Michael (2012). "Die Herausbildung der Wortklassenterminologie in den Balkansprachen", in: Kahl Thede *et al*. (eds) *Balkanismen heute – Balkanisms Today – Balkanizmy segodnja*, LIT-Verlag, Münster/Wien/New York: 81-109.

Kalay Emin (1998). *Edirne İli Ağızları, İnceleme – Metin*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu.

Kalus Marielle (1992). Les premières grammaires turques en France et leur édition (XVIIᵉ et XVIIIᵉ siècles), in: Bacqué-Grammont Jean-Louis – Dor Rémy (eds.), *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin*, L'Harmattan, Paris: 83-86.

Kappler Matthias (1999). "Eine griechische Übersetzung (1664) von Giovanni Molinos 'Brevi rudimenti del parlar turchesco' ", *Archivum Ottomanicum* 17: 276-295.

Kappler Matthias (2001). "Early European Grammars of Ottoman Turkish in Greek Translation: a Greek Version of Du Ryer's 'Rudimenta Grammatices Linguae Turcicae' (1630)", *Turkic Languages* 5/1: 120-137.

Kappler Matthias 2007. "Konflikt und Ideologie in den griechischen Grammatiken des Osmanischen im 19. Jahrhundert", in: Boeschoten, Hendrik & Stein, Heidi (eds.) *Einheit und Vielfalt in der türkischen Welt – Materialien der 5. Deutschen Turkologenkonferenz*, *Universität Mainz*. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden: 80-93.

Kappler Matthias (2014). "The Place of the *Grammatiki tis Tourkikis Glossis* (1730) by Kanellos Spanós in Ottoman Greek Grammarianism and Its Importance for Karamanlidika Studies", in: Balta Evangelia (ed.), *Cultural encounters in the Turkish-speaking communities of the Late Ottoman Empire*, The Isis Press, Istanbul: 105-117.

Kappler Matthias (2014b). "An unedited sketch of Turkish grammar (1711) by the Venetian *giovane di lingua* Pietr'Antonio Rizzi", *Turkic Languages* 18: 104-127.

Kappler Matthias (2016). "Wenn das Wörtlein *und* nicht wär': Die unglückliche Geschichte eines Bindeworts in historischen Sprachbeschreibungen des Osmanisch-Türkischen", in: Hauenschild, Ingeborg et al. (eds) *Eine hundertblättrige Tulpe – Bir sadbarg lala. Festgabe für Claus Schönig*, Klaus Schwarz, Berlin: 204-223.

Kehayioglou George (1989). "The Discontinuity of Greek Literary Responses to the Arab World (18th-20th Centuries)", *Journal of Modern Greek S*tudies 7/1: 65-76.

Korkmaz Zeynep (1994). *Güney-Batı Anadolu Ağızları. Ses Bilgisi (Fonetik)*, Türk Dil Kurumu: Ankara.

Leezenberg Michiel (2016). "The Vernacular Revolution: Reclaiming Early Modern Grammatical Traditions in the Ottoman Empire", *History of Humanities* 1/2: 251-275.

LeTourneau Mark (2006). "Case theory", in: Versteegh, Kees et al. (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, vol. I, Brill, Leiden: 347-353.

Matthaios Stephanos (1999). *Untersuchungen zur Grammatik Aristarchs: Texte und Interpretationen zur Wortartenlehre*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.

Menz Astrid (2002). "Eine türkische Grammatik aus dem Jahre 1730", in: Demir Nurettin – Turan Fikret (eds.), *Scholarly Depth and Accuracy – A Festschrift to Lars Johanson*, Grafiker, Ankara: 295–306.

Mounin Georges (1967). *Histoire de la linguistique. Des origines au XXe siècle*, Presses Universitaires de France: Paris.

Németh Julius (1965). *Die Türken von Vidin. Sprache, Folklore, Religion*, Akadémiai Kiadó: Budapest.

Németh Julius (1970). *Die türkische Sprache in Ungarn im siebzehnten Jahrhundert*, Akadémiai Kiadó: Budapest.

Owens Jonathan (1988). *The foundations of grammar – an introduction to medieval Arabic grammatical theory*, Benjamins: Amsterdam.

Owens Jonathan (1990). *Early Arabic grammatical theory: heterogeneity and standardization*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Petrou Maria (2019). *Der türkische Dialekt von West-Thrakien*, [Phd dissertation, Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main].

Robins Robert Henry (1993). *The Byzantine Grammarians: their place in history*, De Gruyter Mouton: Berlin/New York.

Salaville Sévérien – Dalleggio Eugène – Balta Evangelia (2018). *Karamanlıca. Kitaplar Yunan Harflerle Türkçe Eserlerin Çözümlemeli Bibliyografyası – Karamanlidika. Bibliographie analytique d'ouvrages en langue turque imprimés en caractères grecs*, tome I (1718-1839).: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları: Istanbul.

Siakotos Vasileios D. (2006). "Ο διδάσκαλος Κανέλλος Σπανός (1700 περ.–1756) και το έργο του *Γραμματική της Τουρκικής Γλώσσης* (1730)", *Journal of Oriental and African Studies* 15: 251-292.

Stachowski Stanisław (2000). "François à Mesgnien Meniński und sein Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium", in: Francisci a Mesgnien Meninski, *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae-Arabicae-Persicae*, Nachdruck der Ausgabe Vienna MDCLXXX, Band 1, Istanbul: xxiii-xxxiv.

Stathi Penelope (1994). "Dictionnaires et grammaires dans la bibliographie en karamanli", *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, Ankara: 2055-2063.

Stockhammer Robert (2014). *Grammatik. Wissen und Macht in der Geschichte einer sprachlichen Institution*, Suhrkamp: Berlin.

Strauss Johann (1995). "The *millets* and the Ottoman language: the contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman letters (19th–20th centuries)", *Die Welt des Islams* 35/2: 189-249.

Tabaki Anna (1984). "Un aspect des lumières néohelléniques: l'approche scientifique de l'Orient. Le cas de Dimitrios Alexandridis", *Ελληνικά* 35: 316-337.

Tabaki Anna (1993). "L'édition arabe-grecque de la *Géographie* d'Aboulféda par Dimitrios Alexandridis (1807) et sa 'fortune' au début du XIXe siècle", *Graeco-Arabica* 5: 251-258.

Zieme Peter (1966). "Meninski Sözlüğünün Dili Üzerine"*, XI Türk Dili Kurultayında Okunan Bilimsel Bildiriler [= Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları 270]*, Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara: 71-75.