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# **STANDARDIZATION VS. VARIATION: THE CASE OF EARLY MODERN GREEK (16TH -17TH C.)**

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*9th International Conference on New Directions in the Humanities Madrid (online), 1-7-2021*

*This research is co-financed by Greece and the European Union (European Social Fund- ESF) through the Operational Programme “Human Resources Development, Education and Lifelong Learning 2014-2020” in the context of the project “Standardization of Early Modern Greek (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> c.). Greek in grammars, manuscripts, printed editions, and its ideological reception” (MIS 5047140).*



# RESEARCH PROJECT

# EARLY MODERN GREEK

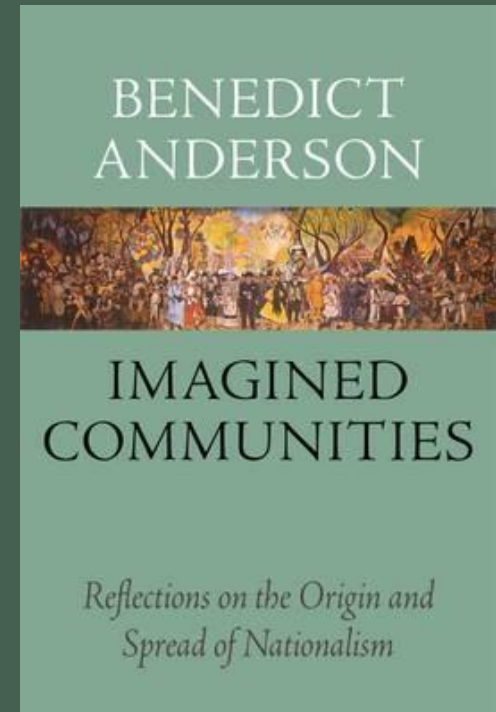
- There is a plethora of propositions regarding the delimitation between the end of the medieval period of Greek and the beginning of Early Modern Greek.
  - Criteria: (a) external / (b) internal
  - Early Medieval Greek      500 - 1100
  - Late Medieval Greek      1100 - 1500
  - Early Modern Greek      1500 - 1700
- [Holton & Manolessou 2010: internal (linguistic) criterion, i.e. fundamental linguistic changes]
- 1500 – 1700: abundance of prose texts written in a language variety near to the vernacular

# VERNACULARS IN EUROPE

- **“the first eco-linguistic revolution”**: The European vernaculars were becoming gradually important in the domain of writing at the expense of the “sacred languages” (Greek, Latin, and Hebrew) in the 1450-1580 period (Baggioni 1997).
- **“the second techno-linguistic revolution”**: necessity for their **standardization** or **grammatisation** (Auroux 1994):
  - (a) publication of grammars,
  - (b) production of dictionaries, and
  - (c) books for spelling or stylistic guidance.
- This process is evident in many European languages (French, Spanish, Italian, English).

# The role of print

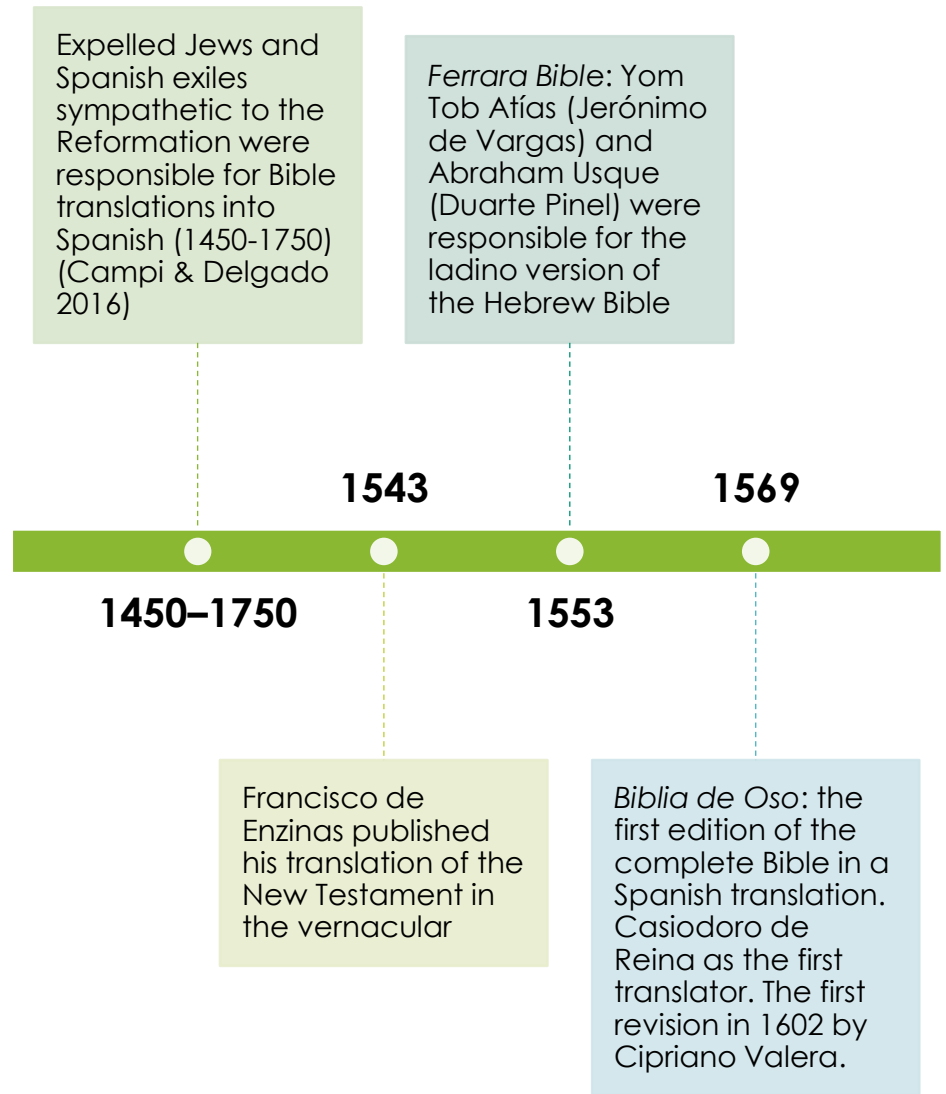
- Abundance of printed materials as the technology of the printing press spread out from Germany after 1450 (Koumariou, Droulia & Layton 1986, 16).
- Until about 1700, literate people wanted to read religious materials (Wiesner-Hanks [2006] 2013, 9).
- Translations of the Bible into the vernacular within the context of the religious movement of the Reformation (Karantzola 2016).
- *print capitalism* → *national print-languages* → *imagined communities* (Anderson 1983)



# Spanish (Castilian)

	AUTHOR	BOOK
1492	Antonio de Nebrija	<i>Gramatica castellana</i>
1492	Antonio de Nebrija	<i>Diccionario latino-español</i>
1517	Antonio de Nebrija	Reglas de <i>orthographia</i> en la lengua castellana
1531	Alejo Vanegas	Tractado de <i>orthographia</i>
1555		Vtil y breve institvtion para aprender los principios y fundamentos de la lengua Española [for foreign students]
1558	Cristóbal de Villalón	<i>Gramática castellana</i>
		<i>Gramática de la Lengua Vulgar de España</i>
1611	Sebastián de Covarrubias	Tesoro de la lengua castellana [ <i>dictionary</i> ]
1713	<b>Royal Spanish Academy</b>	

# Printed Bibles in Spanish



# Italian (Tuscan)

	AUTHOR	BOOK
b.1437-144	Leon Battista Alberti	"Grammatica della lingua Toscana"
1516	Gian Francesco Fortunio	<i>Regole grammaticali della volgar lingua</i>
1525	Pietro Bembo	<i>Prose della volgar lingua</i>
1533	Marco Antonio Atheneo Carlino	<i>La grammatica volgar</i>
1543	Alberto Accursio	<i>Vocabolario, grammatica, et orthographia della lingua volgare</i>
1545	Jacomo Gabriele	<i>Regole grammaticali</i>
1550	Lodovico Dolce	<i>Osservationi nella volgar lingua</i>
1552	Pierfrancesco Giambullari	<i>De la lingua che si parla e scrive in Firenze</i>
1581	Girolamo Ruscelli	<i>De' commentarii della lingua italiana libri sette</i>



## Italian (Tuscan) [2]

- Leonardo Salviati, *Avvertimenti della lingua sopra 'l Decamerone* (1584, 1586)
- 1582: Foundation of the Accademia della Crusca
- 1612: *Vocabolario degli accademici della Crusca*



# Printed Bibles in Italian

**1532:** *la Bibbia quale contiene i Sacri Libri del Vecchio Testamento*  
Transl.: Antonio Brucioli



**1538:** *la Bibbia nuovamente tradotta de la Hebraica verità in lingua Thoscana*  
Transl.: Santi Marmochino

**1607:** *La Bibbia. Cioè, i libri del Vecchio e del Nuovo Testamento. Nuovamente traslati in lingua italiana*  
Transl.: Giovanni Diodati (Toloni 2016)



# French

	AUTHOR	BOOK
1531	Jacques Dubois	<i>In linguam gallicam Isagwge, una cum eiusdem grammatica latino-gallica, ex Hebraeis, Graecis, et Latinis authoribus</i> → The first grammar of French produced in France for the use of the French.
1550	Louis Meigret	<i>Tretté de la grammere françoeze</i> → Grammar based on usage
1557	Robert Estienne	<i>Traicté de la grammaire Françoise</i>
1660	Claude Lancelot & Antoine Arnauld	<i>Grammaire générale et raisonnée</i> → Logic, language, philosophy of language.

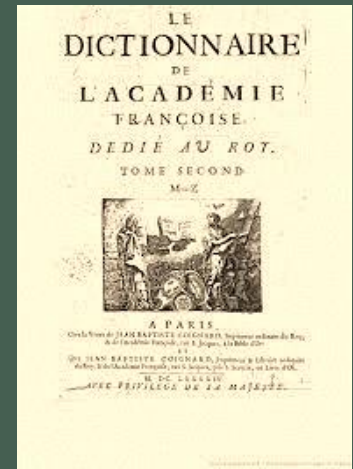
# French [2]

- **1635:** establishment of the French Academy

Purposes: edition of

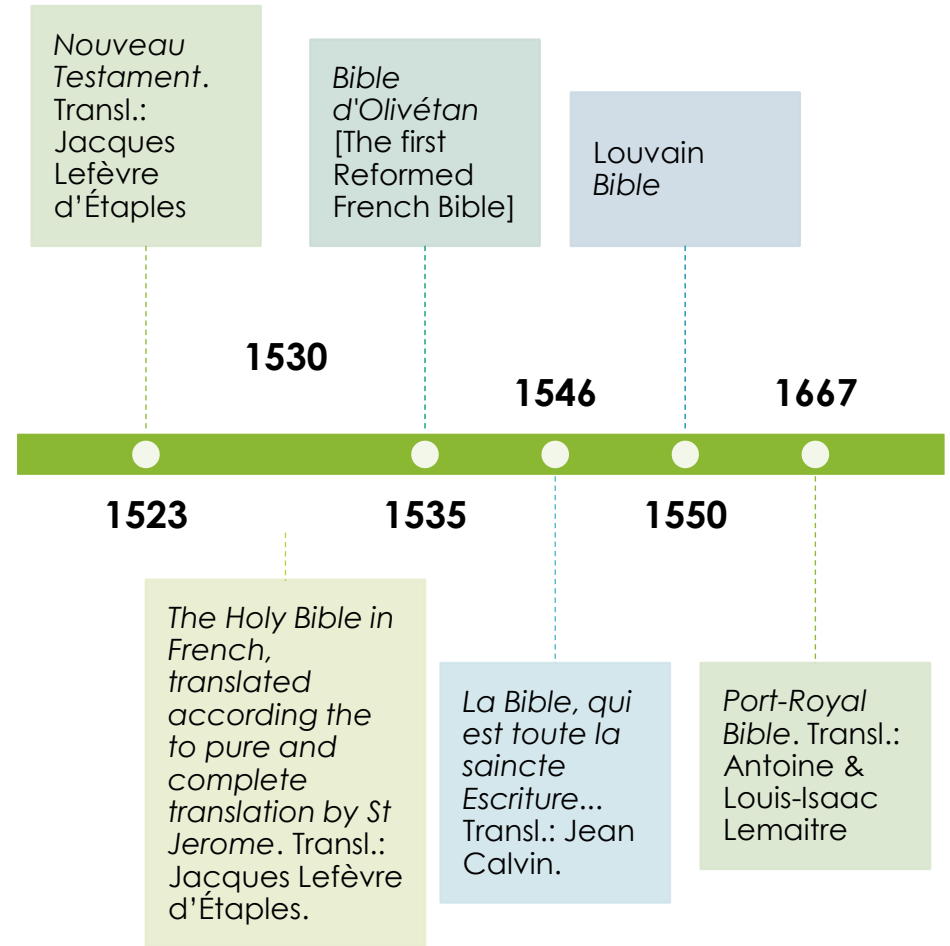
- a dictionary
- a grammar
- a manual of rhetoric

- **1694:** *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* (2 vol.)



# Printed Bibles in French

(see Chédozeau 2016)



# English

	AUTHOR	GRAMMARS AND DICTIONARIES
1586	William Bullokar	<i>Bref <u>Grammar</u></i>
1594	Paul Greaves	<i><u>Grammatica</u> anglicana</i>
1604	Robert Cawdrey	<i>A Table Alphabeticall of Hard Words</i>
1616	John Bullokar	<i>English Expositor</i>
1623	Henry Cockeram	<i>English Dictionarie</i>
1658	Edward Philipps.	<i>New World of Words</i>
1685	Christopher Cooper	<i><u>Grammatica</u> linguae anglicanae</i>
1693	Joseph Aicken	<i>The English <u>grammar</u></i>

# Printed Bibles in English

(see Knowles 1997)

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## **Tyndale:**

(a) translated the gospels of Matthew and Mark (1524)

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(b) completed the New Testament (1525)

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(c) completed the first five books of the Old Testament (in the early 1530s)

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(d) added the Book of Jonah (1534)

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By 1540 the *Great Bible*, a revised translation supervised by Coverdale, was required by statute to be available in every parish church

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*Geneva Bible* (1560): Protestant in its orientation

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*Bishops' Bible* (1568): Anglican version

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*King James Bible* (1611): a revision of the Bishops' Bible

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# **EARLY MODERN GREEK: *STANDARDIZATION AND VARIATION***

(16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> c.)



# CODIFICATION OF EMG (16<sup>TH</sup> -17<sup>TH</sup> C.)

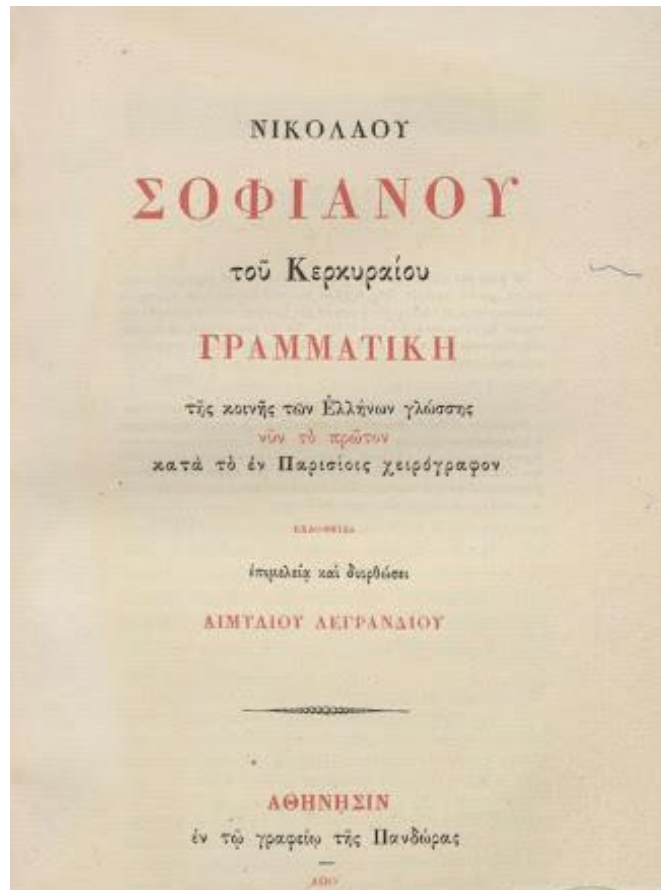
## AUTHORS OF GRAMMARS

- **Nikolaos Sophianos** (first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> c.)
- **Girolamo Germano** (Ρώμη, 1622)
- Mitrofanis Kritopoulos(1627)
- **Simon Portius** (1638 [du Cange, 1688])
- Romanos Nikiphorou(17<sup>os</sup> αι.)

## AUTHORS OF DICTIONARIES

- *Corona preciosa* (Βενετία, 1527)
- Ioannis Meursius (Λούγδουνο, 1610)
- Girolamo Germano (Ρώμη, 1622)
- Simon Portius (Λουτέτια, 1635)
- Γεράσιμος Βλάχος (Βενετία, 1659)
- Du Cange (Λούγδουνο, 1688)
- Alessio da Somavera (Παρίσι, 1709)

# Sophianos' Grammar



- The first grammar of vernacular Greek (only in mss.)
- Edited by Legrand (1870 & 1874)
- Sources: Grammar of Dionysios Thrax & Grammar of Konstantinos Laskaris (Karantzola 1998, Katsouda 2002)
- Emphasis on the noun and verb morphology
- Educational role of the grammar

# Germano's Grammar



- In 1622, the Grammar of Girolamo Germano was first edited. It accompanied the Italian – Greek dictionary: *Vocabolario italiano et Greco* [...] *con alcune regole generali per quelli che fanno qualche cosa di Grammatica, acciò intendano meglio il modo di declinare et coniugare li nomi e verbi e habbiano qualche cognitione della Grammatica di questa lingua greca volgare*
- The author, member of the Society of Jesus, a Roman Catholic order of religious men
- His Grammar was reprinted by Pernot in 1907
- Descriptive grammar



# Vernacular texts

	Vernacular Texts	Place	Editions
1.	Ioannikios Kartanos' <i>Palea te ke Nea Diathiki</i>	Venice	<b>1536</b> , 1539/40, <b>1549</b> , <b>1556</b> , <b>1567</b>
2.	Damaskēnos Stouditēs' <i>Thissavros</i>	Venice	<b>1561</b> , 1562, 1565, 1567, 1568, 1570, 1580, 1589, 1594, 1603, 1618, <b>1628</b> , 1642, 1664, <b>1667</b> , 1673, 1682, 1683, <b>1687</b>
3.	<i>Christianiki Katichissi</i> [transl. L. Philaras]	Rome (*Paris)	<b>1616</b> , <b>1633*</b> , <b>1637</b> , 1695, <b>1715</b>
4.	(Pseudo-)Dorotheos' <i>Chronographos</i>	Venice	<b>1631</b> , <b>1637</b> , 1654, 1673, 1676a, <b>1676b</b> , 1681, 1684a/b, 1686, <b>1691</b>
5.	Agapios Landos' <i>Geoponikon</i>	Venice	<b>1643</b> , <b>1647</b> , 1674, 1686, 1696

# Kartanos' *Palea ke Nea Diathiki*

ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ ΕΙΒΑΪΟΝ ΕΝΑΙ Η  
ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΝΕΑ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, ΕΤΙ ΜΕΤΕ ΑΥΤΩΣ  
ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΚΡΥΦΤΑ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ. ΕΡΩΤΗ ΠΑΡΕ  
ΤΕ ΑΦΙΛΙΜΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΦΩΤΟΝ  
ΠΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΧΑΡΙΣΜΕΝ.



ΕΝΩ ΔΕ



ΑΡΧΗ ΤΩ ΕΜΕΤΟ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΣ.

Non sine Privilegio.



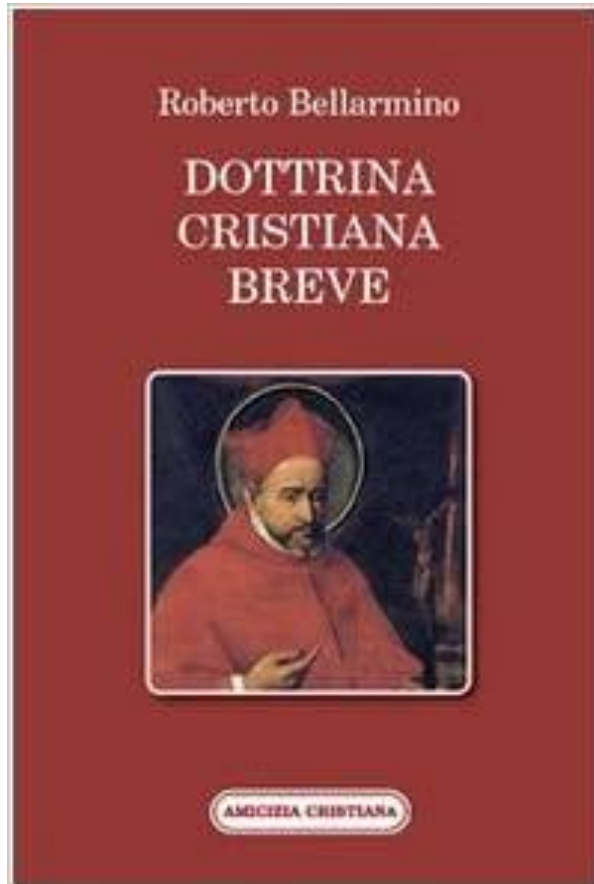
- Ioannikios Kartanos was born in Corfu.
- When he was imprisoned in Venice, he translated excerpts of the Bible (Old and New Testament, Apocryphas) in the vernacular (1536 AD).
- The full (official) translation of the New Testament by Kallioupolitis in the 17<sup>th</sup> c.

# Stouditēs' *Thissavros*



- Damaskēnos Stouditēs was one of the most important intellectual figures in the 16<sup>th</sup> c.
- *Thesaurus*, his major work, includes 36 sermons he delivered





## *Christianiki Katichissi*

- *Dottrina cristiana breve* was the short catechism of Roberto Bellarmino, a cardinal of the Catholic Church.
- This work was translated by Leonardo Philara in EMG and it was first edited in Rome in 1616.
- [A synopsis of the work was translated by the Cretan scholar, author, and translator Ioannis Matthaïos Karyofylles. It was edited in Rome in 1602.]



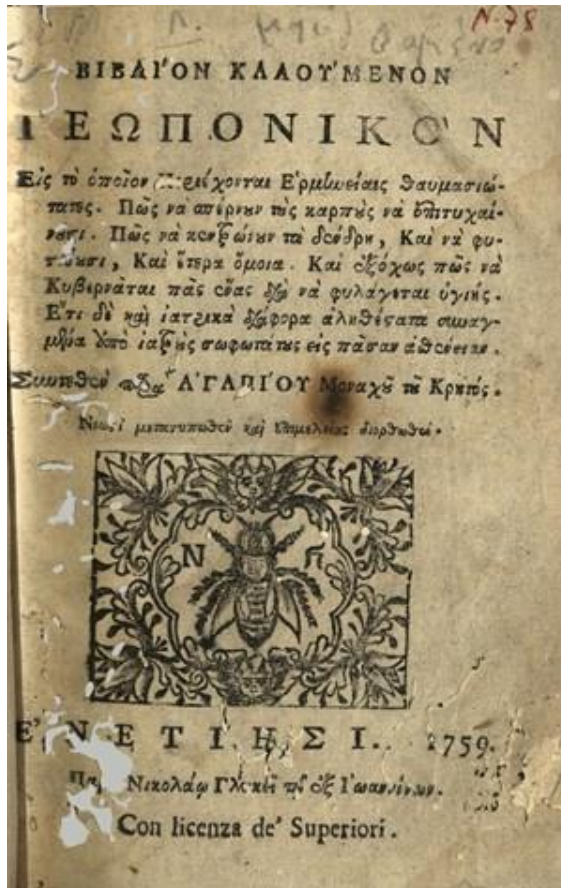
# (Pseudo-)Dorotheos' Chronographos



[www.elpenor.org/athos](http://www.elpenor.org/athos)

- *Historical Book* (Βιβλίον Ιστορικόν) was first published in Venice in 1631.
- The work consists of a history of the world from Creation until the early 17th century.
- The author is assumed to be a (non-existent) metropolitan of Monemvasia named Dorotheos.

# Landos' Geoponikon



- First printed in Venice in 1643.
- Written by the Cretan monk Agaprios Landos, one of the most prolific scholars of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.
- His sole work that does not have a religious content.
- A significant part of his writing was carried out during the period he lived on Mount Athos as an ascetic.
- His books have been constantly reprinted, so they have been characterized as the bestsellers published during the period of the Turkish domination.

# Main research aims (comparative perspective)

## GRAMMARS

- Detection of convergences / divergences regarding the selection of grammatical forms by the grammarians
- Degree of grammarians' tolerance towards variation/polytypy
- → List of linguistic phenomena of interest

## TEXTS

- Transcription of excerpts (c. 3,000 words)
- Identification of differences across the selected editions of each work
- Identification of remaining types/phenomena which show variation

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# LINGUISTIC PHENOMENA INVESTIGATED

3<sup>rd</sup> plural of  
active present  
indicative of  
barytone verbs

AE [usi] > MG  
[un(e)]

Person & Number	Sophianos	Germano	Portius
1 <sup>st</sup> sing.	γράφω	γράφω	γράφω
2 <sup>nd</sup> sing.	γράφεις	γράφεις	γράφεις
3 <sup>rd</sup> sing.	γράφει	γράφει	γράφει
1 <sup>st</sup> pl.	γράφομεν	γράφομεν	γράφομεν
2 <sup>nd</sup> pl.	γράφετε	γράφετε	γράφετε
3 <sup>rd</sup> pl.	<b>γράφουσι &amp; γράφουν</b>	<b>γράφουνε &amp; γράφουσι</b>	<b>γράφουσι &amp; γράφουνε</b>

# The accusative plural feminine of the definite article

AE [tas] > EMG  
[tes] > MG [tis]

Author	Form of the article
Sophianos	<ταῖς> [=tes]
Germano	<ταῖς> [=tes]
Portius	<ταῖς & τῆς> [= tes / tis]

Orthography  
of the ending -  
/i/ in singular  
neuter nouns

AE [-ion] >  
MG [-i] <ι>

Author	Ending
Sophianos	ψωμ - <i>ι</i> χαρτ - <i>ι</i> κρασ - <i>ι</i>
Germano	σπίτ - <i>ι</i> παιδ - <i>ι</i> δεμάτ - <i>ι</i>
Portius	παιδ - <i>ι</i>

Singular neuter ending /-i/:  
<η> (instead of <ι>)

κορμ -**ῆ**

σκοτίδ -**η**

τζουκάλ -**η**

κεφάλ -**η**

Vs. φεγκάρ -**ι** (> -ιον)

Kartanos'  
*Diathiki*



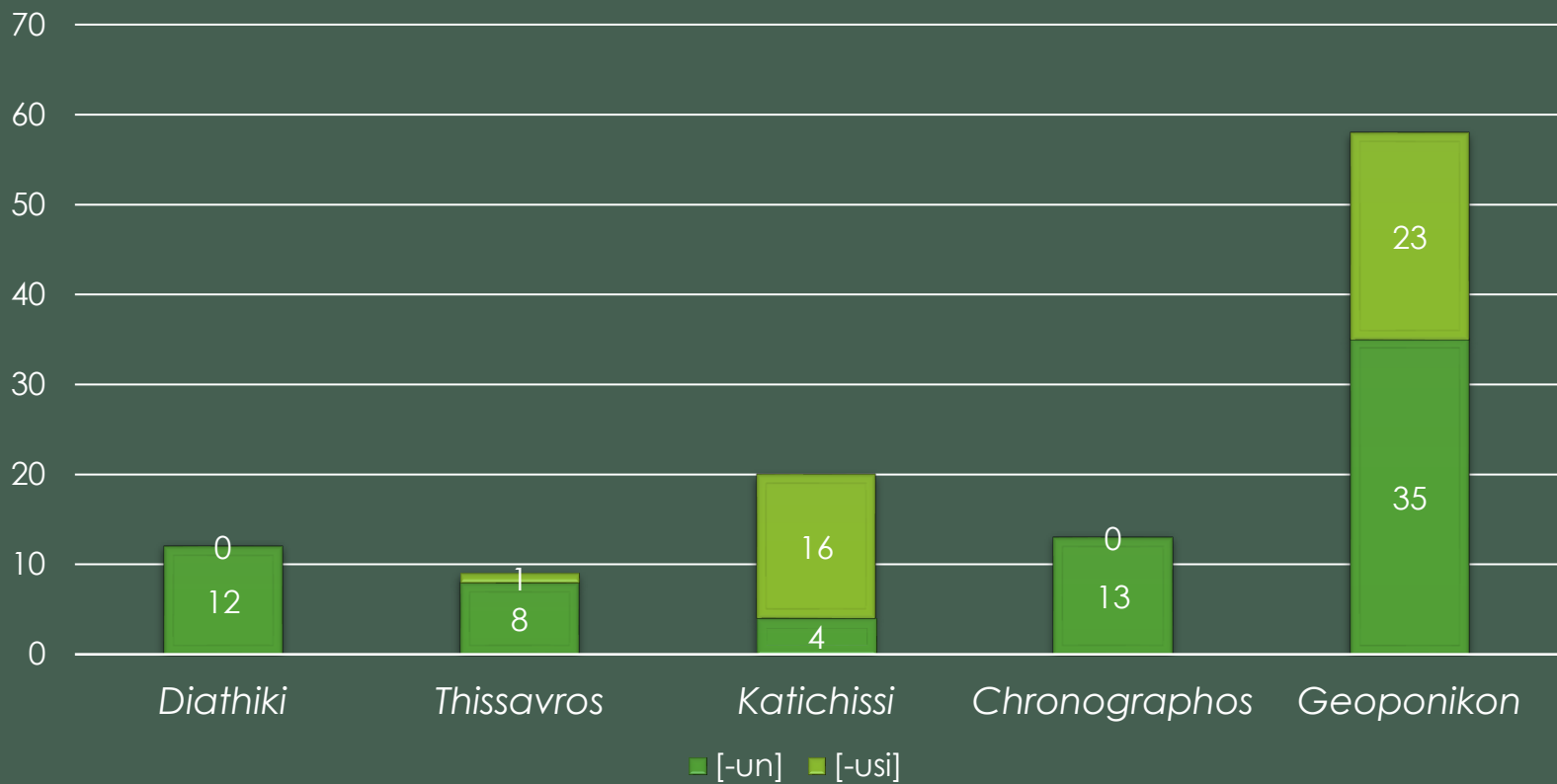
# Thissavros: EMG [tes] (only 1 attestation of AG [tas])

Manuscript	1561	1628	1667	1687
ταῖς ελεημοσύναις	ταῖς ελεημοσύναις	ταῖς ελεημοσύναις	ταῖς ελεημοσύναις	ταῖς ελεημοσύναις
ταῖς αμαρτίαις	ταῖς αμαρτίαις	ταῖς αμαρτίαις	ταῖς αμαρτίαις	ταῖς αμαρτίαι
ταῖς ψυχαῖς	ταῖς ψυχαῖς	ταῖς ψυχαῖς	ταῖς ψυχαῖς	ταῖς ψυχαῖς
ταῖς θυγατέραις	ταῖς θυγατέραις	ταῖς θυγατέραις	ταῖς θυγατέραις	ταῖς θυγατέραις
<b>τάς πράξεις</b>	<b>τάς πράξεις</b>	<b>τάς πράξεις</b>	<b>τάς πράξεις</b>	<b>τάς πράξεις</b>
ταῖς ἄλλαις	ταῖς ἄλλαις	ταῖς ἄλλαις	ταῖς ἄλλαις	ταῖς ἄλλαις
ταῖς ἀτακταῖς	ταῖς ἀτακταῖς	ταῖς ἀτακταῖς	ταῖς ἀτακταῖς	ταῖς ἀτακταῖς
ταῖς προσευχαῖς	ταῖς προσευχαῖς	ταῖς προσευχαῖς	ταῖς προσευχαῖς	ταῖς προσευχαῖς

# Chronographos: EMG [tes] vs. AG [tas] → 1:4

1631	1637	1676	1691
τάς γυναίκας	τάς γυναίκας	τάς γυναίκας	τάς γυναίκας
τάς ι'	τάς ι'	τάς ι'	τάς ι'
τάς ιστορίας	τάς ιστορίας	τάς ιστορίας	τάς ιστορίας
τάς εκκλησίας	τάς εκκλησίας	τάς εκκλησίας	τάς εκκλησίας
ταίς καλογρέαις	ταίς καλογρέαις	ταίς καλογρέαις	ταίς καλογρέαις
τάς εικόνας	τάς πράξεις	τάς πράξεις	τάς πράξεις
τάς κεφαλάς	τάς κεφαλάς	τάς κεφαλάς	τάς κεφαλάς
τάς αμοιβάς	τάς αμοιβάς	τάς αμοιβάς	τάς αμοιβάς
τάς επιλοίπας	τάς επιλοίπας	τάς επιλοίπας	τάς επιλοίπας
ταίς ημέραις	ταίς ημέραις	ταίς ημέραις	ταίς ημέραις

# AG [-usi] vs. MG [-un]



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# CONCLUSIONS

# CONCLUSIONS

- Although grammars are traditionally characterized by a tendency of reducing morphological variation within the framework of “the second techno-linguistic revolution”, the examined EMG Grammars (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> c.) display a degree of tolerance towards morphological variation and spelling variants [see γράφουσι & γράφουνε and ταῖς & τῆς].
- EMG authors vary considerably regarding the use of the morphological types/variants selected by the grammarians, as the cases of the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural verb ending [-un] vs. [-usi] or of the acc. plur. of the feminine definite article [tes] vs. [tas] suggest.
- The etymological criterion regarding the spelling of the words, adopted by the grammarians (e.g. the ending <-i> for /i/ in singular neuter nouns), is not unanimously followed by the authors/editors (cf. Kartanos' *Diathiki*: ending <-η>).

# CONCLUSIONS

- Authors'/editors' practice does not reflect directly / is not in full accordance with the proposals of standardization of this period.
- The comparative examination of successive editions of the same text suggest that the rate by which the printed text contributed to the reduction of language variation/polytypy during the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> c. was particularly sluggish.

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