

## **A Tale of two Languages: Tracing the History of Turkish-Greek Language Contacts\***

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**Özet:** Bu bildiri, (Oğuz) Türk-Yunan dil temaslarının tarihi gelişmesini temas dilbiliminin kuramsal çerçevesinde tarif etmeyi denemektedir. Verilen örnekler, Anadolu, Güneydoğu Avrupa, İstanbul ve Kıbrıs'taki Yunan-Türk kod değişimi / karışması, yapısal kopyalama, ve dil değiştirmesi / kreollaşma olguları gibi bazı meseleleri ortaya çıkarıp Bizanslı ve Osmanlı dönemlerinden beri 20. yüzyılın ulus-devletlerindeki dil politikalarına kadar temas olguları içermektedir.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** dil temasları, kod değişimi, tarihi dilbilim

**Abstract:** The present paper is an attempt to describe the historical development in (Oghuz) Turkish-Greek language contacts in the theoretical framework of contact linguistics. The examples show some cases of Greek-Turkish code switching /mixing, structural copying and language shift/creolization phenomena in Asia Minor, South Eastern Europe, Istanbul and Cyprus, and include contacts from the Byzantine times and the Ottoman period until the language policies of the nation states in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Keywords:** language contacts, code-switching, historical linguistics

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In this paper I will attempt to bring together various interconnected but often also conflicting strands and trends concerning the diachronic dimension of those linguistic features, which are indicative of the complexity and the heterogeneity of phenomena usually placed under the umbrella-term 'language contact'. Originating from a necessary phase of, at least partial, bi- or multilingualism, such contact induced phenomena occur under the three typologies of language contact, namely language maintenance, language shift and language creation. Additionally the term language mixing is used for the three typologies without a neat distinction between them.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, language mixing can be part of language maintenance as an extreme form of code switching or as structural borrowing, and can occur as well as a phase in the language shift continuum from L1 to L2 and, finally, it can be a kind of creolization or pidginization in the process of language creation.

The analysis of contact induced linguistic phenomena has usually been made from the synchronic point of view, although the diachronic aspect is inherent in processes such as language shift. However, very rarely have there been attempts to analyze contact-induced structural phenomena with a diachronic approach.<sup>2</sup> In this sense, the paper is intended as a contribution to the field of "contact linguistics", as formulated by Nelde 1981, extending the perspective of the synchronic approach to incorporate a diachronic history of language contacts.

The 'case-study' in point involves two languages (plus a complex mosaic of dialects) which are not historically related, and which are each associated with long and respected literary traditions, with a millennium-long cohabitation and concomitant varying partitioning as well as overlaps in semantic/sociolinguistic 'spaces', varying manifestations of bilingualism and varying literacy practices. In fact, language contact between the two linguistic groups, which has left deep traces on both languages until

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<sup>1</sup> For a general overview and introduction to the problematics and terminologies of 'language contact', see Winford 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Weinreich 1968 dedicates only two pages (chapter 4.5) to the diachronic process in language contact, though underlining the importance of such an approach.

today, is an extremely important issue of cultural intercourse in the Eastern Mediterranean area. The aim of this paper is to create a link between the historical processes of contact between the two languages and the contact-induced linguistic data themselves. Although many studies have appeared on specific aspects of Greek-Turkish language contacts, no attempt has yet been made to unify the results in a general overview in the form of a chronological description of the contact phenomena. My attempt to run through the admittedly vast spectrum of linguistic phenomena associated with language contact intends to examine and evaluate aspects of the theory of language contact against the backdrop of a wealth of synchronic and diachronic data from the two languages in question. Conversely, an attempt will be made to implement theoretical premises of contact linguistics as organizing principles on the basis of which the data in question can be best understood. The study will focus on various forms of language mixing, not confined merely to the structural “borrowing” (or “copying”, according to the code copying theory of Johanson 2002) per se, but extended to code switching and the so-called bilingual mixed languages, typical for the process of language shift, as well as to some non-structural phenomena involved with language contact, such as sociolinguistic attitude and language policy. It may be observed that forms of language creation are not applicable in this case, since, as far as I know, there are no pidgins or creoles in the history of Turkish-Greek language contact (although some features of Inner Anatolian Greek show instances of creolization; see below). Limited space will not allow us to present the whole spectrum of historical language contact. Particularly, some of the non-structural phenomena, such as the second language acquisition as documented in grammars, dictionaries and manuals, as well as phenomena such as the re-alphabetization of literary forms rather due to religious-cultural syncretism than to bilingualism (specifically Karamanlidika and Greek Aljamiado), can only be mentioned without an in-depth analysis.

#### *0. Theoretical premises*

In the case of Greek-Turkish language relations we may consider the following “linguistic contact phenomena”:

1. *Code switches*: Use of the “other’s” language in oral and written production in a context of “societal bilingualism” (as opposed to “bilingualism”, in the sense of Hamers & Blanc 1989: 6). The historical data to be examined include ‘overall’ switches (following Myers-Scotton 2000: 155ff), or (according to Poplack 2000: 254-255, following Gumperz 1982) ‘emblematic’ code switching, i.e. tag switches and single-noun switches, sometimes difficult to distinguish from loanwords (see point 2), or ‘intimate’ intra-sentential code switching or code-mixing as manifestations of true bilingualism (Poplack 2000: 230).

2. *Structural copying*: The use of phonologically and grammatically adapted words copied from the B language into the mother tongue (A language) as a development from sporadic individual interference due to bilingualism to a universal influence concerning the whole speech community (Romaine 1995: 51-67). Such influences are examined within the field of loanwords (lexical global copies), e.g. for the so-called “Turkisms” in Greek and its dialects, which involves complex mechanisms of phonetic adjustment and grammatical re-shaping.

3. *Structural copying and possible language shift/creolization*: Phenomena of deep linguistic impact of the B language which result in modifications in the grammatical and syntactic structure of the native A language (subsumed under “long-term effects of language contact and bilingualism” in Romaine 1995: 67-70, and resulting in the formation of hybrid and mixed languages) and the possible case of language shift (whereby the B language becomes the mother tongue, possibly with substrata from the A language). Such examples in Greek-Turkish contact history are the Inner Anatolian Greek dialects (an instance of “Turkic dominance”, according to Johanson 2002: 6) on the one hand, and (to a certain extent) Gagauz in Western Thrace or Cypriot Turkish (“non-Turkic dominance”) on the other hand, less deep and with no language shift in the two latter cases. The conclusion is that linguistic and sociolinguistic criteria for dominance have to be set separately for each particular historical context and the concomitant different conditions of contact and, possibly, creolization.

4. *Non-structural “cultural” phenomena*: The formation of “syncretic” literary traditions with symbiosis of language and alphabet on the basis of religious criteria (e.g. Greek “Aljamiado” and Turkish “Karamanlidika”). It should be added that I have borrowed the term “syncretism” from cultural anthropological studies, where it is used to denote formerly independent entities such as cultural and religious systems, myths, ideologies, rites, etc. which form a symbiosis with a “new entity” (Colpe 1997: 42-43). This concept of syncretism has been extended here to the concomitant choice of a certain writing system (“entity”), extraneous to the one normally used by the linguistic community, creating “symbiosis” with the “entity” of the respective language of that community.

As far as linguistic geography is concerned, the following main contact areas can be distinguished:

- Istanbul as the centre of cosmopolitanism and multilingualism
- Anatolia, the main contact areas being Inner Anatolia (Capadocia), the Western Aegean Coast and the Eastern Black Sea Coast (Pontos)
- Rumelia (Balkan territories), the main contact areas being Thrace, Macedonia/Thessaly and Epirus
- The islands, especially Crete, Cyprus and the Dodecanese

In regard to the above points, the following main questions arise:

- How can the main periods and regions of Greek-Turkish bilingualism be delimited?
- Which are the periods of major spread of Greek elements into Turkish and of Turkish into Greek (the so-called “Graecisms / Turkisms”)?
- How can the process starting with bilingual use of elements from the two languages and ending in monolingual use of these elements (in the sense of “transferred morphemes and words”, following Weinreich 1968) be described in diachronic terms?

- What is the distribution of the “other’s” language elements in the dialects compared to the standard language (Turkish: Balkan and Anatolian dialects; Greek: Northern/Central/Southern dialects, the islands, Crete, Cyprus)?
- Which are the linguistic variants of both languages where deeper (structural, as opposed to lexical) interference occurs?
- What is the relation of the written tradition (use of elements from the “other’s” language for stylistic purposes and “syncretic” literary production) to bilingualism?
- What attempts have been made in the history of Turkish-Greek relations to learn the “other’s” language (production of grammars, dictionaries and other didactic material)?
- When and where can major cases of resistance be observed (in the sociolinguistic sense)?

These questions necessarily arise when wondering about diachronic contact developments, but I obviously don’t intend to answer them here, this paper being only an attempt at a historical *aperçu* in order to set the grounds for further investigation in this field. This is especially the case with the branch of Turkisms, where the bibliography is rather extensive; a *résumé* is badly needed and has also been requested repeatedly: the call for a “new Miklosich” (referring to the monumental work of Miklosich 1884-90, where more than 2,000 Turkish words with their corresponding forms in South-East European and East European languages were first collected) has become a “leitmotif” of Balkan Linguistics Conferences, ever since the first Conference on South-East European Studies in Sofia in 1968.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the general questions above may be considered as the framework for a work in progress examining “time” and “space” in Greek-Turkish language contacts. Evidently, a problem with such a historical approach is the nature of the linguistic data which should be interpreted not only from a philological perspective, but, crucially, by focusing on the linguistic dimension of stylistic, rhetorical and literacy practices. It is, however, con-

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<sup>3</sup> Hazai 1968: 99, Hazai 1983. For an overview see Kappler 2002: 231 and 273-288.

ceivable that the data (albeit necessarily written) may serve as a potential basis for extrapolating into the spoken forms. A diachronic framework which will incorporate both the historical and the socio-linguistic point of view will therefore have to examine relevant available synchronic data as well.

*1. The origins: Byzantines and Turkic tribes*

The first contact period between Western Turkic tribes and Greek-speaking populations can be set around the 5th century A.D. when Turkic Oghur tribes settled on the northern coast of the Black Sea following the Hunnic migration from Asia to Eastern Europe. The contact assumes clearer features in the 6th century, after the Oghur raids of Thessaly and Macedonia (Moravcsik 1983: I, 65). Other Turkic or probably Turkic-speaking tribes (Khazars, Bulgars, Pechenegs, Uz, Qomans) follow in the 6th-9th centuries and come in contact with the Byzantines, with closer relations coming in the 11th and 12th centuries when masses of Pechenegs and Uz were installed by the Byzantines and employed in the Byzantine army.<sup>4</sup> This is also the point when linguistic data become available, since from the 6th century on, Turkic linguistic traces can be sporadically found in Byzantine chronicles and documents; these are however confined to names and toponyms. Only in the 12th century do we begin to encounter small Turkic sections inserted in Greek texts, mainly Qoman code-switched passages, for instance in the *Theogony* of Ioannes Tzetzes (ca. 1110-1180), where the author translates Greek phrases into what he calls “Scythian” (Σκύθην) or “Persian” (περσικώς), but what obviously is a qoman variety of Turkic:

(1) καλή ημέρα σου, αδελφέ, που υπάγεις, πόθεν είσαι, φίλε;

ασάν χαίς κουρούπαρσα χαντάζαρ χαραντάση

[asan χais (? χα(y)ir?) quru (qaru) barsa(η), χanta(n) ä(r)sär  
χαrandaş{i}]

<sup>4</sup> Moravcsik 1983: II, 3-4. For the history of Turkic tribes in relation to their languages see also Schönig 1999.

[Greek:] ‘have a good day, brother, where are you going, from where are you, friend?’

[Turkic:] ‘(? good?), where are you going, from where might {you} be, brother?’

[Moravcsik 1983: II, 18-19]

## *2. Oghuz-Greek contact in the 12th-14th centuries: language mixing and language shift in Asia Minor*

With the permanent settling of Turkic Oghuz tribes in Asia Minor in the 11th century and the subsequent foundation of the Rum Seljuk Empire in Konya/Ikonion, the history proper of a close Greek-Western Turkish coexistence and contact begins. After a long and complicated transformation process (described in Vryonis 1971), Greek Asia Minor underwent Islamization and Turkization, which led not only to the dominance of the Turkish-Islamic element but also to the formation of syncretic populations and of mixed language varieties, and which ends up in a long process of language shift from Greek and other languages, mainly Armenian, to Turkish, which can be considered concluded only by the early 20th century. This process largely depends on geographical and religious-cultural factors, since the language shift goes ahead with increasing Islamization on the one hand, but, on the other hand, does not occur at all in some regions, such as parts of Cappadocia and other inner Anatolian regions, as well as in the larger cities of the Aegean and the Black Sea coast where a significant Christian population is affected later or is not affected at all by language shift. Thus, for instance in the Black Sea region, according to Brendemoen (2002: 266-267 and 277), the language shift took place in the subsequent period after the Ottoman conquest.<sup>5</sup>

Of great importance in this context is the first instance of widespread multilingualism in the society of Asia Minor during the centuries of Seljuk

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<sup>5</sup> In another work, Brendemoen (2006: 65) parallels the language shift from Greek to Turkish with the strong Islamization period in the region from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards.



domination (i.e. before the 14th century), where an official prestige language (Persian), together with the religious *Hochsprache* (Arabic), clash and combine with two dominating *Volkssprachen*: the Oghuz Turkish of the conquerors and the various Greek dialects of the conquered. The most significant source for this process is the poetry of Sultan Veled (d. 1312), and of his father Celâleddîn Rûmî, the founder of the Mevlevî sect. Rûmî wrote mostly in Persian, which continued to be the official language of the Seljuks and the most important cultural language in the area. The short Greek inserts in the Persian text, as can be seen in the following verses written by Celâleddîn Rûmî, are code-switches organized metrically in hemistichs or half hemistichs:

(2) Bû îsesî afendimu ham moḥsin-o ham mah-rû / naipô sarakinîkâ  
čûnâman man-o čûnî to

[GREEK] Που είσαι 'σύ, αφέντη μου ... [PERSIAN] / [GREEK] να  
ειπώ σαρακηνικά ... [PERSIAN]

‘Where are you, my Lord, you are both the Benefactor and the moon-shaped face / let me say in Saracenian (= Arabic, since the following verse is in Arabic) how I am and how you are.’

(3) Čûn mast šod ân bande bešnov to perâkende / voîtizme kanâkîmu  
sîmera parâlâlo

... [PERSIAN] / [GREEK] βοήθησ' με, κανάκι μου, σήμερα παραλαλώ  
‘Since this servant became drunk, listen to the confused [words]: / help me, my beloved, today I am rambling!’

[Both data from Burguière & Mantran 1952: 76]

The ‘emblematic’ function of code switching is manifest especially in (3), where the ‘confused’, i.e. rambling speech of the drunkard/believer, supposedly a quote, is rendered in vernacular Greek in order to establish a more immediate relationship with the Graecophone reader/listener, while the narration remains in Persian. Functionally different is the, I would say, intersentential switch organized in hemistichs in example (2), where the

prosodic factor comes into play; interesting is the functional switch into Arabic in the subsequent verse with religious contents. Although these code-switched passages are embedded in a Persian (or rather Arabo-Persian) context, for reasons mentioned earlier, the context they point to is a Greek-Turkish-Persian multilingual environment. This can be seen in the works of Rûmî's son Veled, who, after succeeding his father as leader of the Order, dedicated most of his life to missionary activity among the proselytes of the newly propagated religion and was the first poet to use a Western Turkic dialect, in order to reach his target readers/listeners, the ordinary people of Anatolia (cf. Johanson 1993). The predominant use of Turkish by Sultan Veled, along with Persian, reflects the prestige of this language, dominating steadily the other Asia Minor vernacular language, Greek, as a result of religious and political conditions and substituting Greek as L1 in the slow process of language shift described above. However, not only Turkish, but also Greek is used more extensively by Sultan Veled than by his father, since some of the poems in his poetry collection (*Dîvân*), as well as two of his major religious *mesnevî*-compositions (the *Rebâb-nâme* and the *İbtidâ-nâme*), all works composed mainly in Turkish, contain relatively long sections of Greek.<sup>6</sup> The code switching occurs between whole poems, and not only verses or verse segments and, thus, becomes an instrument of multilingual communication, being a sure sign of widespread bilingualism in the society of Asia Minor in those times, a bilingualism which only slowly will be shifting to a Turkish monolingualism. In the continuum between these two stages, as has been mentioned above, there must lie a phase of language mixing, with linguistic varieties known in language contact bibliography as "bilingual mixed languages".<sup>7</sup> In the case of Asia Minor, such a mixed language is known, in terms of data, only by the end of the 19th century, namely the Inner Anatolian dialects described extensively by Robert Dawkins (1916). Here in Cappado-

<sup>6</sup> For Sultan Veled's Greek poems see Burguière & Mantran 1952 and Dedes 1993.

<sup>7</sup> Winford 2003 and other works, such as Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 76), take Inner Anatolian Greek dialects as *the* classic example for this category.

cia and its confining regions we have a frozen situation of language mixing due to specific historical and cultural factors which led to parallel presence of Turcophone, Graecophone and language-mixing Christian populations side by side until the exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece in the 1920s. This means that the Turkish dominance is given in a Christian milieu, as well, which might be typical for the Anatolian language shift process as a whole. Because of this specific situation of Asia Minor, we can fairly use the data from the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries to document the language shift process in the region from the 13<sup>th</sup> century on, without claiming, of course, that the data might have had the same form in earlier stages of the involved languages. As any typical bilingual mixed language, grammatical structure and vocabulary are taken from both languages and are not divided (being the basic difference to creolization). Nonetheless, a trend can be observed that the Greek L1 lexicon is integrated into the syntactical, and partly into the morphological structure of the Turkish L2. Here are some examples of this:

An important morphonological phenomenon is, among others the devoicing of auslaut consonants and revoicing when affixation occurs, according to the Turkish model *kitab* > *kitap* > *kitabı*.<sup>8</sup>

- (4) ποφ (< πόβι) ‘pease’, pl. πόβια  
 γρεφ (desire-PRES.3SG), γρέβω (desire-PRES.1SG)  
 παϊς (play-PRES.3SG), παίζω (play-PRES.1SG);

secondary development in Turkish loanwords: deniz ‘sea’ > devǵiž, pl. devǵižia

[Dawkins 1916: 91, 130-131, 90]

Morphological phenomena include: loss of gender distinctions with the generalization of the neuter gender (το ναίκα ‘the woman’, το βαβά ‘the

<sup>8</sup> The following IAG examples (SG and ST translations as well as morphological analysis are mine) are quoted in Greek alphabet as in Dawkins 1916, but it must be stressed that for further research a scientific transcription based in IPA has to be applied for Inner Anatolian Greek, too.

father'; Dawkins 1916: 87); in dialects where gender distinctions are maintained, there is generally no gender agreement with predicative adjectives (το καλό ο λόγος, Dawkins 1916: 116); article drop in some dialects (αθρόπ 'the man', διάβολος 'the devil', Dawkins 1916: 87); affixation according to the Turkic agglutinative principle in noun declension and distinction of morphologically unmarked indefinite accusative and marked definite accusative:

(5) NOM	μύλος 'mill'	
ACC.indef	μύλος	
ACC.def	μύλο	
GEN	μύλοζιου	(SG μύλου)
PL.NOM/ACC	μύλοζια	(SG μύλοι)
[Dawkins 1916: 98]		

Sporadic use of Turkish personal suffixes on Greek verb stems:

- (6) Imperfect κείμαι 'to lie'  
 κέτουνμι, κέτουνσι, κέτουν, κέτουνμιστικ, κέτουνστινιζ, κέταν  
 [Dawkins 1916: 142]

where the 1PL and 2PL forms are copied from the respective Turkish past markers DIK and DInIz and attached to the Greek singular forms, blending with the Inner Anatolian Greek 1PL marker {-μαστε- / -μεστε- / -μιστι-}.

Note also the use of the enclitic copula in all dialects:

- (7) IAG τυφλόζμαι, τυφλόσαι, τυφλόσνε, τυφλάμεστε, τυφλάστε, τυφλάνδαι  
 blind-COP1SG, blind-COP2SG ...  
 ST kōrüm  
 blind-COP1SG  
 SG είμαι τυφλός

be-1SG blind  
 ‘I am blind, you are blind ...’  
 [Dawkins 1916: 148]

Contact-induced phenomena in syntax are numerous, and include the copied structure in adjectival comparison without a morphological comparative marker:

- (8) IAG    έτα    απ    ετό    μέγα νε  
           that    from    this    big-COP  
       [ST    şu    bundan    büyüktür]  
           that    this-ABL    big-COP  
       [SG    εκείνο είναι {μεγαλύτερο/πιο μεγάλο}    από    αυτό]  
           that    be-PRES.3SG big-COMP                    from    this  
           ‘that is bigger than this’  
       [Dawkins 1916: 116]

Important structural changes took place in Inner Anatolian Greek word order:

(9a) in genitive-possessive constructions:

- IAG            ήρτε    ’να    δεβιού            μαναγιού τ    το    σπιτ  
 come-AOR.3SG    a            dev-GEN            mother-GEN.POSS.3SG    the  
 house  
 ST    bir devin            annesinin                    evine            geldi  
       a dev-GEN            mother-POSS.3SG.GEN    house-  
 POSS.3SG.DAT            come-PAST.3SG  
 SG    ήρθε            στο    σπίτι    της μάνας            ενός    ‘δεβ’  
       come-AOR.3SG    to the    house    the mother-GEN            a            dev-  
 GEN  
       ‘he came to the house of the mother of a dev’

(9b) pre-modifying participle-like verb structures as relative clauses:

IAG	κιάτ	είρα	παιρί
REL	see-AOR.1SG		child
ST	gördüğüm	çocuk	
	see-PART.POSS.1SG	child	
SG	το παιδί {που/το οποίο}	είδα	
	the child REL	see.AOR.1SG	
	‘the child whom I saw’		

(9c) 9a + 9b:

IAG				
του πουλιδίου	τ’ αίμα τ’	άχσεν	dov dóπο	
the bird-GEN	the blood-POSS.3SG	flow-AOR.3SG	the	
place-ACC				
ST				
kuşun	kanı	aktığı	yerde	
bird-GEN	blood-POSS.3SG	flow-PART.POSS.3SG	place-	
LOC				
SG				
στον τόπο	που	έτρεχε	το αίμα	του πουλιού
in the place-ACC	REL	flow-AOR.3SG	the	blood
	the bird-GEN]			
[Dawkins 1916: 201-202]				
‘at the place where the bird’s blood flowed’				

As far as phonology is concerned, one of the main features is the loss of the phonemes /θ/ and /δ/, which were substituted mostly with /t/ and /d/ respectively; however, this is not always the case, which makes an explanation more difficult than Dawkins 1916: 78-79 assumes. In some Cappadocian dialects we find  $\gamma > q$  (qάλα, qάμος, qaïdoúr etc.; Dawkins 1916: 73) due to the influence of Central Anatolian Turkish dialects where the velar occlusive /q/ occurs.

It should be stressed that these data from the Inner Anatolian Greek dialects cannot be projected from the 19th to previous centuries, but they

are nevertheless highly relevant for any exploration of diachronic language contact, since they may be compared (without pretending they are identical) to the third stage in the continuum of language shift development in Asia Minor during the 13th to the 20th centuries, which can be depicted as follows: Greek societal monolingualism -> Greek-Turkish bilingualism -> language mixing ("bilingual mixed language") -> Turkish societal monolingualism (with isolated areas showing various stages of the continuum prior to Turkish societal monolingualism). Only the political events of the 20th century (Greek-Turkish war and exchange of populations) led to the death of the Inner Anatolian Greek-Turkish bilingual mixed languages.

## *2. The Ottoman multicultural state and language contacts during the 15th-19th centuries*

The Ottoman period of Turkish-Greek language contacts can be divided into two parts: a phase of stabilization of the Turkish influence either in bilingual or monolingual surroundings, on all Greek dialects from the 15th to the late 18th century, Ottoman Turkish being the dominant prestige language; and a subsequent resistance period in the 19th century with a shift from Turkish to Greek as prestige language in South-Eastern Europe and, inside the Rum community, in the larger cities, namely Istanbul and Izmir. Obviously, the geographical distinction is highly relevant for the description of the respective phenomena, since the continuing language shift from Greek to Turkish in Anatolia/Asia Minor stands in contrast to a complex situation in the subsequently conquered European lands of the Empire. In the cities of the latter, a widespread, though often unilateral bilingualism is documented, whereas many rural areas have remained rather monolingual, or, at least, not affected by Turkish in terms of bilingualism. As far as the field of lexical copying is concerned, we can assume that most of the Turkish words used in Greek and the Greek words used in Turkish were copied during this important period of close historical and political contact between Greeks and Ottoman Turks.

## 2.1. 15th to 18th century

### 2.1.1. *The strong impact of Turkish on Greek: South-Eastern Europe*

With the Ottoman conquest of South-Eastern Europe (concluded with the battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389) and, subsequently, of the larger part of mainland Greece between the 15th and the 17th centuries, and the islands including Crete and Cyprus, the framework for extensive language contacts was given. From the 15th century onward, Turkish tribes from Anatolia settled in various regions of the Balkan peninsula; many of these tribes were nomadic and contributed in a decisive way to the spread of Turkic linguistic material in the Balkans. By the 17th century the major cities in mainland Greece had acquired their characteristic “Oriental” features in urban architecture and social structure, which points to the importance of the Islamic populations as the administrative élite of the cities—although Muslims were minorities in most urban areas. At that time, bilingualism in the towns was certainly widespread, and therefore it was the basic condition for lexical copying, especially from Turkish into Greek – Turkish being the socially dominant language.<sup>9</sup> However, bilingualism seems to have been rather unilateral, exactly specular to the situation in Istanbul (see below 2.1.3.): from the accounts of European travelers we know that the Turkish population in Athens during the 17th century was effectively bilingual, and that by the 16th century bilingualism was widespread in Greek cities (Guillet de la Guilletière [1675] and Pierre Belon [1553], see Banfi 1985: 19-20 and 23). Actually, massive Turkization of the Greek-speaking population of Greece and the islands did not take place, as opposed to the situation in Anatolia. Even the Islamized groups in Epirus, Thessaly and Crete (numerically significantly smaller than their Christian countrymen) kept their native Greek dialect although they converted to the other religion (hence the emergence of “syncretic cultures”).

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<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, in contrast to Cyprus (see below 2.1.3.), there are no analyses of pre-19<sup>th</sup> century Greek texts concerning the Turkish lexical material, at least according to my knowledge. As for a general overview of Turkisms in South-East European languages, Hazai & Kappler 1999 and Kappler 2002: 271-288 may be consulted.



### 2.1.2. *The slow retreat of Greek in Asia Minor*

On the other hand, in Asia Minor there was loss of Greek, with the exception of a few regions in Inner Anatolia (Cappadocia), on the Aegean coast and in the Pontos region (Eastern Black Sea coast). As we have seen above, some of the Inner Anatolian Greek dialects have undergone deep structural transformations due to the overwhelming influence of Turkish. But the loss of Greek, which had strong roots in the Anatolian linguistic map, must be seen as a gradual development over many centuries, and not as a radical and sudden process. So, in the 14th century Greek was still used in Anatolia (Vryonis 1971: 428), and the bilingualism attested in the 13th century sources of Rûmî and Veled must have been a general feature of the Peninsula for a long period of time. This is also the reason why the extensive and long contact between the Greek speakers and the new Turkish linguistic environment formed the basis for a vast amount of lexical borrowing from Greek into the various Turkish dialects in this particular period (see Tietze 1955, Symeonidis 1976 and Tzitzilis 1987 and references therein). The strong lexical and phonetic influence of Greek during these and the following centuries is still manifest today in various Turkish dialects of Anatolia, and in the Eastern Black Sea region (Pontos), where the Greek features (perhaps to be called “Greek substratum”) are part of the oldest contact-induced phenomena. Widespread bilingualism in the latter region is assumed for this and the following period, until the last years of Ottoman rule, both among speakers with Greek as mother-tongue and among Turkish-speaking groups (Brendemoen 2002: 279). Symptomatically, the extreme phonetic adjustment in other Anatolian dialects hints at an earlier stage of copying with a yet limited bilingualism in those regions; see Johanson’s code copying theory, which states that “copies stemming from periods of less advanced bilingualism often show extreme phonetic adjustment [...], later copies are usually less adapted” (Johanson 2002: 63). Linguistic evidence for this can be found in toponyms and other loanwords from Greek in the Trabzon and Rize dialects, where the copied form is closer to the original (= Greek) word than, for instance, in Western Anatolian dialects. For example, Western Anatolian dialects usually front

vowels preceded by velar anlaut consonants (with subsequent re-voicing), while Eastern Black Sea dialects do not:

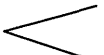
(10) Western Anatolia: Gediz (< Κάδους), Gene (< Κάνα), Gölde (< Κόλιδα)...

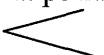
Eastern Black Sea: Komanit, Komarita, Kadahor, Kusera ... (Greek etyma?)

[Brendemoen 2002: 271-272]

Back vowels in Greek loanwords are often accordingly fronted in Anatolian dialects, while Eastern Black Sea dialects keep the back vowels:

(11)

Anatolia: elemit/elemüt and other forms  
 ανεμίδα   
 Eastern Black Sea: alemit

Anatolia: petni (but also: batma)  
 πάτνη   
 Eastern Black Sea: patni/panti  
 [Brendemoen 2002: 269]

In order to interpret these data, the question of “dominant” language is of crucial importance and is directly linked to the history of this early contact period: while Turkish was gaining importance in greater Anatolia due to its increasing use by the official Seljuk state and later by the Ottoman state, the Pontos region remained Greek-dominated as a de facto Byzantine state until the end of the 15th century, and the first Turkish-speaking settlers in that region from the 13th century on moved into a mainly Greek-speaking environment. This two-fold dominance (Greek in the Eastern Black Sea region vs. Turkish in the rest of Anatolia) is the reason for the linguistic traces in the linguistic data presented above.

### 2.1.3. Evidence of bilingualism in Istanbul and Cyprus

Although we do not have very many data about bilingualism in Greek and Turkish sources, especially for the period of the Anatolian beyliks and the Ottoman period until the 17th century, there are some exceptions concerning the geographical areas Istanbul and Cyprus. An interesting case of code switching can be seen in an Ottoman-Greek distich of the 15th century, embedded in a Turkish gazel. It is contained in the work of Ahmed Paşa (d. 1496/97), the well-known Ottoman poet and close companion of Sultan Mehmed II, the Conqueror:

(12)ela nâ filis[t]ume perdiqamû / ela nâ mîris[t]ume vasiliqamû  
 έλα να φίλησ[τ]ούμε πέρδικά μου / έλα να μυρίσ[τ]ούμε βασιλικιά μου  
 ‘Come, let’s kiss, my partridge / come, let’s smell each other, my queen’

[Theodoridis 1965: 181-182]

Another sample of Greek-Islamic literacy is the first autonomous extensive Greek text in Arabic characters (115 manuscript sheets) written by an Islamized Greek, Şânî, in 1657 (Theodoridis 1970). The so-called “Greek Aljamiado” literature, i.e. Greek in Arabic characters, reached its peak in this period<sup>10</sup> with the two works just mentioned, together with an extensive tetralingual dialogue book (Arabic-Persian-Greek-Serbian), written in Constantinople under Sultan Bayazıt II, [i.e., before 1512] (Lehfeldt 1989: 53-70), and the first verses (1674/75) of a rich religious literature produced by the Greek-speaking Muslim population in Epirus. As previously mentioned, the origins of this Aljamiado tradition go back to the bilingual verses of Sultan Veled and his father, and it paves the way for further literary production under a Greek-Turkish contact situation in the following period.

As for mirror phenomena, i.e. Turkish written in Greek characters, the first important instance of such production belongs to this period, too: the

<sup>10</sup> See Kappler 2002: 242-272, Kotzageorgis 1997.



‘They say out of fear “Help! These are infidels!” ’

[Kaplanis 2003, verse 1091]

(14) Εἶπεν τοὺς: «Νε τουρούρσινις; Τώρα να  
, τοιμασθούμεν.»

[GREEK] “[TURKISH] Ne durursınız? ... [GREEK]”

‘He said to them: “What are you standing around for? It’s time to get ready!” ’

[Kaplanis 2003, verse 1437]

Lexical copies can be found in many other Greek Cypriot sources of this period, starting with 16<sup>th</sup>-century texts such as the “Lament of Cyprus” (Θρήνος της Κύπρου), and of the following period in the 19th century. The following are examples from the “Lament”, which was probably written immediately after the Ottoman conquest, i.e. at the end of the 16th century, but is preserved only in a manuscript dated 1702, as well as from the “History of the late Markos” (Ιστορία του Μακαρίτου Μάρκου), composed in 1670 and preserved in a manuscript dated 1700:

(15) Θρήνος της Κύπρου (Thrin), 16th century → manuscript 1702 / Ιστορία του Μακαρίτου Μάρκου (MM), 1670 → manuscript 1700:

kayık ‘boat’ > καγίκιν [ka’jikin]]Thrin 67, MM 126; mecid ‘mosque’ > μετζίτιν [me’ʃitin] Thrin 70, paşa ‘Pasha’ > παχιάς [pa’ʃas]Thrin 72, MM 133; harac ‘tax’ > χαράτζιν [xa’raʃin]Thrin 77, MM 140; höccet ‘document’ > χοντζέτι [xon’dʒeti] Pali 1225, χοκέττιν [xo’ʃettin] MM 140; kapıcı ‘guardian’ > καππικής [kappi’ʃis] MM 126; kumaş ‘tissue’ > κουμάχια [ku’maʃa] (adapted to n.pl.) / κουμάσιν (sg.) MM 128; raki ‘raki’ > ρακή (fem.) MM 135; rüşvet ‘bribe’ > ρουχφέττιν [ru’ʃettin] MM 135; tahrirci ‘scribe’ > ταχρικικής [taxrir’ɖʒis] MM 139; teslim ‘handing over’ > τεσλίμιν MM 138

[Kappler 2005: 152-158]<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> For the specific phonetic adjustment (“substitution” in the traditional terminology) of the given words, see Kappler 2005.

The fact that firmly established, i.e. grammatically adapted, loanwords can be found in the very first texts of the period of Ottoman rule suggests that copying had probably begun before the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus, when a contact/conflict situation between the two languages was already in place. This is also evidenced by the fact that in pre-Ottoman sources adapted loans from Turkish sporadically occur (such as παπούγκια [pa'puŋa], manuscript Oxford 84 of the "Chronicle of Machairas", dated 1555; see Dawkins 1932: 43).

*2.2. Bilingualism, dominance of Turkish and beginning resistance: the 19th century*

The late 18th and 19th centuries of Ottoman-Greek linguistic history are characterized mainly by two important features as far as language contact is concerned: the consolidation of Turkish lexical influence on Greek as witnessed in a great number of texts, but also the beginning of resistance against Turkisms in the second half of that period. The converse phenomenon, i.e. the influence of Greek on Turkish must have diminished considerably due to reduced coexistence in the former contact areas and to the reduced sociolinguistic importance of Greek in a largely Turkish-dominated contact context, though the lexical elements remain part of the language, especially in certain Anatolian Turkish dialects.

How can the contact situation in South-Eastern Europe in this period be described? The reason for the steady Turkish impact in this area is the widespread bilingualism which became prevalent due to extensive commercial contacts and the migration of populations resulting from military and economic changes. Traces of Greek-Turkish bilingualism can be found in late 18th century and early 19th century texts produced in the Muslim milieu of Epirus,<sup>13</sup> in manuscript collections of trilingual texts from Bulgaria where Greek and Turkish figure as the languages of communication and culture (Verkehrssprache / Kultursprache; Kappler 2002:

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<sup>13</sup> A good number of 19th century texts from that region have been analysed from the point of view of their Turkish lexical material; see for instance Kotzageorgis 1997, Kappler 1993, Kappler 2002: 231–272.

155-175), and in various Greek Cypriot poetry texts from this period, similar to the examples given in (14) and (15) above. An interesting example of a code-switched text of that period is the trilingual poetical dialogue “Ο Ερμής συνομιλεί με της Κύπρου την Βουλή” (‘Hermes talks to the Parliament of Cyprus’) by the Cypriot poet Vasilis Michailidis (1847-1917).<sup>14</sup> The whole poem, a dialogue between Hermes, sent by Zeus, and the Parliament over the heavy taxation of the island, is written in three languages (Greek, Turkish and English, with strong Cypriot impact on both the Greek and Turkish varieties), in order to ridicule the political establishment of that time. The intersentential code-switchings used in the poem attest to the ‘multilinguism’ of the author. We limit ourselves to just one line:

(16) Ζεὺς ἀουαρ φάδερ γιολλατί πενί σ’αυτήν την νήσο / σε σε και εν  
γιου αρλάνγκουετς μαζί σου να μιλήσω

[Greek] our father yolladı beni [Greek] / [Greek] in your language  
[Greek]

‘Zeus, our father, sent me to this island / to you and in your language to  
speak with you’

[Erakleous 2008: 28]

Even in Crete, where an essentially Hellenophone Muslim minority lived together with a Hellenophone Christian majority, we find didactic works written by Cretan Muslims between the 18th and the 19th centuries, in which both Greek and Turkish are the target languages (Kappler 2002: 81-141), as well as poetical and periodical press publications in Turkish produced by a Muslim élite educated in Istanbul (Strauß 1996: 349–351), and translation activities (such as the Turkish translation, or adaptation, of the major Cretan Greek literary work, the *Erotókritos*; see Strauß 1992). In this context a very interesting rhymed dictionary, entitled *Tuhfe-i Nûriyye*,

<sup>14</sup> See the hint in Papaleontiou 2006: 174–175. For the publication and analysis of the text under the aspect of code-switching see Erakleous 2008: 34–41.

composed in 1797 and 1809 by the Cretan Mevlevî poet Osmân Nûrî (d. 1815), is the first attempt to propagate Greek as an “Islamic language” and to teach it to an essentially monolingual Muslim community. The fact that the author is a Mevlevî (like most of the other Muslim poets in Crete, such as Hanyalı Şefîq Efendi, d. 1871) is extremely important because this fact expressly refers to a tradition of “Aljamiado Greek” beginning in the 13th century with the Mevlevî founder Celâleddîn Rûmî and his son Sultan Veled.

The “cradle” of bilingualism was the capital, Istanbul, where the Greek and Turkish populations (together with many other language groups) blended to create a situation of cultural fusion (Kappler 2002: 9–49 and 71–79) and to generate a vast literature of a multilingual nature (Kappler 2002: 51–70). Contemporary authors like Skarlatos Byzantios attest to the generalized bilingualism of the non-Turkophone subjects of the empire, while the Turkish-speaking majority seems to have been overwhelmingly monolingual (Vyzantios 1869: 592). The social group responsible for such multiculturalism in the Greek minority were the so-called Phanariotes, the Greek or Hellenized Ottoman ruling class forming what has been called “Ottoman-Orthodox bureaucracy” (see Anagnostopoulou 2004: 120–130), who were in close contact with the Ottoman-Turkish culture and language and carried out important translation activities (Strauß 1995). After Venice one century earlier, 19th-century Istanbul was one of the centres of that peculiar literature, mainly of a religious nature, composed in Turkish and written in Greek characters. The so-called “Karamanlidika” literature emerged for the purpose of liturgical use by the Turkophone Christian population of Anatolia, a remnant of the previous multiculturalism in post-Byzantine Asia Minor. However, many Turkophone Orthodox Christians moved to the coastal cities in the West, especially to Istanbul, where their literature assumed a more generic character with a large non-religious production, thereby making their influence on Greek Ottoman intellectual life noteworthy, precisely because of their mediating role between languages and cultures (cfr. Tietze 1991). As we will see in the following



section, this population also played an extremely important role in the history of Greek-Turkish language contact in the 20th century.

Equally significant is the contribution of Ottoman Greeks of Istanbul to the didactic activity of teaching Ottoman Turkish to Greek speakers. This can be seen in the enormous production of grammars, phrase books, dictionaries and teaching manuals throughout the 19th century, beginning with the first printed grammar of this kind by Dimitris Alexandridis, which appeared in Vienna in 1812 and was followed by more than 12 grammar books and a multitude of other Greek-Turkish didactic materials (Kappler 2007). Conversely, Ottoman language books appear for the first time with Greek as the target language, beginning with a short method printed in 1846, and culminating in the most important work, Alexandros Konstantinidis Paşa's *Usûl-i Lisân-i Rûmî* at the end of the century (1892).

This impressive dimension of a close Greek-Turkish cultural exchange situation in the various contact areas of the Ottoman Empire, and the parallel rising national consciousness in Greece, which was informed by the European Enlightenment and the French Revolution, as well as the subsequent foundation of the first post-Ottoman Balkan state, the Kingdom of Greece in 1827, created the first strong conflict in the perceived relation between the two languages, resulting in the beginning of resistance against Turkish influence in Greek. For the intelligentsia of the Enlightenment, language was perhaps the most important criterion for nationalism and national identity (cfr. Kitromilidis 1996: 105), and the presence of foreign elements, especially of Turkish origin, was undesirable and had to be eliminated. But in the 18th century the resistance against Turkisms was predominantly of an aesthetic nature and still dominated by the pragmatic need for coexistence; for instance, in 1761 Iosif Moisiadax suggests the return to Ancient Greek as a solution against a "barbarized" Modern Greek language (Rotolo 1965: 61), but he simultaneously reasserts the necessity of Turkish in a modernized school curriculum (Kitromilidis 1996: 238). Other intellectuals such as Grigorios Konstantas and Daniel Filippidis even defend the existence of foreign words in a language as "en-

richment” (Rotolo 1965: 70). This attitude changes steadily in the 19th century, when the political conditions make necessary a more rigid language policy which, however, will take effect only at the beginning of the 20th century. The most important precursor of this trend is the philologist and theoretician of the Greek Enlightenment Adamantios Korais (1790–1830), who expressly demands the elimination of foreign elements from the Greek language, not restricting himself only to Turkish linguistic influence (Rotolo 1965: 100). Of particular interest is the opposite view of one of Korais’ opponents, the demoticist Giannis Psycharis (1854–1929), who claims that grammatically adapted lexical borrowings are no longer considered “foreign”, but have been Hellenized and should be maintained in the language, arguing that linguistic contact is not a sign of “slavery” but of “communication” (Millieux 1960: 283, 285). Generally speaking, the ideological resistance to Turkish influence on Greek in the 19th century is part of the framework of purism and the struggle between demoticists and purists (defenders of the so-called *katharévoussa*, the “pure language”) in the context of the “language question”, the target being all kinds of foreign influence and not Turkish exclusively (Kappler 2002: 206–212).

### 3. *Nation states and language policy: the 20th century*

What is probably the most crucial century for Turkish-Greek language contact and conflict opens with a close coexistence of Turks and Greeks characterized by widespread bilingualism and a strong mutual influence, as described in previous sections, and closes with the segregation of the two peoples in their respective nation states, with only sporadic bilingualism among the older generations of Greeks and of Turkish Cypriots, and with societal bilingualism just in a few specific areas. In between came the end of the multiethnic Ottoman Empire, the Greek-Turkish war, the exchange of populations and the division of the island of Cyprus. Subsequently, four important Greek-Turkish crises have negatively influenced bilateral relations: the Cyprus issue, the situation of the Turkophone minority in Northern Greece and of the Greek population of Istanbul, and the areal disputes in the Aegean. In Anatolia the linguistic situation of the Greek community prior to the massive emigration of the Greek Orthodox population in 1923

is characterized by a dominance of Turkish in the countryside and a relatively strict separation with a strong impact of Greek in the cities. By 1923, Greek-speaking communities had survived only in a few regions in Inner Anatolia, mostly in Cappadocia with the mixed variety of Inner Anatolian Greek, examples of which were given in section 2 above, as well as in restricted areas of the Eastern Black Sea coast (see below). The end of the Greek-Turkish war resulted in the exchange of populations agreed between the two countries in 1923, with more than one million Greek Christian refugees settling in Greece and a considerably smaller number of Muslims moving to Turkey. Since the criterion for population exchange was not linguistic but exclusively religious (in accordance with the traditional millet-system of the late Ottoman Empire), among the refugees on both sides there were also “syncretic” communities (Turkophone Christians migrating to Greece and Hellenophone Muslims migrating to Turkey), which played a major role for new trends of contact on both sides. The population exchange had two important impacts on language contact in Turkey and Greece:

The loss of a Greek-Turkish contact situation which had lasted for centuries in Anatolia marks the beginning of a monolingualism encouraged by political authority as the expression of nationalism. (Although the Kemalist language reform targeted mainly Arabo-Persian elements, it was still a general movement for purism and against language mixing.)

Conversely, a new contact situation is emerging in Greece between bilingual or monolingual Turkophone migrants from Anatolia and monolingual Greek-speaking populations.

The new contact situation had a far greater impact in Greece (point 2), where the number of immigrants was much larger relative to the population of the country than in Turkey. The importance of this population exchange for Turkish-Greek language and culture contact in general must not be underestimated. Many new Turkish words entered Greek, or older and obsolete Turkisms (which had already undergone the first purification campaigns mentioned earlier) again came into use, favoured by the diffu-

sion of new cultural expressions from Anatolia, especially in music (rembetika).

However, this revival of Turkish influence in Greece was soon neutralized by a strong resistance period according to various periods of nationalism and attempts to create a monocultural and homogeneous “Hellenic” society, culminating in the Metaxas régime (1936–41) and the Junta 1967–74. The years between 1936 and the 1990s are characterized by a steady retreat of Turkisms in daily use of standard Greek and a new semantic distribution of existent Turkish words with a marked tendency towards pejoration (Kazazis 1972, Tzitzilis 1997). In the same way, Greek words are less frequent in the urban dialects of Turkish in the same space of time and due to the same ideological resistance and subsequent decrease in the prestige of the “other’s” language. With the disappearance of Turkish-Greek bilingualism, the use of Turkish words in Greek and of Greek words in Turkish is relegated geographically to certain rural dialects (Northern Greece for Greek, where the influence of refugees from Asia Minor has been significant, as well as in Cyprus and Crete, and West/Central Anatolia and the Black Sea coast in Turkey), and socially to the older generation and to argot variants of both languages, including secret languages of socially emarginated groups, such as homosexuals (Petropoulos 1993, Kaptan 1984, Symeonidis 2001). But many Turkisms are still retained today in standard Greek, as in other South-East European languages, too, and a revival of the use of Turkish lexical elements in certain contexts can even be observed, e.g. for stylistic purposes, in texts of the mass media, in youth slang and in literature (Kappler 2002: 215–229). This is also due to a changed attitude toward Turkish and Turkey in a newly conciliatory political context between two nations who always have been in an unavoidably conflicting contact situation in the past, but are now sharing (or “re-discovering”) common cultural patterns.

Bilingualism has been preserved only in a few areas, which were excluded from the 1923 population exchange, such as Western Thrace with its predominantly Turkophone Greek-Turkish bilingual community, or Istanbul and the Turkish islands of the Aegean, with their rapidly dimin-

ishing number of bilingual Greeks. Bilingual Turks can also be found in Rhodes (which was not part of the Greek state in 1923) and Northern Cyprus, however, only among the older generation who had lived in a contact situation prior to the 1974 war.

Cyprus with its Cypriot Turkish (CT) varieties is an important example for non-Turkic dominance in Greek-Turkish language contacts. In the 20th century, Greek became the dominant language for purposes of communication on the island due to infrastructural and demographic reasons. So Greek (together with English) has had a strong impact on CT until today, which goes much beyond mere lexical influence, as it involves radical changes in CT syntax, especially in the domain of embedded (both object and relative) clauses (Demir 2007, Petrou 2007), as well as in optative-subjunctive clauses (Demir 2002, Tsiplakou & Kappler forthcoming) and cleft-constructions. Suprasegmental-phonological convergence between CT and CG can be observed in the intonation of *wh*-questions (Çelebi 2002), and lexical convergence, apart from strong mutual lexical copying, can be seen in common global copies from modern Arabic dialects, unknown to the respective standard languages (Kappler forthcoming). Although many valuable studies exist on presumed contact-induced linguistic phenomena in CT, only very few of them have analysed these phenomena under the aspect of language contact (whereas others only “suggest” such an approach without going into depth and without considering the “other’s” language<sup>15</sup>). Much work has to be done in this field.<sup>16</sup>

Another Turkic population exposed to non-Turkic dominance is found in Western Thrace: The Gagauz, Turkophone Orthodox Christians, speak a Balkan Turkish dialect with deep influences from Greek and other Balkan languages, especially in the domain of syntax. Their variety needs to be studied in comparison with the Gagauz spoken in Moldavia, which is basically influenced by other Balkan languages as well as Russian.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See, symptomatically, the interrogative title of Demir 2007 (“Language Contact in Northern Cyprus?”)!

<sup>16</sup> An attempt in this sense is Kappler 2008.

<sup>17</sup> For contact-induced syntactic phenomena in the Gagauz varieties spoken in the

The opposite case of Greek-speaking communities still existent in Turkey, i.e. in a strong Turkish-dominated environment, and on the verge of extinction, are the Muslim immigrants from Crete, who settled in the areas of İzmir and Ayvalık after the population exchange, and the (Pontic-) Greek speaking Muslims (“Ophites”) in the mountainous area behind Trabzon, called Of, who had been excluded from the exchange program because they were Muslims. The linguistic varieties of both communities need urgent analysis from the point of view of language contact.<sup>18</sup>

As this paper aimed to be an overview of the possibilities for creating new perspectives and approaches to what can be called diachronic contact linguistics, we cannot draw any conclusions at this stage. Synchronic data combined with historical data could contribute to a better understanding of the history of bilingualism, code switching and mixing, as well as copying and grammatical adaptation of loanwords, especially in cases of contact between regional varieties, such as between the two main languages of Cyprus. Another significant aspect is the diachronic investigation of register variation from a historical sociolinguistic point of view. The research on Greek-Turkish contact history can profit from many valuable previous studies focusing on the mutual linguistic impact of the two languages; it is now time to consider the diachronic aspect and the language variation factor, and to undertake extended research in this direction.

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Republic of Moldova, see Menz 1999; a study of the Gagauz dialects of Western Thrace has not yet been carried out.

<sup>18</sup>

A first approach to the Pontic variety spoken by the Ophites of the Black Sea coast has been made by Mackridge 1987.

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