

The Urban Mind

Cultural and Environmental Dynamics

Edited by
Paul J.J. Sinclair, Gullög Nordquist,
Frands Herschend and Christian Isendahl



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17. The Linguistic Landscape of Istanbul in the Seventeenth Century

*Éva Á. Csató, Bernt Brendemoen,
Lars Johanson, Claudia Römer and Heidi Stein*

Contact details

Prof. Éva Á. Csató
Uppsala University
Department of Linguistics and Philology
Box 635
751 26 Uppsala, Sweden
eva.csato@lingfil.uu.se

ABSTRACT

This chapter studies the urban linguistic environments of Istanbul after the historical shift brought about by the Ottoman conquest in 1453. The focus is on the seventeenth century, when the population doubled – assumedly because of climate changes in Anatolia – and Turkic-speaking groups became dominant. Nevertheless, the town accommodated a multitude of interacting linguistic codes, that is, languages and dialects, both social and functional varieties. This multilayered linguistic ecological system was mapped out on the topography of one of the largest urban centres of the time. Distinctive features ensuring sustainability of the linguistic codes in this prenational urban setting are outlined. For instance, the absence of normative measures implies that codes were used in complementary functions and no single code was offered or claimed to be used in all domains of communication.

Urban settings call for encounters between speakers of different codes and thereby trigger cross-linguistic communicative habits, such as code copying, that is, copying of elements or features of a model code into the speaker's native variety. As a result of copying, new, levelled varieties arose. An urban variety of spoken Turkish emerged and served as a *lingua franca*. This linguistic landscape of Istanbul ultimately became the bedrock from which modern standard Turkish evolved.

Foreigners in urban settings may act as linguistic mediators. Our knowledge of the linguistic landscape of seventeenth-century Istanbul is based to a high degree on data provided by travellers, interpreters (dragomans), and European Orientalists who wrote so-called transcription texts, texts documenting the spoken codes of Istanbul in non-Arabic scripts, mostly Latin. Some of these mediators and their contributions to the documentation of the linguistic landscape are presented in this chapter.

Introduction

Istanbul as a linguistic landscape

Seventeenth-century Istanbul was one of the largest, if not *the* largest, metropolises of its time, the political, spiritual and cultural centre of the Ottoman Empire, established in the territory of the East Roman Empire. Although this period in the history of the city is abundantly documented, little is known about the complex linguistic situation and the development of the Turkish language in the city.

The linguistic diversity in the urban environment of Istanbul after the historical shift brought about by the Ottoman conquest in 1453 is the subject of this study. The focus will be on the formative period of the 17th century, when the population doubled and Turkic-speaking groups became predominant. Some distinctive features ensuring the viability of the language varieties in this early modern, pre-nationalist, multilingual, urban environment will be presented.

The great complexity of the issues involved demands a careful empirical approach based on painstaking analyses of available linguistic materials. The language of the lower social classes, colloquial speech and minority languages are best mirrored in what has been called 'transcription texts', that is, Turkish texts written in non-Arabic scripts such as Latin, Greek, Armenian, Cyrillic and even Georgian. The authors of the transcription texts were members of minorities, travellers and foreign scholars. By studying these texts, new information can be acquired on the vernaculars spoken in the city.

Linguistic processes

The subject of our study is the complex and multilayered linguistic ecological system in the unique urban landscape of Istanbul. The term 'ecological system' is used here metaphorically to denote a system of codes as they interact in the social and physical environment of the urban space, in other words, in the linguistic landscape. "Just as natural ecologies are seen as structures and are defined by functional interconnections between their inhabitants and their habitats, linguistic diversity is seen as similarly structured, with small languages being important for the viability of larger ones and vice versa."¹ The specific environment regarded as a home for the languages and their variants is in this case the landscape of Istanbul, with its particular urban spatial syntax for cohabiting speech communities and shared or separated spaces for communication.²

The ecological approach is employed in order to gain new insights into the processes taking place in the linguistic ecological system of Istanbul.

Special attention must be paid to the most remarkable result of this interaction – the growth of an urban variety of Turkish which served as a *lingua franca* for the diverse speech communities of Istanbul. This *lingua franca* which during the Ottoman times sheltered the small vernaculars and contributed to their viability would later become the bedrock of modern standard Turkish as developed in the age of the Turkish national movements.

1 Mühlhäusler 2006, 206.

2 See Çınar 2007 on how an 'imagined community' may develop at an urban meeting place in present-day Istanbul. A fascinating example is the subculture in Laleli; see Yüксеker 2007.

One and a half centuries after it became the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul accommodated a multitude of interacting linguistic codes. The term 'code' will be used here as a general designation for languages, dialects, sociolects, or any kinds of linguistic variants. The 16th and 17th centuries brought about significant changes in this landscape when, possibly owing to climatic changes (see below), new large turcophone groups from Anatolia entered the city. This development may have changed the relations among the speech communities. However, a considerable equilibrium of the codes can be observed. There were code shifts, and even a loss of certain codes; new spoken and written varieties emerged; convergence took place among the codes, but none of the codes can be said to have absolute dominance. There was no 'killer' language, that is to say, a dominant language that grows at the cost of other linguistic codes rather than in addition to them.

Absence of normative measures

The spoken and written codes in Istanbul in this formative period evolved without any official normative measures. This is even true of the prestigious High Ottoman language. The growth and evanescence of the language varieties were regulated by the actual needs and communicative habits of the speech communities. The codes were used in complementary functions, and no single code offered or claimed to be used in all domains of communication.

Language encounters

Encounters between speakers of different languages are a customary facet of urban settings. According to Weber,³ occidental cities have three major distinctive features: they are closed, dense, and large settlements. The most important experiential aspect of city life is, however, the character of landscapes in which population groups without deeper familiarity with each other live relatively close together. Cities are places where contact between strangers, which is otherwise an unusual and often threatening situation, becomes an everyday experience that has a significant impact on all aspects of life.⁴ In Istanbul, the 'meeting of strangers' implied interaction between speakers of a multitude of different linguistic codes and cultures. The macro- and microstructure of everyday life in the urban setting required cross-linguistic communicative habits and created levelled varieties of the codes. The ultimate result of these processes was the development of a Turkish-based *lingua franca*.

Ottoman Turkish

Istanbul was an imperial city. After 1453, the Ottoman conquerors imposed a new socio-cultural edifice on the remnants of the Byzantine city. The new rulers defined their *Hochkultur* as an Islamic-Turkic transformation of the political-cultural role played by the East Roman Empire. A new imperial language, Ottoman Turkish, was created as the pre-eminent medium for expressing the essence of the empire and the aspirations of its dynasty. It was based on Turkic varieties and

3 Weber 1958.

4 Szokolczai 2003, 52.

equipped with numerous copied elements from the unrelated Persian and Arabic languages. It manifested the trans-regional and trans-cultural Islamic rule of the Ottoman dynasty. Ottoman Turkish became the language of the administration of the empire, the expression of its political and cultural power, and the medium of its literary and conceptual production. Ottoman Turkish will be treated in more detail below.

Vernaculars

In the geographical and political space of the city, the speakers of Turkic and the non-Turkic speaking communities – the Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Italians, and others – maintained and transformed their vernaculars in economic and cultural interaction with each other and with the ruling elite.

Interdisciplinary landscape ecology

Linguistic ecological systems

Linguistic ecology studies the relationships and interaction among written and spoken linguistic codes 'living' in a given environment.⁵ Ecolinguistics has gained special relevance today, when the massive death of languages has become a compelling issue.⁶ A better understanding of the sustainability of languages can be gained by studying linguistic ecological systems of urban centres with enduring multilingual populations. Large urban centres are, as a rule, targets of immigration, which reinforces multilingualism. In New York today about eight hundred languages are spoken, many of them already extinct in their original homelands.⁷ Urban landscapes may shelter linguistic diversity.

The task is to describe the links between the codes and their natural, social, and cultural contexts. The crucial questions concern linguistic diversity and heterogeneity: why and how codes are alive, why and how they interact and compete with each other, why and how they vanish and die. The codes are embedded in their environments, which influence the mono- and multilingual speakers interacting within them. The environment is not only social but also includes natural biological and material circumstances. Our definition of linguistic landscapes extends the exclusively social notion of language ecology suggested by Einar Haugen. It is also important to ask how speech communities imagine and conceptualize their landscapes. What role did the urban landscape of Istanbul play in shaping cultural and social identities?

An integrative approach to research on language contact is advocated here. But describing the potentially relevant topographical, historical, cultural, ethno-linguistic and other factors is an arduous task. It may yield good results if approached in a differentiated way, unless, of course, the criteria are mixed up or the factors lumped together. The correlations will be visible only if each factor is considered separately. The necessary integrative analyses cannot be carried out

⁵ Haugen 1972.

⁶ About half of today's six thousand languages may be threatened by extinction within the next 50–100 years.

⁷ Roberts 2010.

by single researchers alone. There is an absolute need for cooperation in a comprehensive project involving linguists, historians, sociologists, anthropologists, demographers, ethnographers, ethnohistorians, geolinguists and other specialists. The linguistic approach and the other approaches will thus complement each other.

The linguistic ecological system of Istanbul

An investigation of the highly complex environment of early modern, cosmopolitan Istanbul may give significant insights into the nature of the urban mind as mirrored in the local linguistic ecological system. In spite of its great complexity, or rather thanks to it, linguistic codes enjoyed high sustainability. The interaction and development of the codes were governed by ecological factors. Local vernaculars were maintained and new varieties developed according to the communicative and cultural needs of the speech communities. The codes interacted with trans-local linguistic and cultural codes “participating – and knowing one was participating – in cultural and political networks that transcended the immediate community”.⁸

Code copying

Human linguistic competence includes mechanisms of copying from and into codes.⁹ In contact situations, speakers of a primary code copy either whole items or only selected phonic, grammatical, or semantic features of a dominating code. They may also copy elements from their primary code into their particular variety of a dominating foreign code. These processes are complex and creative. Code copying always introduces something new, and, as a result, innovative varieties develop. This natural process of code interaction is not always regarded as beneficial. It is sometimes claimed to create mixed, impure, contaminated varieties.

In the case under investigation, 17th-century Istanbul, the communicative habits of the speakers were governed by relatively free code interaction. The freedom to adapt spoken and written codes to the immediate needs of the individuals or speech communities created an ecological system in which the native code-copying skills were not hampered. There was no significant negative stance toward using non-native linguistic elements. Minority speakers, for instance, in the famous shadow plays *Karagöz*, were recognised because of their characteristic accents when speaking Turkish. Thus, there were different substandard varieties of Turkish spoken by the Armenians, Greeks, Jews and other non-turcophone minority groups. We assume that these creative code-copying processes played a positive ecological function in the maintenance of the vitality of the codes.¹⁰

Functional stratification

A relatively high viability of the codes may be owing to their functional stratification. No code arrogated to itself the right to be applied in every function. Various levels of spoken and written Ottoman Turkish had their specific functional

8 Pollock 2006, 10.

9 Johanson 2002.

10 See Ritter's book on the *Karagöz* plays; Ritter 1953.

domains. The non-Muslim communities, organized in so-called *millet*s, had their own written and spoken codes. Even small dominated codes were maintained, since they served specific functions. Some codes had also a geographical anchoring as the language of special speaker groups who lived together in particular districts of the city. High Ottoman Turkish was a written language which did not hamper the use of different spoken varieties of Turkish.

The topography of the city

A brief sketch of the topography of Istanbul will set the stage for presenting the codes in their social, political and physical environment.

Before the Ottoman conquest, the Byzantine city was restricted to the area behind the walls. After the conquest, the surroundings also belonged to the Ottomans. Since no enemy threatened the city, Istanbul could expand into the adjacent co-urban areas. In 1453, the Ottomans took over the centres of Byzantine sovereignty and equipped them with their symbols of supremacy. The main body of the Ottoman army, religious functions, religious schools, and the main functions of urban life, such as the markets, were established within the walls.

The population continued to be heterogeneous, especially as a consequence of Mehmed the Conqueror's repopulation measures. Large numbers of Muslims immigrated from the Balkans after 1453. The majority of the population consisted of Muslims, but also non-Muslims had their settlements in the city. The Greek patriarch was based in Fener, the Armenian patriarch in Kumkapı, and there were large settlements of members of their congregations in their surroundings. Other non-Muslim minorities were the Jews and the Turkish-speaking Orthodox Karamanlids. A Roma community settled in Sulukule, where it has remained up to modern times. Eyüb, to the west of the wall, comprised gardens, pastures, fisheries, slaughterhouses, tanneries, a candle-making industry, etc. Eyüb was also a Muslim religious centre with mosques and medreses. See Figs 1 and 2.

The suburb of Galata, across the Golden Horn, was a former Genoese colony whose population remained more or less intact after the conquest. Non-Muslim immigrants from the provinces and European merchants settled in this suburb. Galata had good connections with the international trade and possessed a market place of its own. The imperial dockyard in Kasımpaşa and the gunnery in Tophane were centres of craftsmanship.

Üsküdar, across the Bosphorus, was an important transit point for international, i.e. Armenian and European, commerce. "From the late sixteenth century on, at any one time, there were at least one hundred discernible groups of artisans and service workers in Istanbul".¹¹

Urban settings also offered abundant opportunities for cross-linguistic communication, for example in market places, baths, public water facilities,¹² and churches. Tradesmen constituted a large part of the urban population. Although trade was dominated by non-Muslims, also Turks participated in it. Similarly, as a rule, the Muslims and non-Muslims entered different guilds, but some guilds were mixed.

11 Yi 2000, 25.

12 Mantran mentions that, according to Evliya Chelebi's *Seyahatname*, there were in Istanbul in the 17th century 4000 palace fountains, 9995 public and private fountains, 7909 water pipes, and 200 *sebilhane*'s, i.e. buildings where water was distributed free. Mantran 1990, 108.

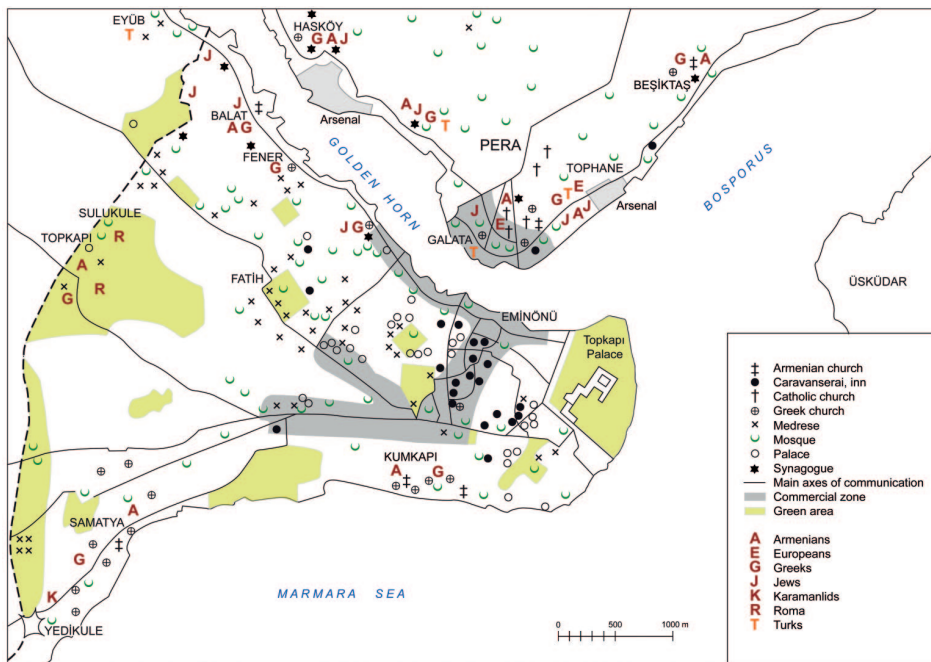


Fig. 1. Areas of cross-linguistic encounters in Istanbul in the 17th century: non-Muslim communities, religious and educational institutions, commercial zones, inns, palaces, main axes of communication and green areas (after Mantran 1962: Maps 4 and 5).

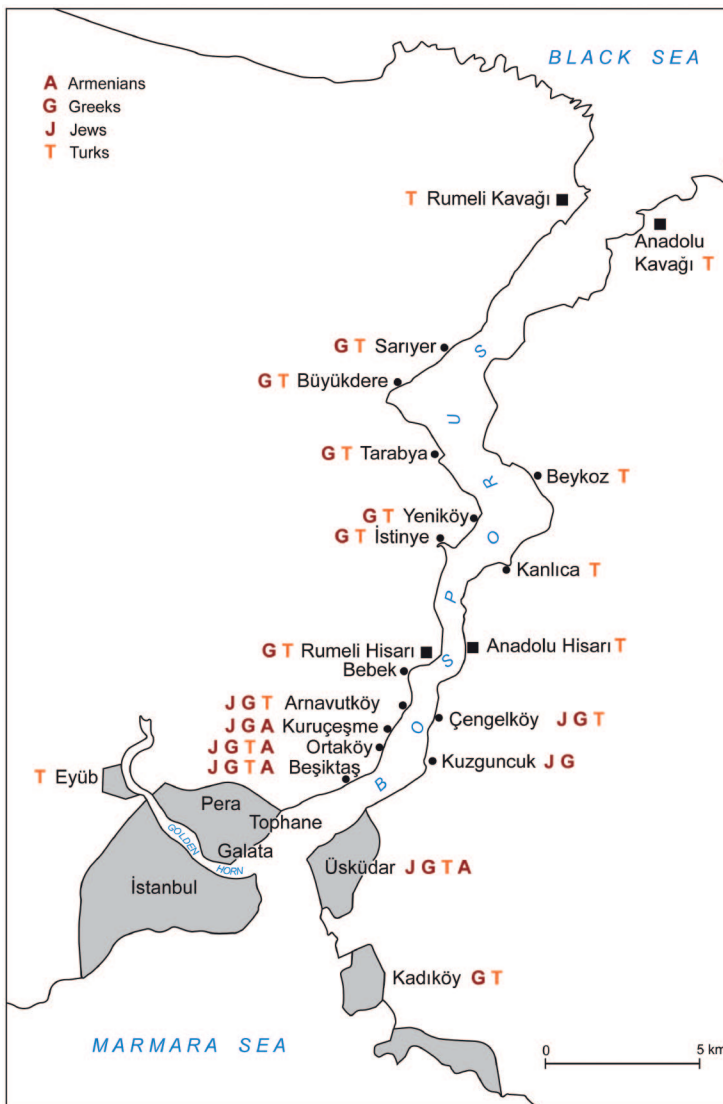


Fig. 2. The composition of the population in the Bosphorus area in the 17th century (after Mantran 1962: Map 8).

The non-Muslim population was organized in *millet*s, which were autonomous, self-governing, confessional communities that had their own laws and were headed by their own religious leaders. The latter were responsible to the central Ottoman authorities for paying taxes and maintaining internal security. The communities organized their own communal councils without intervention from outside. Their members conducted their affairs in their own language, except in case of legal problems with Muslims. In the spatial organization of Istanbul, the Turkic and non-Turkic codes had also their own habitats. The fact that minority languages dominated in certain districts of the city was a significant factor for their viability.

A troubled century

The 17th century was a troubled period in Ottoman history. Economic, military, and political problems caused disturbances. Six revolts led to the deposition of three sultans and the assassination of two others. One problem was the rapidly growing population. The growth started at the end of the 16th century and was allegedly a result of population pressure in Anatolia.¹³ In the 17th century the situation became precarious, since the newcomers lacked economic and social networks. Several edicts were issued in order to send them back to the provinces.¹⁴ European travellers wrote about the hardships of life in the city, for example conflagrations due to the densely built wooden houses, and epidemics caused by the humid climate.

Consequences of climate change?

Some historians have seen a possible relationship between climate changes and social crises in Europe. Le Roy Ladurie¹⁵ was the first to study a long-term climatic cooling period, the so-called Little Ice Age that affected Europe between about 1280 and 1850. Griswold¹⁶ discussed a possible correlation between climate change and a long period of social unrest in Anatolia, which led to massive migrations to large cities during the 16th and 17th centuries.

The Jelâli revolts, named after the followers of Sheykh Jelâl, an Alevite leader, broke out in Anatolia in the periods 1526–1528, 1595–1610, 1654–1655, and 1658–59. The longest and most violent revolts in the history of the Ottoman Empire, they were caused by long-term economical problems and had disastrous effects for the Empire. Griswold found evidence in climate data for the hypothesis that a climate change in Anatolia contributed to population pressure and the subsequent migration of Turkish-speaking and Armenian masses to Istanbul.

An intensive debate has been conducted on demographic changes in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th and 17th centuries and the interpretation of the historical data on population size.¹⁷ It is an unresolved issue as to how these events influenced the linguistic situation in Istanbul.

13 Cook 1972.

14 Yi 2000, 26.

15 Le Roy Ladurie 1971

16 Griswold 1993.

17 See, e.g. Özel 2004; İslamoğlu-İnan 1994; Erder 1975.

The codes

Early sources of written Turkish

The study of linguistic varieties in Istanbul is dependent on the availability of written sources. Written sources in Turkish in Anatolia and Rumelia were relatively scarce before 1453. The chieftains of the Turks who entered Anatolia after the victory over the Byzantine Empire at Manzikert in 1071 were literate in Arabic and Persian, if at all. The Seljuks, who established their state in the surroundings of Konya and later extended their hegemony over Anatolia, used Arabic and Persian as their written language for administrative and literary purposes.

Jelaleddin Rumi, who spoke Persian and perhaps also the Eastern Oghuz language Khorasan Turkic, and who acquired knowledge of Anatolian Turkish and even Greek in Konya, wrote his works in Persian. The fact that his Sufi teaching was propagated in Turkish in order to reach Turkish-speaking social groups shows that different linguistic codes were chosen for different purposes.¹⁸

The use of Turkish as a written language started in the 13th and 14th centuries in some small principalities, centres such as Aydın, Balıkesir, Karaman, Kastamonu, Konya, Kütahya, Sivas, and the first Ottoman capitals Bursa and Edirne.¹⁹ The earliest Anatolian literary works were those of Sultan Veled (1291 and 1301), Gülşehrî (1317), ‘Āšîq paşa (*Garib-name*) (1329), and Yunus Emre. Some legal and religious works were translated into Turkish, such as the legal codebook *Manzumât al-hilâfiyyât* (1332). Translations of commentaries on the Koran into Turkish constitute another type of text.

Arabic-Persian elements

The important Central Asian Turkic literary languages Karakhanid, Khwarezm Turkic, and Chaghatay had begun to copy abundant materials from the prestigious Islamic language New Persian with its numerous elements of Arabic origin.²⁰ Literary New Persian offered a developed vocabulary, other devices of a linguistic order, and aesthetic and stylistic patterns. The normal way of copying Arabic elements was via Persian.

This pattern was followed in written Turkish, particularly in the period that started with the establishment of the Ottoman Empire. High Ottoman, to which only a limited social group had access, was used as the written medium in administration and cultural life. It was based on a Turkish grammatical frame but gradually became overloaded with Arabic-Persian lexical elements symbolizing its high status and validity as the language of the whole empire. Written Arabic and Persian were also still used as languages of scholarship and poetry.

High Ottoman

From the late 15th century onwards the High Ottoman literary language emerged, a formalised code with a set of rhetoric and stylistic rules for prose and poetry. Despite all aesthetic formalism, there was no single standard. The register of

18 Johanson 1993.

19 Björkman 1964.

20 Johanson 1986, 185–186.

prose varied according to the purpose of the text and the author's stylistic ability. Its most prominent elements include nominal phrases of the Persian so-called *izafet* type, combinations of Persian right-branching and Turkish left-branching clauses, and synonyms from all the three languages Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. The aesthetic value of a literary text was correlated with its effect on the addressee. Authors were expected to combine stylistic patterns in a skilful way, whereas the addressees recognized the hints of the metaphors and the rhythmic textual waves,²¹ drawing pleasure from both the known repertoire and innovative usage.²² Formalism is also characteristic of the Ottoman administrative language with its stylistic components, which varied according to the kind of document, its purpose, and the rank of the addressee. Legal documents are relatively restricted in stylistic respect: their language may be elaborate, but there is less emphasis on the quest for originality.²³

The vocabulary gradually evolved to a thoroughly mixed one with an ever-increasing percentage of Arabic-Persian elements. According to certain estimations, it comprised, by the 15th century, about 45 per cent elements of ultimately Arabic origin and 15 per cent of Persian origin.²⁴

Interaction of codes in Ottoman Istanbul

When turcophone groups entered Constantinople in 1453, the cultural, linguistic, and ethnic diversity of the city changed. The previously dominating Greek code was superseded by Turkic varieties. An urban linguistic environment emerged in which various Turkic and non-Turkic codes interacted, serving different functions: to meet the needs of the state, or to be limited to the diverse speech communities.

The Ottoman conquerors took over the multilingual environment of Constantinople without ethnic prejudices. The city, however, continued to be the dominant urban centre of administration and culture. Non-Turkic-speaking groups like the Greeks and Armenians continued to exist in the city and were forcibly settled there in order to repopulate the city after the flight of large numbers of local people and early immigrants shortly after 1453. The latter was due not only to the destruction of parts of Istanbul, but also to a new taxation system for immigrant households introduced by Mehmed II. Later sultans also settled people deported from other regions in Istanbul.

Sociological changes modified the dominance relations of the codes in the urban landscape. Population movements constantly added new codes to the existing ones, and increased or reduced the numbers of certain speaker groups. Immigration from and interaction with East Balkan settlements added more elements to the Turkic linguistic environment.²⁵ Throughout the history of the city, speakers of new varieties moved in from Anatolia, the Balkans, Transcaucasia, and other regions.

21 Tietze 1973, 299.

22 Römer 2005, 318.

23 On stylistic questions in general, see İz 1964; Bombaci 1964; Flemming 1973; Tietze 1973; Römer 2001, 2004; Procházka-Eisl and Römer 2007 18–19. On originality in poetry, see Tolasa 1983, 218.

24 Römer 1981.

25 Hazai 1974; Tietze 1976; İnalçık, EI² IV, 238a.

This process resulted in a very complex multilingual environment with specific interaction patterns. The interacting codes converged as a result of code-copying processes, displaying increasing similarities. The role of non-Turkic minorities in this interaction merits special attention. Their speakers were often multilingual and served as mediators between speakers of Turkish and other languages. Thus, the non-Muslim speech communities also played an important role in the development of Turkish varieties in the city.²⁶

Contributions of minorities

The roles of various minorities will be dealt with below. The largest minorities developed their own written traditions, creating Graeco-Turkish, Armeno-Turkish, and Judeo-Turkish literatures. In the 16th century, Jewish poets wrote hymns in Hebrew after the model of Ottoman songs²⁷ and wrote Turkish in Hebrew script.²⁸ The first literary works in a modern European sense were based on a spoken variety of Turkish and written with Armenian characters. The Karamanlid literature, produced by orthodox Christians, was written in Greek characters. The Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) group cultivated a Romance variety brought to Istanbul and the Balkans by Jews expelled from Spain in 1492.²⁹ The first descriptions and grammars of Ottoman were written by minority members and foreigners. Ottoman scholars were less interested in the cultivation of Turkish as such, but paid more attention to the Arabic and Persian components of written Ottoman. As described below, the so-called transcription texts produced by various mediators are of high value for reconstructing the development of Turkish spoken varieties.

We possess many good sources for the study of the interaction between the different population groups in the 17th century. Accounts written by foreigners who visited Istanbul often give rich information on the ethnical and linguistic diversity of the city.

Population data

The multiethnic and multilingual character of the city is indirectly reflected in population data. In 1478, the population comprised 65000–80000 households, of which 58.11 per cent were Muslim and 41.89 per cent non-Muslim. Around 1550, Cristobal de Villalon, Sinan Pasha's doctor, estimated the population at 410000–520000, consisting of 57.7 per cent Muslims and 42.3 per cent non-Muslims ('infidels'). He reckoned with 60000 Turkish, 40000 Christian, and 4000 Jewish households in the city, and 10000 additional households in the suburbs. More precise data can be extracted from Ottoman registers. There is a fragment of a *tahrir* of 1455 that covers 22 *mahalles* with 918 households, 291 of which had been destroyed. The remaining households were sparsely populated. In 1455, Jewish households were deported from Rumeli to resettle in Istanbul, and between 1459 and 1475 many Greeks, Armenians, Latins, and Muslims settled in the city as a consequence of Mehmed's large-scale deportations (*sürgün*) from

26 For standard and non-standard Turkish varieties, see Johanson 1989.

27 See Tietze and Yahalom 1995.

28 See Tietze 1991a.

29 Ben-Naeh 2008 gives a comprehensive presentation of the history of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire.

other conquered cities. The census of 1477 (Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi D 9524) thus shows a total of 14803 households, comprising 8951 Muslim, 3151 Greek orthodox, 1647 Jewish, 267 Kaffan, and 372 Istanbul Armenian households, plus 384 households of Armenians and Greeks from elsewhere, and 31 Roma households. An additional total of 1521 households of various ethnic groups made up the population of Galata. Later on, voluntary settlement was encouraged, and after 1492 the Ottomans welcomed Jewish settlers from Spain and other Mediterranean countries.³⁰

The size and composition of the population in Istanbul in the 17th century is not quite clear. There is, however, a remarkable stability with regard to the proportions of Muslim and non-Muslim habitants.³¹ The same proportion as mentioned above is reflected in the population data of 1689.³² Mantran evaluates the evidence of several reports and estimations, concluding that the size of the population was probably between 800000 and one million.³³ This estimation is, however, not uncontroversial. Recent research findings need to be evaluated.

Evliya Chelebi's (1611–1683) *Seyahatname* and Eremya Chelebi Kömürjian's (1637–1695) work in Armenian on the history of Istanbul, give us some information on the composition of the population in the 17th century and describe the habitats of the Greek, Armenian and Jewish communities in the city. Evliya Chelebi informs us that there were 9990 Muslim quarters, 304 Greek, 657 Jewish, 17 Frankish, and 27 Armenian. The number of Muslim quarters may have been exaggerated, but it could also be consistent. Figures for 1634 list 1525 *'avariz hanesi*, which was a fictitious unit comprising several households each.³⁴ The small minorities included Roma, Arabs, Albanians, and Vlachs. The non-Muslim minorities lived in compact settlements in the vicinity of their churches. They had their own administration and legal representatives.

The relation between spoken varieties and the composition of the population does not reflect any direct correspondence between religion, ethnicity and linguistic competence. Even the Muslim population was linguistically heterogeneous. The turcophone groups that moved into the city after the conquest and settled down both in the old city and in Galata came from the Balkans and Anatolia and spoke different Turkic varieties. On the other hand some minority groups, such as the Armenians, shifted early to the dominant Turkish language.

The Christian communities

The Greek community

The upper classes of the Istanbul Greeks – the aristocracy, the clergy, and the commercial bourgeoisie – seem to have adjusted to their new rulers quite smoothly. It is well known that, when the Catholic European powers during the last days of the Ottoman Empire promised to ward off the Turkish besiegers if the Byzantines agreed to submit to Rome, the latter pronounced that they would

30 Mantran 1962, 44–47; İnalçık EI² IV, 225b, 238b–239a.

31 Mantran 1962, 44.

32 Mantran 1962, 46.

33 Mantran 1962, 47.

34 Mantran 1962, 41; İnalçık EI² IV, 238a, 243.

“rather see the turban of the Turks rule in Constantinople than the Latin mitre”.³⁵ This might lead one to believe that the Greeks, when the city was eventually conquered, were not too discontented with their new rulers, since at least they had not succumbed to Catholicism.³⁶ In later centuries voices were raised in the Orthodox community accusing the elite of having forgotten the benefit of their own community and of focusing only on profiting from their position in the Ottoman state. It was only at the end of the 18th century that a movement aiming at liberating the Greeks from Ottoman rule was initiated. This did not take place in Istanbul, but in the periphery of the empire.

The politically most important positions as mediators in the Ottoman Empire were permanently held by Greeks. From the late 17th century on, the position of dragoman of the council of ministers at the Ottoman court was reserved for Greeks, subsequently also the position of dragoman of the navy. These dragomans were recruited from Phanariot circles, the post-Byzantine Orthodox aristocracy of Constantinople. The dragomans and other Orthodox officials employed at the court were quite proficient not only in court Ottoman but also in Arabic and Persian. Among the Greeks, thorough command of the Ottoman court language seems to have been “the monopoly of some Phanariot families”.³⁷

Did this also mean close contacts between the languages?³⁸ For the 17th century, the general impression is rather of separation between the groups. It is interesting to note that, in the 17th century, the relations between the non-Muslim confessional communities in Istanbul seem to have been quite limited and marked by hatred and jealousy. Henry Blound, who visited the city in the beginning of the century, writes about the Christian groups: “Each loves the Turke better than they doe each of the other, and serve him for informers and instruments against one another”.³⁹

Greek, the language of the conquered Byzantines, enjoyed the role of a prestige language not only among its speakers but also in other Orthodox groups.⁴⁰ But the *millet* system did not necessitate communication with other communities on a broader scale. At least the upper classes of Istanbul Greeks were in no need of learning Turkish. This isolation continued for centuries among parts of the Greek population: it was only in 1895 that Turkish became compulsory in Greek schools.⁴¹ Translation activities and other kinds of participation in Otto-

35 Clogg 1982, 191.

36 As late as the late 18th century, a kind of gratitude towards the Turks was expressed by Orthodox clerics. Thus the Patriarch Anthimos of Jerusalem argued that “God had inspired in the heart of the sultan of the Ottomans an inclination to chastise Christians who deviated from their faith so that ‘they have always before their eyes the fear of God’” (Clogg 1982, 191).

37 Strauss 1995a, 191.

38 Extensive contact between Turks and Greeks had also taken place in Byzantine times, though not so much in Istanbul. The linguistic vestiges of this contact in the form of Turkish names and single words have been collected by Moravcsik (1958). For linguistic contacts on the eastern Black Sea coast, cf. Brendemoen 2002, especially I, 286–290.

39 See Frazer 1983, 95; also Anhegger 1986, who gives an interesting survey of incidents caused by the hatred between these groups, including Catholics and Protestants, through the centuries; cf. also Kömürçüyan 1988.

40 E.g., Bulgarians, see Clogg 1982, 188.

41 The Greek war of liberation and the increasing Greek nationalism may have reduced the interest in Turkish during the 19th century, cf. Kappler 1995, 357.

man literary life are broadly attested to only from the 18th and particularly the 19th century.⁴²

Many Greeks lived in isolation from the regular Ottoman society, in the 'Frankish' Galata,⁴³ a buffer zone between the Europeans – mostly Venetians – and Turks. The view that the Turks practised segregation from European merchants is questionable. There are several examples of Turkish merchants traveling to Venice and of direct commercial contacts between Turks and Venetians in Galata.⁴⁴ Though the proportion of Turkish inhabitants in Galata had increased rapidly in the 16th century, the vast majority remained Greek for centuries and cannot have consisted only of Phanariot families or wealthy merchants.⁴⁵

With respect to the early contacts between the Ottoman and the European culture, Tietze states the following about the non-Muslim groups, mainly the Greeks:

... there must have been also many people of the middle class as well as commercial employees, artisans, sailors, etc., who visited the western ports and perhaps worked there for some time and who thus were able to a certain extent to acquire an idea of European culture, music, folklore, manners and thinking. Knowingly or unknowingly, they must have communicated the experience to their friends and neighbors at home. We can therefore assume that in many circles of the *millets* there existed already an openness and acceptance of things European at a time prior to the appearance of such a ferment, of such a change of attitude, among the average, and even among the élite, Muslim inhabitants of the capital.⁴⁶

The maritime dominance of the Greeks over the Eastern Mediterranean was also an important cultural factor.⁴⁷ The Greeks must have played an important part in the development of the Turkish fleet that started in the 16th century. These are prerequisites for the development of the nautical *lingua franca* of the Levant, a mixture of Greek, Italian, and Turkish terms. Istanbul and other parts of the empire were important scenes of this interaction. Though it is difficult to determine exactly when and where the process took place, it is clear that the Greeks, who were strongly represented in maritime professions and had experience from working on Italian ships, were intermediaries in the transmission of the techniques of shipbuilding and seafaring.⁴⁸

At a popular level there must have been extensive contact between Greeks and Turks, not only in Istanbul but also elsewhere. Otherwise the vast lexical impact of Greek on Turkish and vice versa would be inexplicable. It is not known, however, in which century a contact situation emerged that allowed extensive code-switching.

42 Kappler 1995, 355.

43 Dursteler 2006, 154.

44 Dursteler 2006, 158–173.

45 Dursteler 2006, 155, Mantran 1962, 54.

46 Tietze 1991b, 392.

47 Mantran 1962, 56.

48 Kahane *et al.* 1958, 15. Kahane and Tietze have done very valuable research in this field.

Karamanlids

One population element of special importance as mediators between the cultures was the Karamanlids (*Karamanlılar*), Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians. They did not live in Galata, but in a large area within the old city: from Yedikule eastwards towards Samatya, close to the Sea of Marmara (*Fig. 1*). They are pointed out as a special group by Hans Derschwam who visited the city in 1553–1555,⁴⁹ and by Nicolas de Nicolay who was there at approximately the same time.⁵⁰ According to Derschwam they had been transferred to Istanbul from 'Caramania' by Selim I (1512–1520), though there had also been a group of turcophone Christians in the city at the time of the Turkish conquest. The group is also mentioned by Eremya Chelebi K m rjian in his history of Istanbul.⁵¹ According to K m rjian's commentator Andreasyan,⁵² they originally had their own church close to Yedikule, but then extended further up to Samatya and also settled in Fener and other districts, where they began to use the local churches and ceased to be a community of their own.

The Karamanlid literature is written in Turkish with Greek letters. Most of it has come down to us in printed books from the 18th century onwards. Some manuscripts from the 17th century have been preserved, but there is no indication that they were written in Istanbul.⁵³

The Karamanlid population of Istanbul might have played a significant role as mediators between Christians and Muslims in the city. But the fact that they originally came from the countryside and spoke Turkish most probably was an obstacle to their acceptance by the Greek-speaking population in Istanbul, at least by the upper classes.⁵⁴

Armenians

The non-Muslim group of Armenians was much more active than the Greeks as linguistic and cultural mediators in 17th-century Istanbul. A large part of the Armenians in Istanbul and western Anatolia originally came from the east owing to the turmoil caused by the Jel li insurrections of the 16th century. Some had arrived even earlier. In areas of extensive contacts with Turks they became proficient in Turkish, and possibly many of them spoke little or no Armenian. As early as the 14th and 15th centuries, it was quite common for Armenian authors to write both in Armenian and in Turkish.⁵⁵ From the 17th century on, ballads written by minstrels are particularly well known.⁵⁶ The Armenian literature in Turkish was written in Armenian script. It is of great linguistic interest because

49 As a member of a Hungarian delegation, see Babinger 1923, 52.

50 The French traveller Nicolas de Nicolay in approximately the same years; 1989, 229; English translation [1585] 1968, 128.

51 K m rciyan 1988, 2; the chapter in question was written between 1661 and 1665 (see xxiv).

52 K m rciyan 1988, 70.

53 Eckman 1964, 821–822.

54 However, it should be kept in mind that also the Greek population of Istanbul was very heterogeneous with regard to origin; many of them originated e.g. from the Aegean islands and different places in Anatolia. The Phanariots may have constituted only a small percentage of the total Greek-Orthodox population.

55 Sanjian & Tietze 1981, 9–10.

56 Berberian 1964, 811–813.

it tends to reflect the pronunciation more adequately than texts in Ottoman script.⁵⁷

The early Armeno-Turkish literature of Istanbul is insufficiently investigated, partly because it is rather inaccessible. The only 17th-century work edited in a scholarly manner is 'The Jewish Bride', an epic romance written by the most important cultural mediator, the above-mentioned polyhistor K m rjian. The author had profound knowledge of Ottoman and Armenian history, and was proficient in Turkish, Greek, Latin and other European languages. He had strong ties to the Armenian church and to high-ranking Ottoman pashas. He is reported to have "held various offices in governmental circles [and] in European embassies", but "no documentary evidence exists concerning the specific offices held by him in the Ottoman government or in the foreign embassies".⁵⁸

K m rjian's major contribution to the composite Istanbul culture lies in the field of literature. Besides numerous historical, religious, and literary works in Armenian, he wrote several Armeno-Turkish works. The latter include some interesting polemical works against the Greeks, testifying to the great animosity between the two groups.⁵⁹

K m rjian composed an Armenian and a Turkish version of 'The Jewish Bride'. There is also an anonymous Greek version and a later French translation of the Greek version. The romance deals with an event that, according to the Greek version, occurred in 1667. The Armeno-Turkish version is of special linguistic interest. It reflects a variety that may, to some extent, mirror the speech of Armenians in Istanbul, but it also largely complies with what is known about the common Istanbul vernacular of the 17th century.

Mediators

Travellers, scholars, dragomans

Foreign travellers played a crucial role in the transfer of knowledge from the Ottoman capital to European scholarly communities. One well-known example is Pierre Gilles, who in the 16th century wrote a comprehensive description of the city's topography, a four-volume work published in 1561 in Lyon under the title *De topographia Constantinopolis et de illius antiquitatibus*. Since our interest is focused on the linguistic topography of Istanbul, we will mention mediators who transmitted information on the linguistic varieties spoken and written in Istanbul after 1453. Several authors were Europeans interested in Oriental studies.⁶⁰ Many of these early modern scholars collected manuscripts in Oriental languages such as Persian, Arabic and Turkish, collections that paved the way for Oriental studies at European universities.⁶¹

57 The vast bulk of Armeno-Turkish literature was written from the 18th century onward, just as the Turkish literature of the turcophone Greeks. The establishment of printing presses represented a turning point for this kind of literature.

58 Sanjian & Tietze 1981, 18.

59 Sanjian & Tietze 1981, 37.

60 Hamilton *et al.* 2005.

61 See e.g. R mer 1998 with further references.

Another group of mediators was the dragomans, whose role was of paramount importance in Ottoman diplomacy, trade, and cultural exchange.⁶² They were interpreters and served as mediators in diplomatic negotiations, in war and in trade, in legal and other affairs. Their task was described by Garzoni in 1587: “The professional interpreters occupy a most prominent place within the framework of social and ethical values. In order to punish the world, God has brought the division of languages. Therefore the interpreters, by bridging the gap, fulfil an almost redemptory task.”⁶³

Different languages served the contacts between the chancery of the Ottoman Empire and the European powers: for example, Serbian with Mathias Corvinus’ court; Greek with Venice, Florence, and the Order of St. John; Italian with the Italian princes and the Habsburgs. Most Levantine dragomans active at the embassies of the European powers in the 16th and 17th centuries knew Italian.^{64,65}

The dragomans were of foreign origin or members of a non-Muslim minority. They played a crucial role in channelling and conducting diplomatic relations. Some European interpreters, including Michael Czernowitz, were even involved in espionage.⁶⁶

The official dragomans of the Porte, mostly renegades mastering several European languages and even Latin,⁶⁷ had acquired a certain level of knowledge of Ottoman including its elements of Arabic-Persian origin. The level they attained in their work was, however, generally rather low.⁶⁸ Elaborate documents written in literary Ottoman with its rhymed prose and intricate style complicated their task.⁶⁹

One dragoman, Ibrahim Beg, tried to solve his linguistic problems when analysing a Sultan’s decree prior to translating it by first making a transcription of the Ottoman original in Latin characters. This transcription was at the same time a simplification of the style and vocabulary of the document.⁷⁰ This technique gives us unique insight into the dichotomy between the literary and the colloquial language of the Middle Ottoman period.⁷¹ Ibrahim Beg also wrote, to the Venetian interpreter Michele Membre, a Turkish letter in Latin script whose language represents a colloquial variety.⁷²

Dragomans were also engaged in translating the Bible into Oriental languages. Albertus Bobovius (Wojciech Bobowski, later known as Ali Ufki), who served as translator at the court of Sultan Mehmed IV, was raised as a Christian but converted to Islam. He translated the Anglican catechism into Ottoman Turkish, compiled a Turkish grammar, and wrote an explanation of Islam in Latin in an attempt to increase the mutual understanding of two cultures. His Bible translation *Kitabı Mukaddes* ‘The Holy Book’ was for a long time the only complete

62 See e.g. Marghetich 1993 [1898].

63 Garzoni 1587, translated from a text by Palumbo Fossati Casa, who refers to Abbrugiati 1989.

64 Bosworth 2000, 238.

65 In French they were called *barataires* because they received *berats*, documents bestowing fiscal and commercial privileges upon them. Séraphin-Vincent 1997, 143.

66 Lesure 1983.

67 Römer 2008, 217.

68 There were a few exceptions such as Mahmud Beg; see Matuz 1975, 28 and 38.

69 Römer 2008, 224.

70 Römer 1996, 2008, 222–223.

71 On the Ottoman diglossy, see Strauss 1995b.

72 See Bombaci 1949; Römer 2008, 223.

Turkish Bible. Another dragoman, Yahya bin 'Ishak, also called Haki, translated the Hebrew Bible (1659) into Turkish.⁷³

Owing to a generally unsatisfactory situation, many European courts decided to educate their own reliable and loyal dragomans. This led to a number of initiatives to teach Oriental languages, as exemplified by⁷⁴ the Venetian *Giovani de la lingua* in the 16th century, the French *Jeunes de la langue* and the Polish equivalent in the 17th century,⁷⁵ and the Austrian *Akademie Orientalischer Sprachen* in the 18th century.^{76,77}

Transcription texts

Mediators in need of language-learning material produced grammars and vocabularies, often in non-Arabic script, for instance in Latin, Greek, Armenian, Cyrillic and Georgian.⁷⁸ These are of great interest for the study of the development of spoken varieties of Turkish, since they provide more information than the Ottoman sources in Arabic script. The motivation to write down Turkish texts in a non-Arabic script was mostly not academic, but resulted from practical needs. The target language was colloquial Turkish, not the high varieties of the classical literature or the chancelleries. The authors were non-Turks who had learned the language through practical contacts with Turks and tried to teach others. One important group consisted of the above-mentioned mediators: foreigners who lived in Istanbul for different reasons, diplomats or members of their entourage, missionaries, and travellers.

In the 16th and 17th centuries continuous diplomatic contacts were established as a result of the armed conflicts between the Turks and the Europeans. Confrontation with the Turks also took place in the field of religion: Christian missionary activities in the Ottoman areas were intensified, especially by the Jesuits.

The first academic dictionary of Ottoman-Turkish is *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium, Turcicae, Arabicae, Persicae* 1–3, a fundamental work in Turcology comprising about 62000 words. It was published in 1680 in Vienna by Franz Meninski (François de Mesgnien) and re-edited in 1780 by a group of scholars from the newly founded *Akademie Orientalischer Sprachen* in Vienna. Meninski was a dragoman who studied in Rome under the direction of the Jesuits and who accompanied the Polish ambassador to the Porte in 1653. He stayed in Istanbul from 1653 to 1660, and later became a translator at the imperial court in Vienna. His knowledge of Turkish was excellent. His voluminous work represents literary Ottoman and contains about 70 per cent educated vocabulary and 30 per cent common language. It has a special value for linguistic history, since the words are

73 Neudecker assumes that Haki was employed in Ali Bey's dragoman office; see Neudecker 1994, 4.

74 See e.g. Irwin 2006; Lewis 2004.

75 Hitzel 1997.

76 Rathkolb 2004.

77 Famous dragoman dynasties included Crutta at the embassies of Poland, France and England; Fonton, Timoni of Venetian origin; Hübsch, Klezl, an Austrian dragoman family. See de Groot 2005, 142.

78 Some transcription texts are kept in Carolina Rediviva, the university library of Uppsala University. See Johanson 1985a and b.

accompanied by a transcription in Latin script and the so-called vulgar forms are indicated in many cases. Another outstanding work is his *Grammatica turcica*, published in 1680 and 1756.⁷⁹ The first printed Turkish grammar was written by the German scholar Hieronymus Megiser (1612).⁸⁰

In so-called transcription texts of the early periods, the Turkish samples often consisted of scattered words or phrases. They were cited in travel accounts or memoirs of prisoners of war, whose authors liked to embellish their works with Turkish phrases as a proof of their authenticity. From the 16th century on, authors with a special linguistic interest appeared. They wrote manuals to teach Turkish as a foreign language: grammars, dictionaries, and conversation books which almost always provided coherent text samples.

The linguistic evidence of transcription texts

The analysis of transcription texts, even texts in Latin script, is a difficult task.⁸¹ If they are to be used as sources for the reconstruction of Turkish varieties the graphic representation must be studied carefully. The graphic system of the author's mother tongue can mostly serve as a starting point for understanding how the Turkish sounds are rendered. But also graphic patterns from other languages may be employed. The transcription may vary within one and the same text. There were no standardized orthographies for the European languages of the time that interests us here. Both Turkish and German distinguish *o* from *ö* and *u* from *ü*, but the graphic differentiation of these sounds in German texts started rather late. The differentiation of Turkish back *ı* and front *i* causes the greatest difficulties. Most transcription texts in Latin script use «i» for both.

Transcription texts are valuable sources for historical phonology and morphophonology. They have shed light on processes of sound change such as the developments of the fricative γ and the nasal η in the history of the Turkish language. They provide highly significant data for the development of labial harmony, a process that became prevalent in the Middle Ottoman period (16th–18th centuries).⁸²

Most instructive results could be obtained from the edition and analysis of Jakab Nagy de Harsány's *Colloquia* (1672).⁸³ The text offers rich information on the everyday life in Istanbul in a language that certainly represents a spoken variety of Istanbul. It gives a comprehensive picture of the morphophonological system of this stage of development as well as convincing explanations of the sound harmony processes.⁸⁴

Further transcription texts that are suitable as sources for the linguistic varieties of Istanbul need to be edited and analysed. The results should be compared in order to define specific features and general trends. Important texts for further research are those of authors who spent enough time in Turkish-speaking sur-

79 See Meninski 1680a, b; 1687; 1756²; 1780².

80 See Stein 1975, 1979, 1984, 1993, 2002, 2004, 2006 and 2007.

81 See a recent research on transcription texts in Csató *et al.* (eds) forthcoming.

82 Hazai 1973.

83 See Hazai 1973.

84 See the analysis in the framework of Johanson's theory of labial harmony, Johanson 1979.

roundings to acquire sufficient competence in the language, for example Argenti (1533),⁸⁵ Ferraguto (1611),⁸⁶ Molino (1641),⁸⁷ and Harsány (1672).⁸⁸

Transcription texts have been investigated mainly with respect to phonology and vocabulary, whereas their morphological and syntactical properties have been dealt with to a much lesser extent. Concentrating on these aspects could help solve the question of Rumelian influence.

One further task is to find stylistically suitable texts in Arabic script which provide data on morphology and syntax and – when vocalised – can serve as a complement to the phonological data. Encouraging steps in this direction are detailed analyses of the language of Evliya Chelebi's *Seyahatname*.⁸⁹

Linguistic Urban Minds

A linguistic programme within an interdisciplinary project to study the urban mind of Istanbul in a historical perspective has been outlined above.

Istanbul of the 17th century can be regarded as a special type of linguistic area. A linguistic behaviour transgressing primary solidarities and boundaries was triggered under specific political-cultural circumstances, by the daily encounters among large groups with different social, cultural, economic, and linguistic backgrounds in the dense co-urban private and public spaces of the city. The linguistic processes emanating from these settings led to new relations between the codes, emergence of new codes, shift and loss of codes. The linguistic ecological system accommodated in the physical landscape of the metropolis underwent significant changes, but the codes nevertheless enjoyed remarkable viability.

The outlined project will examine the nature of the linguistic processes and practices, and their products in the framework of the code-copying model, which emphasizes the creative ecological function of contact-induced processes.

Our stance is that the study of linguistic ecological systems is a major contribution to environmental studies. The linguistic 'urban mind' of the imperial and pre-modern Istanbul of the 17th century had significant idiosyncratic attributes. Nevertheless it manifests a model of a certain type of linguistic urbanity which can be compared to other urban linguistic environments. A typology of urban linguistic spaces may be outlined along carefully selected parameters. The linguistic dimension has so far been less studied in investigations of modern urban environments in historical perspectives.

In order to understand the patterns of communication, it is necessary to describe the landscape in an interdisciplinary perspective. The description must include physical characteristics of the city, the spatial syntax of settlements, and the social and administrative networks characterized at macro- and micro-levels. Essential issues are the use of different codes in the confessional communities and their contacts with the Ottoman administrative and judicial system, and the organizations of craftsmen and merchants. Other issues are the social habits of personal contact between Turkic and non-Turkic speakers in the grounds of commerce, public spaces, and other characteristic points in an urban environment.

85 See Adamović 2001; Bombaci 1938; Rocchi 2007.

86 See Bombaci 1940; Stein forthcoming.

87 Molino 1641; Adamović 1974; Kappler 1999.

88 See Hazai 1973.

89 Boeschoten 1988; Develi 1995; Bulut 1997.

Though the religious activities of Muslims and non-Muslims were internal affairs of the communities, they also offered public places for encounters.

The linguists will have to identify the interacting spoken and written codes as precisely as possible on the basis of already available material, using especially the transcription texts, and provide a description of the basic characteristics of the speech communities in Istanbul in the historical period 1453–1700, with special focus on the 17th century. The linguistic processes forming the codes must be analysed by synthesizing previous knowledge and by evaluating new material. The programme aims at mapping the validity areas of the codes onto the physical landscape of the city, and correlating the functional load of the codes with the properties of the landscape. One point concerns the proportion of multilingualism: evaluation of the extent to which the speech communities, which possessed primary codes emblematic of their identity, also employed secondary (inter-group) codes for external communication.

Linguistic diversity is a hot issue even in our own time. “Public policies concerning linguistic diversity in various countries and international organizations increasingly appear at the forefront of public debate.” Linguistic issues and, in particular, the treatment of minority languages are almost unparalleled in terms of their explosiveness and emotional appeal. As was pointed out by Bretton, “language may be the most explosive issue universally and over time. This is mainly because language alone, unlike all other concerns associated with nationalism and ethnocentrism [...] is so closely tied to the individual self. Fear of being deprived of communicating skills seems to raise political passion to a fever pitch”.⁹⁰ A historical perspective may provide us with significant new insights into the nature of the issues involved.

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90 Bretton 1976, 447; Fidmurc 2006, 1.

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