# Turkic Languages

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# An unedited sketch of Turkish grammar (1711) by the Venetian *giovane di lingua* Pietr'Antonio Rizzi

#### Matthias Kappler

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The unedited manuscript *Memoria locale di precetti grammaticali turchi* ('A local memory of Turkish grammatical rules'), dated 1711, is an Italian grammar of Ottoman Turkish compiled by Pietr'Antonio Rizzi, a member of the Venetian "language boys" (*giovani di lingua*). Essentially a translated summary of F. Meninski's *Grammatica turcica* (Vienna 1680), the grammar consists of 27 chapters covering writing, phonetics, morphology, and syntax. The Turkish language material is written in both Arabic and Latin scripts. The *Memoria locale* was not written for publication, but is an example of an autoreferential language notebook addressed directly to its own author. The manuscript constitutes a valuable source of information about the history of the teaching and learning of Ottoman Turkish in the eighteenth century, and about the reception history of Meninski's monumental work; it also adds to our knowledge regarding the Venetian diplomatic institution of the "language boys". My principal aims in this preliminary study are to analyse the system of grammatical description adopted by Rizzi in the *Memoria locale*, and to compare some of the linguistic data therein with corresponding material in Meninski's *Grammatica*.

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#### 0. Presentation and introductory notes

The library of the monastery of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice preserves a manuscript entitled *Memoria locale di precetti grammaticali turchi* ('A local memory of Turkish grammatical rules'), dated 28th May 1711.\* The complete title of the manuscript is as follows (f. 1r, cf. Appendix, fig. 1):<sup>1</sup>

- \* I am very much indebted to Lorenzo Calvelli (University of Venice Ca' Foscari), who drew the manuscript to my attention. I also thank the Library San Francesco della Vigna, Venice, for kindly permitting me to reproduce some pages of the manuscript here, and Anna Pettiward, for copy-editing the paper.
- 1 In quotations from the manuscript and in the translations (which are mine), square brackets indicate omissions, and round brackets enclose my own additions.

"Memoria locale di Precetti Grammaticali Turchi raccolti da me Pietr'Antonio Rizzi Giovine di Lingua in Cos(tantino)p(o)li della Ser. ma Rep. ca di Venetia. L'Anno di Nostra Salute 1711—28 mag."

'A local memory of Turkish grammatical rules gathered by myself, Pietr'Antonio Rizzi, *giovine di lingua* in Constantinople (on behalf) of the Most Serene Republic of Venice. Year of Our Health 1711, 28th May.'

On the same folio (as well as from the expression "local memory") we learn that Rizzi's grammar sketch was for his own personal use and not intended for publication ("la presente debolis.ma fatica, ch'ha per oggetto solo l'uso mio particolare", 'the present most weak effort intended only for my personal use'), which, incidentally, does not prevent him from referring to his work as a "book" ("libro"; f. 64r). In the foreword ("proemio") he underlines this idea (f. 2v):

"Ad uso però mio spetiale, non già per altrui documento, sendo io nell'infelice stato di riceverne gl'insegnamenti, mi sono stabilito di raccogliere li presenti precetti, et ciò spetialmente per non defraudare le speranze del Venerato Augustis.<sup>mo</sup> mio Principe, cui con tanto dispendio mi ha condotto per hora a questo nobile impiegho, oltre il poterne io poi ricevere del Pub.(bli)<sup>co</sup> Gradimento nelle di lui preziosis.<sup>me</sup> gratie."

'But for my own use, not on account of others, and being in the unfortunate position of receiving instruction (in the Turkish language), I decided to gather the present rules, and this specifically in order not to disappoint the expectations of my venerated sovereign Prince, who at such great expense has led me until now to this noble office, besides to receive public appreciation in his most precious grace.'

Therefore, the whole grammar is kept in the first person singular (to be more precise, Rizzi changes the dialogue form used in traditional grammars to first person autoreference; see below, footnote 17), with expressions such as "io devo osservare, noto che" ('I have to observe, I note that'), and sentences like "Li numeri ordinali io li ritrovo presso li Turchi declinabili" ('I find the Turkish ordinal numbers declinable', f. 24r). We are thus dealing with one of those autoreferential linguistic notebooks compiled by the *giovani di lingua* (< Ott. *dil oğlanları*), the "language boys", who, in an institution which was founded in 1551 and lasted for more than two centuries (Lucchetta 1983: 2),<sup>2</sup> were sent by the Republic of Venice to the Ottoman

In 1702 a propaedeutic course in Oriental languages in Venice was planned (though not realized) by the Venetian Senate (Lucchetta 1983: 4); other similar attempts were made during the eighteenth century (Lucchetta 1984, 1985), but in Rizzi's time the only school for Venetian *giovani di lingua* seems to have been based at the *bailaggio* in Istanbul. Cf.

Empire to study Turkish and other Oriental languages in preparation for administrative and diplomatic functions, such as the office of *dragomanno* ('translator'; cf. Palumbo Fossati Casa 1997; Rothman 2009, 2013). We know of a similar notebook from the French version of this institution, the *Jeunes de langues*, dating from exactly the same period (1712, see Berthier 2010), though it differs from Rizzi's in one essential respect: while the French *Livre de phrases turques et françoises* contains only lexical material (phrases and dialogues on different subjects, songs), the present *Memoria locale* is a proper and complete grammar, organized, as we will see, in accordance with the grammatical conventions of the time, and in particular following the major grammar of its day, Meninski's *Grammatica turcica* (1680), and thus it occupies a special place among the notebooks produced by the "language boys". Nor can it be compared to the phrase books printed for the *giovani di lingua*, such as the *Raccolta* ... *d'adaggi turcheschi trasportati dal proprio idioma nell'italiano e latino dalli giovani di lingua* (Venice, 1688), since they have a different function; but this is a topic for future research.

Since to the best of our knowledge the work has not yet been edited or examined, our aim in the present paper, intended as a preliminary study, is to present the manuscript and discuss some of its most salient linguistic features. An in-depth comparative, historical and biographical analysis of the *Memoria locale* is in preparation.

#### 1. Description and contents of the manuscript

The *Memoria locale di precetti grammaticali turchi* (call number AF V 13) is written on I + 72 paper leaves (the following seven leaves are blank), 206 x 153 mm, bound in leather.<sup>3</sup> Generally speaking, the writing is regular and homogeneous, with very few corrections, as if it were a neat copy from a draft version.

As the author points out on the title folio ("Con due indici in fine. Il primo spettante alli Capitoli, il secondo concerniente alle materie ..."), the grammar comprises two indices, one of the chapter titles, and one analytical. However, it would be more accurate to say that it *should have* comprised two indices, since the second index is blank on 14 pages (f. 65r–71v), with only the capital letters in alphabetical order indicating that the index was to have been compiled at a later stage. On some of the

- also Bellingeri 1991. It is interesting to note that while Rizzi was in Istanbul, Alvise Mocenigo (*bailo* from 1709 to 1714) complained about the lack of efficiency of the dragomans, which according to him was due to the fact that the young men married Greek women and took up residence in Istanbul outside the *bailaggio* (*dispacccio* of the *bailo* dated 21.3.1713; see Lucchetta 1984: 24).
- 3 According to Fazzini's (1999) catalogue: "ms. cartaceo, formato mm. 206 x 153, cc. I + 80, bianche le ultime sette cc., legatura in piena pelle su quadranti in cartone decorata con ferri a secco, scrittura omogenea".

pages only a few items appear, referring to the pages ("C.", i.e. *carta*, 'folio').<sup>4</sup> Since all of these (six, see footnote 4) items concern the chapters on the alphabet and pronunciation, it is clear that Rizzi began compiling the index in the order of the chapters he had written first, but was unable to finish it. Similarly, two other sections remain uncompiled: a) the author's corrections, destined for f. 72r and announced on the title page ("Con le correttioni di quelle cose, che da me fossero state mal concepite", 'with corrections of those things I might have understood wrongly'), which are void except for the title *Correttioni*; b) chapter 28 (f. 62v–63v), a glossary of technical terms (title: "Spiegatione delle voci Turche principali, che si contengono nella presente opera voglio dire che cosa significhino", 'Explanation of the main Turkish terms that are contained in the present work, I want to say what they mean'). This latter section is composed of Italian grammatical terms (beginning with "Gramatica, Lettera, Sillaba" ['grammar, letter, syllable'] and so on), of which only some have Ottoman equivalents, and an indication of their etymology, mostly "Ar." (Arabic), e.g. "Gramatica—Sarf Ar.", or "Nome—Ism Ar.

Apart from these imperfections, most of the grammar seems to be complete. However, there are two chapters which Rizzi was evidently unable to finish, namely chapters 17 and 18 on the *supini* (supine)—see 2.1 below. The fact that pages at the end of chapters 17, 21, 24 are left blank suggests that the author wished to reserve some space for later additions.

As mentioned above, the manuscript is introduced by a foreword ("proemio", ff. 2r–2v), in which Rizzi, in poetical rhetoric, likens the Turkish language to a stormy ocean, full of dangerous shallows and treacherous rocks, and the grammar to a compass guiding the imprudent traveler (i.e. language student) through the adventure that is language-learning.<sup>6</sup> Having depicted the difficulties of Turkish in detail, he invokes the aid of God and the Virgin Mary and begins his grammar notes.

- 4 For example, on f. 65r, we find the item "Abecedario da Turchi" ('Alphabet of the Turks') under the letter A, with reference to "§ 1, C. 3", and the item "Be come si pronuncia" ('how to pronounce *be'*) under the letter B, with reference to "§ 1, C.3-C.4", being respectively the description of the alphabet on f. 3r, chapter 1, § 3; and the description of the pronunciation of "be" on f. 4r, chapter 2, § 1. Similarly, on f. 65v the item "Elif come si pronuncia" has the same reference as *be*, and indeed can be found on the same page. The other items compiled are: f. 66r "Lettere Turche [...]" ('Turkish letters') under the letter L, f. 67r "Pronuncia delle Lettere Turche" ('Pronunciation of the Turkish letters') under the letter P, and f. 69r "Vocali appresso li Turchi" ('Vowels (used) by the Turks') under the letter V.
- 5 The other compiled terms are: "Numero—Saghy [?], Singolare—Mufred, Plurale—Gem, Nome Primitivo—Giamid, Nome Derivativo—Müstak, Nome Sostantivo—Mensuf, Nome Aggettivo—Wasf."
- 6 f. 2r: "Non saprei, per dir'il vero, qual nome men'indiscreto, che d'imprudente adscriver' ad uno, che desiderando d'ingolfarsi ne' vortici d'un mare burascoso lo facia senza quella Bussola, tolta cui dovrà alla fine, precipitato ne' scogli, piangere la propria rovina, avanzo

The following table gives an overview of the titles and contents of the chapters. Chapter titles roughly correspond to the "Indice delli Capi, che si contengono nel presente libro" ('Index of the chapters contained in the present book', in fact a table of contents, on f. 64r–64v; cf. Appendix, fig. 2–3):

Chapter	Folio	Chapter title	Contents
1	3r-3v	Delle Lettere	Alphabet
2	4r–5v	Della Pronuncia, e Suono delle sopra espresse Lettere	"pronunciation", phonetics
3	6r–6v	Delle Vocali	vowel diacritics (hareke)
4	7r–7v	D'altri segni di cui si valgono li Turchi	other diacritics (sükun, medd etc.), and hamze
5	8r–8v	Delli Varij Generi di Scrivere Turco	calligraphic styles (nesiî, [şikeste] ta 'lîq, dîvânî, sülsî, qırma)
6	9r–9v	Del modo di parlare con alcu- no	use of forms of address (2P sing and pl); use of 3P pl for the polite form
7	10r-12v	Dell'ordine del Costruire	word order; syntactical and semantic use of the cases
8	13r-13v	Di certe cose Arabe, et Perse, che son' in uso appresso li Turchi	Arabic and Persian elements; compound verbs with Arabic nouns
9	14r–14v	Del Nome, et suoi Accidenti	noun classes; genitive-possessive noun compounds
10	15r–22v	Quali cose debbonsi consid- erare nel Nome, et che si- jano dette cose	nouns: number, cases, inflection tables, comparatives, derivation, diminutive suffixes
11	23r–23v	Delli Nomi Cardinali—Tavola	cardinal numbers
12	24r–24v	Tavola de Numeri Ordinali	ordinal numbers
13	24v	Delli Numeri Distributivi	distributive numbers
14	25r–29r	Delli Pronomi	pronouns: personal, <i>kendi</i> , interrogatives, possessive suffixes, - <i>ki</i>

- miserabile della sua poco saggia condotta. La Lingua Turca un'Oceano vasto, la chiamo, ripieno di sirti, e palesi, e nascoste per quello concerne al parlare, et ben parlare, al capire, et ben capire, all'intendere con qualche perfezione, et con tutto studio."
- 7 f. 2r–2v: "Il lor Abecedario però numeroso di lettere, et queste la maggior parte uniformi, toltane la pluralità de' punti, che le distinguono, li di loro Gerundij molti, Partecipij varij, Supini malagevoli, concordanze di nomi con nomi, di verbi con verbi, di verbi con nomi, et in particolare la pronunzia [...]." On the Venetian rhetorics of the "arduous language" and the "extreme fatigue" for learners of Turkish, see Bellingeri (1989: 22).

15	29v-50r	Del Verbo, et suoi accidenti	verbs: voices, person, number, modality, tenses, inflection tables
16	50v-51v	Di certe osservationi in genere da farsi sopra questa 3. parte dell'oratione, cioè Verbo	noun-verb number agreement, verbal rection (government), inflection of verbal nouns
17	52r	Delli Supini, et primieramente Delli Supini del Verbo sostantivo	explanation of the (Latin) term <i>supinum</i> (incomplete)
18	52v	Delli Supini di cadauna dell'altre coniugationi	Dative-marked verbal nouns in purpose clauses (incomplete)
19	53r–53v	Delli Gerundij et primieramente Delli Gerundij del verbo sostantivo	converbs -(y)Ub, -ken, -(y)IcAk, -(y)IncA, -mAk, içün on the verb ol-
20	54r–55v	Gerundij delle due Coniugationi	converbs (as above, plus -(y)ArAk, -(y)A, -mAgIlA), verbal noun -mAk and parti- ciple -(y)AcAk on other verbs
21	56r	Delli Participij del verbo sostantivo	participles -(y)An, -dUk, -(y)AcAk, -IsAr, -malU, and converb -(y)IncA on the verb ol-
22	57r–57v	Delli Participij d'entrambi le Coniugationi	participles (as above, plus -(A/I)r, -mIş), suffix -(y)IcI on other verbs
23	57v–58r	D'alcune notationi da farsi sopra li sudetti	several notes on syntax: use of -dUk (with and without possessive suffixes) for relativization, and for the converb -dUktAn sonra
24	59r	Dell'Adverbio	the category "adverb" and suffixes -CA, -ane
25	60r–60v	Delle Prepositioni	suffixes and postpositions that express the Latin category "preposition" (such as -DA, -DAn, ile, -sIz, gibi, sonra etc.)
26	61r–61v	Delle Congiuntioni	"conjunctions", such as <i>ve</i> , <i>hem</i> , <i>gerek</i> , and Turkish coordination patterns, such as <i>dahi/dA</i> , -(y)Ub, or asyndetic coordination
27	62r	Dell'Interiettioni	mention of various categories of "interjections", without examples

The sequence of subjects treated roughly follows the grammatical part (Grammatica turcica) of Franciscus Meninski's Thesaurus linguarum orientalium turcicae-

arabicae-persicae, printed in 1680 in Vienna, and reprinted several times in the eighteenth century, upon which Rizzi's *Memoria locale* (like many other grammars of the time) is directly modelled, as we will see in greater detail in the following section. On the other hand, Meninski's grammar does not finish with his chapter on interjection, but continues for a further 60 pages with sections on "syntax" and "prosody and metrics"; ultimately, we do not know if Rizzi initially intended to add more chapters to his grammar sketch. However, as we will see (4. below), he does anticipate some of the information in Meninski's section on syntax in his seventh chapter *Dell'ordine del costruire*.

#### 2. Systems and models of language description

#### 2.1. Explicit reference to the Latin model

All the well-known European Turkish grammars from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries use the Greco-Latin description system of the classical Western tradition, though in most cases without stating or motivating this choice. As part of this tradi-

- 8 The monumental *Thesaurus* consists of a dictionary and a separately-printed grammar (*Grammatica turcica*, see Meninski 1680 in the references); a *Complementum thesauri linguarum orientalium* followed in 1687. The dictionary contains ca. 9000 *lemmata* (according to Stachowksi 2000: xxxi). A second, enlarged edition of the *Thesaurus* was printed as *Lexicon arabico-persico-turcicum* in 1780–1802, also in Vienna. The grammar, with the addition of dialogues, texts and analyses, was re-edited separately in 1756 (Stachowski 2000: xxviii). The Vienna 1680 edition was reprinted in Istanbul in 2000 [*Türk Dilleri Araştırma Dergisi* 30]. Neither the dictionary nor the grammar has ever been examined linguistically, with the exception of a short study by Zieme (1966) on the language of the dictionary. On the historical background, on Meninski as a person, and for further references on these topics, see Stachowski 2000.
- 9 The most significant manuscript and printed grammars before Rizzi are (limiting ourselves to those produced by Italians, or in Italian): Filippo Argenti, *Regola del parlare turco* (Florence, 1533; see Bombaci 1938, Adamović 2001, Rocchi 2007); Pietro Ferraguto, *Grammatica turchesca* (Naples, 1611; see Bombaci 1940, Rocchi 2012); Pietro Della Valle, *Gramatica turca* (1620; see Rossi 1935); Giovambattista Montalbano, *Turcicae linguae per terminos latinos educta syntaxis in usum eorum qui in turciam missiones subeunt* (Naples, around 1630; see Gallotta 1981, 1990; Rocchi 2014); Giovanni Molino, *Brevi rudimenti del parlar turchesco* (Rome, 1641; see Adamović 1974, Kappler 1999, Święcicka 2000); F. M. Maggio, *Syntagmaton linguarum orientalium... liber secundus... turcicae linguae institutiones* (Rome, 1643; see Kenessey 1978); Antonio Mascis, *Rudimenti gramaticali per ben tradurre l'idioma toscano in turchesco* (Florence, 1677; see Drimba 1992); Giovanni Agop, *Rudimento della lingua turchesca* (Venice, 1685; see Drimba 1997); Giovanbattista Podestà, *Cursus grammaticalis linguarum orientalium..., Tomus III: Lingua turcica* (Vienna, 1703).

tion, Rizzi is no exception to the rule, although he does explicitly broach the issue as follows:

"Li Turchi uniformandosi agli Arabi non incominciano per dir il vero la di loro Grammatica dal Nome, ma bensi dal verbo, io però potendo nel stabilirmi questa memoria Locale procedere con il metodo de' Latini intendo di cosi fare, tanto più, che ciò puosi eseguire senza confusione, o mancanza."

'To tell the truth, the Turks in accordance with the Arabs do not start their grammar with the noun but with the verb; however, being able to proceed with the method of the Latins in this local memory, I intend to do so, all the more so since this can be done without confusion or fault.'

Rizzi evidently takes this opinion from Meninski (1680: 21), who refers more explicitly to the popular grammars en vogue in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Law 2003: 181), namely Johannes Despauterius' Commentarii grammatici (1537), and Emmanuel Alvarus' De institutione grammatica (1572), as well as to "other grammarians" (italics as in the original text): "Solent quidem Arabes à Verbo Grammaticam suam auspicari. ... Cum autem Lingua Turcica, quam hic primario docemus, possit ad ordinem Grammaticae latinae revocari, methodo insistemus Despauterii, Alvari, aliorumque Grammaticorum, in easdem, in quas ipsi partes dividendo Grammaticam". Although he is wrong in his assertion, since the Arabic tradition also usually begins with a description of the noun (on this issue see Owens 1988: 29; perhaps the misunderstanding arises from the fact that Arabic is a VNOlanguage?), Rizzi's statement is interesting because he justifies his choice on grounds of practicality and personal competence, bypassing Meninski's "scientific" argumentation and simultaneously making it clear that the Western tradition is not the only possible means of describing a language. It could even be argued that, as a giovane di lingua, Rizzi would have received lessons from a hoca, and therefore was also taught under the Arabic description system. What is more, it has been shown that grammars written by individuals occupying positions of cultural mediation, such as the Ottoman Greeks, continuously mixed the European and Arabo-Persian grammatical traditions in their language descriptions (Kappler 2007). The fact that language instructors for Western learners were often Greeks makes it all the more plausible that foreigners in the Ottoman Empire would have been taught using Eastern linguistic models.

The explicit reference to the Latin model is constant, and roughly follows Meninski, a few examples being: "Li casi come altresì, et appresso li Latini sono sei: Nominativo, Genitivo, Dativo, Accusativo, Vocativo et Ablativo" (chapter on noun inflection, f. 16r; cf. Meninski 1680: 25); "Il nome Verbale d'attioni, che appresso li Latini termina in tio lo formano li Turchi in diverse guise" (on verbal nouns, here explicitly compared to the Latin suffix -tio, f. 20r; Meninski 1680: 35); "non hanno il reciproco de' Latini sui, sibi, se. Si valgono in luoco di questo del pronome

 $g^{i}$  endii" (f. 25v). The latter is an example of categorial gap filling, i.e. a category present in description system A is supposedly not present in description system B, making it necessary to fill the gap.

Somewhat relevant in this regard are the two aforementioned incomplete chapters (17 and 18) on the supine, a Latin category which does not exist as such in Turkish. This particular case is important because it is one of the rare occasions on which Rizzi does not follow Meninski, or rather sets out to explain a category which the latter does not consider (although he does mention it briefly), providing explicit bibliographical references to Latin authors, specifically to Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (ca. A.D. 95; cf. Robins 1951: 59, Law 2003: 60–65) and to the *Ars grammatica* (ca. 370–380) by Diomedes, thus following Donatus' *Schulgrammatik* tradition (cf. Law 2003: 66). Rizzi writes (f. 52r):

"Noterò dunque primieramente cosa sij supino, quale secondo Quintiliano nel libro primo cap. 4 altro non è che verbo participale, il che si può dire de' gerundij ancora, qual'opinione è più riceputa di quella di Diomede, ch'intende che li supini, et gerundij sijno il sesto modo delli verbi, et questi appresso li Latini o hanno significatione passiva, o attiva."

'I thus note firstly what the supine is, which according to Quintilian in the first book, chapter 4 is nothing other than a participial verb, which can also be said of the gerunds, an opinion which is more recognized than that of Diomedes, who interprets supines and gerunds as the sixth mood of verbs; for the Latins they have either passive or active meaning.'

In the next chapter (f. 52v), Rizzi fails to assign the *supinum* to a specific Turkish category, but gives examples of dative-marked verbal nouns in purpose clauses (e.g. *nemaz kylmagha gitty*), whose function actually corresponds to that of the Latin *supinum*, following the only example of the latter in Meninski's (1680: 82) grammar ("Supinum reddunt per eundem Dativum Infinitivi, ut *nemāz kylmagha gitty*"). This failure results in the abrupt interruption of the two chapters, the text continuing with chapter 19 on "gerunds". In fact, Meninski does not have a separate chapter about "supines", the only mention of them occurring in the form of an example in his chapter on gerunds, as quoted above.

This is an example, then, of how Rizzi sets out to do "something more" than Meninski but fails to accomplish this. Incidentally, Rizzi's disappointment about "supines" is expressed in his foreword ("proemio", f. 2r), where he speaks of "Supini malagevoli" ('unwieldy supines'; see the quotation above, footnote 7).

10 Cf. Meninski (1680: 49): "Reciprocum autem latinum *sui*, *sibi*, *se* non habent, sed reddunt per *giendü* vel *giendi*, ipse".

The logic of "gap filling" is apparent in almost every "rule", with frequent use of the verb *supplire* ('to balance, compensate'), as for instance in the replacement of the relative pronoun (f. 26v): "Al Relativo qui, quae, quod de Latini suppliscono li Turchi con la voce,  $4 \le K^i i$ ". Turther instances of this verb can be found on the subsequent pages (ff. 27r, 27v, 28r) as well.

Another frequently-used rhetorical device is the sentence "dai Turchi propriamente non c'è" (freely translated as 'the Turks do not really have it'), followed by the proposed replacement. A good example is the description of the Latin category *nomen loci*: "Li Turchi propriamente non hanno nome di luoco o tempo però per formarlo aggiungono al nome verbale derivativo d'attione la particola, o nome *Jer* پر per luoco زمان *zeman* per tempo" (f. 19v; on the term *particola*, and also for Meninski's original wording, see 2.4 below).

#### 2.2. Implicit reference to the Latin model

Not surprisingly, typical examples of implicit reference to the Western grammar tradition are to be found throughout the *Memoria locale*. As in other European grammars, noun inflection is subdivided into two "classes", vocalic and consonantal. Although Rizzi acknowledges that the two classes do not differ very much from one another ("La Declinatione de nomi appresso li Turchi è di due sorti. L'una de que' nomi che terminano in nostra consonante, l'altra di quelli che terminano in nostra vocale, ben è vero, che sono trà se poco discrepanti", f. 16v), he feels obliged by tradition to make the formal distinction. This model of inflection is known from Meninski's *Grammatica turcica*, and will be discussed in the next subsection (2.3.).

The principle that the basic form of a word (if verbal) is not the stem or the root, but the "infinitive" is also a Latin stereotype. Thus we are told that all verbal inflection is formed from the verbal noun -mAk (as a replacement for the Latin infinitive). The following is typical of the rhetoric: "Primieramente levano all'infinito del Verbo la particola mek overo mak, et in loro luoco vi aggiungono la particola ..." ('First they remove from the infinitive of the verb the suffix -mek or -mak, and in its place they put the suffix ...'; from the chapter on verbal nouns, f. 20r).

A further instance of implicit reference are the extensive paradigm tables, an important part of grammars for fusional languages, but rather inadequate for describing languages with synthetical-agglutinative morphology. This can be exemplified by Rizzi's presentation of the ordinal numbers (f. 24r–24v; cf. Meninski 1680: 45), in which the author notes that "Li numeri ordinali io li ritrovo presso li Turchi declinabili, et si formano dalli soprascritti Cardinali con l'aggiunta della particola Ingi, che però quali si siano eccone la tavola" ('I find the Turkish ordinal numbers declinable, and they are formed from the abovementioned cardinal numbers by the addition of the suffix -inci, but [to see] what they are like, here is the table').

11 Cf. Meninski (1680: 52): "Relativum qui, quae, quod redditur quidem Turcice per kii."

#### 2.3. The unnamed original: Meninski's Grammatica turcica

Although the *Memoria locale* is a faithful adaptation / summary / translation of Meninski's monumental work, Rizzi does not directly name his model, and only twice refers explicitly to the original work he is studying (as "Miniski" and "Minischi" respectively). The first reference occurs in the chapter on diacritics, in his explanation of the *hamze* (f. 7v):

- "... Hamzelif è segno pure inserviente l'Elif, che denota moto attuale, ma meglio dirò si come insegna il Miniski nel suo vocabolario, che questo segno همزه hemzet, et hemza non è altro che lo stesso Elif, qual secondo ch' hò debolm.te osservato deve pronunciarsi come E."
- '... hamzelif is also a sign supported by *elif*, which denotes actual motion, but I will say it better in the way Meninski teaches it in his vocabulary, <sup>12</sup> that this sign *hemzet*, and *hemza*, is nothing other than the same *elif*, which, as I have modestly observed, must be pronounced as *e*.'

The second reference to Meninski, this time specifically to the *Grammatica turcica* but also to the dictionary, the *Thesaurus*, can be found on f. 62r in the last chapter, where he discusses interjections:

- "... et il Minischi le pone tutte ordinatam.te al C. 8 parte 5. della sua Gramatica, et nel suo Tesoro delle lingue Orientali."
- '... and Meninski puts them (i.e. the interjections) all in order in the 8th chapter, 5th part of his Grammar, and in his Treasury of the Oriental languages.' 13

Meninski can be considered a major model for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ottoman grammarianism in Europe, as shown, for example, by the fact that the above-mentioned vocalic vs. consonantal model of noun inflection (f. 16v), directly borrowed from Meninski's grammar (p. 26, Pars Secunda, Caput Quartum: "Declinationes Turcicorum nominum statuo duas, Prima erit nominum consonante terminatorum, altera in vocalem nostram desinentium..."), and inspired by the declension classes of the classical Latin grammar tradition, is found in other European grammars of Turkish, e.g. in Jean Baptiste Daniel Holdermann's *Grammaire turque en* 

- 12 To be precise, in his grammar (*Grammatica turcica*), as a separate volume of the dictionary (*Thesaurus linguarum orientalium*), on p. 10: "Turcis dicta vulgo *hamzelif*, seu cum Arabibus *hemze*, pro *hemzetün*, i.e. punctio, vel compressio, est [...] altera figura literae *elif* [...]".
- 13 Meninski 1680: 143–144; however, in the 1680 edition interjections are dealt with in the 4th chapter of part 5.

méthode courte et facile pour apprendre la langue turque (Istanbul: Müteferrika, 1730), in which Holdermann, like many of his contemporaries, copied most of his "rules" from Meninski (cf. Kalus 1992: 85, Menz 2002: 296). Exactly the same classification system appears in later grammars of the Venetian tradition, such as Bernardino Pianzola's *Breve grammatica e dialoghi per imparare le lingue italiana, latina, greco-volgare e turca* printed in Padua in 1781 (Bellingeri 1984: 671). Interestingly enough, this inflection model, together with other "Meninskian rules", was propagated, via Holdermann, back to the Ottoman lands, namely into the Ottoman Greek grammar written by the Peloponnesian Kanellos Spanos in 1730 (see Kappler 2014). Another version of Meninski's *Grammatica* in Greek was produced in the late eighteenth century (post-1770) in the Danubian principalities governed by the Phanariotes.<sup>14</sup>

Further evidence of the importance of the Meninskian model is the fact that at no point in the *Memoria locale* is a general phonological rule on vowel assimilation formulated, all the forms for both labial and palatal harmony being given as different paradigms, or "classes" (such as the verb classes in *mek* and *mak*; see the extensive verb inflection tables on ff. 39v–43v for *mek* [paradigm *sevmek*], and ff. 46r–49v for *mak* [paradigm *bakmak*]). Sometimes hints about consonant harmony are given, for example in the presentation of the diminutive suffix -CIK (f. 22r; cf. Meninski 1680: 39):

'The Turks also have their diminutive, but they use it only for adulation. <sup>15</sup> They form it from nouns by the addition of the suffix *cik* or *ciq*, <sup>16</sup> which after unvoiced letters are read *çik* or *çiq*; *cük çük cuq çuq*, forms that I have to avoid. <sup>17</sup>

- 14 This manuscript is entitled Χειραγωγία είτ' ουν γραμματική του Φραντζίσκου μεσγνιέν Μενίνσκη and was compiled by the *iatrophilosophos* Georgios Saoul, with two collaborators; see Fotopoulos 1993.
- 15 The formulation in Meninski (1680: 39) is "ad blanditiem" ('for caressing').
- 16 To make clear what Rizzi means phonetically, suffix forms are represented here in modern Turkish orthography (with the exception of "q" to render the grapheme <q>).
- 17 We use a semicolon before the labial forms in order to show that Rizzi intends to differentiate these from the illabial ones. His expression "dovrò astenermi" seems at first blush to mean that the labial forms are in use, but that he was taught "not to use them", which would be an interesting hint about the development of labial harmony and its sociolinguistic implications in seventeenth-/eighteenth-century Turkish. However, an examination of the relevant chapter in Meninski (1680: 39) reveals that what was originally supposed to be avoided was writing with *vav*: "[...] ac nonnunquam *giiūki*, *ċiūki*, vel *giuk*, *ċiuk* etiam

The absence of the phonological principle "vowel assimilation", and the more complex classification approach (e.g. -mak/-mek) are again adopted from Meninski by other grammarians of the 18th century, such as Holdermann (cf. Kalus 1992: 85) and Pianzola (Bellingeri 1984: 670). However, in contrast to Meninski, who gives full paradigms of velar and palatal forms (without evidently referring to them as such), Rizzi offers a random selection of paradigms and so does not provide an overall picture of the inflectional forms. These "epigonal" grammars of the 18th century—whether our Memoria locale, Holdermann's Grammaire, the Turkish section of Pianzola's Breve grammatica, or Saoul's Χειραγωγία—are no more than summaries, longer or shorter, of the monumental Meninskian Grammatica turcica.

#### 2.4. Grammatical terminology

Following the Western grammar tradition in his description, Rizzi obviously uses Latin grammatical terms. However, in some cases he also provides the Arabic terminology (e.g. f. 14r, chapter 9 on nouns: "Il nome dunque che da Turchi viene chiama[to] Ism, et Isim في أ è di quattro spetie cioè Sostantivo mewsûf في detto ..."). For "suffix" he mostly uses the widespread term "particola" ('particle'; examples are on f. 10v [mI], f. 20r [-(y)Iş], f. 20v [-mAK, -lIK, -GU], etc.), although on occasion he also employs the term affisso ('affix'), namely for possessive suffixes, especially -(s)I (f. 27v and 28r), in this following Meninski in almost every instance (particula/affixus, mostly in the ablative affixo). The term particola, or rather the vague expression particole, o nomi ('particles or nouns') is also applied to autosemantic words, e.g. yer / zaman when used in compounds which he calls "derivativi di luogo / tempo", e.g. ibadet yeri, where the modifying part ibadet is named a 'derived verbal noun of action' ("nome verbale derivativo d'attione"; ff. 19v/20r; cf. above 2.1. on the forced application of the term nomen loci in this case). 18

The fact that Rizzi often omits part of the information contained in Meninski's work results in a simpler, yet more equivocal application of Latin grammatical terminology to Turkish nominal or verbal forms, for example the terms *optativo* to

in scripto جوق جوک , à quo tu velim abstineas." The misunderstanding results from Rizzi's skipping "etiam in scripto". The example also shows that the dialogue form used in grammars of that time (in the tradition of Donatus' *Schulgrammatik*, which was itself based on ancient models; see Stockhammer 2014: 256), i.e. from the author's 1st person to the pupil's 2nd person ("tu velim abstineas"), is transformed by Rizzi into the 1st person, in accordance with the autoreferential function of his grammar sketch.

18 Originally, the term *particula* in Meninski refers to another word in this context, cf. Meninski (1680: 34): "Deest proprie hujusmodi nomen loci & temporis tam Persis quam Turcis; sed illud reddunt Persae per additionem nomini verbali actionis particulae seu nominis *giah*, [...] *ybādetgiah* [...] Turcae vero aut eodem modo id reddunt, ut *ybādet jeri* [...]."

-(y)A, and *subiunctivo* to -sA (ff. 47v–48v), where Meninski (1680: 77) has "Subiunctivi seu Conditionalis modi ..." for the latter.

Other terms, such as the use of "verb" for *var* / *yok* (f. 12v), are well known from many grammars, even up to the 20th century, and do not need to be discussed here.

#### 3. The Turkish language material

Rizzi usually presents Turkish language material in both Arabic and Latin script, including in the paradigm tables; in only a few cases, especially in the text outside of the "examples" and tables, is the Arabic form lacking. In this sense, the manuscript is certainly a valuable *Transkriptionstext*. However, being a translation of Meninski's *Grammatica turcica*, the Turkish language material contained in the *Memoria locale* can only be studied in comparison with Meninski's work. Given this, and bearing in mind that this is a preliminary study which aims to present the manuscript in all its aspects for the first time, some of its salient linguistic features concerning the graphematic system, phonetics and phonology will be listed in the following sections.

#### 3.1. The representation of sounds

When writing Turkish words in Latin script, Rizzi follows Meninski's mixed transcription system, although he adapts this to the Italian orthography of his time (e.g.  $\langle g(i) \rangle$  for  $\langle dz \rangle$ , where Meninski always has  $\langle \acute{g} \rangle$ ). Meninski's mixed transcription consists of borrowings from a number of different orthographic systems:  $\langle k \rangle$ ,  $\langle ch \rangle$  and  $\langle w \rangle$  (and perhaps  $\langle y \rangle$  for  $\langle i \rangle$  and  $\langle i \rangle$ ) from German or Polish,  $\langle \ddot{u} \rangle$  and  $\langle \ddot{o} \rangle$  apparently according to the German orthography, and  $\langle s \rangle$  (along with other graphemes) for  $\langle j \rangle$  maybe from Hungarian. In a few cases, still copying Meninski but less regularly than the latter, Rizzi makes use of diacritic signs, in particular an acute on some consonants ( $\langle \acute{c}, \acute{g}, \acute{s} \rangle$ ), or bars on vowels to mark length ( $\langle \bar{a}, \bar{i} \rangle$ ). Cf. the following phoneme—grapheme correspondence table (obvious correspondences are omitted):

- 19 This last case might also be the result of inaccurate writing, since the same word can be written either with <s> or with another grapheme (see following table). There is, however, one interesting case in which Rizzi refers erroneously to the word *joldasi* as an example of the possessive suffix -sI, although the Arabic writing shows the correct form *yoldaşı* <عودالشي> (f. 14r). This might also suggest that Rizzi did not write all the words in Arabic script himself, but this would require further investigation. Investigation is equally needed in a comparative sense, since in Meninski's book there are also many instances in which the diacritic sign is absent, probably as a result of inaccurate printing. In other words, it must be determined precisely where Rizzi has copied Meninski's printing errors, and where he himself has omitted the diacritic symbol.
- 20 Perhaps <é> for closed /é/ might be added in the example bés (23r), but it occurs only once and so may be a writing error for bes.

phoneme <sup>21</sup>	Latin grapheme(s)	Examples
/k/	<k></k>	kyz (15v), kyrk (23r)
/c/	<k<sup>i&gt;, <k></k></k<sup>	büjük <sup>i</sup> (18v), erk <sup>i</sup> ek (15v), etmek <sup>i</sup> ći (21v), k <sup>i</sup> itab (22r), sek <sup>i</sup> sen (23r)
/ֈ/	<gi>, <g></g></gi>	$g^{i}uzel$ (15r), $guzel$ (18r)
/j/	<j>, <i>, <i></i></i></j>	babaji (17r), büjük <sup>i</sup> (18v), ejle (9r), babaïe (17r), ia baba (17r), büiük <sup>i</sup> (18v), kapüiy (20r), ioldaśi (21v)
/γ/	<gh></gh>	oghlan (15v)
/ <b>t</b> ʃ <sup>^</sup> /	<ci>, &lt;ć(i)&gt;</ci>	ciaj (17v), ćiaj (17r), ićmek <sup>i</sup> /ićiüm (21r)
/dʒ/	<gi>, &lt;ģi&gt;</gi>	iazagiak (20r), ģiümleden (18v), ģiāmid (19r)
/S/	<sc>, &lt;\$&gt;, &lt;\$&gt; (under reserve, see footnote 19)</sc>	scin (4r), śīn (4v), pāśà (3v), diśi (15v), pādiśāhün ioldaśi (21v), Pāsānün Oghlynün joldasi (14v), sah (16r), sevis (20r), sin (20r), urys [üriş, i.e. modern standard Turkish yürüyüş] (21r),
/x/	<ch>, <c>22</c></ch>	dachy (18r), <c> anactar (12r, 20r)</c>
/z/	<z></z>	guzel (18r)
/v/	< <sub>W</sub> >	wau (3v), awret (16r), wilaietlü (27v)
/i/	<i>, <y></y></i>	ybadet (19v) (= $\iota$ , because of $ayn$ ?), $lyk^i$ [palatal suffix form] (20v), $iedy$ (23r), $bizy$ / $sizy$ , $beni/seni$ (25r)
/1/	<i>,<y></y></i>	babaji (17r), pādiśāhün ioldaśi (21v), ģik [velar] (22r), sujy (17v), dachy (18r), kyz (15v), kapüiy (20r), lyk [velar suffix] (20v), alty (23r), asyl (27r)
/ü/	<ü>, <u></u>	jüz (23r), giümlesi (28r), guzel (18r), urys [cf. above] (21r)
/ö/	<ö>	k <sup>i</sup> öpek <sup>i</sup> (22r)
/a:/	<a>, &lt;ā&gt;</a>	espab (3r), pāśà (3v), ģiāmid (19r)
/i:/	<i>,<i></i></i>	scin (4r), śīn (4v)

Very rarely the Arabic 'ayn is noted as < $^{\circ}$ >, e.g.  $rub^{\circ}$  (23v). In some cases < $\ddot{u}$ > is used for /u/ (whereas the opposite occurs very frequently), for example  $b\ddot{u}ciuk$  (bucuk, 23v),  $b\ddot{u}$  (bu, 27r), which is again a faithful adoption from Meninski, especially in non-first syllables, where < $\ddot{u}$ > seems also to stand for /u/ (see below 3.2.1. and 3.2.2.).

- 21 For consonants, IPA transcription is used, for vowels, modern Turkish orthography.
- 22 The latter (<c>) might be a phonetic rather than a graphic phenomenon, since on f. 12r Rizzi initially wrote <anaḥtâr> in Arabic script but "corrected" (overwriting) it to <anaḥtâr>. This is in itself noteworthy, since the usual grapheme for /k/ (and Arabic <q>) is <k>, and not <c>.

Equally interesting are the observations concerning the development  $g/\dot{g} > \omega$  (talking about the diminutive suffix -*CAGIz*, f. 22v): "Deve però quel tal mutato  $\dot{\xi}$  ghain, o  $g^{i}ef \stackrel{\text{d}}{=}$  pronunciarsi con dolcezza tale, che rendasi insensibile" ('But that changed  $\dot{g}$  ayn or g must be pronounced with such a sweetness as to render it inaudible').<sup>25</sup>

#### 3.2. Phonological and morphonological changes

#### 3.2.1. Stems

Rizzi gives the most valuable information about labial vowel assimilation in stems already contained in Meninski's grammar. In the most interesting cases he gives both forms, and marks the progressive forms as such, e.g. (f. 12v): "berü, o gia beri" ('berü, or already beri'). For the whole of the inflection of gendi (modern standard Turkish kendi), he provides two columns, one with the labial vowel and one, called "vulgo", ending in -i (25v-26v): giendü - giendü (26r), giendüm / giendün / giendün / giendün / giendün / giendün / giendisi - giendim / giendim / giendisi (26v).

- 23 According to Rizzi ("secondo il mio debole intendimento", i.e. 'according to my weak understanding', f. 5v) the *kef* with three dots is also used for /g/, and is named *ghief* by him (f. 3v and 5v).
- 24 *Grammatica turcica*, p. 4: "Si autem addatur lineola sic *n* adhibetur pro *saghyr nun*", followed by a detailed description with Greek and Latin examples to define the velar nasal pronunciation of /n/.
- 25 Meninski's (1680: 39) wording is slightly different (referring to the example *elģigiez* [*elciğez* 'small hand']): "[...] *ghaejn* & *gief* ita leniter pronuntiant Turcae, ut ea vix sentias, & putes ab illes dici *elģiez*".
- 26 The same distinction into unmarked forms and "vulgo" is made in the inflection tables for the pronoun *ol*: "anün vulgo onün, ana vulgo an.a, ani vulgo oni" etc. (f. 25v).

division into unmarked and marked forms is original, i.e. the work of Rizzi himself, since it does not occur in Meninski.

Still, he conserves some forms with the labial vowel (where <ü> probably stands for /u/), such as *iazu* (*yazu* > *yazı*, 20r), *kapüiy* (*kapuyı*, 20r), *jarüm* (*yarum* > *yarım*, 23v), preserving Meninski's writing throughout.

Concerning palatal harmony in stems, the non-assimilated forms are more frequent, e.g. śerāb (14v), zeman (19v), adem (10r, 19r); but: kadah (14v).

#### 3.2.2. Suffixes

#### 3.2.2.1. Labial assimilation

Most suffixes are reported as twofold (U and I), except for the diminutive -CXK (see above 2.3.). Here we give a selection of the suffixes with some examples; the complete list of suffixes provided by Rizzi, and a comparison between these and the original information provided by Meninski, will be dealt with in future research. Note that, as in the stems, non-first syllable /u/ is often written with <ü>.

-(n)Un: pāsānün, oghlynün (14v), erün, erlerün (16v; from the genitive paradigm ta-

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ble), babanün (17r), suiün (17v), sulerün (17v), ademlerün (19r), pādiśāhün (21v), benüm/senün/bizüm/sizün (25r), bunün (25v)

-dUm: aldüm (12r)

-lU ("da dotti et periti scrivesi li", 'Written li by learned and expert people', f. 21v):<sup>27</sup> ģiānlü, istanbollü (both 21v), wilaietlü (27v)

-(y)Up / -(y)Ub ("üp ovvero üb", 'üp or üb', f. 53r): olub (53r), sewüp (54v)

-(s)I: oghlynün (14v), oghly (16r)

-(y)I: kapüiy (20r), oni (25v)

-(y)Iş: urys (21r)

-lIK: donuzlyk (22v)

-(v)IncI: dokuzingi (24r)
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27 Meninski 1680: 36: "lü quod alias docti, pec. legisperiti scribunt li."

#### 3.2.2.2. Palatal assimilation

A-class suffixes are noted inconsistently, either assimilated, or more frequently with the palatal forms; double forms are not uncommon and probably reflect the spoken usage of the time:

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-DAn: zemanden (12v), babaden (17r), sudan/suden (17v)
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-(y)A: babaïe (17r), suia/suie (17v), ciaje (17v)
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-lAr: babalar; but: babalerün, babaleri, babalere, babalerden (all 17r); sular/suler (all the other inflection cases -e-: sulerün etc.; 17v); bunlar, bunlarün, bunlara, but: bunleri (25v); śunlar, śunlarün, śunlara, śunlari (25v)<sup>28</sup>

#### 3.2.2.3. Consonant assimilation

Words noted by Rizzi in both Arabic and Latin script correspond to Meninski's usage and prove the process of assimilation in suffixes with initial consonant, e.g. etten (in Arabic script written as <etden>, 10r),  $g^iitty$  (<gitdi>, 10v, 11r), cioktan (<çokdan>, 12v),  $etmek^i\acute{c}i$  (<etmekği>, 21v); this is the case even in Arabic stems where the auslaut is noted, according to the Arabic orthography, with the voiced consonant, such as  $k^iitab-k^iitabcik$  (22r).

#### 4. Syntax

Although Rizzi does not adopt Meninski's *Pars Sexta* "De Syntaxi", the sixth part of his grammar in which he deals extensively with issues such as agreement (*concordantia*), word order (*ordo constructionis*), and argument (*rectio*), the *Memoria locale* does consider syntactical issues, taken from various parts of Meninski's grammar, not only the *Pars Sexta*, but from other chapters. Specifically, Rizzi anticipates Meninski, including, even before the chapter on nouns, a section about word order and verbal rection, entitled *Dell'ordine del costruire* (ff. 10r–12v), this being the seventh chapter (*Capo Settimo*) of his grammar sketch.

For example, Meninski's interesting description of the principle of premodification ("Atque inter alia sint hae regulae generales 1. Regens debet semper postponi suo recto ... 2. Substantivum Adjectivo suo postponitur, ut & alteri Substantivo quod regit in genitivo"; Meninski 1680: 147) is anticipated by Rizzi on f. 10v: "In somma la regola General'è ch'il Regente venghi posposto al suo Retto. Il

28 As far as *śunlar* etc. are concerned, it is interesting that *e*-forms seem to have been corrected (overwritten) by the respective *a*-forms. Erroneous writing of course cannot be excluded.

Sostantivo al suo adiettivo come ad un altro Sostantivo ch'egli regesse in caso Genitivo."

The other sections of Rizzi's seventh chapter, corresponding to the respective points in Meninski's sixth part, deal with predicate-argument structure, the use and position of the interrogative suffix mI, and the syntax of wh-questions with their answers. But a great deal of syntactical information is scattered throughout both works; in the section on participles, for example (Rizzi f. 57v, Meninski p. 83–84), we find material on relative clauses, whereas the actual chapter on the "relative pronoun" (ki; Rizzi f. 26v, Meninski p. 52; see above 2.1.) does not contain syntactically relevant information. The exact correspondence of the various issues in the various chapters of both works is a matter for future research.

#### 5. Research perspectives

Given the fact that the *Memoria locale* is a summarizing translation of Meninski's Grammatica turcica, its chief interest is not so much as a grammar proper, or as an Ottoman Transkriptionstext (although it is undoubtedly this), but as an example of the use of Meninski's work in the Venetian institution of the giovani di lingua, and of the wider reception of Meninski's grammar in Europe. As such, it needs to be examined in comparison with contemporary and preceding Italian and other European transcription texts, in the hope that further such "local memories" will be found in archives and libraries. In particular, it needs to be determined at precisely which points Rizzi converges with or differs from his direct model. Since no thorough and detailed linguistic analysis of Meninski's grammar exists as yet, this research perspective would involve a great deal of work, but could yield valuable evidence about the learning and teaching of Ottoman Turkish in Venice and elsewhere. A historical contextualization, as well as detailed research into the lives of Rizzi and other Venetian learners, would contribute to a fuller understanding of this precious document and add to our knowledge about the role of cultural mediators between Venice and the Ottoman Empire. Close cooperation between turcologists, historians and linguists (in particular experts in the history of linguistics and grammar) is therefore needed.

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#### **Appendix**

Fig. 1: Memoria locale di precetti grammaticali turchi, f. 1r

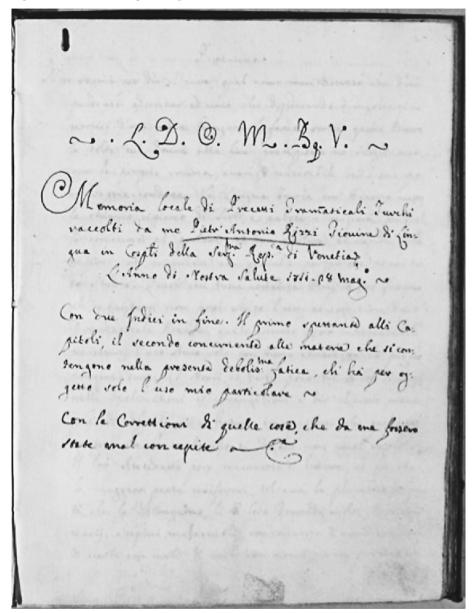


Fig. 2: Memoria locale di precetti grammaticali turchi, f. 64r

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Fig. 3: Memoria locale di precetti grammaticali turchi, f. 64v

