

Cosmopolitan Constantinopolitans: Istanbul Greek Language and Identity

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The Istanbul Greek (IG) community is an indigenous minority group totaling ~2000 members. Due to their specific geopolitical and sociohistorical context, the IG dialect has unique contact-induced linguistic features from Turkish, French, and other languages, in addition to archaisms and innovations. Because the IG community encompasses multilingual individuals who are ethnically Greek but nationally Turkish, they provide a unique opportunity to observe how identity is represented and circulated with language.

This dissertation presents an ethnographic and variationist sociolinguistic analysis of the IG community and their speech. Six months of ethnographic observation over 2016 and 2018 resulted in interviews with over 80 IG speakers of various demographic backgrounds. Sociolinguistic interviews elicited a range of dialectal variants from a range of task types. I acoustically measured phonetic features of IG that differ from Standard Modern Greek (SMG) from wordlist data and ran mixed-effects models along conventional linguistic and social factors. The results from these analyses show that a salient dialectal feature (velarized laterals) patterns as expected with traditional variationist research, but only with young females. Meanwhile a less salient dialectal feature (postalveolar affricates) does not pattern as expected regardless of demographics. Factors such as social networks and language ideologies do not reliably account for how these and other variables pattern.

These results are triangulated with metapragmatic commentary of IG speakers discussing their language. Metapragmatic discourse reveals specific social meaning attributed to these dialectal features and to IG holistically. Speakers appeal to chronotopic relationships with their

language use and IG identity, which represents cosmopolitanism and urban sophistication that contrasts with SMG. IG speakers' awareness of dialectal differences and qualities associated with such differences are then used to form characterological figures that reinforce an IG identity in opposition with SMG. Laterals serve as an index of IG identity for all IGs, whereas postalveolar affricates do not have the same social meaning, which aligns with how these features pattern in the community. As a result, the variation seen in IG cannot be explained by traditional methods alone. Knowledge of the specific IG sociohistorical context is important because social meaning is crucially what drives language change.

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ΜΕ ΠΟΛΥ ΑΓΑΠΗ ΑΠΕ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΣΑΚΑ/ΓΙΑΒΡΙ/ΤΖΙΕΡΙ ΣΟΥ

1.0 Introduction

The current dissertation is concerned with how identity is negotiated among the Istanbul Greek (IG) community. Specifically, as ethnic Greeks and Turkish nationals, the IG community represents a type of cosmopolitanism that for centuries has encompassed intimate contact and familiarity with diverse linguistic and cultural groups. With at least 2500 years of continued inhabitation by Greeks, Istanbul has been the meeting point of multiple cultures, linguistic groups, religious factions, and even continents. Over the past century, the geopolitical and sociohistorical developments of the City have led to major demographic changes over a relatively short period of time. The IG community thereby serves as an interesting case study of language change resulting from multiple causes (e.g., dialect and language contact, linguistic separation, social networks, and more) that challenge traditional theoretical principles related to language change and identity.

This context raises the question of what constitutes a local IG identity. Sociolinguistic literature suggests identity is partially based on how community members recognize differences between themselves and others, primarily differences related to their speech (Gal & Irvine, 2019). This IG identity is constructed and propagated through metapragmatic discourse, stances IGs take to align with types of Greekness, and through patterns of linguistic variation that index such an identity. Throughout this dissertation, I primarily am focused on the social meaning of IG speech, and how speakers' language reflects their attitudes to their and other Greek identities.

Discussing group identity requires a working definition of a community and who belongs to given groups. Concepts of similarities and differences among individuals are often used to determine what constitutes membership to and identity of distinct groups (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Edwards, 2009; Kiesling, 2011). This apparent dichotomy contrasts somewhat with Gumperz's

(1964) and Irvine's (2005) assertions that speech communities are based on notions of proximity and, crucially, *interaction*, which account for broadening understanding of communities as organizations of diversity rather than uniform entities. Consequently, a community can be understood as socially achieved rather than a preexisting fixture in society, and social interaction among a community's members is a process requiring both differentiation and accommodation. The overarching Greek community, therefore, can be seen in terms of a series of both concentric and overlapping circles, to account for the broadest to most specific subgroupings of people identified as Greeks. IG speakers in particular are a rather heterogeneous group, with many having at least one grandparent or great-grandparent from another Greek-speaking region such as Northern Greece, the Greek islands, the Balkans, Cappadocia, Pontus, etc. Nevertheless, the literature (e.g., Herzfeld, 1989; Örs, 2006; Triandafyllidou & Veikou, 2002) suggests that the social practices of Greek nationalism and ethnicity still place emphasis on a supposed homogenization of the Greek community, with entities that do not fit that narrative being viewed as Others. This is somewhat problematic as the longstanding Greek history allows people of Greek descent to claim membership to diverse groups, most notably the *Hellenes* (i.e., Ancient Greeks) and the *Romioi* (i.e., Byzantine). Halstead (2014) has shown that the IG community in Athens challenges this dichotomy and uses these distinct ethnonyms for strategic purposes, specifically "Hellenes" to align with and "Romioi" to distance themselves from Mainland Greeks.

As Halstead (2014, 2018) and Örs (2006, 2017) have demonstrated, a key component to IG identity is the cosmopolitanism that members embody by being multilingual and multicultural. Örs (2017) refers to "'exclusive diversity,' whereby inclusion is restricted to those who, regardless of their specific ethnic, religious, or socioeconomic backgrounds, can claim their birthright in Istanbul—a cause for exclusivity in and of itself" (p.8). Linguistic ramifications of such exclusive

diversity include multilingualism and contact-induced change on the local Greek variety. Consequently, language reflects and perpetuates a sense of distinction for the IG community. Some of my goals with this dissertation are to describe aspects of this under-documented variety and provide explanations of how language is used by members in their conceptualization of a unique IG identity.

While some research on the IG community has been completed, little linguistic work has been done on their speech. Kontosopoulos's (2008) text on Greek varieties only dedicates one clause of a single sentence to IG, erroneously stating that aside from very few morphosyntactic differences IG is identical to Greek as spoken in Athens. Kazazis (1970) discusses the role of family networks for maintenance of lexical and morphosyntactic features of IGs relocated to Athens, albeit with few specific examples. Papadopoulos (1975) in an unpublished master's thesis compares the phonological systems of Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and IG. Although providing some useful illustrations and observations, not all of the information fully depicts the IG situation then or currently. Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis (2007) published work on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Greek in Istanbul, although their focus was on general Greek maintenance rather than the specific variety. Örs (2006, 2017) studied IGs living in Athens and discussed some aspects of the dialect in her ethnography. Horrocks (2014) provides a few pages dedicated to Psycharis's use of dialectal features in his writing from the 19th century. An IG living in Athens, Zahariadis (2014) compiled a dictionary based on texts gathered from IG newspapers, books, plays, and other sources obtained from the mid 19th to mid 20th centuries. A valiant effort for a non-linguist, the dictionary also has a few pages dedicated to briefly describing the IG community and non-lexical elements of the variety. Considerable work is still to be done on the IG dialect and its speakers.

My ultimate goal with this dissertation is to explain how the Istanbul Greek variety is tied to IGs' conceptualization of an Istanbul Greek identity. In doing so, I aim to provide a brief description of the IG variety, what the speech community is like, and how IGs relate themselves to their language. This is important for sociolinguistic research as I will show the dynamic intersection between language and identity in a multilingual contact variety, which challenges certain theoretical sociolinguistic principles that primarily have been established based on work on monolingual communities. I have developed the chapters that follow to accomplish these goals. As little has been written or documented on the variety, Chapter 2 provides a brief description of the complex history of IG society and structural aspects of the IG dialect in relation to other Greek varieties. This hopefully will bring awareness to the IG community and their dialect while providing an important foundation for the rest of the chapters. As another goal is to apply and expand on existing sociolinguistic theory to describe the IG variety, in Chapter 3, I introduce the theoretical framework I am using to define and explore language change and identity formation. Specifically, I use contact linguistic and interactional sociolinguistic theories with critical ethnography to provide an explanation and model for indexical and ideological relations between languages, dialects, and membership to the IG community. I primarily am implementing stancetaking in metapragmatic discourse as a method for understanding how individual community members link specific linguistic production to larger notions of group identity based on the indexicality and ideological loop between linguistic forms and social meanings. Rather than using traditional methods for a fine grained variationist analysis, I incorporate meaning making of identity based on ideological processes of differentiation (e.g., Gal, 2016; Gal & Irvine, 2019) in examining specific types of variation. This dissertation shows that stancetaking provides the necessary context to make sense of patterns of variation and allow for how social meaning has

been embedded onto linguistic forms. Stancetaking of metapragmatic discourse is particularly important in this dissertation because it accounts for how speakers understand and link the complex sociohistorical background of the IG community to their linguistic production. As a result, this indigenous multilingual minority community exhibits patterns of variation distinct from more readily studied variationist research (typically monolingual Anglo-centric). This dissertation then contributes to the literature by answering Stanford's (2016) call for more diverse variationist data, and by demonstrating the important of social meaning of linguistic and non-linguistic culture in language variation.

Chapter 4 is where I explain the specific linguistic features I am focusing on for analysis: laterals and coronal affricates. I expand on concepts previously introduced in earlier chapters and provide examples of how IG speakers may orient to or away from a specific IG identity. Adapting Babel's (2018) concept of a semiotic field (itself a sendoff of Eckert's [2008] indexical field, which in turn was influenced by Bourdieu's [1977] field theory), I establish aspects of material culture, cultural practice, and linguistic repertoire available to the IG community. I provide an overview of the interviews I have done in Istanbul over multiple field visits and justify why lateral velarization and coronal affricate production are important features of the IG variety that make sense for tracking patterns of variation in order to link language and identity. In Chapter 5, I describe the distributions of lateral velarization and postalveolar affricates among IG speakers. I provide examples of IG speakers' metapragmatic awareness of the phones and other dialectal features, which leads me to compare their distributions in wordlists and then in a few case studies of more spontaneous speech. Using Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2017), I perform acoustic phonetic analysis of IG speakers' wordlist tokens of /l/ and /ts/ and contrast these measurements with a few

highlighted tokens taken from metapragmatic discourse. Finally, I reach conclusions and offer suggestions in Chapter 6.

In between chapters, I provide interstitial anecdotes of my personal experience conducting ethnographic fieldwork in Istanbul. This was modeled after Babel (2018), whose similar work in Bolivia examined diverse social and linguistic observations in a multilingual region. I thereby provide the reader with insights that may account for how IG speakers related to me during interviews and may provide additional examples of some of the concepts discussed in the chapters. The role of the researcher is often underplayed in sociolinguistic research, but in such an ethnographic study, particularly one in which I as the researcher have close ties, it is important to understand what role I may have served in interviews and ways that may have potentially influenced my participants' responses. Using these multiple approaches, I hope to link linguistic production and awareness with stancetaking in both quantitative and qualitative terms.

This dissertation contributes to Greek dialectology, sociolinguistics, and linguistic anthropology in demonstrating how endangered dialect speakers in contact situations construct and perform identities. What makes the IG case particularly interesting is the multifold levels of contact: first diachronic contact of multiple Greek dialects; then contact of that koine with Turkish, French and other languages; and now the increased contact and social pressure of SMG. Ultimately, I hope to show the significance of social meaning and positioning of the self and how inseparable they are from language, particularly linguistic variation.

Interlude 1: Welcome to My Family

My *yiayia*, or Greek grandmother, was a very sophisticated woman. Born in 1918 when Istanbul was still Constantinople and Turkey was still the Ottoman Empire, her 96-year life was full of experiences most people would not be able to imagine. She was somewhat of a paradox; a regal yet jovial, religious woman who interpreted dreams and coffee grinds. She always made sure to keep her hair groomed and apply her makeup and skin creams (Ponds was her brand of choice). She would go for daily walks and always looked 20 years younger than her actual age. When her *coiffeur* suggested a novel be written based on her life, she quite plainly dismissed that idea saying that her life story would be much better suited for a film adaptation instead.

This dissertation is as much a personal family history as it is an academic endeavor. My family's experiences as indigenous minorities of Turkey have informed essentially every aspect of my life, including my research. My father is a Syriac-speaker (sometimes referred to as either Aramean or Assyrian - which is an interesting enough topic for a completely separate dissertation) from Midyat in southeastern Turkey. He went to Istanbul to attend university for civil engineering in the 1970s. There he met my mother, who is half Istanbul Greek and Armenian. They were soon engaged and then moved to Rhode Island in 1972 where they married. I often joke that I did not choose to study linguistics, but rather it chose me. With my mother speaking seven languages and my father five, I understood at a young age these different languages served different purposes in different contexts. This and similar points were made further when I moved from my birth state of Rhode Island to a suburb of NYC in Northern New Jersey at about seven years old. The laughter I received when I asked the teacher if I could go to the "bubblah" introduced me to dialect ideologies of English, which haunt me to this day. Perhaps unsurprisingly, language ideologies

and attitudes to dialects and dialect speakers are an important component in this dissertation on Istanbul Greek.

My grandmother helped raise me. I learnt Greek from her and my mother at home, among the other household languages that were being spoken (mostly Turkish, Aramaic (Syriac to be exact), and Western Armenian). I slowly became aware of differences in the Istanbul variety of Greek when I met more Greeks in high school and college who couldn't really understand some of the things I'd say. When I discovered linguistics as an undergraduate student, I almost immediately searched for any book or article that discussed Greek dialects. I could not find a single thing that even mentioned Istanbul Greek, let alone what it was like in comparison to other varieties. As a senior, I did an independent study where I began to document and describe the variety. I can say my first "fieldwork" experience occurred with my first informant - my grandmother. I still have recordings from 2009 where I first asked her to tell me about her life on audio. I later recorded her in greater detail a few years later. Now, over 10 years after that initial recording, I have continued my research thanks to my earliest attempts with my grandmother.

As of 2019, I have been to Istanbul four times. The first time was as a teenager visiting family in 2004, and the subsequent times for work. The first time I ever went to Turkey, I actually didn't want to be there. I was 16 and my parents forced me to go on a family trip for a month over the summer, while I wanted to be far away from my parents and siblings. I didn't fully appreciate the experience until later on, when I realized the sacrifices my parents made in leaving their home to immigrate to the United States. We spent about half the trip in Istanbul at my family's apartment in the European side of the City, and the other half visiting Midyat, the town my father grew up in, and surrounding villages throughout the southern part of Turkey. On a chartered minibus, we explored quite a bit of central and southern Turkey. Traveling through Istanbul, Cappadocia,

Mardin, and many other locations, I visited the hometowns of both of my parents, and even the regions of my great-grandparents and older generations. Although my mother and grandmother were both born in Istanbul, my maternal great-grandparents were from Cappadocia; my grandmother's father was from Karvali (Turkish name was formerly Gelveri, since changed to Güzelyurt) and my grandmother's mother was from Niğde, or so we believe.

I returned to Turkey for a second time in 2014 as part of a research fellowship with the Hellenic College Holy Cross and Centre for Asia Minor Studies (CAMS) in Athens. A small group of us stayed in Athens at the CAMS archives scouring interviews collected nearly 100 years earlier on the Cappadocian Greeks that were moved to Greece in the forced population exchange of the 1920s. After the Greco-Turkish war, 1.5 million Greeks of Turkey (primarily the Ionian Coast, Black Sea region, and Cappadocia) were forced to relocate to Greece despite not having any direct ties with the country (in fact, many of these Greeks were completely Turcophonic). In exchange about half a million Turks were sent from Greece to Turkey, also despite centuries of living in their home region. Exempt from this exchange included Turks living in Western Thrace (Greece) and Greeks living in Istanbul and the Aegean islands of Imvros and Tenedos (Gökçeada and Bozcaada, in Turkish respectively). My Cappadocian great-grandparents were exempt as they had relocated to Istanbul enough years in advance not to have been involved in the exchange. This exemption of Istanbul Greeks explains why and how I'm around today, as my parents would never have been able to meet otherwise. The fellowship allowed me to stay a few weeks in Athens while researching at the archives before spending a week exploring different Cappadocian villages. We also visited Istanbul for a few days as we wrapped up the program, meeting the Ecumenical Patriarch along the way. During this time, I made some connections that proved to be useful in recruiting participants for interviews during my later fieldwork. This experience was made all the

more meaningful as my Istanbul Greek grandmother passed away shortly after I returned from this trip. As we say in Greek, may her memory be eternal.

My subsequent trips to Istanbul were a matter of luck or destiny or maybe both. When I first started my doctoral program in 2015, I was undecided between continuing my master's thesis research on Spanish diminutives or starting the documentation of Istanbul Greek. I knew I ultimately was interested in studying social meaning of IG, but as no official documentation or description of the variety existed, I would have to do that first. My decision was essentially made for me when I received the Stanley Prostrednik Memorial Grant to do exploratory ethnographic fieldwork in Turkey the summer after my first year. From late May through early August of 2016, I spent 11 weeks in Istanbul (including surviving a failed coup attempt). I made many friends, and even met extended family for the first time. Istanbul, like most large cities, requires lots of walking - walking through more contemporary and more historic districts, witnessing how much change has occurred in both long and short periods of time. The cultural syncretism of a city that has been around for thousands of years, seen multiple empires and diverse groups settle in and around the environs, is marvelous to say the least. Buildings constructed centuries ago are side by side with contemporary buildings. European designs next to Islamic, oriental and other ornaments line the streets. Street performers playing both Western music and the Middle Eastern maqams. Unsurprisingly, this cultural combination does not go unnoticed by the locals, and many take great pride in this cosmopolitanism that is seemingly intrinsically linked to being from Istanbul.

In the summer of 2017, I traveled to Athens to interview IGs who resettled there for multifold reasons. Similar to the previous year, this included visiting family members I had never met before for the first time. The experience of chatting with dislocated IGs greatly informed a lot of my research. However, in the interest of narrowing my dissertation, I will not be discussing to

any considerable degree the experiences of the émigré IG community in Athens, other than featuring a few occasional comparisons for illustrative purposes. Under the auspices of the Mellon Fellowship, I went back to Istanbul in the fall of 2018 at the behest of many IGs who assured me that it would be easier to find speakers when they wouldn't be on vacation. That ended up being both true and false at the same time as you will see in the later chapters.

In the following interludes, I will provide scenes of some of my experiences abroad in Istanbul. They will expand on some of the concepts discussed in the other chapters, while providing a bird's eye perspective of my fieldwork. Sociolinguistic ethnographies such as those by Babel (2018), Eckert (1989), Heller (2010), and Mendoza-Denton (2005) have been particularly impactful due to the researchers' discussion of their own role in the field. As nearly all of my 80+ interviewees are either family, friends, or friends of family and friends, highlighting a few specific interactions is a good opportunity to explain my own contributions to interviews while showing theory in practice.

2.0 Overview on Istanbul Greek(s)

The Istanbul Greek (IG) community and its language have been influenced by a complex set of waves of both Greek and non-Greek migrations to the City now called Istanbul. This chapter briefly describes some of the most important historical developments within Istanbul and how they have shaped the IG community, members of which often position themselves as distinct from other Greek communities (Section 2.1). A comparison of Modern Greek dialects (Section 2.2) and description of IG (Section 2.3) are also provided in order to contextualize how the sociocultural and ecological developments in Istanbul have contributed to the IG community's language use (also discussed in Chapter 4).

2.1 Who are the Istanbul Greeks?

The Istanbul Greeks are not Greeks from Mainland Greece living in diaspora in Turkey. They are indigenous to the City and typically possess Greek ethnicity, Orthodox Christian faith, and Turkish nationality¹. They represent a community in-between and beyond conventional ethnic categorization. While often dismissed, misrepresented, or underrepresented in scholarly literature, recent anthropological (Örs, 2006; 2017), sociological (Tunç & Ferentinou, 2012) and linguistic

¹ I say typically because as Örs (2017) has pointed out, the Antiochian community has become incorporated into the Istanbul Greek community over the past few decades. Antiochians are Orthodox Christians of Arab origin, either Arabic speaking or now more commonly Turcophonic from the Antakya (historically Antioch) region of Turkey. Due to their Orthodox faith they have been integrated into the IG community's churches, schools and broader cultural institutions, further adding complexity to the IG situation. Note that the Antiochians do not figure into the 2,000 figure for the IG population.

studies (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007) have begun to depict the complex intersection of identity the Istanbul Greeks represent.

The complexity of the IG situation can be seen even just in deciding how to refer to them. I use the term “Istanbul Greeks” because the community is composed of ethnic Greeks born and raised in the cosmopolitan city now referred to as Istanbul. Örs (2006, 2017) coined the term *Rum Polites* using the Turkish word for Greeks from Asia Minor and Cyprus (*Rum*) and the Greek word for citizens of Istanbul (*η Πόλη* “the City”). Turkish *Rum* is a derivative of “Roman” in reference to the Byzantine Empire. *Rum* is not exclusively applied to IGs, but also to Cypriot Greeks and any Greeks with origins from what is now Turkey, such as Pontians and Cappadocians. This term is opposed to *Yunan*, a derivative of Ionian, which is used to designate Greeks from Greece. Greek also employs a parallel set of terms (*Romioi* and *Ellines*) to distinguish among varying types of Greekness.² However, the distinctions are somewhat more complicated in Greek because of the differing references the terms additionally make: *Ellines*/Hellenes references classical Greece vis-à-vis the *Hellenic* tribe, whereas *Romioi* references the Byzantine Empire i.e., Eastern *Roman* Empire, where Constantinople was called the New Rome. These terms not only directly reference those two separate times and places, but they also reference values attributed to both eras. For example, *Romioi* encompasses the Orthodox Christian faith associated with the Byzantine Empire.³ Consequently, Mainland Greeks may also use this term for themselves, especially when emphasizing their religion (Grammatikos, 2018). Nevertheless, Mainland Greeks also have the

² These are not the only terms for different types of Greekness, nor is this oppositionality only for the IG community. As Brian Joseph (personal communication, March, 2020) has pointed out, the southern Italic Greek communities also distinguish themselves as *Greko/Griko* in opposition to *Ellines*.

³ For this reason, while the historic Greek-speaking Jewish community of Constantinople was particularly involved with the IG community, they would not be classified as *Romioi* due to differences in religious affiliation. Nevertheless, Yevanic/Romaniote Greek as spoken by this population very well would have had a mutual impact on the development of IG due to their specific language ecology.

term *Elladitis*, which exclusively refers to a Greek from Greece *Ellada*. As a result, *Elladitis* exists as a hyponym of *Ellinas*, although different Greek speakers may conflate *Elladitis* with *Ellinas*. Appealing to the Greek ideological concept of *omoyeneis*, wherein all Greeks are of the same genetic people, allows for this fluidity in labels to perdure. Scholars such as Fermor (2006), Halstead (2014), and Herzfeld (1986) have discussed the historical development of the terms “*Hellene*” and “*Romios*” and how Mainland Greeks as a collective have ultimately adopted *Hellene* as an emic ethnonym for strategic ideological purposes. Halstead (2014, 2018) and Örs (2006, 2017) both have studied the IG émigré community in Athens, and they have demonstrated how these IGs are more likely to use *Romios* for similar strategic ideological purposes in aligning with a distinct conceptualization of their Greek identity. Halstead (2014: 270) demonstrates the complexity of these terms in general, and particularly for the IG community:

“I do not intend to imply any strict definitional distinction between the two terms, nor do I consider them to refer to discrete ethnic identities, but rather am interested in how they are used variably as signifiers. My [IG] informants **sometimes treat the two as synonymous, sometimes as overlapping or one as part of the other, and sometimes as antithetical.**”⁴

Örs’s term *Rum Polites* has been adopted by some other researchers (e.g., Tunç & Ferentinou, 2012) studying the IG community. While I appreciate Örs’s coining of the term and using the two languages to also highlight the cosmopolitan nature of the IGs, I also find it a bit unwieldy. Scholars such as Halstead (2014, 2018) and Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis (2007) use a more neutral designation of “Istanbul Greeks” to avoid potential confusion upon reading *Rum Polites*. This term also allows for a parallel reference of the variety as Istanbul Greek (henceforth IG),

⁴ Emphasis mine.

which is how Papadopulos (1975) describes the dialect. As Örs (2006, 2017) has discussed, an IG is not merely a Greek person who resides in Istanbul, but an ethnic Greek born in Istanbul with ties to the City's local history. Nearly all IGs have some ancestry, typically at least three generations removed, to another part of the Greek world.⁵ This is not atypical of citizens of large cities across the world. The most common historic origins of IGs include Cappadocia in central Turkey, various regions of Northern Greece (most commonly Epirus and Thrace), Chios, Crete, and other Aegean islands. Regardless of their specific ancestral backgrounds, IGs emphasize their community's continued presence in Istanbul (Örs, 2017). This connection differs from Mainland Greeks or Cypriots who travel to or have recently moved to Istanbul in increasing numbers for economic opportunities (Jones, 2011). My ethnographic research has borne out that older IGs tend to be less trusting of such Greeks, whereas younger IGs are more receptive to welcoming non-IG Greeks.

2.1.1 Brief History of Greeks in Istanbul

Istanbul straddles the European and Asian continents. Figure 1 shows the current political boundaries of Istanbul, a considerably larger territory than the older settlements (see Figure 2 for a map of Medieval Constantinople). Commonly believed to have first been settled by Doric Greeks from Megara (located in between Corinth and Athens) in c 657 BC, there is evidence of an even earlier settlement by Thracians who referred to the area as Lygos in the 13th century BC (Vailhé, 1908). More recently referred to as Byzantium in deference to the Megaran King Byzas, the ancient

⁵ I consider myself to be a part of the IG community, and I was accepted as a second-generation IG by my interviewees based on my being born in the US to an IG woman who left in the 1970s. In fact, I was interviewed by the IG diaspora newspaper in Athens *O Politis* and the interviewer described me as a second-generation IG (Arvanitis, 2017).

City was founded on the European peninsula at the confluence of the Marmara Sea, Bosphorus and Golden Horn. The accessibility to the Black and Mediterranean Seas (via the Marmara) made the small kingdom a coveted location, especially as the spice trade and silk road led Asia straight here.

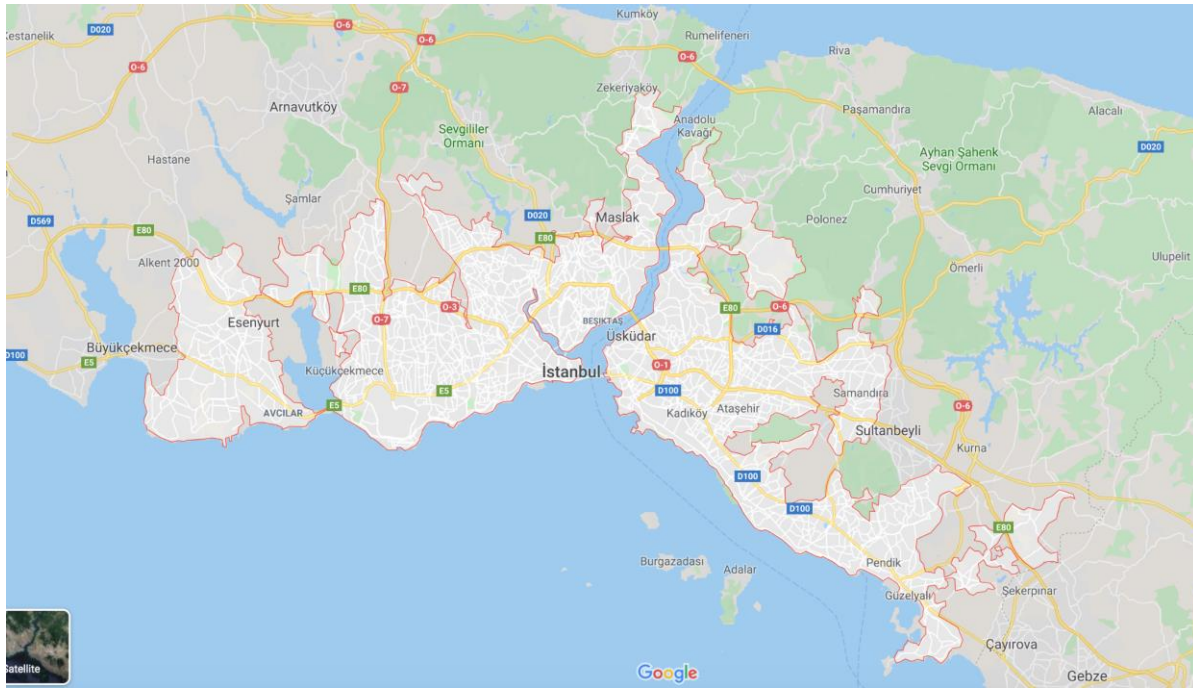


Figure 1. Modern Istanbul

Google Map of the European (left) and Asian (right) sides of modern day Istanbul within the red boundaries. Included are the Black Sea in the North, the Bosphorus Strait dividing the continents, the Golden Horn cleaving the European side, and the Marmara Sea where Istanbul's Prince Islands are located



Figure 3. Byzantine Empire Territories

Encyclopædia Britannica map of the Byzantine Empire taken from www.britannica.com.

The Illyrian Greek Emperor Constantine the Great established Byzantium as the new seat of the Eastern Roman Empire in 330 AD. Upon doing so, the City's name changed to Constantinople⁶, meaning Constantine's city. During this time, the City expanded in terms of land area, urban development, and population. Although at that point the majority of Constantinople was located on the lower European peninsula, additional settlements on the upper European peninsula formed *Pera* (which means "beyond" in Greek) and other neighborhoods. The lower

⁶ I refer to the City as Constantinople when discussing events prior to the formation of the Republic in Turkey and Istanbul when discussing events after the official name change in 1923. Turkish and Arabic had borrowed Constantinople's meaning of Constantine's city and still referred to it as Konstantiniyye throughout the Ottoman Empire. Many Greeks and non-Greeks referred to Constantinople simply as "the City." The Turkish name of Istanbul itself is noted to be a derivation of Greek "ἡ ἐν Πόλιν" meaning in the City. Even in the later Ottoman years, the Old City of Constantinople was known as Stamboul in British documents. As Georgakas (1947) asserts that the vocalic alternations from *Stimboli* to *Stambul* can be accounted for based on Turkish vowel harmony, and others (e.g., Brian Joseph, personal communication) posit that they are the result of derivation from the second and final syllables of Constantinople.

peninsula also expanded westward somewhat, and the Asian side's settlements expanded later during Byzantine times. The old City in the lower peninsula was the primary religious, commercial, and cultural area where the famed Hagia Sofia cathedral was constructed right by the imperial palace and the Hippodrome, or horseracing stadium. Throughout this time, the City saw major migration from Europe and Asia. At its height, the Byzantine empire consisted of the entire Mediterranean region (see Figure 3 for a map). Greeks from city-states all over the Mediterranean "mingled in Constantinople as they did nowhere else." (Browning, 1983: 82). Maritime traders primarily from Venice and Genoa also settled in the City. Franco-Levantines, Catholics of Venetian, Genoese, French and other Western Mediterranean descent, became a part of the fabric of Constantinopolitan culture. This presence increased during the temporary Latin Conquest of Constantinople throughout the 13th century AD. Furthermore, Armenians, Jews⁷, and merchants of various backgrounds populated the City throughout and beyond Byzantine rule.

The Byzantine Empire, in a reduced size after the Latin conquest in the 13th century, was weak and susceptible to invasions. Meanwhile, Seljuk Turks and Ottomans grew stronger around the Byzantine periphery gaining territory. Ottoman forces grew until they ultimately conquered the remaining Byzantine areas, most importantly the stronghold of Constantinople, which officially ended the Byzantine Empire. After the Ottoman Conquest in 1453, the dynamics of Constantinople shifted with increased Turkish Muslim presence. The commingling of Greek and non-Greek communities in Constantinople had already been fairly common, and this multicultural

⁷ The Jewish community of Istanbul has been historically diverse. The Romaniot or Yevanic, Greek-speaking Jewish community had been spread throughout Northern Greece and Constantinople for centuries. The Sephardic community mainly relocated to Istanbul and the Ionian coast of Turkey after the expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula during the Spanish Reconquista of 1492. Although there presumably are also some Ashkenazi and Mizrahi Jews now in Istanbul, the majority of the current ~25,000 Istanbul Jewish population is of Sephardic/Ladino descent (Brink-Dannon, 2012).

and multilinguistic atmosphere continued to grow during Ottoman rule.

During this time, Constantinople transformed from the epicenter of Greek culture to the capital of the “Colonizing Oppressor” (Vryonis, 1971), as the local Greek community was subjugated in their homeland with reduced autonomy. The Ottoman Empire at its peak in the 17th century covered what is now Greece, the Balkans, Anatolia, parts of the Caucasuses, much of North Africa, and the Mesopotamian and Levant regions of the Middle East (see Figure 4 for a map).

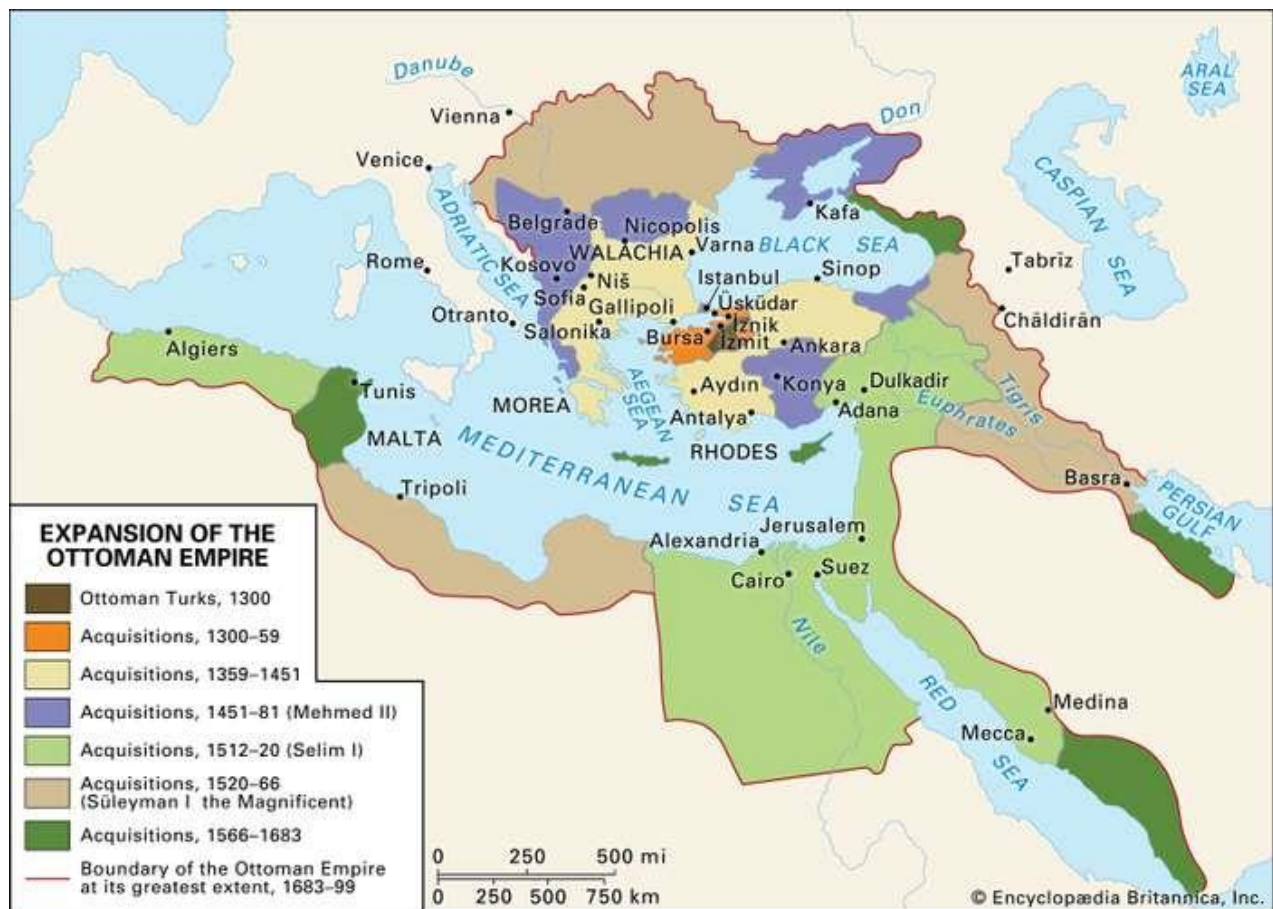


Figure 4. Ottoman Empire Territories

Encyclopaedia Britannica map of the Ottoman Empire taken from www.britannica.com.

Not all of the local minorities of the Ottoman Empire were treated equally, and despite Greeks throughout the empire having reduced liberties, the IGs were granted certain privileges not

afforded to other communities. The majority of these elite IGs were located in the Fanar region of the Old City, right by the Patriarchate, and close to the Ottoman ruling class. The Ecumenical Patriarchate of the Eastern Orthodox Church is akin to the Vatican in the Catholic Church, and the patriarch, as an analog to the Pope, was considered by the Ottoman Empire to be the highest governing authority for the Orthodox community throughout the Empire (Alexandris, 1983). The Ottoman Court often made members of the Fanariot elite princes of kingdoms such as Moldova and Wallachia and held important diplomatic positions for the Ottoman Court, including translating important documents (Mackridge, 2009). Such representation and prestige were not given to other minorities in the Ottoman Empire. However, the Fanariot elite were not the only IGs who were thriving in the middle to late years of the Ottoman Empire. During this time, the economic center shifted from the Old City to the Galata and Pera neighborhoods in the upper European peninsula. These districts were predominantly made up of IG residents, with IGs as the most prolific business owners, as well. IG architects throughout the 18th and 19th centuries trained in France and built elaborate buildings in these and surrounding neighborhoods (Tsilenis, 2013). IGs also opened an assortment of storefronts and especially patisseries trained in the French tradition. This cosmopolitan nature of Constantinople was reinforced by the lack of ghettos, in that, while certain neighborhoods may have had predominance of certain ethnic groups, most were not segregated. Subsequently, it was common for Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Turks, Franco-Levantines, etc. to commingle on a regular basis (Mills, 2006).

Meanwhile the nationalist movements in the 18th and 19th centuries in Western Europe fetishized classical Greece, and European countries supported Modern Greece's war of independence from the failing Ottoman Empire in 1821 (Herzfeld, 1989; Kitromilides, 1989). Although contact with Ottomans was ubiquitous throughout the Greek-speaking world, the then

newly formed Hellenic Kingdom and those in power tried to erase Ottoman and Byzantine ties. By removing Ottoman names for certain Greek regions, and eliminating basic borrowings from Turkish and other languages, the Greek nationalist agenda promoted the idea that modern Greeks were direct descendants of Ancient Greeks without any foreign influence (Augustinos, 1992; Papailias, 2005). Narayan (1997) refers to this type of ideological history as the “myth of continuity.” After initially choosing the city of Nafplio, Athens was ultimately decided to be the new capital of the Hellenic Republic, in part due to the ideological desire to connect classical Greece with the modern nation. At the time, Athens’ population was merely 5,000, starkly contrasting with that of Constantinople’s, which was over half a million (Tung, 2001). Meanwhile, Greeks remaining in Eastern Thrace and Asia Minor maintained under Ottoman rule for at least another century.

With the transition of the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey in the early 1920s, the nascent nation-state of Turkey began to form its current political boundaries. The so-called *Megali Idea* “Great Idea” of Greece during this time was to “recapture” formerly Greek lands. The Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922), in part spurred on by Greek irredentism, ended in what most Greeks now refer to as the “Great Catastrophe.” The treaty of Sevres in 1920 initially granted Greece much of the western coast of Turkey and designated Constantinople as an international European zone. However, Greek national military campaigns incited by irredentism disregarded the treaty, and troops were dispatched further east into Anatolia to capture additional “Greek” lands (Kitromilides, 1989; Papailias, 2005). This move changed the ultimate outcome for the Greeks, as the Turkish military under Mustafa Kemal overcame them. Many villages and large cities, such as Smyrna (now Izmir), were burnt down as the war wound down, and the subsequent Treaty of Lausanne reversed the Treaty of Sevres, made new borders, and led to a forced

population exchange between the two countries. Approximately 1.5 million Greeks of Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace were sent to Greece and about half a million Turks from Greece were sent to Turkey (Clark, 2007). Only Istanbul Greeks and Greeks from Turkey's Imvros and Tenedos islands and Turks in Greece's Western Thrace were spared in this exchange, which completely changed the demographics of both nations. Subsequently, Greece saw its population increase by a third, and had to significantly develop new infrastructure. For example, Athens' total population went from 470,000 to nearly 720,000 after the exchange (Tung, 2001), and most of the refugees were initially settled into makeshift shanty towns in the suburbs of Athens.

While different records report different numbers, the peak Istanbul Greek population at the turn of the 20th century was around 350,000, or over 30% of the total population of Constantinople of a million (Chatziioannou & Kamouzis, 2013). However, this number includes a number of Greeks from the previous Ottoman Empire and newly established Hellenic Republic who were not historically or permanently located in Constantinople. The total amount of IGs in Istanbul declined to about 100,000 by the 1930s, as Greek nationals, IGs who supported Greek irredentism, and others worried about potential fallout fled Turkey. Also in the 1930s, the new Turkish government placed limitations on the professions Greeks could hold in Istanbul (Kamouzis, 2012; Yildirim, 2007). The population continued to dwindle further in reaction to three stringent Turkish policies over the following decades: the *varlık vergisi* (wealth tax) of the 1940s, the Istanbul Greek pogrom of the 1950s, and especially the deportation of IGs with Greek passports in the 1960s. The *varlık vergisi* was a so-called "preventative" tax imposed in the 1940s to bolster the Turkish economy should it be affected by World War II. This wealth tax disproportionately targeted minority communities of the new Turkish Republic, primarily Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, although Sunni Kurds and Alevis (a sect of Islam similar to Shiism) were also affected more than the

majority Sunni Turks (Kamouzis, 2012, Vryonis, 1971). Scholars such as Çetinoğlu (2012) and İnce (2012) assert that this tax was a punitive attempt to redistribute the wealth from the minority communities to the Sunni Muslim majority. The IG pogrom, or Σεπτεμβριανά (September events), took place over the evening of September 6, 1955 into the early morning hours of September 7. The impetus was the deliberately false narrative that Greeks in Thessaloniki had bombed the birth home of Atatürk (Mustafa Kemal, the first Turkish president was renamed “father of the Turks.”). The Turkish government under Prime Minister Menderes eventually had acknowledged its role in propagating falsified news to stoke national fervor and bussing Turks from Anatolian villages to damage Greek businesses, churches, and homes (as well as those for other minorities although to a lesser extent) in Istanbul. In the 1960s, Menderes offered to make restitution to those affected by the pogrom, although whether he ultimately did is unknown (Kozyris, 1994). Many IGs left Istanbul as a result of these occurrences, although the population was still about 40-50,000 from the late 1950s through the mid 1960s. Halstead (2018) and Örs (2017) have attributed the ultimate decline in the IG community to the “deportations” of the 1960s. The Treaty of Lausanne and subsequent new Turkish constitution made provisions for the IG community to maintain Turkish citizenship, regardless of whether they were dual citizens of Greece. However, in response to growing national conflicts with Greece over Cyprus, Turkey decided to no longer uphold this provision of the treaty. Despite not being from Greece or Cyprus, the IG community was directly impacted by Turkish relations with these countries and any IG who also held Greek citizenship was deported. Although only directly impacting a small subset of the population, entire families left so as not to be separated from one another. Over time, particularly as conflicts with Cyprus escalated in the early 1970s, the IG population remaining in Istanbul dwindled. The IG population has been relatively stable at about 2,000 members for the past 20 years (Sarioğlu, 2004). These

2,000 IGs still reside throughout the European and Asian sides of the City and have resisted ghettoization, an active endeavor on their parts. Mills (2006) discusses how the cultural landscape of Istanbul's more historically diverse neighborhoods, remembered by historical (religious and residential) buildings, produce in all Istanbul residents a nostalgia for a perceived past cosmopolitanism and desire for tolerance and coexistence. This Constantinopolitan cosmopolitanism, as Örs (2006, 2017) describes, is a crucial component to how IGs view themselves, specifically when aligning with or orienting away from other social groups (Halstead, 2014; 2018), and will be further addressed in the next two sections and in Chapter 4

2.1.2 Challenging National Identity

The last few centuries have witnessed increased national projects across the globe, the results of which impact communities everywhere. The current state of Greek and Turkish nationalist projects in particular have important consequences for the IG community. As Örs (2017: 12) asserts, IGs resist what Beck & Sznaider (2006) refer to as “methodological nationalism” while encouraging “methodological cosmopolitanism.” Exploring nationalism and cosmopolitanism clarifies how the IGs then challenge traditional monolithic representations of group belonging.

Nationalism reinforces the ideological construct of nationality or national identity. Anderson (1983) coined the term “imagined communities” as a way to understand how group identity, particularly at the national level is developed and circulated. His concept of imagined communities suggests that people in power tend to propagate monolithic, homogenous national narratives reinforced by a single national language. This is done as part of a program for those in power to maintain their status. Kitromilides (1989) expands on Anderson's idea of imagined

communities in the Ottoman context. Specifically, he discusses the Ottoman Empire's millet system, in which subjects were grouped in terms of religious affiliation more so than linguistic or ethnic distinctions⁸. Kitromilides (1989) asserts that the resulting Post-Ottoman Balkan nations are imagined communities, as they incorporated preexisting social order in their conceptualizations of their own nationhood.⁹ Mills (2006) and Secor (2004), among other researchers, discuss contemporary Turkey's minority groups as a continuation of this millet system contributing to the nation's understanding of social order.

Social order, particularly when discussing nationhood and claims to authentic nationhood, can be described in terms of power. Gramsci (1971) views power in terms of hegemonic relationships, in which social order incorporates opposition between dominant and subordinate groups. As such, hegemonic relationships can be understood in terms of perceived differences in group identities amongst members of said groups. The Ottoman Empire was necessarily cosmopolitan to accommodate the diverse subjects ranging throughout a wide swath of territory (see Figure 4). The smaller Republic of Turkey, however, created its new identity with the monolithization of the default Turk in the early 20th century. As Turkish-speaking Muslims represented the hegemonic standard of a citizen in the Ottoman era, the new Turkish Republic carried this emblem over to its new nation-state. Minority groups of different religious and linguistic backgrounds then were highlighted as the "other," especially in the first half of the 20th century for the newly formed Turkish nation (Örs, 2017; Kamouzis, 2012). However, similar

⁸ Each millet was a group of non-Muslims linked primarily by religion rather than language or ethnicity for the purpose of practicing non-Sharia law. All Eastern Orthodox (e.g., Greeks and Serbians) were classified under the same millet separate from other Orthodox Christians (e.g., Armenians and Syriacs), Sephardic and Romaniote Jews in their own millet, and other religious minorities in their own. Each millet's highest-ranking religious leader served as a governing leader for their community.

⁹ As can be seen as recently as the 1990s with wars in Bosnia/Herzegovina over groups divided by religion.

monolithization processes had been occurring in Greece with the removal of foreign influence from daily life, particularly Turkish (Herzfeld, 1986, 1989; Kitromilides, 1989). The Istanbul Greek community, an indigenous ethnic, racial, religious and linguistic population of Turkey demonstrates how a complex “in-between” identity, neither exclusively Greek nor Turkish, challenges nationalist narratives of both countries. What makes IGs particularly interesting, is that they can be considered the subordinate group to two distinct, competing dominant groups: Turks and Mainland Greeks.¹⁰ I assert that an important part of the IG identity concerns negotiating this duality. Part of how IGs negotiate their cosmopolitan identity includes the embracing of aspects of both groups which simultaneously creates a differentiation and a hybridization of both “Greek” and “Turkish” cultures. As a result, claims of authenticity have been raised regarding IGs.

Drawing on the notion of authenticity can reveal more nuanced details of hegemonic identities within the IG context. Narayan (1997) asserts that claims of cultural authenticity are an aspect of membership of a larger group identity manipulated by its dominant members. She understands authenticity as perceived conformity to mainstream traditions, i.e., accepting, participating in, and propagating hegemonic cultural practices, and uses the Indian context to elaborate. Narayan addresses perceptions of authentic Indian identities by comparing women whose authenticity and “Indianness” are not at issue with those whose are based on the rejection of cultural norms such as arranged marriages. Such intracultural rejection is often dismissed in Indian contexts as Western influence, with the individual rejecting tradition perceived as an inauthentic Indian by the “authentic” ingroup members. The concept of totalization also appears to play a major role in interpretations of authenticity, as a group reifies particular elements to be

¹⁰ Mainland Greek is not used to distinguish between continental and insular Greece, but rather between Greeks from The Hellenic Republic of Greece and the exterior (e.g., Istanbul Greeks, Cypriots, Pontians in former Soviet nations, etc.).

representative of the whole. Narayan (1997) discusses totalization as an ideological process wherein the entirety of a diverse group is reduced, with a subset of the group representing the whole.¹¹ The conflation of Hinduism with Indian nationalism both inside and outside of India, despite millions of indigenous Indians practicing non-Hindu faiths, is an example of how a totalization contributes to evaluations of authentic identities. Authenticity also appears to be supported by what Narayan terms the “myth of continuity,” or essentializing cultural norms as unchanging, timeless social facts. Narayan’s conceptualizations of cultural authenticity can be applied to the IG community, as IGs engage in aspects of Turkish culture that do not fit neatly into mainstream Greek narratives, as well as aspects of Greek culture that do not fit neatly into mainstream Turkish narratives. As Herzfeld (1989), Kitromilides (1989), Papailias (2005), and others have argued, the Greek national project from the 18th century onwards was very much based on continuing Classical Greece’s grandeur. Regions of Greece that during Byzantine and Ottoman times had Turkish or other languages as the basis for toponyms were soon replaced with new Greek ones (Kitromilides, 1989). Scholars and lay people argued over the Greek language itself, and ways to remove contact-induced change in lexical and morphosyntactic features (Mackridge, 2009; Ralli, 2007) (see Section 2.2. for more on the Greek language question). Turkish officials have participated in the same toponymic erasure and renamed entire regions or cities of the country, including Istanbul neighborhoods and streets, from Greek or Armenian to Turkish.

As a result of nationalist narratives from both Greece and Turkey, Istanbul Greeks represent an Other type of Greek that goes without complete recognition or understanding by Mainland Greeks. Regardless of commonalities between Mainland Greeks and IGs (such as

¹¹ This process is similar to Irvine and Gal’s (2001) concept of ideological erasure, which will be further elaborated on in Section 3.2.

religion, ethnicity, and overall language), cultural differences (see Section 4.1) and any positive evaluations of Turks or Turkey expressed by IGs allows for the possibility of Mainland Greeks to doubt the authenticity of IG's Greekness. Over the 20th and 21st centuries, perceptions of IGs within the greater Greek community have vacillated between their being viewed as Turkified traitors to Hellenism and heroic victims of circumstance (Örs, 2017). This inverted perception of the IGs echoes similar changes in collective memory with the Asia Minor Greek refugees of the 1920s (Papailias, 2005). Many of these dislocated Greeks were completely Turcophonic or spoke a dialect of Greek unintelligible to those in Greece. Clark (2007), Kitromilides (1989), and Papailias (2005) illustrate how Mainland Greeks did not accept the Asia Minor Greek refugees as authentically *true* Greeks based on linguistic and other cultural differences including clothing and culinary practices. Additionally, Mainland Greeks would refer to the refugees as *Turkish seed*, *baptized in yogurt*, and *prosfinges* "pests" a play on the word for refugees *prosfifies* (Kitromilides, 1989). Mainland Greeks' view of Istanbul Greeks was somewhat more positive due to the latter's direct connection to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of the Eastern Orthodox Church, which continues to permanently reside in Istanbul, as well as the perception of IGs as a bourgeoisie class (Örs, 2006). Over the last century, Asia Minor Greeks in mainland Greece have largely assimilated to mainstream Greek culture (Triandafyllidou & Veikou, 2002). Furthermore, overarching Greek culture has incorporated elements of Asia Minor Greek culture as part of the national heritage. Rembetiko, music and dance associated with coastal Asia Minor Greek refugees from the 1920s, was initially counterculture and associated with subaltern jazz, and hashish dens in Greece (Örs, 2017). Now, rembetiko is part of the fabric of Greek national music and culture, even becoming UNESCO certified as an intangible cultural heritage of humanity for Greece in 2017. In contemporary Greece, descendants of Asia Minor refugees and Mainland Greeks alike

commemorate the burning of Smyrna every September 20. Similarly, Pontic Greeks and Mainland Greeks mourn their genocide in May. National holidays of remembrance echo support for these formerly “unredeemed” Greeks, while reengaging political dialogue and negativity toward the Republic of Turkey. An important theme that unites Greeks of diverse backgrounds is that IGs have been called some of the same pejorative terms as the Asia Minor Greeks (e.g., Turkish seed) and have been questioned by mainland Greeks as to whether they were baptized, all of which by extension calls into question the IG’s Greekness. IGs remaining in Istanbul, on the other hand, still maintain IG cultural practices (albeit many also have adopted Mainland ones). These cultural practices are cosmopolitan because they result from the influence from the dominant Turkish and other subordinate minority communities. Engagement in cultural practices related to multilingualism, cuisine, or other habitualized routines does not have the same level of support or recognition from the Mainland Greek community. Although historically in times of conflict the IG community was often accused of being Turkified traitors, they currently receive a more favorable reception. The IG cuisine, for example, has been widely popularized within Greece through films such as *Politiki Kuzina* (Boulmetis, 2002), and television programs and cookbooks by popular IG chef, Maria Ekmekçioglu. Nevertheless, most other aspects of IG culture remain invisible to other Greek communities, most likely due to a lack of what I refer to as cross-cultural commodification.

In terms of Turkish reception to IGs, Atatürk’s secular reforms attempted to catch all of the country up with Istanbul and Izmir (formerly Smyrna) as a more European entity. Due to Atatürk’s perceived necessity of establishing a modern nation-state (*à la* Anderson, 1983) as opposed to maintaining the Ottoman cosmopolitan millet system, a unifying secular Turkish identity was expected of all Turkish citizens by the Turkish government (Augustinos, 1992). Subsequent legislation including the banning of traditional Muslim headscarves in Istanbul and

minority mother tongues being discouraged in the “Citizen speak Turkish!” campaign (Örs, 2006; 2017). This linguistic situation is in stark contrast to how multilingual Istanbulites of all backgrounds were for the previous 400+ years. As Strauss (2003: 49) asserts, “in the cosmopolitan capital...Greek was a sort of lingua franca among the non-Muslim populations (Armenians, Jews, Levantines, Europeans) until the middle of the twentieth century.”¹² From the 1950s onwards, minority language use, including but not limited to Greek, had decreased whereas Turkish had increased.¹³

Atatürk’s attempt at secular Europeanization was the transformation of an Ottoman Turk to a European Turk. Rather than celebrating the preexisting European nature of many of the local minority communities, cultural homogenization was encouraged, particularly after Atatürk’s death in 1938 and the transition of governmental leaders. Many minorities, indigenous and otherwise, fled Turkey because of governmental policies. For example, heavy wealth taxes placed on ethnic minorities incentivized IGs, as well as Sephardic Jews and Armenians, to leave the country or face either poverty or work camps (Brink-Dannon, 2012). Over the 20th century, the IG community’s population plummeted as a direct result of IGs becoming increasingly marginalized and excluded from economic, religious and other social freedoms. Three critical events that led to this demise were the pogrom targeting IGs in 1955, the “deportation” (despite being born in Turkey) of Istanbul Greeks in the 1960s, and other tensions due to the “Cyprus Issue” in the 1970s. In other words, IGs were targeted for not fulfilling all aspects of the Turkish hegemonic identity; their

¹² Although Greek was a lingua franca for the minoritized groups for several hundred years, members of these communities had also learnt each others’ languages to varying degrees, with IGs having learnt some Armenian, Armenians having learnt some Aramaic, and infinite combinations.

¹³ Many older IGs have reported to me not feeling comfortable to speak Greek in public due to historic persecution, although younger IGs do not feel as uncomfortable now due to Istanbul’s increased tourism and additional exposure to languages from all over the world.

authenticity as Turks was perpetually in question due to linguistic, religious, and ethnic differences that were highlighted over many Turkish national projects. This campaign occurred despite IG sharing a homeland and arguably more aspects of culture with Turks than with Mainland Greeks. Times of tension have fluctuated and IGs remaining in Istanbul largely recount positive experiences with Turkish friends and neighbors, despite historically negative policies from the government. As a result, the IG community is somewhat of a fragmented one, with many in Greece or spread throughout the world. Depending on the circumstances behind individual IGs leaving their homeland, IGs have varied experiences and attitudes to Greeks, Turks, and other peoples. The few IGs remaining in Istanbul have even different experiences and connections to their homeland and dialect as they have seen the vast development of the country, which has changed dramatically over the last 50 or so years.

2.1.3 Reimagining Diaspora

Due to the policies described in the previous two sections, hundreds of thousands of IGs have relocated to regions all over the world. The largest IG community is currently in Athens, primarily in the Paleo Faliro neighborhood. As Örs (2006, 2017) notes, the displaced IG community in Athens view themselves as being in diaspora while residing in Greece. Despite the nebulous borders and fluidity of nations in the Eastern Mediterranean, many Mainland Greeks and Turks follow nationalist ideologies that view IGs dislocated in Greece as having “returned” to their homeland. As Örs (2017) and Halstead (2014) have shown, most IGs do not feel reunited to an ancestral homeland because they have never lived in the nation-state of Greece nor do they find an affinity for it. Parallels can be drawn between the Pontic Greeks of the former Soviet Union with the Istanbul Greeks. As Triandafyllidou & Veikou (2002) explain:

Pontic Greeks are defined by the Greek state as members of the diaspora community **who ‘return’ – even though most of them have never lived in Greece before – to their ‘homeland’**, and are, therefore, given full citizenship status and benefits that aim to facilitate their integration into Greek society.¹⁴

Papailias (2005) describes such narratives of imagined returnings occurring with the Asia Minor Greek refugees of the 20th century, as well. The difference between the Asia Minor Greeks and the Pontic Greeks is agency. Many Pontic Greeks chose to relocate to Greece after the fall of the Soviet Union for better perceived financial and social opportunities. The Asia Minor Greeks had very little choice in relocating to Greece, and similar to IGs, largely felt no direct connection with the modern nation-state of Greece (Clark, 2007). Although many IGs did leave for Greece on their own accord, many were forcibly exiled from Turkey in the 1960s. Whether by force or by “choice,” most IGs feel their homeland is specifically Istanbul, rather than Greece or even Turkey for that matter (Örs, 2006; 2017). Despite most IGs having some ancestry from a Greek-speaking region (primarily Northern Greece, Greek islands, and Asia Minor), the prevailing conceptualization of home is based on the city of their birth (and most of their grandparents’ births, as well). Whereas Örs (2006, 2017) discusses the IGs in Athens as more generally orienting to Istanbul, Halstead (2018) asserts a more deliberate stancetaking approach to how these IGs situationally align with Greece and Mainland Greeks when highlighting their broader category as Greek, and with Istanbul when highlighting differences.

Bakhtin’s (1981) literary concept of chronotopes, or language linked with time and places, has been increasingly used in sociolinguistic and anthropological research to discuss how

¹⁴ Emphasis mine.

community members create a group identity. Blommaert (2015: 104) asserts that a “chronotope refers to the intrinsic blending of space and time in any event in the real world and was developed by Bakhtin as an instrument for developing a fundamentally historical semiotics.” The definition and application of chronotopes varies greatly by researcher. For example, Eisenlohr (2004) suggests that the way that Hindu descendants of indentured servants on Mauritius maintain their sense of identity is through chronotopes. He presents how these Mauritian Hindus have recreated temples and pilgrimages from their ancestral India on the island. Eisenlohr argues that by this diasporic community’s use of the new space in the present time with the remembered old space of the past, allows the Mauritius Indians to maintain their Hindu identity, despite no longer living in India or having direct access to the rest of the Hindu world. I tend to distill chronotopes as the relationships speakers have with their lived-in spaces and with their lived experiences. For the purpose of my dissertation, I employ chronotopes to discuss how speakers use language to connect to their time- and place-based identities.

The dislocated IG community in Athens experiences a similar situation to what Eisenlohr describes for Mauritian Hindus. Although IGs live in diverse neighborhoods and suburbs, the majority historically and currently live in and around Paleo Faliro by the Athenian Riviera. This community chose to relocate to this neighborhood because the shores resembled Istanbul’s shores of the Bosphorus, Golden Horn, Marmara Sea, and Black Sea (Halstead, 2018; Örs, 2006). Örs (2017) also comments on the IGs’ frequent usage of Turkish within this Athenian neighborhood, despite IGs in Istanbul using Greek in similar domains. The Athenian IGs therefore are demonstrating chronotopic recreations of life in Istanbul by settling in locations and using language to form an Istanbul space in a non-Istanbul environment. This multilingualism demonstrates a cosmopolitanism that subverts the expectation of speaking Greek within the Greek

nation-state. While not in diaspora, the IGs remaining in Istanbul rely on other types of chronotopes to recreate the perceived grandeur of an Istanbul that has since changed.¹⁵ IGs regardless of current residence often make references to the Byzantine era and 19th centuries to invoke moments in history where the IG community was flourishing. By recalling IG patisseries, shops, and schools in conversation, IGs maintain a tie with their collective past. IGs from around the world share photographs from decades past on Facebook as part of an online strategy for involving others to maintain their homeland the way they collectively “remember” it. In doing so, IGs are simultaneously engaging with other Istanbulites in practicing *hüzün*¹⁶, the shared melancholic trauma of loss. The Nobel Prize winning author Pamuk (2003) describes all Istanbulites as mourning the grandeur of the City during the Ottoman Empire. Its current decadence is arguably even stronger for IGs who collectively mourn their continued decline as a vibrant community for 3,000 years. Yildiz & Yücel (2014) include *hüzün* as one of the strategies that IGs relocated to Athens partake in to maintain their IG identity: mourning their loss of status and state. In Chapters 4 and 5, I expand on examples of chronotopes within the IG community, and how different speakers construct their unique Istanbul Greekness in discussions of time, place, culture, and language.

¹⁵ Diasporic IGs in Athens and elsewhere also partake in the same chronotopic relationships that the IGs remaining in Turkey do, although the Athenian IG community does have the added layer of the history of Paleo Faliro serving as a “Little Istanbul” space.

¹⁶ *Hüzün* is not quite the same as melancholy, as Pamuk (2003) says, “We might call this confused, hazy state melancholy, or perhaps we should call it by its Turkish name, *hüzün*, which denotes a melancholy that is communal rather than private” (p. 79).

2.2 Greek Dialects

As language is linked with group identity (Edwards, 2009; Fought, 2006), an overview of Greek dialects is helpful in understanding issues broadly related to Greek identity and how IGs may or may not conform to mainstream ideologies and standard dialects. Distinct Ancient Greek tribes including the Graeci in modern day Southern Italy, Hellenes in mainland Greece, Ionians along the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, and many others, were dispersed throughout the Mediterranean. Ancient Greek had five major dialectal groups: Attic/Ionic, Aeolic, Doric, Northwest Greek, and Arcado-Cypriot. These are purported to have leveled in a koineization process throughout the Hellenistic era that led to Koiné Greek. A koiné, or leveled dialect, occurs when outlying features of dialects of the same language are lost (or leveled) in favor of what most other varieties coming into contact share (Kerswill, 2005). This Hellenistic Koiné, primarily based on the Attic-Ionic variety, is accepted to be the primary source of Medieval Greek and by extension most Modern Greek dialects. Exceptions to this Hellenistic Koiné are Tsakonian, an “isolate” that has descended from Doric, as well as Pontic and Cappadocian varieties exhibiting both Koiné and Ancient Ionic features. With the possible exception of Cypriot Greek, peripheral Modern Greek dialects in general have been losing out to SMG, which itself can be considered a sort of koiné.

2.2.1 Modern Greek Dialectology

The exact dates for when “Modern” Greek dialects emerge from Ancient varieties are sometimes debated, although most Greek linguists (e.g., Horrocks, 2014; Ralli, 2012) as a matter of convention cite the transition from Medieval to Modern Greek as coinciding with the Ottoman Empire’s conquest of Constantinople. Prior to this, the Hellenistic Koiné was developed around



Figure 5. Ancient Greek Dialect Groups

Map of Ancient Greek dialects taken from Woodard, R.D. (2008), "Greek dialects" The Ancient Languages of Europe, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.51.

Alexander the Great's conquests and transitioned into the beginning of the Byzantine era, which lasted from 330 AD to 1453. Medieval Greek developed during the Byzantine period and spread as the empire encompassed a wide terrain in the Mediterranean (see Figure 3). As the Byzantine era encompasses the transition from Hellenistic to Medieval Greek, the rise of the Ottoman Empire is a logical division between Medieval and Modern Greek. It is noteworthy that linguists (e.g., Horrocks, 2014; Mackridge, 1985; Ralli, 2012) cite the majority of Modern Greek varieties stemming from the Hellenist Koiné that occurred prior to and during the beginning of the

Byzantine era. The Hellenistic Koiné resulted from the leveling of a few major dialectal differences from the primary Ancient Greek (AG) varieties that came into contact with one another in major Greek-speaking centers. Of the AG dialects that leveled together, the Hellenistic Koiné maintains most features from Attic/Ionic, two varieties that already had undergone some level of convergence as trade between Attic speaking cities (i.e., Athens) often came into contact with Ionic speakers. As the map in Figure 5 shows, Attic was not the most widely spoken variety, but because of Athens' prominent role in classical Greek trade, it became one of the major sources of the Koiné. Also worth noting in the map is that Byzantium was settled with Doric-speakers from Megara, hence the same coloring on the Asian and European sides of the City. This Doric connection in IG will be briefly explored in Section 2.3 as a possible substrate influence on the dialect.

Horrocks (2014), Newton (1972), and Trudgill (2003, 2009) are among the authorities of traditional Modern Greek dialectology. The now widely accepted categories of variation in Modern Greek dialectology owe a lot to Newton (1972) in particular, who while not the first to categorize modern regional variations (see Hadzidakis, 1892), perhaps was the first to do so with more rigorous descriptions. He notes that rather than sharp categorical distinctions amongst Greek dialects, a continuum of isogloss bundles overlapping in various geographical patterns represents Modern Greek. Despite this lack of clear delimitations, Newton (1972) provides what he refers to as a “rough classificatory scheme” of five basic dialect groups based on fieldwork carried out in Greece and Cyprus to separate dialects based in part on geography: Peloponnesian-Ionian, Northern, Old Athenian, Cretan-Cycladic, and Southeastern. The biggest divergence of the main groups is based on phonological processes, specifically between Northern and non-Northern varieties. In this case, Northern varieties exhibit unstressed high vowel loss and mid vowel raising,

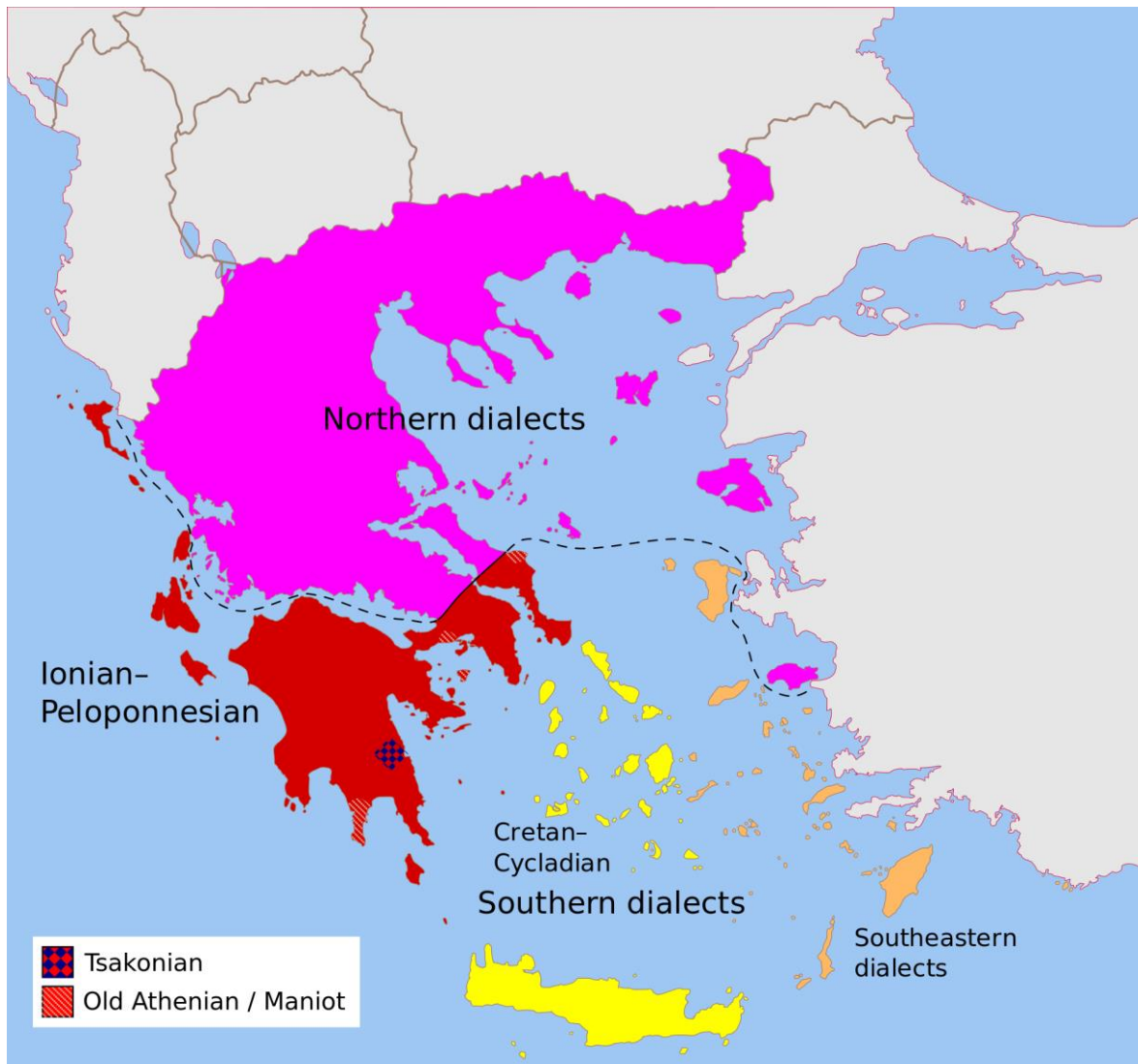


Figure 6. Modern Greek Dialect Groups

Primary Modern Greek dialects as described by Newton (1972) created by Wikipedia user Pitichinaccio (2007).

whereas other varieties do not, although they undergo other types of structural divergence. The five categories represent broad characteristics present in each of the varieties, rather than strict descriptions that separate them. Trudgill (2003) discusses problems related to descriptions of Modern Greek based on the lack of atlases and reliable isoglosses. He asserts that the topography of the country, particularly the islands, complicate such research, as the traditional Northern/Southern divide of Greek varieties does not have a single neat isogloss separating the

dialects. As such, some islands are geographically in the north yet linguistically in the south, and vice versa. He also problematizes these conventions more broadly, citing that whereas linguistic maps of Germany can accurately depict the “maken-machen” isogloss for certain areas, they do not necessarily demarcate every village along these borders that actually exhibit one variation over another. Trudgill (2003) then extends this perspective to the Greek case, which apart from Crete does not have any maps or atlases. Trudgill asserts that while having such maps would be useful, they are inherently problematic because of the lack of clear alignment between the linguistic and geographic distributions. The map in Figure 6 is based on Newton’s (1972) data and demonstrates some of the issues Trudgill (2003) complains about regarding topographic distinction. For example, Samos is considered to house a Northern-speaking dialect yet is geographically situated in the South, and the northern Ionian islands are part of the southern varieties. Note that Cypriot Greek is not pictured here but classified by Newton as Southeastern. Also note the absence of IG, Cappadocian, and Pontic, among other Asia Minor varieties. Further complicating matters in Newton’s classifications is that Northern Epirote Greek, spoken in the Northwestern part of Greece and Southern region of modern Albania, is actually considered a subset of the Ionian-Peloponnesian varieties and is also not pictured on the map. As such traditional dialectological approaches are most likely not sufficient in accurately representing the current Greek dialectal situation. Some Greek linguists have proposed to use a Western/Eastern divide rather than the traditional North/South divide as that may more accurately depict how important features of variation pattern geographically. Furthermore, urban city centers throughout geographic areas (e.g., Thessaloniki in the North, Heraklion in Crete, etc.) increasingly speak some version of SMG, which in turn influences the speech of the surrounding areas (Tsiplakou, 2003). Although a Western/Eastern may depict certain aspects of Modern Greek dialectology, I propose that a wave

or gravity model (see Section 3.1 for more information) in conjunction with the Western/Eastern distribution most accurately accounts for most of the variation seen in Greek, and particularly IG.

Nevertheless, contemporary work on Modern Greek dialectology still references much of Newton's (1972) descriptions. The following lists are adapted from Newton (1972) focusing on a few of the most noteworthy dialectal differences in the five primary categories. I also have added a few details provided by Kontosopoulos (2008) in the relevant categories. In Section 2.3, I will show how features of IG overlap with a few of these categories.

1. Peloponnesian-Ionian

- a. Originally spoken in the Peloponnesian Peninsula, then spread to Attic Athens.
- b. Derived primarily by the Koiné, has formed the basis for SMG.
- c. Described as the least marked or divergent from SMG.

2. Northern Greek

- a. Originally spoken in the mainland north of Attica and includes several islands.
- b. Primarily distinguished by phonological differences: unstressed high vowel loss, unstressed mid vowel raising.
- c. Accusative for historic dative rather than genitive.
- d. Velarized laterals [ɫ] before back vowels

3. Old Athenian-Maniot

- a. Most likely extinct; was spoken in Athens prior to SMG and in the Mani peninsula.
- b. Alveolar variants of velar consonants before front vowels: /k/ > [ts].
- c. Hiatus of two monophthongs, where others have formed glides/diphthongs.
- d. [u] for historic /y/
- e. /ɣ/ epenthesis in [-evo] verbs.

4. Cretan-Cycladic

- a. Spoken primarily in Crete and the nearby Cyclades islands with variation.
- b. Alveo-palatal variants of velar consonants before front vowels: /k/ > [tɕ]
- c. /ɣ/ epenthesis in [-evo] verbs.
- d. [-na] in accusative forms of all grammatical genders.

5. Southeastern

- a. Spoken primarily in Chios, the Dodecanese islands, and Cyprus with variation
- b. Postalveolar variants of velar consonants before front vowels: /k/ > [ɟ]
- c. Maintenance of geminates
- d. Intervocalic voiced fricative deletion
- e. Word-final nasal retention
- f. /ɣ/ epenthesis in [-evo] verbs

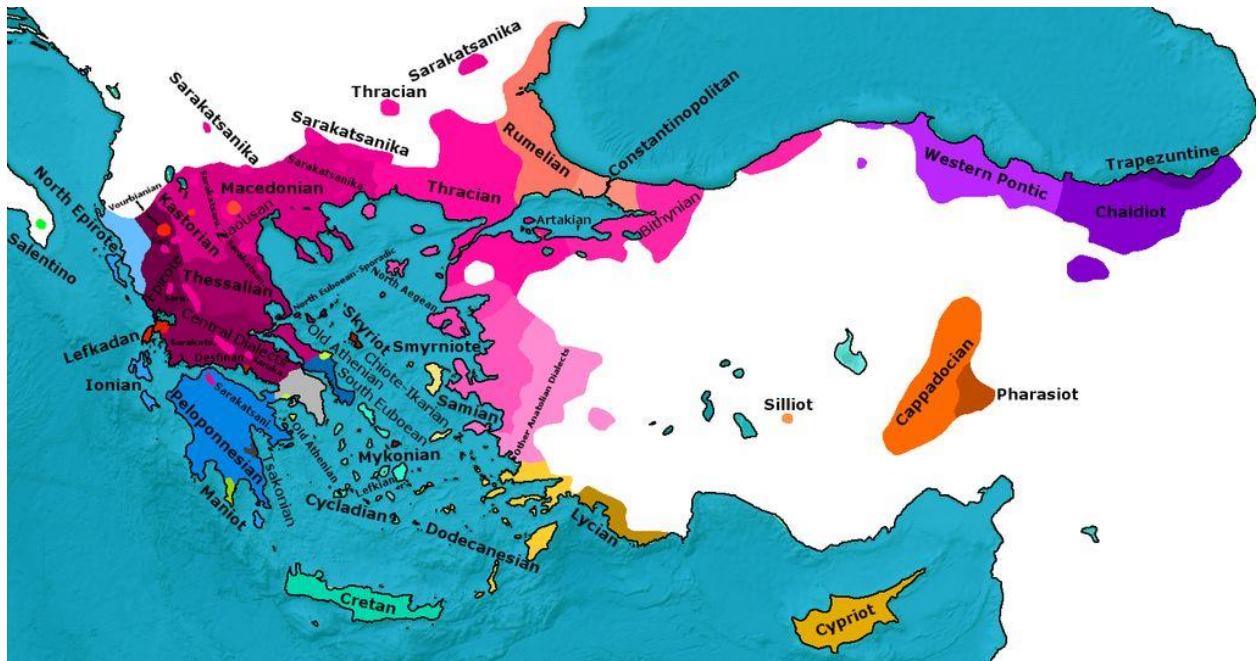


Figure 7. Modern Greek Subvarieties

More thorough map of Modern Greek varieties as prepared by Deviantart user Thumbboy21 (2018).

Noticeably absent from these five major Modern Greek categories are outlying varieties spoken in Asia Minor. Perhaps this absence was due to issues related to political boundaries and inability to find speakers. More recent works on understudied and endangered Modern Greek dialects such as Cappadocian and Pontic (Janse, 2002, 2009; Karatsareas, 2014, 2016) have led to enriched understandings of both diachronic and synchronic language change in Greek varieties. Furthermore, Pontic, Cappadocian and other peripheral dialects (e.g., Greek dialects of southern Italy) have posed issues for the aforementioned conventions. Figure 7 illustrates additional complexity with Modern Greek varieties. Thumboy21 (2018) who created the map does not cite which sources they obtained information from, although some of their color-coding aligns specific geographic areas with Trudgill (2003)'s more nuanced designations of Modern Greek dialects into 15 areas (e.g., specifying Northern versus semi-Northern varieties), as well as Dawkins (1916) separation of Asia Minor Greek (i.e., Silliot, Pharasiot, and Cappadocian). However, not all of Figure 7's designations are clear in what they are showing. Thumboy21 (2018) is one of the few sources to acknowledge IG. They classify IG as Semi-Northern, stating "Semi-Northern dialects are Northern but with many Southern features. Most notably, these dialects were spoken in Constantinople and nearby areas of Thrace." What these features are or what data he is using to base IG as Semi-Northern is unclear. At least, however, IG is included on the map as opposed to Kontosopoulos (2005), Newton (1972), or Trudgill (2003). In Section 2.3, I will further problematize traditional Modern Greek dialectal classification, and show how IG encapsulates features that make such categorization difficult

2.2.2 Katharevousa and the Language Question

Despite such variation across Modern Greek dialects, as Mackridge (2009: 6) comments, “one of the most pervasive language ideologies in Greece is the belief that Greek is a single language from antiquity to present.” As discussed in Section 2.1, this ideological movement was spearheaded as a way of bringing national unity because diverse Modern Greek dialects were not clearly mutually intelligible. The variation across Greek dialects was a cause of concern for nationalists who felt the need to unify the language to unify the new nation-state in the 17th century and remove foreign influence from the language and the population. Mackridge (2009) discusses how arguments on what variety of Greek should be used represented larger political disagreements on political ideologies (e.g., support of monarchy, communism, religion, etc.). The initial “Language Question” in the beginning stages of Greek nationalism stemmed from whether classical Greek or Demotic (literally “popular,” a catchall term for the spectrum of spoken vernacular Modern Greek varieties) should be used and promoted as a national language. Proponents for either variety came from all political and social groups. In the 17th and 18th centuries, some religious elite in Constantinople promoted Medieval/Byzantine as not only the language most closely associated with the Greek Orthodox faith, but also as a neutral variety rather than classical or Demotic (Brown, 2011; Mackridge, 2009). Meanwhile, others from the same community argued in favor of Demotic, reasoning that the “natural evolution” of the language was how it was intended to be spoken. Soon, rather than an ancient variety as one pole contrasted against the Demotic language, more linguistically conservative proponents suggested another variety, Katharevousa, as an alternative. Katharevousa is in several ways a constructed language as it was the attempt to “purify” Greek from foreign elements, primarily Turkish, and to more resemble classical Greek. Literally meaning “the purifying language,” Katharevousa was Demotic

with specific lexical and morphological elements “purified,” by replacing some “popular” elements with classical Greek structures. As such, Katharevousa was sort of a middle ground in bridging Ancient and Modern Greek. However, it is based on arbitrary elements adopted from literary texts and not necessarily representative of how anyone actually spoke until Katharevousa began to circulate more broadly in Greek social contexts.

Adamantios Korais was one of the major proponents of Katharevousa as an attempt to Hellenize the Greeks by purifying their language with the ancient variety rather than a spoken vernacular (Brown, 2011). As Mackridge (2010: 130) asserts, Korais’ attempt at purifying Greek was as though the language were “a vast collection of manuscripts containing corrupt readings of ancient Greek that required correction.” Korais and others in favor of Katharevousa proposed specific lexical items be switched out for Ancient or archaic sounding options. Thus, Katharevousa, while artificial was at least relatively structured and unified, which its proponents emphasized as a way to unite the Greek populace. By the 19th century, linguistic conservatives (i.e., proponents of Katharevousa) throughout the Greek-speaking world tended to be more religiously conservative and supported the Patriarchate and Fanariot communities despite many of the Fanariot elite being in favor of Demotic (Mackridge, 2009). In the period of the mid 19th to early 20th centuries, poets, playwrights, and other influential writers would take stances and either write in Katharevousa or Demotic forms. At its peak during this point, Katharevousa held great power in legitimizing a given speaker’s speech. Mackridge (2009: 26) asserts that, “*Katharévousa* was a *performative* language *par excellence*: its users were ‘legitimized’, by virtue of their language, to make authoritative statements that brought into existence what they asserted.”¹⁷ Many

¹⁷ Emphasis as appears in the original.

Demoticists disagreed with the artificial nature of Katharevousa, although they also did not have a specific plan for which Demotic variety would be considered the national language. One of the major proponents of Demoticism and critics of Katharevousa was Jean Psycharis. Psycharis was born in Odessa, Ukraine of Chiotan Greek heritage, and was raised in the Galata neighborhood of Constantinople during his childhood and teenage years. Psycharis is best known for his autobiographical travel accounts in *To Taxidi Mou* (My Trip), which was written in his version of Demotic influenced by the Greek spoken in Constantinople. While being partially a memoir, Psycharis' book was also an explicit treatise on the superiority of Demotic over Katharevousa, and the author prescribed the Demotic variety to be essentially a koiné primarily based on Constantinopolitan vernacular. Interestingly, Psycharis made changes to his writing from the initial version to his second edition. Horrocks (2014) discusses specific Constantinopolitan forms that Psycharis used in the first edition, and ways he edited or regularized the language in the later publications to be more consistent and converge to Demotic forms found in the Peloponnese. Most of these Constantinopolitan forms are found in contemporary IG (see section 2.3). This sort of Demotic “compromise” of IG features has contributed to the idea of IG not being that different from SMG, which will be explored further in Section 2.2.3.

For some time, Katharevousa existed in a diglossic situation with Demotic, as discussed in Ferguson (1959). With Katharevousa as the high form (H) and Demotic as the low form (L), Katharevousa was commonly found as the language of instruction and governmental policy. However, since the 1980s, Katharevousa has been in decline and the variety spoken in Athens has essentially become the Standard Modern Greek variety (SMG). The following section will discuss the rise of SMG over other Greek varieties.

2.2.3 Standard Modern Greek

Demotic continued to gain popularity within Mainland Greece during the latter half of the 20th century. Part of this was in response to the military junta that lasted from 1967-1974. The far-right military junta took place after decades of instability in post-WWII Greece and fears of communism gaining support. Extreme xenophobia and conservatism were central to the junta's ideology, and Katharevousa was promoted even further during military rule (Mackridge, 2009). When the junta dissolved in 1974, public support of Demotic increased in response to the dictatorship. In the early 1980s, the orthographic system was simplified and Demotic forms in official usage increased. Therefore, SMG developed in Greece over the 20th century in response to sociopolitical movements and upheaval and subsequent ideologies: the 1.5 million Asia Minor refugees that were absorbed into the nation-state of Greece in the 1920s, WWII, and the military junta from 1967-1974. As Athens had developed from a small city to a major European capital, the local vernacular that has developed soon became the basis of SMG. Despite some tensions with Katharevousa during this time, Athenian-based SMG became the *de facto* Demotic after the military junta ended in the 1970s. After Demotic was promoted as the official language post-junta, school textbooks were printed in Demotic rather than the Katharevousa of previous centuries.

Consequently, the Modern Greek situation is no longer one of diglossia, but rather of a standard language variety (in this case SMG increasingly based on the speech of Athens), with regional dialects and sociolects. An important exception is in Cyprus and the Cypriot diaspora, which SMG contends with Standard Cypriot koiné among other Cypriot varieties, plus English or other local languages of the diaspora (Karatsareas, 2018; Terkourafi, 2005, 2007; Tsiplakou, 2014). However, SMG as a Demotic variety is not without any influence from Katharevousa. As Alexiou (1982: 178) asserts, “the two forms interpenetrate continuously, yet exclude each other

consciously.” It can then be argued that ideologically Katharevousa and demotic are separate systems, despite their continued mutual influence and fusing together. SMG is clearly influenced by Katharevousa, and certain speakers may use more Katharevousa forms, typically lexical or morphosyntactic, to take a stance on their specific type of Greek identity (Papadopoulou, 1975).

SMG therefore can be considered a type of koiné, not unlike the Attic-Ionic Koiné that led to Byzantine Greek. SMG’s current diffusion, however, is that of a national standard variety, with the speech of Athens having become the language of instruction and policy. Media broadcasts and politicians engage in discourse using SMG. The prevalence of SMG has contributed to regional varieties’ decline, perhaps most resisted by Cypriot Greek. Karatsareas (2018) and Tsiplakou (2003; 2014), Arvaniti (2006, 2010) have discussed attitudes toward Greek varieties and how Cypriot has developed and been maintained despite the growing hegemony of SMG.

There is evidence that IG supplied some lexical and structural elements to what has become SMG, while also having undergone independent changes and contact-induced change from other languages and Greek dialects. Katharevousa and SMG have been suggested to have been influenced by IG. Scholars such as Horrocks (2014), Mackridge (1985) and Ralli (2012) all have posited that the speech of Athenians had been influenced by the speech of elite IG intellectuals with ties to Athens. This line of reasoning often is justified by noting how similar IG has been to SMG. For example, Ralli (2012: 951) asserts that

“The Greek of Constantinople has never been very different from the actual standard form. In fact, during the last half of the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth century, this language form has significantly contributed to the development of the national language.”

Nevertheless, Ralli (2012), Mackridge (1985, 2009), and others who make similar claims of how IG influenced the development of SMG base such claims specifically on the speech of the Fanariot community, who were particularly wealthy, educated Greek community members from the Byzantine and Ottoman eras. The Fanariot elite, as discussed in Section 2.1, were only one portion of the multiplex IG community. While the role of wealthy, educated mobile male Fanariots who relocated to Athens and elsewhere may have helped spread spoken Modern Greek, Fanari is only one neighborhood of Istanbul, and not representative of all IGs then or now. Even Psycharis was a Galata resident and used IG features in his earlier writing, yet much of those dialectal differences were erased in subsequent editions of his texts (see Horrocks, 2014), and also ideologically as Mackridge (2009) groups him together with other Fanariots due to his link with Constantinople. Even Horrocks (2014), who discusses some distinct Constantinopolitan features in Psycharis' writing, does not address IG as a specifically distinct Modern Greek variety. See Section 3.2 for more on ideological erasure. Moving forward, I will now provide a brief description of IG to discuss how it relates to other Greek varieties, and how its use by the IG community then indexes social meaning of a unique Greek identity.

2.3 Istanbul Greek

As with many languages, there never has been a single static IG variety, but rather the confluence of many accepted forms that have developed from contact (both with multiple Greek dialects and other languages) and internal developments of its own. The historic intermingling of diverse Greek speakers in Constantinople occurred and led to a parallel contact variety along with the Medieval Greek that developed from the Koiné. As Browning (1983: 82) posited:

“But I am inclined -along with many others- to suppose that there was in late Byzantine times a common spoken language in the capital and in urban areas linked with it a common tongue in which a great many alternative forms, belonging historically to different dialects, were acceptable. Men from all over the Greek world mingled in Constantinople as they did nowhere else.”

Therefore, it is logical to presume that these multiple acceptable forms of Greek as spoken in the late Byzantine era continued to be employed and contributed to the IG spoken throughout the City. SMG did not develop in the IG community in the same way as in Greece. Greece became a nation-state in the 19th century, and from 1922 onward, the IG community has lived under Turkish governmental procedures and has dealt with other types of sociopolitical concerns such as the wealth tax, the “Citizen speak Turkish!” initiative, the pogrom of 1955, etc., and not the problems that affected Greece, such as WWII and the military junta. As a result, the IG community and their speech, which already had developed under a different ecology from other Greek varieties, continued to do so throughout the 20th century.¹⁸ The military junta in Greece for example, had little bearing on Greek language education in Istanbul. In fact, many IG textbooks were older and had more Katharevousa forms in them, reflecting the speech of the community more. Individual IGs have had different networks and ties to Athens, SMG, and the rest of Greece, which have added to increased heterogeneity within Istanbul.

Describing IG in comparison with SMG is further complicated by the variation amongst speakers. There is no monolithic IG variety, and many speakers increasingly exhibit some SMG features, while some maintain certain IG features and shift in other ways. The description that

¹⁸ More on language ecologies in Chapter 3.

follows then is not for a singular IG, but rather represents the most typical features found over the diversity of IG speakers. There are many more dialectal features present in IG than I describe here, but in interests of brevity, I focus on some of the key differences most relevant for the current dissertation. The descriptions below are primarily based on my recorded interviews with participants, in addition to other observations (see Chapter 4 for how I conducted interviews to elicit data).

2.3.1 Phonetic Inventory

Certain phones found in SMG are not typically produced by IG speakers, and vice versa. Tables 1 and 2 are a comparison of the phonetic inventories of SMG and IG. The SMG consonant and vowel inventories presented in Table 1 are primarily based on data from Arvaniti (2007)¹⁹. The IG charts in Table 2 are based on acoustic data I have collected and analyzed in Praat (Broersma & Weenink, 2017) from multiple interviewees.

I present differences between the phonetic inventories of SMG and IG. In terms of the consonantal inventories, SMG has alveolar affricates [ts] and [dz], whereas IG has post-alveolar affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] in their stead. SMG has more possible realizations of rhotic consonants, including taps, trills, and approximants. IG primarily produces taps, including voiceless variants, with no apparent evidence of approximant production. IG has a series of voiceless aspirated stops

¹⁹ Arvaniti (2007) categorizes the affricate pair as complex alveolar plosives, citing conflicting evidence as to whether they are clusters or “true” affricates. I have decided to follow researchers such as Joseph & Lee (2010) who have shown via acoustic analysis that [ts] and [dz] are phonetically affricates based on measurements of duration. Also, Arvaniti cites Nicolaidis (1994) as providing evidence of [t] as being more dentoalveolar, however suggests that there is inconclusive evidence to determine the full range of contexts and realizations of coronal plosives.

Table 1. SMG and IG Consonant Inventories

Above the SMG inventory modified from Arvaniti (2007) and IG below from my acoustic analysis. Bold consonants typically occur in one but not the other

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retracted Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Retracted Palatal	Velar
Plosive	p b			t d				c ɟ	k g
Fricative		f v	θ ð		s z			ç ʝ	x ɣ
Affricate				ts dz					
Nasal	m	ɱ	n	ɲ			ɲ		ŋ
Tap					ɾ				
Trill					r				
Approx.					ɻ				
Lateral				l		ɭ			

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retracted Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Retracted Palatal	Velar
Plosive	p b p^h			t d t^h				c ɟ	k g k^h
Fricative		f v	θ ð		s z	ʃ ʒ		ç ʝ	x ɣ
Affricate						tʃ dʒ			
Nasal	m	ɱ	n				ɲ		ŋ
Tap					ɾ̥ ɾ				
Lateral				l		ɭ			ɭ̥

that do not appear in SMG. These are allophones of the unaspirated plosives that will be discussed in Section 2.3.2. Similarly, IG has a velarized lateral that is an allophone of the alveolar lateral, which will be discussed in Section 2.3.2. Postalveolar fricatives in IG are direct borrowings from Turkish and French and appear in loanwords from these and other languages with such segments. For example, Figure 8 is a spectrogram of a middle-aged IG woman uttering “chocolates” from a photo elicitation task. Rather than SMG [sokolates], itself a borrowing from French *chocolat*, she

produces [ʃokolatʰes]. The first set of blue arrows point to lower bands of energy that are in line with what Ladefoged (2005) suggests as post-alveolar fricatives, as opposed to the higher bands in the last fricative, which are indicative of alveolar fricatives.

In terms of vocalic differences, the IG back vowels /o/ and /u/ are slightly lower and further back than the SMG counterparts. This is based on midpoint F2 measurements of vowels that were taken and then normalized. In Figure 9, I have plotted 5 elderly IG males' F1 and F2 of the 5 canonical vowels in raw Hz. Whereas Arvaniti (2007) and others categorize SMG /a/ as a low open-mid vowel [ɐ], the IG /a/ is significantly further back and slightly lower [ɑ]. These difference have led to the IG vowel space being more compressed than the SMG vowel space. Also note that in addition to the five canonical vowels, IG uses [y, œ, u] in loan words borrowed into Greek whose source language uses them.

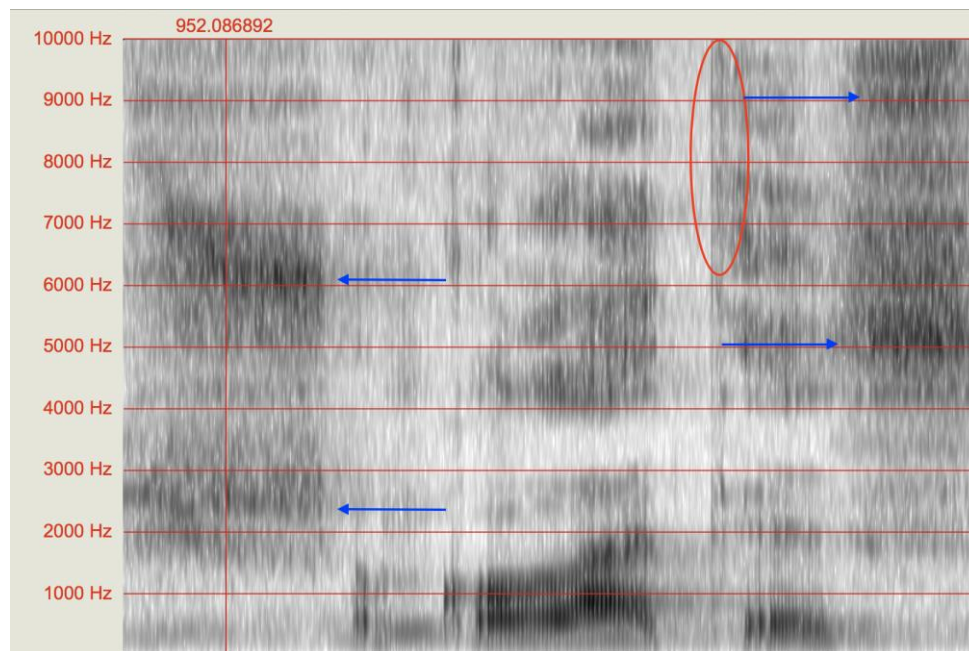


Figure 8. IG /sokolates/

Middle-aged IG woman uttering chocolates from a photo elicitation task as [ʃokolatʰes]. The arrows point to bands of energy in the frication noise supporting that the first fricative is postlveolar as opposed to the last one which is alveolar. The circle indicates aspiration.

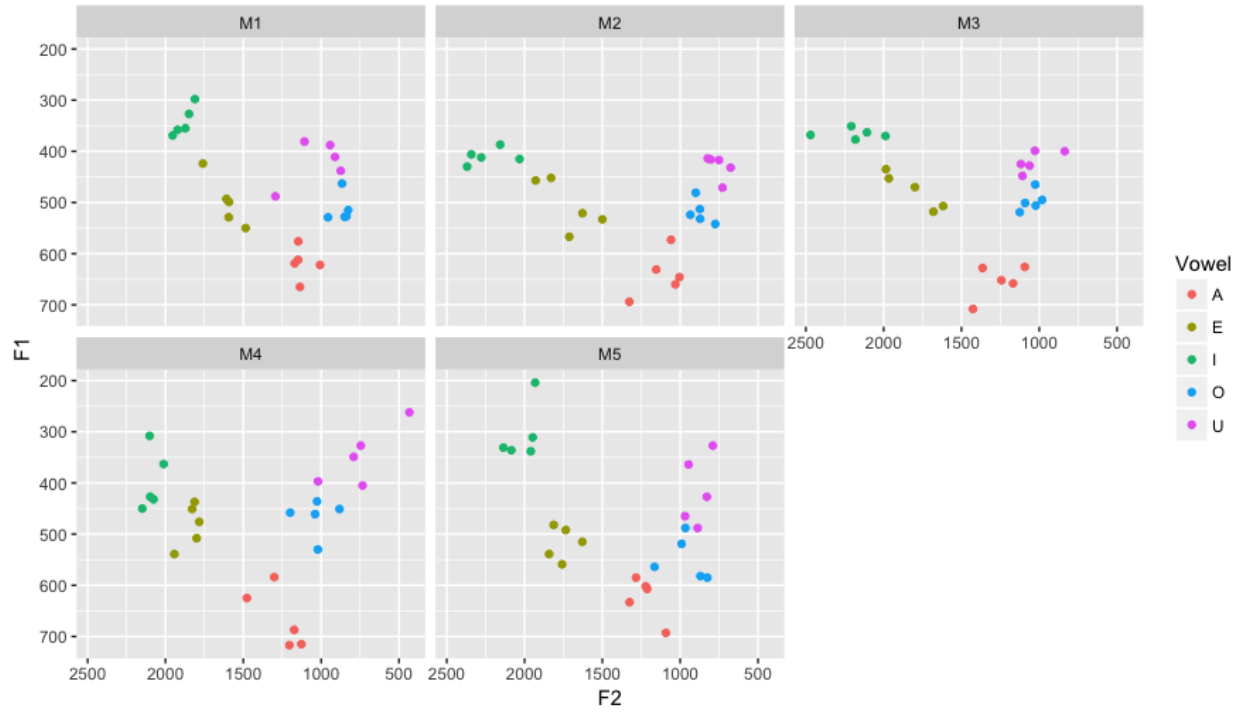


Figure 9. IG Males' Canonical Vowels
Taken from wordlist data and measured in raw Hz.

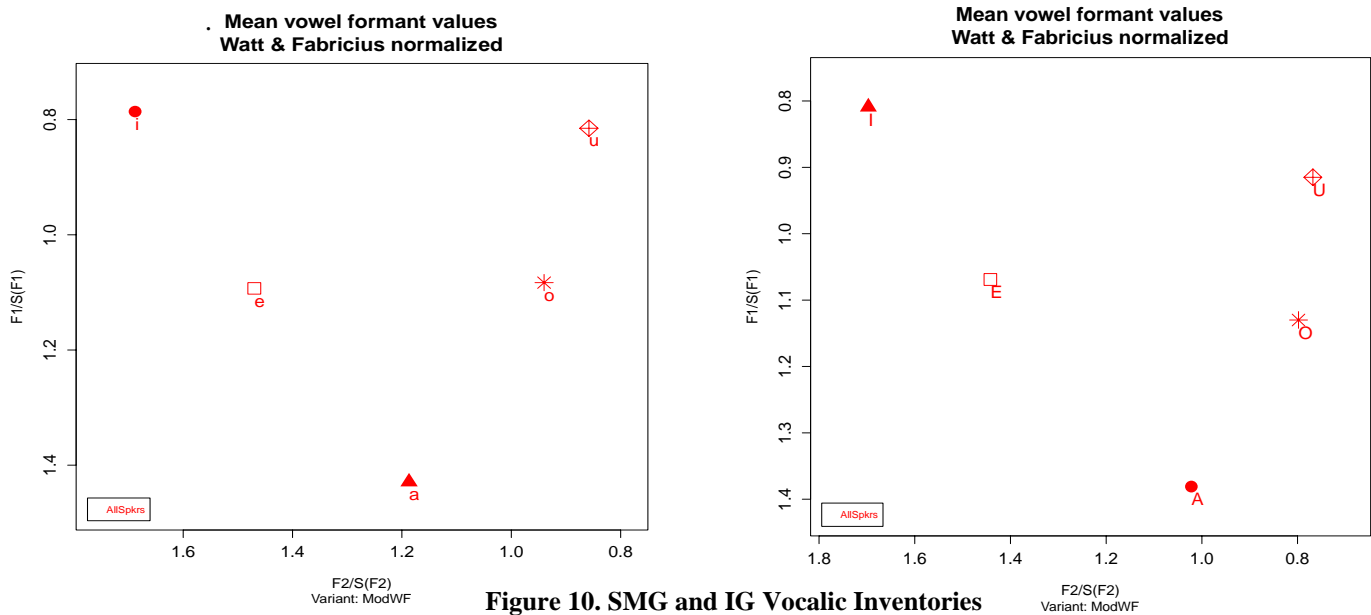


Figure 10. SMG and IG Vocalic Inventories

Vowels are normalized based on SMG data (left) found in Arvaniti (2007), in which I averaged data points by Nicolaidis, Sfakiani, and Fourakis. IG vowels (right) are normalized based on 25 tokens from 5 elderly IG male speakers as seen in Figure 9.

2.3.2 Phonological Processes

Much of the differences between SMG and IG phonetic inventories are either the direct or indirect result of contact with Turkish, French, and other languages' influence on the IG phonological system.²⁰ For example, the IG aspirated consonant series follow Turkish's pattern of voiceless plosives being aspirated when directly before a vowel. As such, IG follows this pattern and produces unaspirated voiceless stops in clusters such as [plino] *I wash*, but aspirated stops in CV syllable onset position, such as [p^hino] *I drink*.²¹ The simplification of the rhotic system can be easily attributable to Turkish contact, as well. Whereas SMG appears to primarily produce taps, trills occasionally in clusters and stylistically, and approximants in up to 34% of contexts (Baltazani, 2005), IG primarily produces taps.²² As Turkish only has one rhotic, the tap, then this simplification could be understood Turkish expanding the SMG default in greater phonetic contexts for IGs. Additionally, Turkish devoices non-sonorant and rhotic consonants in word-final position. As a result, IG devoices the tap word-finally, which is another direct borrowing of Turkish phonological processes into the IG structure.

The compressed vowel space likely also results from contact with Turkish, whose more complex vowel system has implications for back vowels, particularly with vowel harmony and allophonic distributions of consonants (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005; Yavuz, & Balpinar, 2011).

²⁰ For this and other reasons, I provided a phonetic inventory rather than a phonemic one, because I am not prepared to make claims regarding the abstract representation of certain phones for IG or SMG speakers. For example, the phonological status of Greek /ts/ has been in question for decades and the primary purpose of this dissertation is not to assert whether it is phonemically an affricate rather than a consonant cluster, among other possible contentions. Additionally, although velarized laterals are often considered allophones of clear laterals, velarized laterals occur in IG both before back vowels and in coda position. This possibly suggests that the lateral phoneme might be velarized by default and the alveolar production before front vowels is the allophonic distribution.

²¹ However, of the phonetic differences between IG and SMG aspiration has been one of the most inconsistent patterns to make claims about, as many speakers will alternate between aspirated and unaspirated in a single utterance. As such, it is difficult to attribute such alterations to either additional phonetic or social constraints.

²² As of yet, I have only encountered a couple approximant realizations of /r/ over 100+ hours of recordings.

These compressed back vowels, including the low back vowel, then have contributed to the velarized lateral allophone occurring before back vowels, which is also a feature of Turkish phonology. These vocalic differences most likely have spread other internal changes and coarticulation tendencies, including with coronal affricates. This is explored further in Chapters 4 and 5.

In terms of phonotactics, Joseph & Arvaniti (2000) have discussed patterns of variation of voiced prenasalized stops in Greek dialects. Citing others such as Pagoni (1989), they note that modern dialects can yield Ancient Greek nasal with voiceless stop cluster as either a nasal + voiceless stop, nasal + voiced stop, or just a voiced stop with the nasal element deleted. Although SMG historically has been in a nasal + voiced stop region, Joseph & Arvaniti (2000) note that this pattern has mostly been restricted to a stylistic production. Consequently, most SMG speakers, especially younger ones, solely produce voiced stops and reserve nasal + voiced stop as a formal variant. They argue this is most likely due to associations with orthography and perceived erudition. As Papadopoulos (1975) has illustrated, IG almost exclusively produces nasals + voiced stops in such clusters. She asserts this is evidence of IG having maintained considerably more Katharevousa features. My own research has borne out that nearly all elderly IGs maintain nasals in clusters, and younger speakers with more SMG social networks have begun to solely produce a voiced stop in such clusters.

2.3.3 Morphology

Morphological differences between IG and SMG can be grouped by internal changes and contact-induced changes.²³ Some internal changes in IG are found in other varieties, including SMG and more peripheral dialects. Since the Hellenistic period, the dative case was relatively unstable and ultimately was largely consolidated in the transition from Medieval to Modern Greek. Whereas Southern varieties, including SMG, have replaced the historic dative with the genitive case, Northern varieties use the accusative case (Horrocks, 2014; Kontosopoulos, 2005). Similar to Northern varieties, IG uses the accusative for the historic dative. Although some IG speakers have begun to switch to the genitive, this mostly occurs when the object is in postverbal position (e.g., *dose mou~dose me* “give me”), whereas preverbal objects are more likely to be in accusative case (e.g., *na me dineis* “can you give me”). Other internal changes revolve around declensions. Whereas SMG will use simple accusative forms of pronouns such as “him” /afˈton/, IG frequently uses [af.to.na]. This [-a] accusative suffix is found for both masculine and feminine animate objects. Furthermore, it is also used in clitics that are not used in SMG. For example, “bring her” in SMG is *fereti* whereas in IG it would be [fer.ti.na]. This [-a] also interacts with the use of the accusative for the historic dative. Whereas, “tell (it to) him” in SMG is [pe.stu], in IG its [pe.sto.na] (Zahariaids, 2014).

In terms of verbal morphology, Similar to Pontic and Cappadocian, IG has [ks] rather than SMG [s] in aorist verbal forms of certain [-ao] verbs, such as “walk” [perpati-kso] and “ask” [roti-kso]. This [-ks] was found in Byzantine forms and appears in Dawkins (1916) descriptions of

²³ For that matter, all structural levels of IG can be grouped by internal and contact-induced changes.

Cappadocian Greek and Horrock's (2014) discussion of Psycharis's language use. Intervocalic velar fricatives are often deleted or epenthized in verb roots across Greek dialects (Kontosopoulos, 2005). IG tends to not epenthesize in these cases, and usually will maintain the velar fricative in such verb classes, although certain high frequency lexical items such as the aorist forms of "go" (*piya~pia*) see considerable variation even with a single speaker. Although IG has interdental fricatives, aorist forms of the verb "come" often result in dental or alveolar productions *erθo~erto*. This alternation is also found in Cypriot and in Asia Minor varieties, although interdentals tend to have been "lost" in the latter cases. Similar to Northern varieties, IG prefers the imperfective past forms of [-usa] rather than SMG and southern [-aya] for verb types with possible endings such as "speak" *milusa* rather than *milaya*. IG tends to maintain final [-e] in third person and plural conjugations which are often dropped in SMG, e.g., "they make" c.f. IG *kanoune* with SMG *kanoun*. Many verbs that are used in passive voice in SMG, particularly deponent passive voice, are realized with a perceived "older" form in IG. The IG variant typically results in a vocalic alternation of /a/ or /o/ in verb stems to be realized as [u] in IG. Compare SMG *fovamai* "I am afraid" with IG *fovumai*. Furthermore, third person conjugations in passive forms tend to end in [-otan] in SMG, yet typically are realized as [-undane] in IG. IG's production here more resemble dialects of different Aegean islands (Kontosopoulos, 2005).

Considerable borrowings from Turkish and Romance languages undergo morphological alternations. Nouns can either being directly borrowed as is the case with Turkish *zar zor* "difficult" and French *portmonnaie* "coin purse" or having neuter case suffixes attached to the borrowing (e.g., Turkish "almond" *badem* > *bademi*). Some Romance borrowings, typically from French or Italian were borrowed into Turkish first before being borrowed into IG with neuter suffixes being added accordingly. Take "passport" Italian *Passaporto* > Turkish *Pasaport* > IG

pasaporti. Verb roots are usually borrowed with the [-izo] verb suffix attached, albeit with some variation. Certain conjunctions are directly borrowed from Turkish such as *yoksa* “if not,” although the most frequent are homophones with Greek words of other meanings.²⁴

2.3.4 Syntax

Much of the syntactic differences in IG are the result of contact with Turkish. For example, frequent copula deletion in the present tense, the position of indefinite articles in noun phrases, and changes to word order. Turkish exhibits frequent copula deletion particularly in the present tense, and SMG typically does not allow for such deletion (Joseph & Philippaki-Warbuton, 1987). IG speakers may omit the copula, particularly in simple, independent clauses. For example, *ekeini i kori tis Margaritas* “she is Margarita’s daughter,” (she the daughter of Margarita) is grammatical in IG and would be considered ungrammatical or questionable at best in SMG. Similarly, indefinite articles in Turkish noun phrases tend to be placed after adjectives and before the modified noun, whereas indefinite articles tend to occur before other modifiers and modified nouns in SMG noun phrases. We can compare here “a good person” in SMG *enas kalos anθropos* with Turkish *iyi bir insan* and IG *kalos enas anθropos*, and note the effect of Turkish’s structure on IG’s noun phrase structure.

In terms of phrase structure more broadly, SMG allegedly has free order due to its case system but tends to prefer an SVO order (Mackridge, 1985). Turkish notoriously has a more restrictive SOV order. While IG does demonstrate some flexibility in word order, it does appear

²⁴ Compare Greek *ya* “for” with Turkish *ya* “or,” or Greek *ama* “if” with Turkish *ama* “but.”

to favor SOV, particularly when the copula is present. For example, *Exthes o adelfos tou operasion ekamne* “yesterday his brother had an operation” (Yesterday his brother operation had). Ὑστερης πήγαμε στα Ταταύλα κι εκεί μνείσκαμε²⁵

The simplification of complementizers may result from contact with Turkish that is also reinforced by other languages spoken in Istanbul.

2.3.5 Sociopragmatics

Sociopragmatic differences between IG and SMG typically concern lexical items and context of use. Zahariadis's (2014) dictionary contains many IG words, some of which are innovations, some retentions, and other borrowings from Turkish, French, Italian, and other languages that have not made their way into SMG. Many lexical items are also found in peripheral Greek varieties, ranging from Northern Greece, through Southeastern islands. IGs are often playful with codeswitching and will make puns based on knowledge of French and Turkish (e.g., playing with French *beaucoup* “many” and Turkish *boku* “shit”). As Hirschon (2001) has pointed out, IGs in Athens view SMGs as much more impolite or participating in face-threatening acts more frequently. Many elderly IGs that I have spoken with also have commented on their being more polite than SMGs, partially based on lexical items, SMGs’ more frequent engagement in public cursing, etc. Certain “archaisms” are used more frequently in IG, such as Katharevousa form

²⁵ Note in the first example the borrowing of French *operation* rather than Greek *enxeirisi* and the older production of the verb *kamno* “to make” with the bilabial nasal along with the alveolar. SMG tends to delete the /m/ entirely, and IG tends to either maintain the nasal cluster or delete the alveolar segment, such that *kamno-kano-kamo* are all grammatical alternations for “to do/to make.” In the second example, *Ysteris~Ystera* is an alternation of the word for “later” with the more IG -is ending found in variants of other adverbs as well as in some feminine noun forms e.g., *tipotis~tipota* “nothing” *dropis-dropi* “shame.” The extension of -is for many forms not found in SMG could be the result of analogical processes.

paradeigmatos xari rather than SMG *yia paradeigma*, both of which mean “for example.” Although the former would be considered restricted for formal settings in mainland Greece, IGs of all ages and backgrounds tend to use it much more commonly regardless of the register or speech event. Some older Greek forms are used in IG for strategic politeness practices such as taboo avoidance. For example, rather than using SMG *engios* for pregnant, IGs tend to say *varumeni*, which is a derivative of weight and heaviness. This term references the temporary increased weight that occurs when a woman is with child\ and avoids the direct term for being pregnant. Skarlatos (1835) has *varumeni* as an alternative definition of pregnant in his dictionary of Modern Greek, so this is not an innovation, despite most contemporary SMG speakers not recognizing this term.

Another example of politeness concerning taboo avoidance in IG concerns words for cucumber. In both Greek and Turkish, the words for cucumber (*anguri* and *hiyar*, respectively) are also euphemisms for male genitalia. In Turkish, the euphemistic term has become so linked to genitalia, that almost no one uses it unless to be ironic. Instead, Turkish has adopted *salatalık* (“of the salad,” in reference to cucumber’s use in multiple Turkish salad dishes) as the near exclusive term for cucumber. IGs have extended this to Greek, and rather than use *anguri*, have employed *drosero* (“cool”, “refreshing”) as the primary term.²⁶

Furthermore, greetings and turn-taking differences have been commented on among my IG participants. Speakers have noted the more frequent use of *ne* “yes” among SMGs rather than *malista* “certainly,” which IGs tend to use more and consider an more polite version to show agreement rather than “villager” *ne*. This sort of linguistic variation informs how IGs tend to view SMG-speakers as being abrupt or engaging in more face-threatening acts. Hirschon (2001) has commented on this being a possible influence from Turkish, which she asserts shares a sort of

²⁶ An increasing number of speakers also have diminutivized *anguri* to *anguraki* as another way to avoid the taboo.

collective face. This may have some weight as many of my IG informants, including those who have relocated to Athens, have commented on Turks being more respectful and polite than mainland Greeks. This is most likely a holistic impression, but lexical choices, rate of speech, greetings and closings all tend to be invoked in these judgments. These perceived differences in communicative styles lead to further different conceptualizations of SMGs as opposing IGs.

2.3.6 Summary

In situating IG diachronically and synchronically, the borders of what constitutes Istanbul have been nebulous and shifting over centuries. Whereas SMG and most other modern Greek varieties are based on Attic/Ionic and the Koiné (which IG is, too), there is potentially Doric influence as Doric Greek speakers from Megara (corresponding to the Old Athenian) settled Byzantium. This argument can be further developed when we consider other Modern Greek varieties spoken in historically Doric settlements, such as Crete. Despite a disparate geographic divide between Istanbul and Crete, the two varieties share certain features absent in other dialects situated in between them, such as accusative forms tending to end in [-a], regardless of grammatical gender. While there does appear to be some overlap with NG varieties, key features of NG are absent in IG and features found in other Greek dialects are present in IG. The key features of NG are unstressed high vowel loss and mid vowel raising, neither of which occurs in IG. IG does have the accusative for the historic dative rather than SMG genitive and velarized laterals before back vowels, similar to NG, although the latter is clearly attributable to contact with Turkish. IG also has some features present in the allegedly extinct Old Athenian/Maniot varieties described by Newton (1972) and seen in Section 2.2.2. These include some lexically constrained examples of historic /y/ pronounced as [u] rather than SMG [i] and hiatus of diphthongs.

It might be tempting to classify IG as a member of the Northern Greek varieties as it certainly corresponds geographically to the northern regions that form the Northern Greek continuum. Furthermore, the velarized laterals and the use of the accusative rather than the genitive for the historic dative is found in both Northern and IG. However, this is where the similarities end between IG and NG dialects, as the defining characteristics of Northern, high vowel loss and the raising of unstressed mid vowels, do not occur in IG. In fact, almost the inverse occurs, in which the high front vowel (stressed or unstressed) becomes mid in specific words, e.g., [pali] > [pale], [jirokomio] > [jerokomio]. Also, the importance of Doric Greek as a substrate is important as IG shares certain features with varieties that also were historically Doric-speaking, such as Crete with [-a] final tendencies for accusative forms, *yriyora~(y)liyora*, etc. As Crete forms its own branch within the Southeastern varieties, this complicates how to categorize IG based on existing criteria for Modern Greek varieties.

Much of the little research that has been done on IG has either been incomplete or inaccurate. Kontosopoulos (2005) provides a rather thorough description of various Modern Greek varieties, yet only dedicates one clause of one sentence to the variety of Istanbul when describing Western Asia Minor varieties:

Starting our mental tour from the Asian outskirts of Constantinople (where the Greek which was spoken was exactly as they speak in the City, meaning that which we call today ‘Standard Modern Greek’ with very little dialectalisms, such as the syntactic schema of the accusative + verb instead of genitive + verb) we follow the Asia Minor coast of Propontida...²⁷.

²⁷ Translation mine.

This observation is not only brief but inaccurate, as the previous sections in this chapter attest to. Other research that has attempted to observe IG also have not been successful in capturing the IG variety in a meaningful way. Kazazis (1970) focuses on the role of family in preserving dialectal features of IG in the émigré community in Athens. He discusses just a few lexical and morphosyntactic differences in the IG spoken by members who migrated to Athens in the earlier half of the 20th century based on recollections of his childhood friends' experiences. Kazazis mainly discusses anecdotal evidence of his own social network, without much evidence or examples apart from a few words and the dialectal retention of the accusative for historic dative. On the other hand, Papadopoulos (1975) does an efficient job in presenting allophonic and phonotactic differences between SMG and IG. Her assertion that IG has more Katharevousa elements (see Section 2.2.2) than SMG is based on more conservative productions of nasal clusters, lack of diphthongs, and other retentions, is well met and echoed by some claims IG speakers themselves also make (see Section 4.2). However, not all of her arguments are as convincing. For example, Papadopoulos (1975: 36) asserts:

Besides the differences which are due to different attitudes, IG differs from AG as a result of the influence of Turkish on the dialect spoken in Istanbul. However, the Turkish influence has not been as great as it might be expected, because **the Istanbul area has never been linguistically isolated from Athens and therefore isoglosses have not developed here.**²⁸

This assertion is not fully accurate as, while Istanbul may not have been as isolated from Athens as say, the Cappadocian or Pontic communities, not all IGs have had contact with Athenian

²⁸ Emphasis mine

speakers, and considerable Turkish and Romance influence has been made on IG. Furthermore, IG exhibits widespread lexical items (e.g., *apidi* rather than SMG *axladi* for “pear”) and morphosyntactic features (e.g., accusative rather than genitive for historic dative) found in peripheral Modern Greek varieties and not in Athenian Greek, in addition to innovations, which suggests that some sort of isoglossic distribution has in fact occurred. To this point, IG has been described as a semi-northern variety based on certain isoglosses, although I do not necessarily fully agree with this designation.

In their study on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Greek spoken by the IG community Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis (2007) focus on overall Greek language use with very little comment on dialectal features at all. The authors discuss shift to Turkish increasingly likely as younger speakers social networks and domains of language use are primarily based on Turkish. Nevertheless, they do suggest that maintenance of Greek might be possible if concerted policy efforts can be employed, as the language is still an important aspect of the IG identity. To this point, Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis (2007: 381) do briefly allude to dialectal and cultural differences between IG and SMG speakers, framed as “linguistic differences (accent/style) but also, importantly, differences in ‘psychology’ and ‘character’” although they do not expand on what such differences entail (See Section 4.1 for more on differences in “character”).

Interlude 2: Welcome to Istanbul

It's late May of 2016. I just arrived in Istanbul after completing the first year of my PhD program. I am exhausted from a particular combination of the academic rigor and jetlag. I wake up in my family's apartment and hear what I at first think are cats in agony, but soon realize are the early morning squawks of seagulls common to Istanbul.

My aunt and her husband²⁹ are in their 70s and stay in my late grandmother's apartment in Pangaltı, a neighborhood in Şişli, a district on the European side of Istanbul. One of the largest IG neighborhoods was called *Tatavla*, itself a derivation of the Greek word for stable *stavlos*, named as the Ottoman emperor allegedly kept horse stables in this part of the City. Pangaltı is a small neighborhood right next to Tatavla proper. Tatavla was later renamed to Turkish *Kurtuluş* (liberation) in the late 1920s after a fire destroyed much of the area. Many IGs live in different neighborhoods within the Şişli district, where there were historically large numbers. While the Tatavla and surrounding neighborhoods house the majority of the remaining IGs, many are also in the other historically Greek neighborhoods surrounding both the European and Asian sides of the City, as well as the Prince Islands.

I walked around the neighborhood while I was adjusting to the seven hour time difference. My aunt showed me a few places in the area where I could get groceries and cafes to get work done. She and her husband were only going to be around for another week before they left for *Avşa* (formerly Greek Afissia) an island in the Marmara Sea near the Dardanelles where they would be

²⁹ My uncle after several years of poor health passed away in February 2020.

vacationing until October. She pointed out how much the neighborhood had changed. She was right, the entire block was markedly different from the last time I was at my grandmother's apartment 12 years prior. Before, it was a largely residential neighborhood, albeit with plenty of small shops and restaurants along the main drag. It was fairly quiet and didn't have nearly the same amount of foot traffic as the main square of Taksim (*Stavrodromi* or "crossroads" in Greek, akin to Times Square in New York City). Now, Pangaltı was rather unrecognizable with so much development, most likely due to its fairly central location. I would soon realize how unrecognizable most IGs felt about their homeland considering the overall population has ballooned from 1 million in the 1960s to nearly 20 million today.

A few days after I arrived in 2016, my aunt introduced me to her (and my mother's) second cousin, Ilias Faidon Uzunoğlu. He is a few years younger than my aunt and retired. We talked a bit about my research and what brought me out to Istanbul that summer. After asking a few questions and getting to know one another somewhat, he very graciously agreed to show me around a bit and introduce me to his friends in the City who might be able to help, whether as interviewees or in some other way. Over the next few weeks, he took me to a few locales that are known to be popular with the local Greek population, particularly members of his age cohort. He brought me to a few churches, including the Prophet Ilias Church which my ancestors had helped build in the Skoutari district near where Florence Nightingale had served as a nurse over a century ago. Over multiple visits to the many IG churches during the summer is where I found a lot of my older participants who were willing to be interviewed after getting to know me. The middle-aged and elderly all tend to be fairly religious and use the churches as one of the primary IG spaces for them to commune. Meanwhile, younger IGs tend to be less religious and often do not attend liturgy or other services as frequently, especially not during the summer.

As a graduate of Zografeio Lyceum, one of three remaining IG high schools, Ilias brought me to a few of their events. For example, in late spring they have their annual “7-70 year old” talent show open to students, alumni, friends and family. Zografeio is conveniently located off of İstiklal Caddesi, the main drag in the old commercial center of Istanbul in the upper European Peninsula. It is very easy to get there from my family’s apartment. Even closer to Taksim Square are the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church and Zappeio High School. Both Zappeio and Zografeio were named after wealthy Greeks from Epirus who sponsored their construction in the 1800s, and they similarly have other buildings named in their honor in Athens. İstiklal Caddesi (Independence Avenue), the main artery where many IG businesses used to be and some still are, is also called the *Megali Odos Tou Peran* in Greek and the *Grand Rue de Péra* in French, both of which mean the Great Avenue of Pera (the old Greek name for the neighborhood). Here many businesses are found along the 1.5 km-long pedestrian road in buildings ranging from Neo-classical to Art Nouveau and more contemporary architecture. Many of the winding roads and alleys that branch off of İstiklal contain more shops, boutiques, cafes, and pubs. IGs were the primary shopkeepers during the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries, particularly known for their French style patisseries. While few, if any, of the many pastry shops in Istanbul are now IG owned, many IGs who relocated to Athens did open up similar stores in Greece. I walked along İstiklal nearly every day in 2016 as I often would interview people near there or find people along my way. Later in 2018, an IG opened up a café off of İstiklal, and that is one of the places where I had set up shop, interviewing people, becoming friends with the owners and their friends, writing fieldnotes, making observations. I did something similar in other IG venues, including Istos café, which was a new endeavor by an IG named Anna Maria and Harris, a Mainland Greek who relocated in Istanbul over a decade ago. The pair first opened up a publishing company and then

branched out to a film production company and now the café/bookshop. I figured the least I could do would be to support local IG-owned businesses while working with the community.

In 2016 and 2018, I attended many cultural events hosted by the school, local churches, and smaller IG cultural groups. Participation in these types of activities heavily factored into my initial observational period prior to conducting interviews. Attending events held at IG schools and churches, as well as the Greek consulate (which are more for mixed audiences) helped me make sense of some of the social and linguistic phenomena related to the community. For example, I was able to note the broad use of Greek and Turkish both in public and private spaces. As Gal (2005) has noted with former Soviet countries, the private/public distinction is a bit ambiguous based on speakers' historic relationship with their space. The IG situation is a bit more perplexing as the community views the City as a historically Greek space, yet one that no longer is Greek speaking or at least not predominantly so. As Theodoris, director of the Beyoğlu Sports Club said, "Outside (in the Beyoğlu/Pera neighborhood) it was unusual *not* to hear Greek spoken when I was young. Now, it's the opposite. You barely hear it, and when you do, it's not local Greeks, but *Ellines*." Theodoris's distinction between *Romioi* and *Ellines* is one that I noticed many IGs making over the course of my fieldwork, particularly around the Greek consulate. These types of observations all shaped how I interacted with my participants both in and out of an interview setting.

Attending diverse cultural events and many church services allowed me to not only better understand the community but also to get to know some of the locals in addition to those who I had been directly introduced to. By showing my face at different events for several weeks, some of the more skeptical IGs were more willing to open up to me and be interviewed or even just provide me with a few of their thoughts informally. But it was sometimes challenging to get from

one location to the next because of Istanbul's topography. Istanbul is unusually shaped with the Bosphorus Strait separating the European and Asian continents and connecting the Marmara Sea (which itself leads to the Aegean from the Dardanelles) in the south to the Black Sea in the north. The European side of the Bosphorus is further separated by the Golden Horn, creating an additional peninsula along this southern tip of the City limits. Similar to Rome, Istanbul has seven hills and so the many peaks and valleys along the waterways make for a picturesque albeit tortuous cityscape. Along the southern coasts of both the European and Asian sides were primarily Greek speaking settlements during Byzantine and Ottoman times, although other communities had been integrated as well. Further along the coasts toward the Black Sea later Greek villages were formed. The remnants of all of these historic settlements are preserved with the contemporary neighborhoods and, although the IG population has dwindled considerably over the years, they have maintained at least some presence in each of their communities.

Depending on where I needed to go, I could either walk, take the metro, a bus, a tram, a *fünikiler*, a minibus, or a ferry. Sometimes I would need a combination of public transport. This was especially true for the Prince Islands, off of the Asian coastline. Some IGs live on the islands year round, while others own summer homes and stay there during the summer months or other vacation times. In 2016, I made multiple trips to each of the islands, sometimes for interviewing people directly, other times for observations, as they have a summer children's camp called *Paidoupoli* or "Children's City" that is housed in an essentially vacant monastery on the top of the smallest island. Getting to any of the Prince Islands requires a ferryboat from the mainland, most commonly from the Asian side. I would typically have to take a metro to a ferry, but after they closed the main ferry port on the European side, this then meant an additional ferry ride to the Asian mainland of Kadıköy (Χαλκηδόνα, Chalcedon) to get to the dock for one of the ferries to

the islands. Some of these ferries go to all of the four main islands, whereas others are express boats and only go to one or two. The ferry boats run quite frequently during the summer months, with sporadic times during the off season. The Prince Islands include *Proti*, *Antigone*, *Xalki*, and *Pringipos*, along with smaller uninhabited islanders. The Turkish names are Kınalıada, Burgazada, Heybeliada, and Büyükada, respectively.³⁰ Historically these were vacation spots for the Byzantine princes, or so the locals have told me with pride. All of the islands largely housed IGs historically, but *Proti*, was also known for the local Armenian population, and *Pringipos* and *Antigone* had many members from the Istanbul Jewish community. Currently, the islands during the summer months, especially larger *Pringipos*, have been sheltering the increasing numbers of Syrian refugees.

Some days I would not have a single interview and others I would have to run from place to place to meet with everyone. I quickly learnt this was typical in conducting fieldwork, particularly in Istanbul. Many of the IGs who were willing to help would plan last minute, so in each of my fieldwork trips, I tended to have the last week or two particularly full of multiple interviews a day. I believe the most I had in a single day was on July 28, 2016 when I interviewed seven people in different parts of Istanbul. I woke up at 6 AM to arrive to my first interview with Lazaro, owner of the only pork butcher in Istanbul. He is a distant relative and an elder IG. While he grew up in the Asian side of Istanbul his family had later relocated to the European side, and his shop is located in Tarlabası, a historically IG neighborhood in between Taksim and Tatavla.

³⁰ The Turkish names of the Prince islands are not translations of the Greek. As with other Turkish renamings of historically Greek areas, occasionally direct translations do occur (such as with Yeniköy/Νέχωρι “new village”), however many times a new unrelated name is given. *Proti*, means first and is reference to it being the closest island to shore, whereas Kınalıada means the “hennaed island.” *Antigone* is a woman’s given name, whereas *Burgazada* is actually in reference to the old pre-Byzantine tower, [pirgos] in Greek, which was borrowed into Turkish as burgaz. *Heybeli* is etymologically unclear for *Xalki*, which means copper in Greek, and *Pringipos* (prince) became *Büyükada* or “big island” in reference to it being the largest of the islands.

that has since become a bit run down. From there I had to get back to my family's neighborhood of Pangaltı in order to catch the metro north to Boğaziçi University, where I was interviewing Dr. Irene Dimitriadis, an engineering professor. Boğaziçi is further up the northern coast of the European side in the Bebek neighborhood. Many IGs had been located in Bebek and especially in the surrounding neighborhood of Arnavutköy (literally Albanian village, but in Greek was Μεγαρεύμα or "big current").³¹ Boğaziçi is considered Istanbul's most prestigious private university, and I was familiar with the area as I was thankfully a visiting researcher there and had access to their libraries. The university itself was formed after Robert College, an American men's university, later merged with the American girl's high school before becoming a co-ed university. After interviewing Irene up in Bebek, I then made my way to the docks in Kabataş, so I could take a ferry to the Prince island of Antigone. There I had five interviews. The first two with an elderly married couple who during the summer months stay at the monastery of St. George on top of the hill of the island. Their grandson was with them and they were waiting for their children to come back from work. Lastly I interviewed 3 older men having dinner and playing cards in the church courtyard of St. John lower on the island. It is quite customary for many of the IGs, especially retirees, to be given housing at the different churches in exchange for taking care of them, especially as the population has dipped so low that there is not always regular attendance at certain locations, and no dedicated staff to attend to regular maintenance. It was a long day and each of the interviewees represented different types of IGs; highly educated and uneducated, wealthier and less so, male and female, those who live both in Greece and Turkey, and those who have never left Turkey at all. By the time I got home after taking the last ferry boat at 10:30 PM, it was after 1

³¹ Even further up north along the European coast in Yeniköy or Νιχώρι (new village), another historically predominant IG neighborhood, and in fact where the famed Alexandrian-born poet Constantine Cavafy's family was from, and where he himself had lived for a few years.

AM. I had been up for 20 hours and I was exhausted. I was exceedingly glad that I was getting a chance to interview so many IGs and contextualize their relationship with their language and their City. Still, I took the next day off.

3.0 Ethnographic Language Change and Identity

Research on language change and identity can be carried out using multiple methods. Some of the first recorded modern linguistic research was in fact related to language change. Neogrammarians in the 19th century concerned with historical language change created the comparative method to observe genetic relatability among different languages. More contemporary dialectological work in the 19th and early 20th centuries began using maps with isoglosses to document and describe differences among typically rural communities (Romaine, 2003). Much of traditional variationist research has implemented different methods ranging from surveys to interviews to record speech “in the wild.” These approaches to documentation and related first-wave sociolinguistic methods are often based on preexisting social structures in order to account for language change (Eckert, 2012). Ethnographic work incorporates greater duration of observation to take into account cultural components that are related to language use and change, and understanding social meaning associated with linguistic features. As Eckert (2012) has referred to the third-wave of sociolinguistic variation as primarily concerned with social meaning, increased research on variation focuses on linguistic style and stance as extensions of interactional identity, which also accounts for variation. In this chapter, I begin with an overview of variationist approaches to describing and explaining language change (Section 3.1) before explaining approaches to sociolinguistic ethnography (Section 3.2) and explain how such fieldwork methods are related to variationist approaches to language change. Finally in Section 3.3, I explore core concepts related to language and identity that I use for my analysis of the IG situation throughout the dissertation, and how identity is a crucial component to language variation more broadly.

3.1 Variation and Language/Dialect Contact

Discussions of language change often attempt to “locate” language in the first place. Does language exist in the mind of the speaker, as Weinreich (1953) posited³², or does language live within a given community as Labov (2001, 2002) has often emphasized? As language is a social phenomenon, exploring how language change occurs based on group dynamics is a logical place to make claims about sociolinguistic variation. The essence of a group and consequent identities is often understood as being related to the concept of similarity as there is a continuum between what a specific person is and is not. In other words, the similarities and differences between one and those around them are often used to determine what constitutes membership and identity of distinct groups (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Edwards, 2009; Gal & Irvine, 2019; Kiesling, 2011). A community can be described as a group with certain commonalities, although those commonalities can vary in importance situationally for each group member (Coupland, 2009; Gumperz, 1968). Language is often used as a metric to determine membership to a group with a common ethnic origin, and different societies often conflate language, ethnicity, nationality and religion with one another (Edwards, 2009; Fought, 2006; Heller, 2010). This is particularly true of the minority groups within the Ottoman Empire due to the millet system, in which each “nation” was classified as a singular entity based on their shared religion and language (Augustinos, 1992; Jennings, 1978; Kitromilides, 1989). In this section I review traditional variationist sociolinguistic methods and aspects of contact linguistic theory and connect both with the current IG situation.

³² Weinreich (1953) specifically discusses the mind of an individual bilingual speaker as the locus of language contact, which has implications that the mind of any speaker is the locus of language and language change more generally.

3.1.1 Variationist Sociolinguistics

Dialectologists arguably can be considered the first sociolinguists. Interested in discovering the ways that varieties of the same language have diverged from one another over time, these researchers would typically interview elderly rural males for “authentic” speech (Romaine, 2003). The dialectologists often then would use the results of their interviews to create maps showing where certain linguistic features were present and others not. The subsequent isoglosses marked regional differences that form dialects. As a result, traditional variationist accounts of dialects were geographically-based. Over time, dialectological research has become more sophisticated and now includes more than regional variation, for example, variation based on multiple levels of social factors. Furthermore, modern sociolinguists are not only interested in variation in and of itself, but also ways in which variation can be strategically used stylistically to do other types of social work.

Variationist sociolinguistic research in large part stemmed from the desire to address fundamental questions motivating language change. Weinreich, Labov, & Herzog’s (1968) foundational piece crucially asserted that language consists of ordered heterogeneity, and they proposed five “problems” that variationist research needs to address: constraints, transition, embedding, evaluation, and actuation of language change. These problems concern the linguistic structural constraints for what linguistic features are capable of change, how language change transitions from generations, how the language change is embedded as part of the entirety of the language system, how linguistic features are socially evaluated by speakers, and why language change is actuated in specific features in specific languages at specific times, but not in others. Traditional, first wave variationist research of the 1960s and 1970s (e.g., Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1974) took primarily a positivist, structuralist approach to understanding and addressing these

motivations of language change. Language can vary based on multiple social categories, although regional variation is perhaps the most obvious of established variation. By using preestablished categories, such as gender and age groupings, to determine directionality of change among separate groups, such methodologies rely on discreet social categories that a) may not function in the same way for every community and b) might not reflect actual individuals who may straddle categories or lean into certain categories more than others at a given moment. However, this early research did establish considerable useful methods for addressing structural constraints of language change and providing possible motivations for the remaining problems.

As Eckert (2012) notes, the transition from first wave variationist research to second wave variationist studies is marked by the increased use of ethnographic methods (see section 3.2 for more on ethnographic research). Rather than using predetermined categories such as socioeconomic status to determine variation, this wave of research including that of Cheshire (1982) and Eckert (1989), was more concerned with how speakers in a given community make sense of social categories, and how language is tied to such social meaning. Individuals, however, can stylistically use linguistic features in specific contexts they would not necessarily in others, which leads to the third wave of variationist sociolinguistics (see Section 3.3). These additional waves all have sought to further address questions related to these problems for language change, and perhaps more convincingly those problems related to social meaning, such as evaluation and actuation.

Important to note however, is that much of Labov's principles of variation (2001) and subsequent variationist research are based on monolingual (and typically Western and particularly Anglo-) communities (Stanford, 2016). As a result, many of the linguistic features being studied are the result of internal change, such as morphological alternations of *were~was*, or */r/*

vocalization, among others. Seminal research on sound change in particular, such as studies done by Labov (1972) and Trudgill (1972) have suggested that specific speech styles where attention is being paid to speech are more likely to elicit more standard speech features than others. This attention to speech model has been applied to many cases of language change with the expectation that wordlists and direct questions about language should be most likely met with higher levels of standard speech features, as opposed to the most spontaneous speech such as those in narratives, in which standard variety features should occur less frequently. While these patterns have been observed across multiple speech communities, this might be problematic when dealing with multilingual communities, as it has shown by Silva-Corvalan (2011) to be the case in Spanish-English bilinguals in the United States. Furthermore, the IG community is not only multilingual but has been a continued presence in Istanbul with their own speech, so although SMG may have developed in parallel ways to IG, the “standard language” may not be evaluated the same way for all IG speakers.

3.1.2 Contact Linguistics

Externally-motivated, or contact-induced change, can be understood as changes occurring to a given language’s structure by varying degrees of contact with a separate, genetically unrelated language, and subsequently by speakers of both or more languages. Different linguistic structures from lexical items through semantic and pragmatic concepts can be borrowed from one language to another. The concept of a language ecology, first coined by Haugen (1971) was intended as a framework to address some of the language change problems brought up by Weinreich, Labov, & Herzog (1968), and has been particularly useful in understanding language change in contact

situations. A given language's ecology encompasses the following points Eliasson (2015) summarizes from Haugen's (1971)'s work³³:

- The *true environment* of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes.
- *Language exists only in the minds of its users*, and it only functions in relating these users to one another and to nature, i.e. their social and natural environment.
- Part of its ecology is therefore psychological: its *interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers*.
- Another part of its ecology is sociological: its *interaction with the society* in which it functions as a medium of communication.
- *The ecology of a language is determined primarily by the people* who learn it, use it, and transmit it to others.

Haugen aligns with Weinreich (1953) in designating the mind as the locus for language contact, albeit with a strong claim as language existing “only in the mind,” and he designates the environment for a given language as the society that is using it. However, he does acknowledge that language ecology is not just cognitive or psychological, but also sociological as it relies on different levels of interaction. In this sense, language ecologies help us understand ways that language change is transmitted, embedded, evaluated, and actuated, as the ecology encompasses cognitive, interactional, and sociohistorical aspects of a community and their language. Nevertheless, much of the linguistic research on contact-induced change of the 1970s and 1980s was concerned with constraints of typological features that would change, rather than social outcomes or social influences of language contact. Traditional historical linguistic research, for example, often had completely ignored contact-induced change from language reconstruction models.

³³ Emphasis in Eliasson (2015).

Table 2. Thomason & Kaufman's Borrowing Scale

As adapted by Meakins (2013)

Degree of Contact	Borrowing Type	Features Borrowed
1. Casual contact	lexical	non-basic vocabulary before basic
2. Slightly more intense contact	lexical syntactic	functional vocabulary (conjunctions, adverbs) only new functions borrowed
3. More intense contact	lexical syntactic	Pre/postpositions, derivational affixes, inflectional affixes (attached to stem), pronouns, low numerals Change in word order, borrowing postpositions in a prepositional language
4. Strong cultural pressure	syntactic	Extensive word order change, inflectional affixes (e.g., case)
5. Very strong cultural pressure	syntactic	Typological disruption, changes in word structure (e.g., adding prefixes in suffixing language), change from flexional to agglutinative morphology

Since Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) landmark work, the fields of historical and contact linguistics have increasingly been considering both linguistic and social factors in the conversation of change to the structure of a language due to contact with another language. Perhaps Thomason and Kaufman's most important contribution is their discussion of contact in terms of types of that arise in multilingual areas. Large-scale bilingualism is a catalyst for major language shift in the languages spoken by the formerly multilingual speakers. Using a "borrowing scale," as seen in Table 2, Thomason & Kauffman (1988) demonstrate how the type of social contact influences gradation of linguistic structures influenced from the other language(s). Using this scale, the least amount of contact occurs results in the introduction of new, non-basic lexical items from one language into another. The more contact, the more social interaction, the further along the scale, and the more complex structure that is influenced from the other languages. The idea of degree of borrowing has led to richer knowledge in pidgins, creoles, mixed languages and other products of language contact, as linguists have been able to account for structural changes that traditional

historical approaches have not. For example, historical linguists such as Campbell (2013) have discussed historical contact in terms of adaptation or adoption of borrowings, emphasizing structural aspects of borrowing rather than focusing on social or ecological factors related to borrowing processes. Thomason & Kaufman's borrowing scale has been used in the classification of products of language contact as either a dialect of one language with borrowings, to a creole or mixed-language.

However, as Mufwene (2001) acknowledges, the differences between the mechanisms for either external or internal changes are not always significant, and in fact often are operationalized rather similarly. His analogy of language to a parasite follows an ecological perspective, and the subsequent necessity to change based in large part on the social habits of its speakers encompasses both internal and external motivations. Additionally, the concept of diffusion has been applied to situations in which some aspect of the structure (phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical) of one language has become more like the structure of another language with which it has come into contact (Boberg, 2000; Heath, 1981). In addition to an ecology model, some historical linguists (e.g., Campbell, 2013) discuss a wave model in which contact-induced change is understood as separate communities diffusing certain linguistic features from one to another, where the closer geographically a group is with another, the greater the ripple of the wave will be in diffusing the feature from one group to another. Convergence areas, such as the Balkan sprachbund, are understood in large part based on a wave theory model of diffusion. However, diffusion has been used identically to describe structural change brought on by individual speakers or speech communities of the same language (Labov, 2007). Similarly, triggering events of internal change can be applied to contact situations, where the triggering event occurs when sufficient contact has been established between two or more speech varieties.

Furthermore, even in cases of extreme language contact, internal variation still occurs, as is evidenced in dialects of Spanish (Klee & Lynch, 2009) or in the mixed language of Cappadocian Greek (Janse, 2002). Since the existence of contact-induced variation does not preclude linguistically internal variation, and since the mechanism for both external and internal change operate rather similarly, determining the impetus for a specific sound change in a language variety may not be discernible based solely on impressionistic data. Using acoustic data, however, may reveal a more accurate story as to the origin of the change in question, which in turn leads to a more accurate portrayal of how languages develop over and in time

Studies on language maintenance and shift, such as those by Fishman (1965) discuss domains in which a specific language is used over another. As distinct languages may serve specific purposes for multilingual communities, this domain-based approach is useful in accounting for reasons why a speech community may completely shift to a different language. Dorian (1978, 1981) and Mufwene (2000, 2003) have discussed language shift in terms of “death.”

3.1.3 Contact and Variation in Istanbul

Linguistic studies dealing with identity and ethnicity in particular should steer away from monolithization of groups. The IG community is diverse in backgrounds as much as beliefs. Drawing from an ecological perspective, the IG language ecology has had different sociohistorical developments concerning the languages spoken in Istanbul and their consequent interactions and evaluations by speakers. Starting with the Megara settlement in 700 BC, the IG community is rather heterogeneous due to Greeks with diverse ancestral lands having settled in the area. The Byzantine and Ottoman eras saw a shift in demographics where Greeks went from the dominant

ruling class to a minority in a city they claim as their own.³⁴ Ottoman Turkish became a socioeconomically and politically prestige language, whereas IG was a prestige language among the minority groups. Furthermore, the cosmopolitan nature of the City especially during the Ottoman era with Franco-Levantines (French and Italian speaking Catholics), Sephardic Jews (speaking Ladino) and Armenians shaped the neighborhoods and linguistic landscape.

Greeks and Turks have been in contact for hundreds of years, and the standard varieties of both languages have experienced structural convergence, sharing certain aspects of lexicon, phonology, morphology, syntax and pragmatics (Hock & Joseph, 2009; Horrocks, 2014; Joseph, 2000). However, Istanbul Greeks historically have had much more direct contact with Turkish than SMG-speaking regions, and as a result, IG certainly exhibits more Turkish features as a direct result of that more intimate contact (see section 1.3). Still, the situation in Istanbul is complicated because of undulating historic contact with multiple dialects of Greek in addition to contact with French and other Romance languages, as well as the shifting demographic population of Greeks and Turks in Istanbul.

The amorphous borders throughout the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires intensified migration as enclaves of Greeks from Chios, Cappadocia, Northern Greece (primarily Epirus and Thrace), Pontus and even as far south as Crete and other Aegean islands all contributed to the sustained and increasingly vibrant Greek character of the City (Örs, 2006, 2017; Tunç & Ferentinou, 2012). Important to note is that despite most IGs knowing of an ancestor from somewhere else, the majority view themselves primarily as Istanbulites and everything else is secondary (or perhaps even tertiary). This diversity has significant impact on the language as well.

³⁴ In fact, even some SMG-speaking proponents of Greek irredentism still refer to Istanbul, not only as Constantinople, but as the *vasilevousa* “reigning capital” with hopes of ultimately “regaining” the city as part of Greece.

IG does not neatly factor into the Northern Greek dialects because they do not participate in the fundamental phonological processes that occur in said varieties, despite being geographically north and having had a substantial NG population contributing to the IG community.

As a result of different languages and Greek dialects coming into contact with one another, IG speakers demonstrate quite a bit of variation from one another, particularly with those who increasingly adopt SMG speech patterns. However, some of the speakers' perceptions of this variation is a bit exaggerated. For example, the anecdotes some of my participants shared with me of IGs with Cappadocian ancestry as speaking Turkish better and more frequently than Greek and subsequently having more Turkish traits in their speech compared to other IGs has not been substantiated in any of my research analyses. This is not to say there is no structured heterogeneity in IG; despite the relative uniformity of specific dialectal features, not all IGs speak alike, and long and rich histories of contact and multilingualism have led to an IG ecology where contemporary IGs can “choose” among multiple variants that are available in their linguistic repertoire. For example, historical multilingualism allows an IG when saying the word for “refrigerator” to choose from at least three items: SMG *psygio*, the French brand name of *frigidair*, Turkish *buzdolabı* or the IG innovation *buziera* (Greek feminine nominal suffix attached to Turkish “ice” *buz*). A similar distribution can occur for other lexical items such as “stamp” (SMG *grammatosimo*, French *tembro*, and Turkish *pul/puli*). Similarly, Istanbul has many primary and secondary schools of various nations. Many IGs have attended schools instructed by educators of French, Austrian, Italian, English, and other nationalities and language backgrounds. IGs who have gone to say one of French schools may use more French lexical items in casual conversation than those who haven't, although most IGs produce postalveolars in French loanwords regardless of educational or linguistic background as French-IG contact is not a new or isolated phenomenon.

The IG situation is particularly complex because we are dealing with layers of multilingualism and multidialectalism. It is not uncommon for IGs to be fluent, or at least conversant in languages such as Armenian and French in addition to Turkish and Greek depending on neighborhood and profession. Allegedly older females isolated in Greek neighborhoods such as *Tatavla* were monolingual, but even if that were the case, heavy Turkish influence is present in their production of Greek. Although multiple sources of contact is not a new dimension of IG ecology, the types of contact in Istanbul is shifting. Now, IG is in increasing contact with Turkish due to a decreased IG population with high levels of Turkish use across domains. Also, now Istanbul has a larger SMG presence via radio, online and satellite television, which presumably affects the local IG population to a certain degree (Tunç & Ferentinou, 2012). In terms of education, up until the 1970s nearly all teachers of Greek academic institutions were locals (Papadopoulos, 1975). Due to the shrinking population, now increased amounts of schoolteachers are SMG speakers that have come from Greece. As a result, younger IGs who attend one of the few remaining Greek schools in Istanbul are receiving additional exposure to SMG and in an important context for their developing language skills and social networks. The contact with SMG and relatively steady bilingualism has prevented IG from becoming radically typologically divergent from SMG. If we revisit the borrowing scale in Table 2, we can compare IG can with Cappadocian or Asia Minor Greek. Cappadocian varieties have been described as a mixed-language (Janse, 2002, 2004, 2009; Karatsareas, 2014, 2016), where large-scale bilingualism between Greek and Turkish has yielded strong cultural pressure and typological disruption (level 5). IG, on the other hand, is either a level 3 or 4 based on the structural borrowings but a 5 based on cultural pressure. The resulting difference of IG maintaining status as a contact variety of Greek and Cappadocian as a blended language can be attributed in large part to their different language

ecologies, with IGs' stature and stability supported by the IG community. Consequently, social meaning is a major factor in how a given language's ecology functions, as it is developed by sociohistorical and geopolitical movements that affect how speakers interact with language.

3.2 Sociolinguistic Ethnography

In studying linguistic variation in different speech communities, Eckert (2012) considers the second wave of studying sociolinguistic variation to be centered around ethnographic inquiry. The added nuance of how community members, whether members of a speech community or a community of practice, use language has helped address questions related to the aforementioned problems of language change. Ethnographic fieldwork has been conducted for centuries. Anthropologists have studied diverse groups of people in order to examine multiple elements of cultural practice. Linguistic anthropological fieldwork similar looks for linguistic practice and semiotic ties to other cultural practices and material culture in communities, as well. Sociolinguistic ethnographic research has been implemented in various contexts, as specified as within American public schools (Eckert, 1989, 2000; Goodwin, 2006) or Canadian factories (Heller, 2010) and as general as Bolivian valley villages (Babel, 2018) or Turkish immigrants in Belgium (Blommaert, 2013).

In juxtaposition to ethnography, social networks can be useful ways of observing and discussing language change. Milroy (1987) spearheaded the use of social network theory within the second wave of sociolinguistic research. Social networks are a way of understanding the web of distinct speech communities can belong to, with possibly different varieties or registers associated with the density of ties in specific networks. Much ethnographic sociolinguistic

literature employing social networks have shown their utility and how speakers more engaged in specific communities at given times share certain features with other members belonging to that network. For example, Eckert (1989, 2000) demonstrated that among Detroit area high school students, the Northern Cities Vowel Shift was most prevalent in teenagers with “burnout” networks. As a result, networks can be used as part of understanding how members of a community distinguish themselves from others based on their specific affiliations.

3.2.1 Active and Passive Observation

Ethnographic research relies heavily on observation. Eckert (1989, 2000) and others distinguish between active and passive observation, which describes the role of the researcher in the field. Whereas passive observation would encompass a researcher describing what they notice while in a community without much direct interaction, active observation would be the researcher interacting with members of the community and engaging in specific practices. Both approaches yield helpful data from different perspectives (Berez, 2015). Passive observation allows for the investigator to observe their research community with less involvement or possible manipulation, which could be considered a more “authentic” approach to eliciting language and culture in action (Lacoste, Leimgruber, & Breyer, 2014). Active observation, on the other hand, allows for greater possibility of contextualizing speech within a community based on more fine-tuned understandings of how speakers are using speech along with other cultural artifacts and practice. Schilling (2013) discusses how in sociolinguistic fieldwork, active participation can encompass the investigator’s participation in socially significant activities to gain insider perspectives, as well as direct conversations, often recorded interviews, with local members of the speech community. Interviews with community members allow researchers to explore observations more profoundly

and provide the opportunity to see how observational claims pan out in a more restricted setting than the “open field.”

3.2.2 Interviews

Often interviews are conducted in fieldwork settings after sufficient observation has been completed. The idea of the sociolinguistic interview has been around since the first dialectologists collected geographic variation. As Schilling (1998, 1999, 2004) has noted, sociolinguistic interviews can be highly productive methods for obtaining data relevant not only to a given community member’s speech, but specifically for speech connected to ethnicity. Interviews pose unique challenges for social science research, as investigators tend to want to elicit naturalistic, “authentic” speech, but often use specific metrics to have a relatively consistent set of data to compare among participants. As human subjects are not predictable, preparing questions for them to answer is a delicate balance of ethics, rigorous science, and flexibility. Part of ethnographic observation leading to interviews requires the constant fine-tuning of interview questions and other elicitation tasks that are reflective of the research community. Anticipating how community members will react to certain questions serves as a better possible way to elicit data.

Sociolinguistic interviews cover a range of topics to cover a range of speech styles. Labov & Waletzky (1967) made a major contribution in discussing the so-called “Observer’s Paradox” in which interviewees recognizing that they are being studied will not produce their most naturalistic speech but rather perform what they feel is being expected of them, either leaning into a perceived standard variety or caricaturing the variety of interest. They proposed a way to mitigate this effect by easing into elicitation by starting with more narrative like speech and by asking the “near-death experience” story in which the interviewee recounts a time they nearly died. Labov &

Waletzky (1967) claim this tactic allows for some of the most naturalistic speech as the emotional connection to the narrative taps into more innate speech different from a standard variety. However, asking such questions is potentially problematic ethically, and furthermore, all language use is always contextualized and so I would argue any speech provided by a speaker is authentic and reflective of the speaker's particular stance (see section 3.3.3) at a given moment. Nevertheless, recording a range of speech events does allow for the exploration of variation across language styles for a given speaker. As a result, a good interview whose ultimate goal is to connect a speaker's language use with their identity should at some point directly ask about language use.

3.2.3 Metapragmatic Awareness

A critical way of getting at how speakers connect their speech to social meaning is via exploring metapragmatics (Silverstein, 1976, 2003). Metapragmatics can be understood as how speakers demonstrate knowledge of language in context. Whereas metalinguistic awareness concerns speakers' conscious knowledge of linguistic structure, metapragmatic awareness concerns speakers' conscious knowledge of their language use and consequent social meaning of linguistic forms within specific contexts. Silverstein (2003) discusses metapragmatic discourse as a way that speakers reveal their understanding of ideologically-laden aspects of language use. This type of discourse is one way to understand how indexical relations link ideological aspects of language to specific linguistic forms. As Silverstein (2003:194) asserts:

Such ideological intervention functions characteristically as a cultural construal of the n-th order usage, what we term an ethno-metapragmatics of such usage. And of course in such a metapragmatics there are characteristic modes and degrees of "misrecognizing" (Bourdieu) n-th order indexicality, or of "falsely" becoming conscious of it (Marx), or of

forming certain “secondary rationalizations” of it (Boas). But within the n-th order ethno-metapragmatic perspective, this creative indexical effect is the motivated realization, or performable execution, of an already constituted framework of semiotic value.

In other words, the metapragmatic awareness of a given linguistic form links larger macrocontexts (ideological understandings of social categories) with microcontexts (individual interactions in which the linguistic form in question is being used). This awareness in turn allows for the ability to perform an identity associated with the form in question. As Agha (2005: 45), asserts “These are cases where a repertoire of speech forms is widely recognized or enregistered as indexing the same ‘social voice’ by many language users.” His discussion of a metapragmatic framework in which speakers understand social meaning of linguistic forms accounts for how language use varies based on a speaker’s desire to align with a particular identity in a given moment. According to Agha (2005), a speech community is recognized as distinct or constituting a unit based on shared linguistic features which point to the same social meaning. Still, speakers are human and can manipulate their speech by drawing on various components of their linguistic repertoire to highlight an identity they so choose. Metapragmatics then can be considered the mechanism that reveals how identity is linked to language. Eliciting this subset of discourse in an interview then allows for the dissection of these semiotic linkages through ideological processes and stancetaking practices.

3.3 Language and Identity

Identity has gained popularity as a concept explored in multiple social sciences and the humanities. Since Labov’s (1963) landmark Martha’s Vineyard study, a major question within

sociolinguistic research has concerned how language variation and change relate to speakers' identities. Various researchers describe identity as being related to the dialectics of similarity and difference (e.g., Bucholtz & Hall, 2004; Edwards, 2009; Gal & Irvine, 2019). In other words, individuals observe similarities and differences between them and those around them to define specific identity categories. These categories exist despite societies existing as scalar phenomena with diverse individuals making up communities rather than ever being homogenous populations. We can understand these categories as creating further social distance, which in turn leads individuals and groups further reifying these "discrete" categories. Thus, one of the primary functions of identity is to orient a person within his or her understanding of the world. The sense of belonging to multiple types of groups has been an integral component not only for social organization but also for policy and international relations. Linguists and linguistic anthropologists have approached studying identity in various ways. Some examine how identity is formed in interaction, others look at overarching behavior patterns of a community. This echoes theoretical and consequently methodological differences that either emphasize structuralism or poststructuralism. Ethnicity is a particularly compelling identity category that is both constructed and ascribed unto speakers. It is group and personal. We see a tension between agency and structure is playing a role in how ethnicity is perceived. As Nagel (1994: 156) asserts:

In fact, ethnic identity is *both* optional and mandatory, as individual choices are circumscribed by the ethnic categories available at a particular time and place. That is, while an individual can choose from among a set of ethnic identities, that set is generally limited to socially and politically defined ethnic categories with varying degrees of stigma

or advantage attached to them. In some cases, the array of available ethnicities can be quite restricted and constraining.³⁵

This dynamic demonstrates the tension between being able to assert your own ethnic identity while being constrained to categories available unto you. Phenotype and established social understanding of a category will determine whether a speaker can effectively claim membership to a specific identity category based on ethnicity. However, as Nagel (1994) points out, certain categories carry degrees of either stigma or advantage, which are ideologically constructed and reinforced through indexical processes repeated in interaction.

Linguistic identity has been shown to be a fundamental aspect of nation-building and the construction of a group identity (Anderson, 2006). Identity is often constructed and reconstructed through policies based on ideologies, which can be understood as large-scale sociopolitical beliefs that also impact more immediate levels (Recinto, 2009). Communities have undergone significant change at the behest of governments wishing to establish a sense of unity, and in turn, a sense of social cohesion. The semiotic concept of indexicality as implemented by Ochs (1992), Silverstein (2003), and many others has been a key model to understanding identity and language usage, with the production of specific linguistic features indexing membership to different social groups. Stance, or positioning of the self in interaction based on existing ideologies and indexical relations, allows us to bridge social and linguistic phenomena. The following sections define and explore the theoretical frameworks of ideologies, indexicality, and stance that I apply to the IG community in this chapter and elsewhere.

³⁵ Emphasis in original

3.3.1 Ideology

Ideology is a useful concept in discussing language use and evaluation. Woolard (1992) and Woolard and Schiefflin (1998) have discussed the utility in applying language ideology in anthropological and sociolinguistic research. Language ideologies typically relate to larger, macro-level attitudes to language use. Ideologies can also lead to linguistic differentiation and variation. In terms of linguistic differentiation, Gal & Irvine (2019) discuss how language ideologies reflect the desire to classify the lived world based on semantic and pragmatic consequences of noticing similarity and difference. Upon noticing or being aware of difference, the difference then is capable of being semiotically linked to values reflecting the communities in question. Gal (2013) has also discussed the Piercian idea of qualia, wherein linguistic features are attributed metaphoric characteristics that then become attached to its speakers ideologically. Ideologies related to linguistic differences based on qualia are particularly intriguing as they often essentialize the character of the speaker and speech as one and the same. Consequently, ideologies may lead aspects of language change as the social meaning embedded to language use motivates speakers to adopt certain forms over others. These processes corresponds to evaluation, embedding, and actuation of change.

Irvine and Gal (2000) provide an exceptional breakdown of how ideologies function at differing levels of language use. For them language ideologies are related to patterns of linguistic variation based on three interconnected processes: iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure. Irvine and Gal (2000) discuss iconization as the process in which linguistic features come to represent and often essentialize a social group. Fractal recursivity, also now referred to as rhematization, is a dichotomizing and partitioning process involving opposition of groups of linguistic varieties that occur at multiple levels and create subcategories of opposing difference.

Erasure then is the process where people, activities, or linguistic forms are made invisible as they do not conform to a previously constructed hegemonic ideology. Ideologies can be understood as holistic attitudes to language and language use that reflect overarching evaluations of the speakers themselves.

Language policy and planning are a way to erase certain linguistic forms entirely, or at least delegitimize them. This was particularly true during the Ottoman Empire's transition to the Republic of Turkey (Augustinos, 1992) as it was in the following decades with Turkey insisting that "Citizen speak Turkish!" (Örs, 2006). Moreover, the standardization of languages can also be viewed as a method of suppressing "anomalies" and fostering a uniform community free of dissidence that perpetuates the otherness of those who do not conform to the established standard (Mackridge, 1992; Milroy, 2001). Granted, individual speakers often subconsciously disregard and even actively choose to challenge standards in terms of personal style (Coupland, 2009), however, this does not necessarily result in the same stigmatization when an entire group of speakers is perceived to subvert the standard (Edwards, 2009; Garret, 2010). In the case of Greek, the 19th and 20th centuries' tumultuous political climate yielded in much language policy, with Katharevousa and Demotic forming a diglossic society for much of the 20th century. This policy created situations in which rural communities not given the opportunity to learn Katharevousa were considered either unpatriotic or unintelligent. The ultimate abandonment of Katharevousa led to the simplification of Greek orthography as the Athenian variety became more associated with "standard Greek" (Mackridge, 1992; Horrocks, 1997).

The Greek desire to "purify" Greek is not unlike the Turkish government's desire to "Turkify" the country. These and other ideologies are never only about language, but rather entail close relations between linguistic practices and other social activities. Speaking Greek in a way

perceived to be impure or ignorant results in a perception of the character of the speaker, rather than solely on the language itself, explicable through socially-motivated indexical relations (Silverstein, 2003). In terms of ideologies associated with language use at a community level, Gal (2005) elaborates on the “us vs. them” dichotomy, with “us” projected as society and “them” the state, therefore an extension of power relationships. Initially applied to private and public spaces, this framework can account for the distribution of power between a standard and non-standard dialect. Multiple levels of “us/them” are present within Greek communities, with SMG typically assuming the role of the “them” power language. In the IG case, SMG assumes the public “them” language and IG the private “us” language. Istanbul, with only a few thousand IG speakers, does not produce much Greek media, and the majority of the Greek media it does consume (whether via radio, television satellite or print) is typically from Greece or occasionally Cyprus, but nearly always delivered in SMG. The lack of exposure of IG to the broader Greek community also contributes to this perceived “us” versus “them” context, which occurs increasingly less frequently with other dialects, such as Cypriot Greek (Terkourafi, 2007).

3.3.2 Indexicality

Connecting ideologies to the metapragmatic framework I have introduced in Section 3.2.3, I now present indexicality. Indexicality, or iterative social semiotic processes in which social meaning is ascribed unto linguistic forms, cultural artifacts, or interactive practices connotatively rather than denotatively, is a framework that explains how groups and individuals differentiate themselves from others based on so-called “acts of identity” (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). The semiotic concept of indexicality is a useful framework to discuss ways in which social values are ascribed unto linguistic forms based on existing ideologies and metapragmatic discourse.

Silverstein (2003) discusses the referential nature of linguistic forms such as deictic markers indexing their referent. He separates other forms into higher ordered indexes based on how additional social meaning is embedded on the form. For example, regarding pronouns related to T/V distinction, the n^{th} order indexical is the pronoun pointing to the addressee and the $n^{\text{th}+1}$ order indexical is the social meaning associated with the speaker using an informal or formal pronoun with the addressee. Ochs (1992) discusses indexicality in terms of how gender is often *indirectly* indexed by features that are initially indexed with some value that later becomes tethered to ideologically male or female identities. As a result, orders of indexicality (Silverstein 2003) or indirect indexes (Ochs 1992) can account for how linguistic forms can initially be indexed with a specific value and then ideological associations of gender with said value lead to additional indexical relationships of that linguistic form.

Gender has been one productive avenue to examine indexical relationships. For instance, Bucholtz (1999) and Kiesling (2001) discuss different types of hegemonic masculine identity, in which masculinity is understood as the default and dominant over other genders (primarily femininity). Based on sociohistorical events, certain linguistic forms, cultural artifacts and participation in certain events (e.g., cursing, wearing a baseball cap backwards, playing competitive sports) are associated with and expected of members from the dominant group (a specific type of American males) whereas other linguistic forms, cultural artifacts and participation in other events (i.e., tag questions, wearing makeup, completing household chores) are expected of members from the subordinate group (a specific type of American females), and through iterative evaluative processes affirm the unchallenged hegemonic hierarchy. As Narayan describes them, myths of continuity, totalization, and authenticity appear to be series of indexical

relationships, as each are iterative processes that assign meaning to cultural elements (whether linguistic, material or practical), that rely on ideologies including erasure to successfully operate.

Irvine & Gal (2000) and Gal & Irvine (2019) discuss indexical properties as recirculating ideologies as well, in a sort of social meaning iterative feedback loop. Similarly, Silverstein (2003) discusses how metapragmatic awareness relates to both ideologies and indexicality. Specifically, the cycle of metapragmatics (wherein discourse connects ideologies to language forms via indexical relationships) ultimately is the locus of how individual social interactions reinforce macro-level social contexts, while macro-level contexts (i.e., ideologies around large social categories) reinforce indexical properties in local interactions. The cyclical processes that connect social meaning with ideologies and indexicality in interaction can best be seen influencing linguistic practice via stance.

3.3.3 Stance

In Ochs's (1992) work on indirect indexicality of gender, she discusses not only the linguistic repertoire that indexes gender, but also specific stances that members partake in. Stance has been a very productive way for researchers to link individual's identities as being constructed in interaction with macro-level ideologies that govern micro-contexts. The fractal nature that is seen with Irvine & Gal's (2000) discussion of language ideologies and Silverstein's (2003) discussion of metapragmatics and indexicality is seen with stance, in that specific contextualized interactions reinforce larger-scale policies and attitudes.

Linguistic stance can be thought of in terms of "social action whose meaning is to be construed within the broader scope of language, interaction, and sociocultural value" (Du Bois, 2007: 139). In practice, stance can be understood as the connection between larger, global

ideologies and more intimate linguistic practices, such as stylistic variation (e.g., Kiesling, 2009). In other words, stance can bridge style, identity, and ideologies. This is typically achieved when an evaluation (of a sociocultural variable including language itself) takes place either explicitly or through indirect indexical relationships in linguistic features (Jaffe, 2009). Du Bois (2007) proposes the “stance triangle,” where the speaker directly aligns with the interlocutor or the content of the interlocutor’s utterances via “I statements.” This model focuses on the speaker’s positionality established through explicit agreement or disagreement with other conversation participants. Kiesling (2009), presents evidence of specific linguistic features, such as percentage of nonstandard diphthong usage in Pittsburghese, corresponding to different speech activities. This is argued to index membership to particular groups within the context of the conversation through speakers’ indirect evaluation of themselves, their interlocutors or topics discussed by either. Both approaches can be applied to show how SMG and IG speakers index their ethnic, national, religious, and other identities.

Stance and stancetaking strategies can be seen in any level of discourse. De Fina & Georgakopoulou (2013) have discussed biographical approaches of studying narratives and identities partially in terms of interactional approaches of positioning, self-presentation, and social categories. The indexical resources speakers use when discussing or constructing their identities in narratives are a part of stancetaking strategies speakers employ in various contexts. Georgakopoulou (2006) also has asserted that speakers can perform their identities and take stances in untraditional narratives, which she refers to as “small stories.” These small stories can reveal different positions that speakers take not only relevant to the immediate interaction, but to larger macro-contexts, as well, which echoes Silverstein’s (2003) framework on indexicality and metapragmatics. I assert that looking at metapragmatic discourse provides ways to understand the

types of stances speakers take with evaluating their language use. This then helps us address questions related to language variation and identity.

Interlude 3: *Coup d'état*

On the night of July 15th 2016, a failed military coup took place in Turkey while I was in the middle of my fieldwork. I had been there for nearly two months and was finally making good headway in finding participants. I hadn't started interviewing any IGs until about three weeks after I had arrived and had interacted with different members at some events. It was difficult to recruit willing participants as the community is rather closed off. Many potential participants did not trust me until I proved my connections to Istanbul. Even then, many IGs had no desire to meet with me. Some IGs embraced me with open arms, calling me their nephew, and others went so far as to claim that there were no dialectal differences to document in IG so there was no point to my research. After nearly a month of interviews I had started finding a decent mix of participants, albeit leaning toward the elderly. Although ideally I wanted a mix of participants to show how the language varies based on all sorts of demographics, I certainly needed older speakers who would be more likely to preserve dialectal features. The week of the coup I had met with six people bringing my total number of IG participants to about 25. On Friday night, I had gone with my Turkish friend Celal to a tavern named *Kumbara*, where *Tatavla Keyfi*, a band made up of a local Turk and two mainland Greeks who had relocated to Istanbul, were playing. The band plays older Turkish and Greek songs of a few styles, primarily Greek *rembétiko* and *xasápiko*, the latter being a more traditional IG musical and dance style. Celal was also friends with one of the bandmates, Harris who I had met earlier in the summer. In addition to performing in the band, Harris is the editor of *Istos*, a publishing company that provides translations of Greek works and specializes in texts related to the IG community. His company had just branched out to a film production company and a café, and Harris himself was fairly active in the IG community. One of the few

non-IGs welcomed by most. I was looking forward to that night as I was planning to see if any local IGs would be attending, and to ask both Harris and George, the other Greek player, about their experiences living and playing in Istanbul as non-IGs.

We were only at the tavern for maybe about 45 minutes when Celal told me to get up. He notified me that his friend was watching the news and saw that the military had closed down the Bosphorus Bridge, and sent a message through Whatsapp to tell him to leave, as they surely would come to Taksim soon. As the tavern was just a few minutes' walk from Taksim Square, we hastily closed our tabs and Celal left for his home in a huff. I contemplated whether I should take the metro home when I was just one stop away, or if it would be better to just walk the 20 minutes or so home. I ended up walking and it was as though everything were in slow motion. As I made my way down the path home, I witnessed as people enjoying their night slowly got wind of the goings-on. Walking along the main drag of *Cumhuriyet Caddesi* (Republic Boulevard) which led from Taksim to my family's apartment in Pangaltı, I saw locals sitting in the outdoor bars and restaurants watching the news on flat screen TVs. Some shaking their heads in disbelief, others unsure what to make of the situation. The entire walk home I felt as though I were in a fog, that things were happening in slow motion. The haze I felt echoed my personal experience with 9/11, which happened when I was 13 and growing up 15 miles away from midtown Manhattan. I felt like a teenager again, with the same uncertainty and confusion I had experienced all those years ago. It turned out to be a good decision on my part to walk home rather than take the metro, because by the time I got into my neighborhood, the police had shut down all the public transportation: every ferryboat, metro, bus, train, light rail, trolley, everything was closed. If I had taken the metro I might have been stuck underground. What had sounded like gun shots and bombs turned out to be fighter jets flying so low that they were breaking the sound barrier. Soon the government had

temporarily blocked all social media, so I had little way to contact my friends and family back home.

The next day, Saturday, I did not leave my apartment. I thankfully had bought enough groceries to last the weekend. With the windows open, you could hear a pin drop, the streets were deserted. These same streets that have become so overcrowded and filled with people that you couldn't walk without bumping into someone now were just as quiet as they had been when I first visited Turkey in 2004. So much change in 12 years, so much change in one night.

By Sunday, slowly more people ventured outdoors. I decided to attend one of the local churches and went to the Church of the 12 Apostles in Feriköy. After the services, the handful of attendees (only slightly less than the normally low summer turnout) and I gathered in the courtyard sitting on plastic chairs. Everyone was discussing the recent events, and what surprised me was the relative nonchalance the elderly members expressed when going over everything that was happening. As I sat back and watched them discuss everything, I realized that this was nothing new for them. There had been relatively recent successful coups in 1960 and 1980 in addition to military memorandums in the 1970s and 1990s. Plus, they had their own experiences with the Istanbul Pogrom of 1955 and the deportations in the 1960s, where many IGs were separated from their own families. All of this history made this failed coup attempt a drop in the bucket.

I was worried after the coup. Not about myself. There had been a temporary travel ban to the U.S. from Turkey for U.S citizens, but that was lifted in under a week. No, I was worried about my research. I thought this was going to deter more IGs from wanting to be interviewed, as many were already hesitant to begin with. As I only had another three weeks left in Turkey, I wasn't sure whether I would have been able to get the necessary interviews to document the dialect and find substantial patterns in their speech to make any meaningful contributions to my research. I also

had no idea whether I would ever be able to return in the foreseeable future. Thankfully, my contacts and my community pulled through. In those last few weeks of being in Istanbul, I doubled my interviews, speaking with more locals post-coup than I had in the two months leading up to it. I think some of them rallied behind me because they recognized the importance of the work. Also, recruitment comes in waves, and especially with IGs' travel plans over the summer, it worked out that I was able to meet more in a shorter period of time at the end of my travels.

Actually, my return to Istanbul in 2018 saw more difficulties in finding participants. At first, I wasn't sure why this was the case. Many IGs told me that the summer was less than an ideal time to visit Istanbul due to so many vacations and a lack of events where IGs would gather. They all told me to return in the fall and winter when there would be more people around and more cultural events to be introduced to people. This time around, I was focused on finding more younger people (18-40 years old) to have a better representation of age groups in order to see patterns of variation and how different generations might have different associations with language. I definitely found a lot more younger people, as well as a decent amount of older speakers, too. It still was hard, and I encountered some resistance that I was not anticipating. I realized that the political climate during the fall of 2018 in Istanbul had changed from what it was in 2016. Over the two years in between my travels, IGs were even more hesitant in light of the academic purge and other aspects of the aftermath of the failed coup attempt. It took meeting a few crucial community members who were then able to introduce me to more of their IG network. It really was Milroy's (1987) friend of a friend, snowball technique in action.

But all kinds of unexpected "wrenches" can show up during fieldwork, not just coups. My mother actually surprised me and arrived in Istanbul for the last few weeks of my 2018 trip. She hadn't been in Turkey in about 10 years and so hadn't seen her sister in as many. She also had

cousins she hadn't seen in nearly 30 years. She spent about a month on her own with other family members and friends, and she didn't alert me of her presence until just before my 31st birthday. It was nice to have her and some other family around to celebrate. Sometimes fieldwork can be lonely. You go through stretches of interviewing person after person, or you stay in a room writing all day. Even if you do make some new friends (and I am very grateful that I have), it still is very different from the support system you normally have. In any case, my mother showing up on the one hand was lovely, but on the other, meant I had to attend to her at times, too. Balancing this new equation while finishing up fieldwork took a lot of patience and negotiation. My mother has a strong personality and sometimes it was frustrating trying to explain to her what my goals were with the fieldwork and hearing her being critical of my approaches. Sometimes she had good suggestions, and although at times it could be challenging to attend events with her while focusing on my work, having my mom at a few church services and other events may have helped a few IGs feel more comfortable and agree to be interviewed by me. Plus, I had a chance to gain my mom's perspectives and see how she interacted with her hometown. After all, this dissertation is as much her story as it is my own.

4.0 Istanbul Greek Semiotic Field

As discussed in the previous chapters, the linguistic identity of IG speakers is undoubtedly different from that of Mainland Greeks due to differences in the sociohistorical development of their respective language ecologies. The separate language ecologies of IGs and SMG consequently impact how IGs and Greeks with origins from outside of Istanbul view the former Byzantine capital. Still, these perspectives are ever-changing due to fluctuating sociopolitical values. Inoue (2004) discusses how collective memory over time reapplies indexical meanings in different contexts, which is applicable to the Greek minority population of Turkey. For example, the transformation in the perception of Istanbul Greeks from traitors to survivors (Papailias, 2005), or their speech as faulty from prestigious, demonstrate types of indexical inversions in the reinvention of Greek nationalism and ethos described previously.

We can understand these and other language-related ideologies with the concept of a semiotic field. Bourdieu (1977) in discussing social practice arrived with field theory, in which cultural practices are socially meaningful based on available social structures in a “field.” Eckert (2008) expanded on this concept with the introduction of the indexical field, in which a given linguistic variable has a field of possible social meanings attributable to it. Babel (2018), in turn has implemented the semiotic field for her work on the Spanish-Quechua multilingual communities in Bolivia. By expanding on Eckert’s (2008) indexical field, Babel incorporates cultural artifacts and practices in addition to linguistic resources in designating the semiotic field. I would add that the semiotic field encompasses the language ecology of a community, as the sociohistorical development influences all aspects of material culture and cultural practices. The semiotic field then is a useful approach to understanding stancetaking in interaction. Stancetaking

approaches can be applied to the show how IG speakers index their ethnic, national and religious identities (cumulating in their Greekness) through language use. The stances IGs can take relate to the breadth of their linguistic repertoire, material culture and practices, and knowledge of the sociohistorical developments behind the IG ecology, all of which is embedded within the IG semiotic field. In this chapter, I detail some of the salient social elements of the IG community. I look at stance in metapragmatic discourse to explain how IGs tie their social and cultural repertoire to their linguistic features and vice versa. I also explain salient linguistic features that IGs then can use to understand and reflect their IG identity. All of the social and linguistic phenomena I describe in this chapter are then used to make further claims about how IG identity drives patterns of language variation in Chapter 5.

4.1 Social Features of Istanbul Greeks

Ethnicity as a type of identity and how it relates to language is often opaque in situations of minority speakers. The IG community is an understudied indigenous ethnoreligious minority of Turkey, with a particularly nebulous relationship with language, due to an extensive history of multilingualism. The cosmopolitan nature of Istanbul is near inseparable from the IG identity. As central questions motivating my dissertation concern the relationship between the IG dialect and the IG identity, I am concerned with how this cosmopolitanism and other social elements of differentiation factor into the IG dialect. Primarily, what are the major dialectal features present in IG not found in SMG that speakers attend to and what are the patterns of variation of these features found among IG speakers? I answer these questions based in part on what social elements IG's

metapragmatic commentary reveals. As a result, I lay out some of the most important social features for the IG community.

In applying Babel's (2018) concept of the semiotic field, I am looking at specific social features of the IG community that members are not only aware of, but also may use discursively to distance themselves from other Greeks. I use themes described by Halstead (2014, 2018) and Örs (2006, 2017) as important for the IG members in diaspora in Athens, discussing how the IGs remaining in Istanbul may orient to a specific identity based on those and similar themes. For example, in their study on the ethnolinguistic vitality of Greek spoken by the IG community remaining in Turkey, Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis (2007) also comment on attitudes IGs have toward Greek and Turkish more broadly. They summarize IGs' self-evaluations of their own identity and how it relates in part to language

Respondents said they felt more Greek than Turkish. However, the concept of being Istanbulites/'Constantinopolites' was stressed as a defining element of identity. One of the points mentioned repeatedly was how 'Constantinopolites' felt they did not belong when they visited Greece - **partly due to linguistic differences (accent/style) but also, importantly, differences in 'psychology' and 'character'**. (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007: 381)³⁶

These "differences in psychology and character" can be understood in terms of the social features of IGs: the general orientation to Byzantine heritage rather than Classical Greece, urban cosmopolitan sophistication rather than the perception of Greece as more rural and monocultural, and cultural artifacts and practices that exemplify both of these facets. Although Komondouros &

³⁶ Emphasis mine.

McEntee-Atalianis (2007) do not specify in their article what they or their IG participants mean by accent and style, I provide details about both here and in Chapters 2 and 5. I also attempt to link these linguistic differences with differences in perceived character.

4.1.1 Byzantine Historical Referents

One of the primary social differences that both Halstead (2014, 2018) and Örs (2006, 2017) discuss in describing the IG community in Athens is based on historical referents of origin. Specifically, they mention how IGs view their identity as being distinct from most of the local Athenians, based on divisions with Byzantium and Classical Greece. Mainland Greeks (SMG-speaking and otherwise) tend to refer back to the classical period of Ancient Greece as a way of understanding their own group identity. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, this national narrative demonstrates what Narayan (1997) terms the myth of continuity in that mainland Greeks believe they are direct descendants of the Ancient Greeks without any sort of temporal or spatial disruption. This belief also perfectly illustrates Irvine and Gal's (2001) concept of ideological erasure, as when making such strong claims about their Greek identity, mainland Greeks are erasing Byzantine and Ottoman elements of their history and culture.³⁷ Again, not all Greeks necessarily participate in this erasure, and particularly those active in the Orthodox Church have different perspectives with respect to Byzantium and Istanbul.³⁸

³⁷ It is important to note that as I discuss how the IG community is heterogenous, so are Greek nationals, and islanders who were under Italian rule until the first half of the 20th century. Some of these islanders, for example, may be more willing to acknowledge Venetian influence on their local Greek development. Although Italian influence may be more positively received than say, Turkish, Albanian, or Macedonian influence due to ongoing geopolitical events.

³⁸ Looking at any of the myriad Facebook groups and profiles that are dedicated to the "reconquering" of Constantinople or make Hagia Sofia Greek again, or Hellenism of Istanbul, Pontus, and Asia Minor, etc. reveals different types of irredentist ideologies where Istanbul is fetishized (typically by non-IGs) as an unredeemed Greek space.

My own ethnographic and sociolinguistic fieldwork has supported assertions made by Halstead (2014, 2018) and Örs (2006, 2017), that contend differences in historical referents between Mainland Greeks and Istanbul Greeks (Ancient Greece and Byzantium, respectively) contribute to differences in their respective identities. IGs on the whole may acknowledge some ancient, classical connections,³⁹ however they primarily understand their Greekness as the continuation of the Byzantine Empire and are much more apt to acknowledge Ottoman influences in not only their specific lives, but in Greek culture more broadly.⁴⁰ By living in the City where the Theodosian walls and other Byzantine buildings still stand, IGs feel a direct connection living on the same soil as who they believe are their ancestors. IGs openly discuss how Byzantine music and chants influenced Ottoman and Middle Eastern music, and so this knowledge of historic syncretism echoes their own contemporary cultural syncretism.

Elements of Orthodox Christianity are also another way that IGs link their Greekness as being more based on Byzantine heritage. Because the Ecumenical Patriarchate of the Eastern Orthodox Church is located in Istanbul, IGs view themselves as having an intimate connection with not only the Greek Orthodox faith, but also the Byzantine Empire during which the religion was established. Even those IGs who do not live near the Hagia Sofia can still claim her in a way mainland Greeks cannot. Further connecting IGs to this Orthodox/Byzantine conflation, is the prevalence of Greek Orthodox churches and *ayazma* or holy water springs throughout Istanbul. Some of the 50+ Greek churches and monasteries (most of which are no longer in regular

³⁹ Although this is primarily rooted in Hellenistic Greekness with Alexander the Great's armies having spread throughout Asia Minor.

⁴⁰ Although much of SMG has been influenced by Turkish and some Arabic and Persian by way of Turkish, most mainland Greeks are not necessarily aware of lexical or phrasal elements that had been diffused into Greek. IGs, on the other hand, are aware of such influences as they are fluent in both languages and can easily recognize Turkish roots.

operation) were in fact constructed during the Byzantine era, however, the majority were built during the 17th-19th centuries. Nevertheless, IGs view the large amount of these dense churches and natural holy water springs as a central aspect of their Greek identity, and many older IGs expressed shock when visiting Athens and noticing they do not have nearly as many religious sites spread over a larger terrain. These differences contribute to many IGs having shared with me that they view themselves as “more Greek than the Greeks,” a common saying found in other Greek communities, such as those from Alexandria.

These distinctions in historical referents reinforce the use of emic markers *Ellines* and *Romioi*. Applying Ochs’s (1992) notions of direct and indirect indexicality, I assert that the term *Ellines* directly indexes Classical Greece and Ancient Greeks and indirectly indexes mainland Greeks, whereas the term *Romioi* directly indexes the Byzantine era and Orthodox Christianity and indirectly indexes IGs.⁴¹ In turn, *Ellines* further indexes SMG vis-à-vis *Ellinika* and *Romioi* further indexes IG vis-à-vis *Romeika*, although *Politika* is another term for the Istanbul Greek dialect.⁴² The conflation with *Romioi* and Orthodoxy is perhaps most clear with Popi, an IG born in 1960 who responded when asked about her religion with “*Ρωμείσσα Πολίτισσα*,” *Romeissa Politissa*, which for our purposes is almost akin to saying Istanbul Greek IG, while emphasizing both religion and Byzantine history (*Romeissa*) and specific ties to Istanbul (*Politissa*)⁴³. This

⁴¹ My claim that the terms of *Romios* and *Romioi* index IG does not preclude other Greeks from using these terms for themselves or that IGs cannot use other terms, as they do for stancetaking strategies. Despite both sets of terms directly indexing different historic eras, the indirect indexical meaning is what most Greeks immediately associate with the terms. This is not unlike Ochs’s (1992) claims of Japanese particles whose indirect meaning is the more common or frequent understanding of the linguistic form.

⁴² *Romeika* (with different orthographic variants) is a generic term for the language spoken by the *Romioi*. Pontic Greeks and Pontic Greek speaking Muslims refer to their language as *Romeika*, which differs structurally and socially from IG. IG is more specifically referred to as *Politika*, i.e., the language of the *Polites*, or Istanbul Greeks. Despite levels of hypnomy, most IGs use *Romeika* and *Politika* synonymously.

⁴³ Popi’s use of *Romeissa* itself is another example of IG, as SMG would use the feminine ending of -a rather than the -issa marker (i.e., *Romeia*). IG exhibits this tendency for -issa in other feminine nouns that SMG would use -a, such as teacher *daskala*~*daskalissa*.

understanding of Byzantine history and Orthodox Christian faith are building blocks to the IG semiotic field, and add to contrasting oppositions of an IG identity versus an SMG identity.

4.1.2 Cosmopolitan Sophistication

Halstead (2014, 2018) and Örs (2006, 2017) discuss cosmopolitanism as a key component of IGs in Athens distinguishing themselves from other Greeks.⁴⁴ Örs (2017) comments on cosmopolitanism with respect to IGs as intimate knowledge related to living in the urban atmosphere of Istanbul, which encompasses fashion, religion, and intimacy with “Others.” She asserts that:

Cosmopolitan knowledge acts as a way of differentiating between self and others on the basis of knowing the unpretentious ways of displaying self. At a different level, this distinction stresses a relationship of belonging: my friend knows what to wear for the Patriarchate, because she belongs there. She remembers how her mother used to dress her as a child, how family friends used to come to church sporting their smartest dresses which they bought for the occasion. Because of this knowledge based on her past there, the place belongs to her, to her memories; it is her own church, her city, so the Elladites not knowing the ways of the City are glossed as ‘tourists,’ who do not possess that very notion of cosmopolitan knowledge. (Örs, 2017: 58).

Örs’s quote above reveals how intimate cosmopolitan knowledge is expressed in various ways for the IG community, and how it is tied to insider insights that connect different types of material

⁴⁴ Cosmopolitanism itself can be seen as an extension of the Byzantine and Ottoman influences that are more prevalent in the IG semiotic field in comparison to other Greek communities.

culture with cultural practice. Furthermore, Istanbul's legacy as an international center with French, Italian, Armenian, Jewish and other populations has led Örs (2006, 2017) to discuss another major aspect of Istanbul Greek identity: cosmopolitanism. The specific "Constantinopolitan Cosmopolitanism" that Örs mentions is based on intimate knowledge of other languages (primarily Turkish and French) and intimate experience with cultural practices (including Armenian, Jewish and Muslim). For example, the shared Istanbul custom of removing shoes in the home is viewed by IGs as a more sophisticated, cosmopolitan practice in comparison to Mainland Greeks' lack of doing so (Örs, 2006, 2017). The intimate nature of Istanbul's minority communities interacting with each other and with Turks has led to many shared cultural practices that lead to greater feelings of affiliation amongst Istanbulites. Whereas a Mainland Greek may show contempt for a Turk based on propagating victim narratives of historic trauma, an Istanbul Greek is more readily able to distinguish between the Turkish government and laity.⁴⁵ By speaking Turkish and Turkish-influenced Greek and participating in Turkish cultural traditions, Istanbul Greeks do not "fit" the mold for what makes a Greek an authentic *Hellene*. Rather, IGs fit the mold for what makes a Greek an authentic *Romios*.

Örs (2017) makes a good point that the Greek word *Polites*, used by IGs as an emic descriptor rather analogous to *Romioi*, is also used by SMGs to designate urban citizens of any city. It is also the root for words such as "culture" *politismos*. These further meanings add an additional semiotic layer to IGs perceiving themselves as urban, cosmopolitan and sophisticated, as opposed to their perceptions of other Greeks (including those from Athens) as less refined

⁴⁵ To this point, Halstead (2018) has discussed how IGs relocated in Athens, particularly those who experienced the Istanbul Pogrom or who were deported, often would further distinguish the kindness or humanity of individual Turks they had as friends versus Turkish mob mentality.

“villagers.” *Romioi* and *Polites* are sometimes used synonymously for Istanbul Greeks, although the former is certainly a hypernym that includes the subset of *Polites*.

Mills (2006) discusses cosmopolitanism as a key feature of all of Istanbul, and not exclusive to IGs. Mills’s (2006) focus on architecture in historically diverse neighborhoods of Istanbul in terms of historical (religious and residential) buildings, highlight cosmopolitanism. By observing the *Megarevma* neighborhood on the European side or the *Kuzkuncuk* neighborhood on the Asian side, churches (Orthodox and otherwise), synagogues, and mosques are all near one another. You can typically tell which of the old residential buildings were historically Greek. As Tsilenis (2013) has discussed, the Greek architects of Istanbul were often trained in France and Germany and came up with the innovative concept of the *cumba* [džumba]. The *cumba* is almost like a hybrid of a bay window and interior balcony and often would be in the center of high-rise type wooden buildings. Wealthier IGs may have had homes made of marble or stone, but the traditional material to build homes in particular was wood, as was typical during the Ottoman Empire. These houses with a *cumba* are quite common in both the European and Asian sides of Istanbul, especially among the IG communities. Armenians and others may also have moved into such homes, but this allegedly was after the trend hit with the IGs, at least according to some of my IG participants.

Having intimate relationships (familial, friendly, and commercial) with people of other backgrounds is key for the IG community. Although historically always fairly integrated with the local Armenians, Franco-Levantines, Jews, and of course Turks, the reduced IG population is necessarily even more cosmopolitan as their social networks are increasingly entrenched in diversity. As a result, multilingualism is then subsequently a product of this cosmopolitanism and this also adds to the IG semiotic field. Not only the linguistic repercussions of cosmopolitanism,

but related cultural knowledge and perceptions of sophistication that are all tied together. These aspects of the IG semiotic field are further exemplified in the cultural artifacts and practices below.

4.1.3 Cologne, Tea, and Cuisine

Following Bourdieu (1977), culture can be understood in terms of material and practice. Material culture, constituting artifacts that are ascribed unto a given community, can also interact with practice as a cultural artifact may be a central component to a related ritual. Certain aspects of material culture are particularly important social repertoire for Istanbul Greeks based on interviewees' reflections of difference. Tea is an important cultural material and practice in Turkey that began during the First World War. Although Turkey does consume coffee (primarily Turkish coffee), it is the leading consumer of tea per pound per person in the world (Ferdman, 2014). Greece, on the other hand, does not have much of a history with tea and locals drink a variety of coffee products including, *frappe* and iced *fredo*. Several of my IG participants complained about Greece's lack of available quality tea and linked this to a lack of sophistication. Tea is consumed in Turkey along many meals, not only breakfast, as well as with snacks, when entertaining house guests, and most social interactions. The preparation of *demli çay*, or "brewed tea" in Turkish, consists of owning two kettles, one smaller that rests on top of the other over a stove. The smaller kettle has the steeped loose tea leaves, whereas the larger kettle is just boiled water. Traditionally served in narrow glass cups, the preparer can adjust how strong (light or dark) the tea is based on their guests' requests by pouring more or less water in proportion to the steeped tea.

Lemon cologne, while not as popular as it once was, is a rather ubiquitous fixture in Istanbul. Basically serving as a way to sanitize, lemon cologne is multipurpose and can be used to clean your face or to wash hands after eating, and is often used in Turkish baths as a soothing balm

to massage after being scrubbed in the *hamam*. Brink-Danan (2012) notes how the Istanbul Sephardic Jewish community's use of lemon cologne after eating is considered a traditional Turkish practice, and how indirect indexicality (*à la* Ochs, 1992) links lemon cologne with Turks, Turks with Islam, and thus Jews using lemon cologne as participating in a Muslim practice. IGs do not necessarily view lemon cologne use as a Muslim practice, but rather as an Istanbul one. Now, mostly just elderly Istanbulites use lemon cologne, as wet naps and hand sanitizers have become more commonplace in restaurants and other public areas.

Perhaps the most important material culture of the IG community is the cuisine. As Turkish food more generally has adopted many disparate elements from the former Ottoman Empire, food in Istanbul (Greek or otherwise) uses different spices, such as clove, cardamom, cinnamon, saffron, and in different ways than Mainland Greeks. IGs trained in European style patisseries often make French profiterole and Italian *supangle* (from *zuppa inglese*) in addition to the syrupy pastries of baklava, kadayif, and others shared throughout the Balkans, Caucasus, and Levant. Popular films such as IG Boulmetis's (2003) *Politiki Kuzina* showcase the diversity of sweet and savory dishes in IG cuisine, and IG Maria Ekmekcioglu's television programs have brought IG cuisine to the attention of Greeks worldwide. IGs in Athens and throughout the diaspora have opened up pastry shops and restaurants, and elements of the cuisine have spread to non-IGs, as well. Even though more non-IGs are aware of some elements of IG cuisine, several of my IG participants discuss the superiority of IG food and local ingredients. These IGs also discuss how visits to Greece tend to be disappointing because as IG Ioannula (born 1944) phrases it, "all they know how to make there is *souvlaki*," the common shish kabob style skewered meats also found in Turkey and elsewhere.

The lack of intimate knowledge with the diversity of food items is another way IGs understand their cosmopolitan sophistication and how it differs from Mainland Greek cultural

practice. All of the material culture and related practices presented in this section can be understood as manifestations of the type of Constantinopolitan cosmopolitan sophistication IGs are said to embody. These elements are included within the IG semiotic field because they serve as indexically meaningful repertoire IGs employ in addition to their available linguistic repertoire. The material and cultural practices within the IG semiotic field are further used by IGs to differentiate themselves from other types of Greekness.

4.2 Metapragmatic Awareness of Istanbul Greek

In Sections 3.2 and 3.3 I have discussed how metapragmatic awareness serves as an important indicator to explain how specific linguistic features may be patterning in a given variety based on macro-level and micro-level social interaction. As different variables may be used at different levels of consciousness, the way IG features are discussed is a useful metric in understanding what ideological and indexical properties they have, and subsequently how they may then be used in the construction and propagation of an IG identity. In this section, I discuss how the fieldwork I have done has yielded specific types of discussion around the IG dialect. I examine a few types of discourse and the way IGs talk about their speech holistically, as well as specific features they use to illustrate meaningful difference.

4.2.1 Fieldwork and Friends

As discussed in earlier sections, this type of sociolinguistic ethnography requires passive and active observation in the field. I consider myself an “outside insider,” in that I am a second-

generation IG, so I have some intimate knowledge of IG culture and related practices, but ultimately have not primarily lived in Istanbul the way IGs with more increased IG networks have. As an “outside insider” I have a unique position and perspective in collecting data as most IG speakers recognize me as a member of the IG community, albeit with enough distance to want to explain concepts or significant events to me. By having extended family members bring me to IG spaces during the summer of 2016 and introducing me to other IG members, I began to build familiarity with individuals who constitute different swatches of the IG community.

As the fieldwork was broken up in two trips (the summer of 2016 and fall of 2018), the friend of a friend technique employed was a bit different each time. In 2016, I mostly interviewed middle-aged and elderly members of the IG community. This was due to a 70-year-old IG male being my primary introduction to most of his IG network at the beginning of the research. At the time, I did not conduct interviews until almost a month of both passive and active observations, using these observations to finetune my questionnaire and refine research questions. By attending religious, educational, and other types of cultural events, I interacted with IGs in IG spaces and in non-IG spaces. Sunday church services were sparsely attended in part because of the summer months being prime vacation and travel time, but of course due to the massive shrinkage to the IG community. After several weeks of being introduced to IGs from my existing connections (family and a few friends), I began to feel more comfortable interviewing some of the IGs I had already interacted with on a few occasions (and more importantly, they were more comfortable to be interviewed by me). In 2018, participation recruitment worked a bit differently. At this point I had already interviewed 46 IGs in 2016 and 23 IGs who had relocated to Athens, so those previous participants streamlined the recruitment process by connecting me with their friends and family who still reside in Istanbul. Furthermore, my focus the second time around was to flesh out gaps

in participant demographics and find more younger IGs to complement the predominantly elderly IGs that I had already interviewed. As a few more IG businesses had recently opened, I spent a few weeks working in them, spending a few days in Istos Café, several days in Black Owl Coffee Shop, and several weeks in Café Stef. The first and third businesses are located in Beyoğlu (Pera), whereas the second is in Beşiktaş, nearby a few universities. I also attended church services and participated in events led by IG different organizations, including volunteering my translation services for a few documents.

In addition to ethnographic observations, I recorded interviews with as many IGs as I could recruit. My total number of interviews from the two field visits totaled 81.⁴⁶ Although Labov & Waletzky (1967) have proposed the now ubiquitous “near-death experience” narrative as a way to reduce observer’s paradox, this would not have been an appropriate question to ask for my community. Considering the elderly IG members’ lived experiences, asking such questions would not only be insensitive, but also potentially hinder me from recruiting additional participants. Similarly, in light of the 2016 coup attempt and related political aftermath, I was very cautious not to say or present anything that may make my participants feel uncomfortable or at unease. Still, some participants willingly offered information about traumatic events that had affected the IG community (mainly the Istanbul Greek pogrom of 1955 and the “deportations” in 1964). Only when informants on their own brought up such topics did I ask follow-up questions, otherwise I veered away from any overtly controversial topic.

⁴⁶I also recorded 29 interviews with IGs in Athens in 2017 (23 who moved from Istanbul and the rest either children or grandchildren of IGs who migrated to Athens). I do not include data points from that fieldwork experience in any of the statistical models I present in the following chapter. However, I have used content from the interviews conducted in Athens to inform my claims and provide greater scope in answering the research questions I present. Furthermore, networks I established in 2017 greatly influenced recruitment for my fieldwork in 2018. Similarly, in addition to the 81 IGs interviewed in Istanbul, I also ended up recording more IGs in different contexts but not full length interviews as described in this chapter. Consequently, these additional recordings have contributed to claims I make and overall analysis and contextualization of the community.

My interviews (see Appendix A for full default interview questions) began with basic biodata demographic questions, asking participants about which part of Istanbul they were born and have lived, education, work experiences, family background, language background, etc. Although I had a few set questions and topics I wanted to get through, I always allowed room for follow up questions and to explore other topics depending on how the informant responded to certain questions or if they brought up different ideas to explore. For example, in asking about where in Istanbul speakers had lived, some IGs would provide more details and evaluations about different parts of the City or specific memories with their places. Some participants, particularly elderly IGs, were glad to chat and would expound on some questions for much longer than anticipated, so I did my best to accommodate to everyone's schedule. Because a component of the fieldwork was an exploratory description of the dialect, I then followed the more personal oral history side of the interviews with a series of photo elicitations, pictures depicting images or actions that would potentially elicit some IG variant that I asked participants to describe. Some participants would provide additional commentary on images that felt more personal to them or expounded on a narrative related to the photo. Next, I had participants recite the wordlist if they were able. A few speakers were not literate in Greek and needed a transliteration into Turkish orthography, and one speaker was not literate in any language. Lastly, I asked a series of scenarios and how speakers would respond in such situations, some more complex than others, again to elicit possible IG forms. The final two questions were specifically to elicit metapragmatic discourse: what are differences between IG and SMG, and is any dialect of Greek better than another? These were reserved for the end of the interview so as not to prime or influence the speech from the earlier parts of the interviews. Nevertheless, many IGs did engage in some metapragmatic commentary throughout different portions of the interviews. Important to note is that my interview

style did change somewhat over the course of conducting interviews. For example, during my earliest interviews in 2016, I did not ask certain follow-up questions regarding dialectal features out of concern for influencing the speech of my participants. So, if an informant responded to questions about the biggest dialectal differences being lexical items, I did not press for further or additional differences, until conducting more interviews later that summer. Similarly, in 2018, especially with younger IGs who did not use as many IG variants as older participants, I would ask if they had heard of certain IG forms after they had responded to an elicitation. For example, if an IG looking at a photograph of medicine responded with SMG *farmaka* rather than IG *iatrika*, I would ask if they heard of the latter being used. This additional component that was missing from my 2016 interviews certainly provided me with additional data points and types of data, but to what extent this impacts my results holistically I am not sure.

4.2.2 Discussing Difference

Despite considerable variation across Modern Greek dialects (see Section 2.2), as Mackridge (2009: 6) comments, “one of the most pervasive language ideologies in Greece is the belief that Greek is a single language from antiquity to present.” While nearly all IGs recognize multiple differences between their variety and SMG (as well as other Modern Greek dialects for that matter), some of my participants do seem to want to stress a commonality and continuation of the language. Whether in terms of referencing the Byzantine Empire or Patriarchate to appeal to continuation and adequacy or deemphasizing dialectal differences, some members of the IG community follow this ideology of a single language that has developed over time and any contact-induced change in IG is a “pervasion” or something that can readily be removed to unite Greek speaking peoples. An example of deemphasizing difference is the purely ideologically-laden term

of “idiom.” In Greek, the word dialect is reserved for a largely mutually unintelligible variety of Greek, such as Cypriot, Pontic, or Tsakonian, whereas idiom is reserved for varieties with greater intelligibility. However, the designation of a variety as an idiom simultaneously can be used to dismiss differences and bring speakers together as part of the concept of *omoyeneis*, or all Greeks being the same due to supposed genetic ties. A Greek variety being labeled an idiom rather than a dialect, whether by a linguist or layperson, is ideologically having its difference downplayed or even erased.

As over 80 interviews were taken, a wide range in life experiences was evident, as well as a wide range in perceptions of difference. The range of responses in what are the biggest differences between the dialects was astounding. Some participants would say “there is very little difference,” whereas others claimed, “the difference is large!” Participants in the interviews talked about dialectal differences in diverse ways, either by providing specific examples of linguistic features or describing the dialect holistically as different. Some IGs made claims that contradicted claims made by other IGs, and sometimes speakers would contradict themselves or qualify their assessments by appealing to differing ideologies. Not only dialectal differences were discussed, but also differences related to personal characteristics of IGs, SMGs, and other Greeks were mentioned by some participants. Sometimes speakers would bring up dialectal differences and relate them to differences in personalities attributed to IGs or SMGs. As I mentioned above, the final questions of the interview directly inquired about differences between SMG and IG. Framed as two questions, the first was “what do you believe is the biggest different between the Greek spoken in Greece, mainly Athens, and that of Istanbul” Another question was “do you believe that one variety or way of speaking is better or nicer than another?” These were included as they served as a way to prompt additional metapragmatic commentary not already discussed in the interview,

but also to help establish indexical relationships that IG speakers have with their dialect or features of their dialect.

Responses to these questions sometimes prompted follow up questions, as some participants would elaborate on dialectal differences and provide their evaluations of such differences. The most common responses IG speakers noted included lexical items; specifically, vocabulary considered to be archaisms or those borrowed from Turkish and to a lesser extent French, Italian, and other languages. Some speakers would give specific vocabulary that was noteworthy for them, or instances where they encountered difficulties with SMG speakers' comprehension. Other structural borrowings were noted but far less frequently; for example, tendencies for Turkish word order (SOV), calques (e.g., what time does the bus get up?), and so on. Some noted non-contact induced change that appear in other peripheral varieties as a difference from SMG, typically the use of the accusative rather than the genitive for the historic dative. The second most frequent response that most participants noted was velarized laterals. Analogous to how velarized laterals are often referred to as "dark ls" in English, in Greek the lateral is often called "heavy." In characterizing the dialect holistically, many speakers used the same term "heavy." The related descriptors "thick," "throaty," and "laryngeal" were also used describe not only the laterals but the dialect overall. Such terms demonstrate Gal's (2013) concept of *qualia*, wherein linguistic features are attributed metaphoric characteristics that then become attached to its speakers ideologically. This is evidenced by how similar characteristics are used to describe the community as being closed off; whereas SMGs are "loose" and "more relaxed" socially, which corresponds to how SMGs speak more "relaxed" than IGs. A few participants even added the descriptors of Western or European in categorizing SMG and Anatolian or Eastern to describe IG.

The other phonetic feature⁴⁷ IGs commented on was the postalveolar affricate. However, this was a considerably less frequent response, and typically after expressing more primary differences or being prompted for more examples.

Ideologies related to these and other characteristics abound in IG metapragmatic discourse. For example, those who invoke IG's Byzantine ties and positively evaluate IG will refer to archaisms that appeal to ideals of authenticity based on antiquity. Discussions of language contact are of popular currency and are invoked for different types of stancetaking purposes. Those who positively evaluate cosmopolitanism will reference multilingualism and aspects of contact-induced change to showcase cosmopolitan sophistication, whereas those with standard language ideologies will reference contact-induced change to show how the language is corrupted or less proper in some way. Consider Lazaro's metapragmatic discourse when responding to the question of what differences exist in IG and other Greek varieties. Lazaro is an older IG male born in 1944. He and his younger brother own the only pork butcher and delicatessen in all of Istanbul.

Εμείς δε μιλούμε καθαυτό Ελληνικά εδώ στην Πόλη. Αλλά οι πολύ μορφωμένοι μπορεί να μιλούνε. Εμείς οι αμόρφωτοι μιλούμε τις δυο γλώσσες μαζί ανακατεύουμε. Αρχίζοντας Ελληνικά τελειώνουμε τουρκικά, αρχίζοντας τουρκικά τελειώνουμε Ελληνικά στα σπίτια μας. **Πάντα αυτά είναι.** Εμείς επειδή κάνουμε επειδή εργαζόμαστε με τους Τούρκους όλες οι δουλειές μας είναι με τους Τούρκους όλες τις λέξεις μας είναι Τουρκικές. Γράφουμε το κομπιούτερ τα πάντα είναι τουρκικά. Πάμε σ' ένα μαγαζί "**Merhaba!**"...δεν έχουμε- δεν μείνανε εργαστήρια εργοστάσια Ελληνικά που να πάω στο γραφείο να το πω Ελληνικά. Κι αν έχει κανένα καλός γνωστός στο δρόμο όταν είναι πέντε Τούρκοι, **και έχεις Τουρκικά να μιλήσεις.**

We don't speak Greek per se here in The City. Well the very educated might speak. We the uneducated speak the two languages mixed up. We start in Greek and end in Turkish, we start in Turkish and end in Greek in our homes. **It's always this.** We because we make- because we work with Turks, all our jobs are with Turks, all our words are Turkish. Everything we write on the computer is Turkish. We go to a store- "**Merhaba!**"...we don't

⁴⁷ Some speakers also commented on intonational differences but many did not have specific examples of how or what these differences were, just that there was a difference. Similarly, a speaker commented on rhotics being different but could not describe the reason, just that they are not the same (presumably the difference between trills and flaps).

have- there are no more Greek workshops or factories where I can go to the office and speak in Greek. And even if there is one good [Greek] acquaintance on the street when there are five Turks, **you still have to speak Turkish.**

Lazaro's discourse here is interesting because he is saying IGs don't speak Greek unless they are very educated. He takes a stance aligning himself as an uneducated IG, claiming that they do not speak proper Greek because they mix the languages and references Greek-Turkish code-switching as a way to demonstrate a lack of ability in the Greek language. However, the entirety of this response is in intelligible Greek. In fact, he uses some words more common to SMG than IG e.g., εργοστάσια /ergostasia/ (factories) rather than φάμπρικες /fabrikes/. The latter is also used in SMG but is the more common variant in IG. Still, his discourse is filled with IG dialectal features including velarized laterals and postalveolar affricates, IG verbal conjugations (e.g., *milume*) and nominal declensions (e.g., *kanenana*), and lexical items. While he discusses code-switching and overall language use to somehow prove lack of speaking Greek well, he only code-switches to Turkish to demonstrate an example of his claim within the context of a service exchange. Still, his speech demonstrates evidence of the diffusion of Turkish word order (typically SOV) with the copula, **Πάντα αυτά είναι**, "Always these are," and more strikingly with **έχεις Τουρκικά να μιλήσεις** "you have Turkish to speak." The Greek verb "to have" [exo] is used with the subjunctive marker [na] to create the syntactic form of obligation of "to have to do something." Here he has moved the complement of the subjunctive, "Turkish," out of the final position so that the main verb takes final position. Furthermore, rather than place it in initial position, as would be the conventional SMG focalization tactic, he has moved "Turkish" after "you have," separating the modal verb and subjunctive complementizer. Doing so produces an even more Turkish SOV structure, as the second person singular is marked on the conjugation of the modal verb "have." This sort of Turkish-influenced contact-induced change is fairly common in many IGs' speech,

and perhaps is also what Lazaro references in his claims that IGs do not speak “Greek per se,” as the language exhibits “non-Greek” features across structural levels.

Also worth noting with Lazaro’s metapragmatic discourse is the discussion of loss in and change in the community and the language where Turkish is increasingly used across domains. He seemingly attributes the loss of Greek spoken in Istanbul to the loss of IG owned businesses, which really is a commentary on the dwindling IG population. This makes sense as he is a business owner and is negotiating his lived experiences with both Istanbul and IG in terms of business dealings.⁴⁸ The distinction he makes between educated and uneducated speakers and their speech is not uncommon, and as a very rooted IG with little ties outside of Turkey, it is also not surprising Lazaro does not mention specific dialectal differences or is aware of social meaning attributed to variation, beyond noting the increased use of Turkish.

Often though when discussing dialectal differences IGs use different emic terms to separate themselves from mainland Greeks. Consider Yorgo. Yorgo is an IG male born in 1979 who attended IG primary and secondary education. He started a few years of undergraduate education in Istanbul but did not complete any program, opting to become a photographer/videographer instead. While Yorgo is highly engaged and active within the IG community, his work has him often traveling to Greece. Here is his response to a word elicitation task asking for the conjugation of the verb “to ask” in the future and past tenses:

Υ: **Ρώτησα**. Αλλά εγώ στο είπα αυτό... μέχρι το 18 μου θα λεγα το **ρώτηξα**. Είτε θα το **ρωτήξω** θα λεγα μέχρι το 18 μου. Μετά το 18 επειδή ήμουν πάρα πολύ με τους Έλληνες και λοιπά, είχε αλλάξει δηλαδή. Ακόμα ένας **Ρωμιός** θα το λεγε **ρώτηξα**. Είτε ο μπαμπάς μου ας πούμε το **βρήκες** δε λέγει το **ηύρες** λέγει.

Μ: Κι γω. Έτσι το λέγω.

Υ: Μπράβο να ναι ναι. Έτσι είναι. Η συνήθεια **μας** έτσι είναι.

⁴⁸ Not only is he a business owner, but his business of being a butcher specializing in pork products is one no Turkish Muslim could ever own. It further highlights differentiation between IGs and the Turkish majority.

Y:[rotisa]. But I told this to you...until I was 18 I would say [rotiksa]. Or [θa to rotikso] (future tense) I would say until I was 18. After I turned 18 because I was quite often hanging around with *Ellines* and whatnot it changed. A *Romios* still would say it as [rotiksa]. Like my father, for example, [to vrikes] (did you find it?) he doesn't say, [to ivres] he says.

M: Me too. That's how I say it.

Y: Great, yeah yeah yeah. It's like so. **Our** custom is like so.

The metapragmatic discourse that Yorgo engages in here is particularly insightful because it was not prompted by my direct question that I later asked him at the very end of the interview, but rather during an unrelated elicitation task. Even though the IG variant of this and similar verbal conjugations was not used as a prompt for metapragmatic commentary, much earlier in the interview Yorgos had mentioned it on his own. When I prefaced the interview by saying that I'm interested in exploring dialectal features of IG, he mentioned this specific verb, among others, as an example of a feature that he used to say as a child. As he clarifies here in this metapragmatic discourse, with his social networks having changed to incorporate more SMG speakers, so has his use of Greek. Here we see the direct linkage though between using different verbal conjugations with being either from Greece or an IG. However, as I established in Chapter 2, *Ellinas* and *Romios* are somewhat overlapping terms and any Greek can refer to themselves with either. He does not use the term *Elladitis*, which would be confined to a person from Greece, or *Politis* another term for IG. Instead, Yorgo is engaging in the type of stancetaking practice that Halstead (2014, 2018) and Örs (2006, 2017) have discussed in which *Ellines* is used for Mainland Greeks and *Romioi* for IGs when highlighting differences between these types of Greeks. Furthermore, he links not only the different verbal conjugations for “to ask” with types of Greekness, but other verbal differences, too. He invokes his father as a *Romios* who says [ivres] “you found” presumably in addition to [rotiksa] and other dialectal features. This example anchors the competing terms of *Ellines* and *Romioi* as characterological figures. Characterological figures (Agha, 2005; Johnstone, 2017) are ways that enregistered speech comes to represent a persona. In this case, Yorgo's descriptions of

differing dialectal features that he attributes to *Ellines* and *Romioi* reinforce SMG as being the language of *Ellines* and IG as the language of the *Romioi*, simplifying the complex use of these terms and creating characterological figures in opposition with one another. Despite Yorgo having adopted more SMG features at varying structural levels, his discourse does include the IG variant of the verb to say [leyo] with the underlying velar fricative whereas SMG would be without the fricative. His retention of this form could be explained in a few ways mostly to do with varying levels of stigmatization and frequency of tokens, although I am tempted to attribute his use of it here at least partially to discussing IG speech of his *Romios* father and “**our** custom.”⁴⁹ We will keep seeing in IGs’ metapragmatic discourse the reinforcement of linguistic and social characteristics that distinguish *Ellines* from *Romioi*.

4.2.3 Nostalgic Narratives

A common thread among speakers’ interviews was reference to the grandeur of the IG community in years past. Such nostalgic recollections were predominately reflected in older speakers who had experienced Istanbul during eras with larger IG populations. This forms part of what Helvacioğlu (2013) and Pamuk (2003) refer to as *hüzün* or all Istanbulites’ shared melancholy of Istanbul’s lost grandeur. As Yildiz & Yücel (2014) have discussed, IGs dislocated in Athens participate in a specific subset of *hüzün* to maintain their IG identity. I have found in online discourse spaces, primarily Facebook groups moderated and joined by predominantly diasporic IGs, the propagation of nostalgia with various tactics. Although some posts and comments are

⁴⁹ This sort of variation is similar to what Becker (2009) has found with New Yorkers who mostly have rhotic speech switching to non-rhotic in postvocalic positions when discussing topics related to NYC.

melancholic and mournful, many are also playful and joyous. Essentially, IGs use chronotopic linkages to Istanbul to recreate a digital version of Istanbul Greekness from years past.

I have identified a few key strategies IGs employ when using these Facebook groups to recreate a Greek Istanbul: photographs, photographs with commentary or recollections, asking who from the community remembers a specific location, item, or expression, and performative narratives where posters and commenters play along as though they were still in Istanbul speaking in the dialect. Sometimes multiple strategies are used at the same time, and often such posts contain more IG dialectal features than the posters normally would use. These instances of diasporic IGs using chronotopes tend to exemplify more outwardly performative language than when IG speakers remaining in Turkey discuss Istanbul in analog interactions. Diasporic IGs in Athens generally tend to make more performances of IG than IGs remaining in Istanbul, and I assert this is due to their being immersed in a SMG environment in which dialectal differences are made all the more prominent, with the expectation they need to converge to more standard features (Trudgill, 1986).

Some posts are more straightforward with older black and white photographs of various parts of the city and iconic images that elicit comments from other IGs. However, just as frequent are modern photos where IGs recreate IG spaces digitally. For example, in Figure 11 below, the original poster (OP) has added a photograph to the Facebook group page (entitled *Istanbul Memories* in Greek) of the Galata neighborhood with the Genoese constructed Galata Tower in the background and seagulls in the foreground. The viewpoint is from a ferry on the Golden Horn. Here, the OP mentions the ubiquitous seagulls that fly all over Istanbul, especially over the waterways. Rather than SMG *petane*, for the verbal conjugation of fly, she uses *petune* the more IG variant. Here she is linking the iconic imagery of Istanbul to the dialectal production referencing

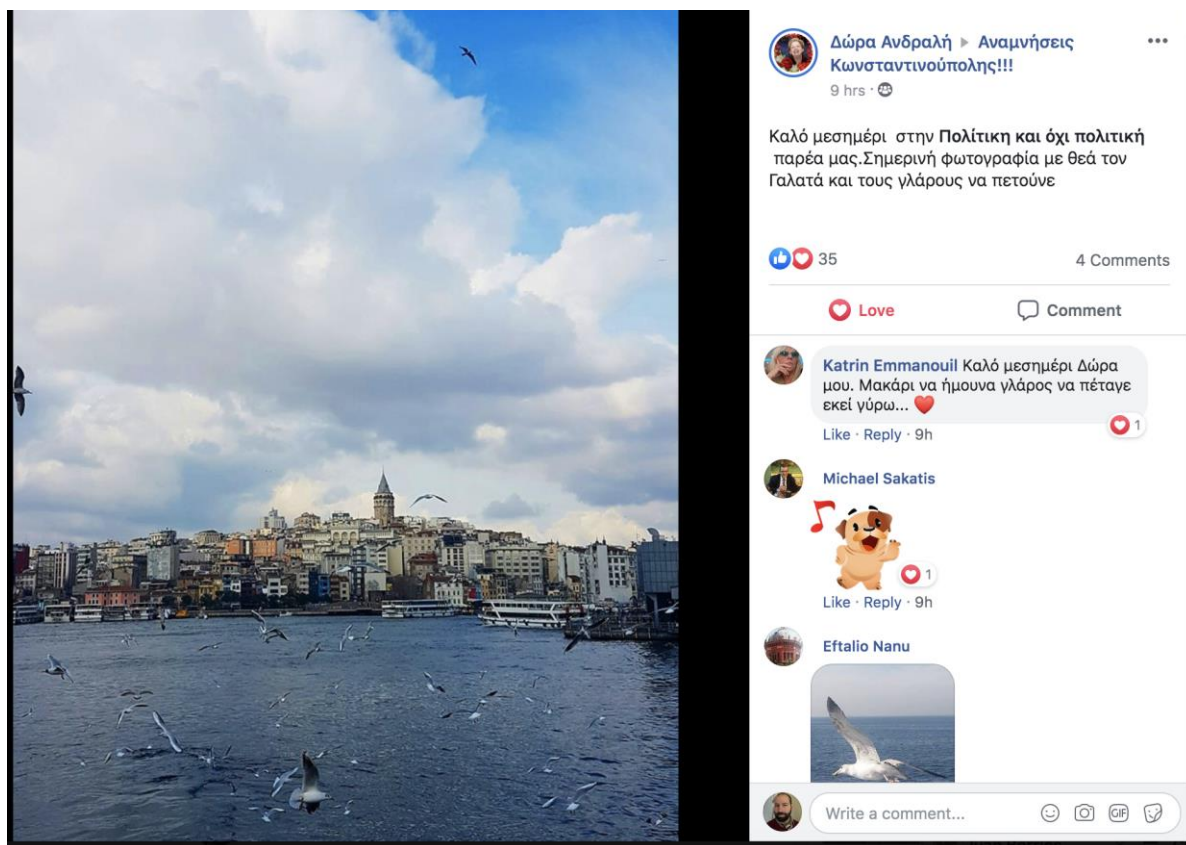


Figure 11. Seaguls in Galata

an Istanbul phenomenon (seagulls in ferries). In the photo shared in Figure 12, the OP shares an image of a woman cleaning her carpet in an Istanbul house complete with *cumba*, to an IG Facebook group page (entitled News of the City). With the caption “Familiar Picture,” the OP is highlighting his cosmopolitan identity in using English in a Greek-dominant domain. Furthermore, a commenter responds to the image by sharing an image of a traditional *demli* tea service platter complete with a salted cookie as a snack. The relevance of posting a photograph of tea in response to a photograph of a house might not be intuitive at first, but together the imagery works together to create or recreate a digital Istanbul environment where such a tea service set would be found in such a house. Tea though, as established earlier in this chapter, is a common discourse topic in



Figure 12. Cumba in Taksim



Figure 13. IG Tea

which IGs distinguish themselves from SMGs. This imagery is common in analog discourse as it is digitally. Consider Figure 13 where the OP shares a photograph of tea and creates an entire narrative of waking up in the morning and starting the day of household chores, wherein he uses many IG features, such as in *kamnei* for SMG *kanei* “do/make” and *pastrepsame* for SMG *katharisame* “we cleaned.” This sort of fictitious but realistic narrative is nostalgic for the OP and the IGs reading and reacting to the post, such as one commenter who notes, *etsi itan ta adetia mas* “like so were our customs,” using the Turkish borrowing of *adet*, right after using the IG formulaic expression of *kalifkolia* itself a calque of Turkish *kolay gelsin*, or “may it come easy.” In a way, this dislocated IG commenter is participating with the OP to co-construct a narrative of IG life and language and how they differ from SMG life and language.

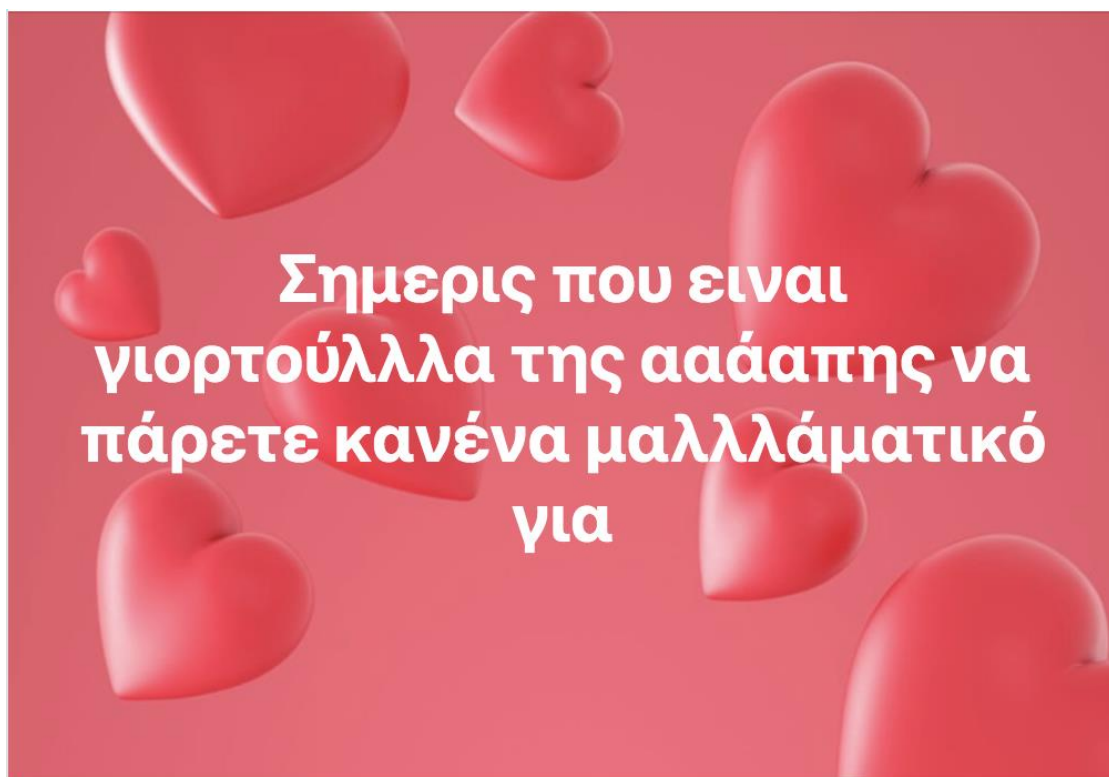


Figure 14. Valentine's Day Post



Figure 15. IG Cigarettes

However, not all posts use photographs. Take Figure 14 where the OP posted on Valentine's Day: "Today which is the holiday of love you all should buy an expensive present!" Here, the OP uses the IG form for today *simeris* rather than SMG *simera*, and uses Turkish *ya* at the end to convey strong emotion. Most strikingly is the orthographic representation of a few words. One, *agape* "love" spelt with multiple alphas and no gamma to show an elision here, and the use of multiple lamdas in *yiortula* "holiday" and *malamatiko* "expensive gift" to convey lateral velarization. Although a written form, the OP bypasses a non-sonic space to reproduce the dialectal

phonetic features so that IGs decode the message. Although this has not been conventionalized and not all IGs who post on similar groups use such orthographic tools, several IGs do employ multiple lamdas to convey the dark /l/. This relies on high levels of awareness of the feature and supports claims of lateral velarization's salience among at least the IG diaspora.

Perhaps the most interesting case of such an orthographic phenomenon is in Figure 15. Here, the OP is relying on old advertisements of different cigarettes that were popular in Istanbul decades ago to recreate an IG Istanbul in a digital space. The text accompanying the photos in the post ask in Greek “Which cigarettes did you smoke in Istanbul?” and elicits various responses from commenting IGs. In SMG, cigarette is /tsiyara/ and in Turkish /sigara/. What is curious is that the OP uses the Turkish grapheme of ç, corresponding with /tʃ/ to represent the IG pronunciation of the Greek word for cigarette. This is the only example I found of anyone online pointing out the postalveolar affricate in any noticeable way, as compared to the more common way of demarking velarized laterals. As such, in the construction of IGness, this post demonstrates the social repertoire of cigarette brands, the linguistic repertoire of the IG dialect, and the orthographic repertoire of being multilingual and multiliterate. Consequently, the sociohistorical developments that have led to the IG language ecology contribute to the IG semiotic field and we see the linkages between language, material culture, and identity.

4.3 Salient Linguistic Features of Istanbul Greek

Metapragmatic awareness and indexical relationships between language and social meaning can be related to salience. Jaeger & Weatherholtz (2016) discuss salience in terms the social and cognitive processes that lead to awareness of a given feature. Podesva (2011) discusses

salience in terms of phonetic difference and frequency of occurrence of a given feature. Podesva's claims of salience relate to Trudgill's (1986) assertions of salience in dialect contact, which are particularly relevant to the current research.

The concept of salience is crucial in understanding how aspects of language become embedded with social meaning. Podesva (2011) discusses linguistic salience in terms of a given variable's level of consciousness, arguing that tokens can be salient in two ways: either categorially, based on frequency with which the category occurs in the speech of a given speaker; or phonetically, by exhibiting extreme acoustic values (p. 237). This understanding of salience draws heavily from Trudgill's (1986) four factors of linguistic awareness that relate to overt stigmatization, involvement in current sound change, radically divergent phonetics, and involvement in maintaining phonological contrast. This understanding of salience focuses on how linguistic features of different groups (typically a dominant, standard variety opposed to a stigmatized variety) are considered more similar or divergent to one another based on a gradient scale.

Such a framework of opposition leading to awareness is in line with Gal & Irvine's (2019) framework of linguistic and social differentiation. A component of social and linguistic differentiation relies on cognitive recognition of similarities and difference. Similarly, Jaeger & Weatherholtz (2016) discuss salience as a link between the cognitive and social, where increased metalinguistic awareness is the result of higher degrees of salience. Degrees of salience are then understood as degrees of divergence. Social elements of salience are seen in Labov's (1972) designation of linguistic variables as either stereotypes, markers or indicators, and in Johnstone & Kiesling's (2008), Ochs's (1992), and Silverstein's (1976, 2003) fruitful applications of indexes and indexicality. Indexicality embeds distinct linguistic productions with social meaning and has

been perhaps most widely applied to forms related to race, gender, and sexuality (e.g., Bucholtz & Hall, 2016), although indexicality has also fruitfully been applied to linguistic forms related to geographically-based identities (e.g., Dubois & Horvath, 1999). Whether language variation occurs due to internal or external factors, variation of a linguistic form can be described in terms of degrees of salience.

This then leads to the question of what is it about certain linguistic features, particularly phonetic forms, that have higher degrees of salience than others? I assert that salience is a manifestation of divergence, and emphasize that salience of a given dialectal feature requires an element of difference and divergence from a standard variant. In other words, something is linguistically salient (perhaps marked) based on how different it is from what is more frequently occurring in “standard” speech. My understanding of difference is scalar, with more divergent from the standard entailing greater levels of articulatory and acoustic distance. This understanding of salience need not only apply to phonetic variants, as lexical variants, such as “soda” and “pop” in dialects of English are inherently divergent in terms of articulation and acoustic differences between [soʊrə] and [pɒp]. Subsequently, as speakers of a language become aware of salient differences between dialects, social meaning is assigned to different variants within given speech communities.

With sound change especially, we can expect phonetic divergence to be an integral component for what makes certain features more salient than others. In terms of variationist sociolinguistics, as social meaning of linguistic features depends on high levels of salience, a dialectal form with higher levels of salience can be expected to pattern differently than those with lesser degrees of salience. IGs responded in sociolinguistic interviews that a defining characteristic of the dialect, and a big difference with SMG, is the velarized lateral. In contrast with this near

uniform agreement by participants that one of the biggest differences between SMG and IG are laterals, fewer made mentioned coronal affricates. This lesser degree of acknowledgement was somewhat unexpected considering that IGs tend to realize SMG /ts/ as [tʃ], which has not been described as a dialectal feature in other Modern Greek varieties. As the metapragmatic awareness between the two IG dialectal forms are different from each other, then perhaps their production will be different, as well.

4.3.1 Laterals

Laterals were the most reported phonetic feature that informants claimed to be an important difference between IG and SMG. As mentioned in 2.3, laterals are velarized before /a/ /o/ and /u/ in IG, which does not occur in SMG⁵⁰. After vocabulary differences (primarily the frequent use of perceived Greek archaisms and borrowings from Turkish, French, Italian and other languages), the most overt dialectal difference between SMG and IG is the “dark l.” Lateral velarization is a scalar phenomenon cross-linguistically, with much subtle variation to how laterals are articulated and acoustically realized. Clear laterals are typically produced in a single articulation with the tongue tip touching the alveolar ridge and with the tongue root in neutral position, whereas velarized (dark) laterals have a second articulation with the tongue tip and blade more dentalized and the tongue root approaching the velum (Recasens, 2012). Acoustically, velarized laterals have lower F2 values than clear laterals, although different languages have different benchmark F2 values to designate how a particular lateral is categorized (Müller, 2015; Recasens, 2004, 2012). Cross-

⁵⁰ I say does not occur, although some coarticulation occurs in SMG, albeit at mean lateral F2 values of /l/ before /a/ around 1450-1600 Hz. As opposed to SMG /l/ before /i/ with mean F2 at around 1700 Hz according to Loukina (2010).

linguistic acoustic research on laterals suggest that “clear” or non-velarized laterals tend to have high F2s and low F1s, whereas “dark” (although in Greek they often are referred to as “heavy” or “thick”) laterals typically have low F2s and higher F1s, commonly measured at midpoints or taking the mean over the steady state (e.g., Recasens & Espinosa, 2005). F2 of /l/ before /a/ is near categorically lower than F2 of /l/ before /i/ in any language because of influence from their respective following vowels. The majority of acoustic studies, however, only focus on lateral quality in symmetrical vocalic contexts, typically between /i/, /a/ and sometimes /u/ (i.e., /ili/, /ala/, /ulu/) and in laboratory contexts. Consequently, any velarization before /e/, /o/ or other vowels in addition to velarization in asymmetrical vocalic contexts is much less accounted for. This approach was most likely taken as laterals’ F1 values can be influenced from the proceeding vowel without impacting lateral quality, which Loukina (2010) provides evidence for. Still, some researchers not looking at /l/ in symmetric vocalic contexts (e.g., Macdonald & Stuart-Smith, 2014) solely use F2 values to determine velarization levels, as F1 is not as reliable a predictor in such circumstances.

Although SMG does not exhibit lateral velarization, Northern Greek varieties do before back vowels (Arvaniti, 2007; Kontosopoulos, 2008; Loukina, 2010; Newton, 1972; Trudgill, 2003). Loukina (2010) demonstrated that Northern Greek dialects velarize laterals before /a/, with midpoint F2 values of around 1000 - 1400 Hz (group mean F2 = 1324), compared to F2s in the same context for Athenian speakers (1400 – 1600 Hz, mean F2 = 1466). IG appears to have even more progressive velarization than the Northern varieties Loukina studied, with my preliminary acoustic analysis showing mean F2 values of /l/ before [a] at 1175 Hz (Hadodo, 2017). Furthermore, I found similar mean F2 values before [o] and [u] in IG, and some speakers even produce the velarized lateral in coda position, regardless of the vowel before it, which has not yet been documented in other velarizing Greek dialects (Arvaniti, 2007). Papadopoulos (1975) asserts

that this extended velarization is due to extensive intimate contact with Turkish, which has a very complicated velarization schema related to vowel harmony. Papadopoulos (1975) also states that IG /a/ is further back than the SMG low vowel due to the former dialect's contact with Turkish, which has back vowels further back than in SMG. I have found IG [o] and [u] to also be further back than in SMG, with lower F2 values serving as an acoustic measurement demonstrating a difference in the articulation (See Section 2.3 for my discussion on the compression of the IG vowel space).

4.3.2 Affricates

While laterals might be challenging phones to analyze acoustically, affricates may be even more challenging. SMG and most other Greek varieties have the alveolar affricate pairs [ts] and [dz]. Acoustic studies have confirmed that these should be considered affricates rather than consonantal clusters (Joseph & Lee, 2010; Tserdanelis & Joseph, 2006), and much discussion has been placed on to what extent these are affricates phonetically or phonemically (Joseph, 1985; Joseph, 1992; Joseph & Philippaki-Warbuton, 1987). Arvaniti (2007) asserts that the acoustic evidence suggests these are affricates phonetically but not necessarily phonemically, while Joseph (1985, 1992, 1994) suggests that both phones are examples of allophony, having been incorporated into the Greek system over time without much impact on the Greek phonological structure. Regardless of phonological categorization, these affricates tend to be realized as [tʃ] and [dʒ] in IG. Although Cypriot and other southern dialects do have postalveolar affricates, these are allophones of /k/, and not variants of /ts/ (Arvaniti, 1999). SMG and IG both palatalize /k/ to [c] before front vowels, whereas these are realized as [tʃ] in Cypriot and other South-Eastern varieties of Greek (Newton, 1972; Trudgill, 2003). However, SMG and Cypriot /ts/ tend to be articulated

as [ʃ] in IG. This variation is curious as no description of Greek dialects have explicitly described any sort of allophonic distribution for the voiceless and voiced alveolar affricates.

Arvaniti (2007) describes the place of Greek coronals as being varied ranging from dental to retracted alveolar, and subsequently treats them, including [ts] and [dz] as alveolar in SMG. However, she classifies sibilants and rhotics as retracted alveolars based on more conclusive evidence from multiple sources, and therefore [s] and [z] are retracted alveolars, having its placement somewhere in between English alveolar and postalveolar fricatives based on where the frication noise begins: English [s] 3700 Hz, English [ʃ] 2100 Hz, and Greek [s] 3000 Hz. Relatedly, Gordon, Barthmaier, & Sands (2002) have demonstrated that center of gravity (COG) values are a common acoustic indicator of place of articulation for fricatives and by extension the fricative portion of affricates. COG measurements essentially describe the mean distribution of frication energy within the spectrum, with central distributions of energy at lower Hz values corresponding with a further back articulation than distributions at higher Hz values. Although Arvaniti (2007) does not use COG measurements to indicate place of articulation, more recent research on fricatives across Greek dialects have begun to do so. Nirgianaki (2014) has shown that Greek [s] and [z] have COG measurements around 5500 Hz. Themistocleus (2017) in comparing SMG and Cypriot fricatives found that the SMG [s] has COG values at around 7000 Hz, and SMG [z] has COG values at around 5500 Hz. Arvaniti (2007) acknowledges that there is much variation in the phonetic realization of [s], with the phone “fronted when followed by [t] and in some cases the front vowel [i], while in the [a_a] context in may be so retracted as to be best described as an advanced postalveolar” (p. 12). This coarticulation logically could be extended to the fricative portion of the SMG affricate, as well.

4.3.3 Backing-up Patterns

My preliminary acoustic analysis of laterals among the IG speakers I had interviewed in 2016 was done to establish certain parameters. I segmented 21 tokens of /l/ for 44 speakers' wordlist production, totaling 905 tokens after eliminating tokens with ambient noise that prevented acoustic analysis. Laterals are challenging phones to segment, as they are highly prone to coarticulation and as approximants share characteristics with both consonants and vowels. Subsequently, my research assistants and I attempted to use methods for segmenting both consonants and vowels, in which we looked for changes in the periodicity of the waveform to corroborate formant changes in the spectrogram.⁵¹ Once the /l/ tokens were segmented, I then found the mean F2 at the midpoint of each token to determine velarization levels. Figure 16 demonstrates mean F2 values of midpoint /l/ significantly lower than what Loukina (2010) found for Northern Greek.

Affricates' midpoint COG values differ based on coarticulation. Regardless of whether postalveolar, alveolar, or retracted alveolar, /ts/ before front vowels will be higher than before back vowels. In this regard, they are similar to laterals, as even in SMG coarticulation before back vowels has lower F2 measurements, albeit not to the same degree as in velarizing varieties, such as IG. SMG also produces affricates with lower COG values before /u/ and /o/. Although IGs are more likely to produce postalveolar affricates before back vowels, they are not constrained the ways laterals are and affricates before front vowels can have low COG values similar to affricates'

⁵¹I graciously have had six undergraduate research assistants (Madeline Ahnert, Joshua Baumgarten, Christopher Huhn, Madeline Seitz, Dennis Sen, and Benjamin Zimmer) who have helped with various aspects of the phonetic analysis. Some assisted with the segmentation and selection of midpoint F2 values for lateral tokens, some assisted with segmentation of affricate tokens as described later, and others assisted with other aspects of data coding and management. In any event, I checked all work done by assistants.

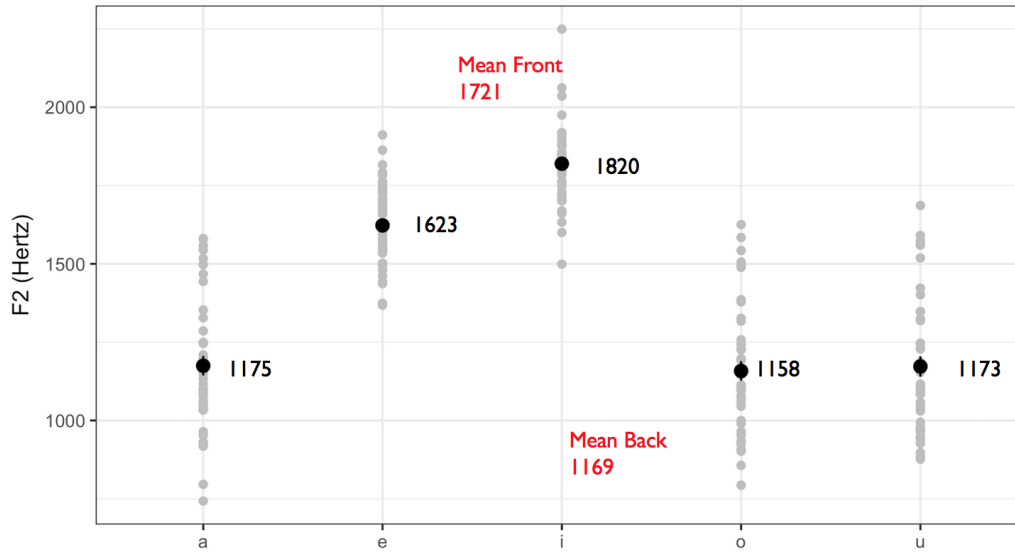


Figure 16. Vocalic Distribution of Mean F2 Values of /l/

Individual participants' mean values F2 values of /l/ before each vowel are in gray. Group means are in black with the mean before all front and back vowels listed. Values only for initial 45 speakers' wordlist tokens from 2016.

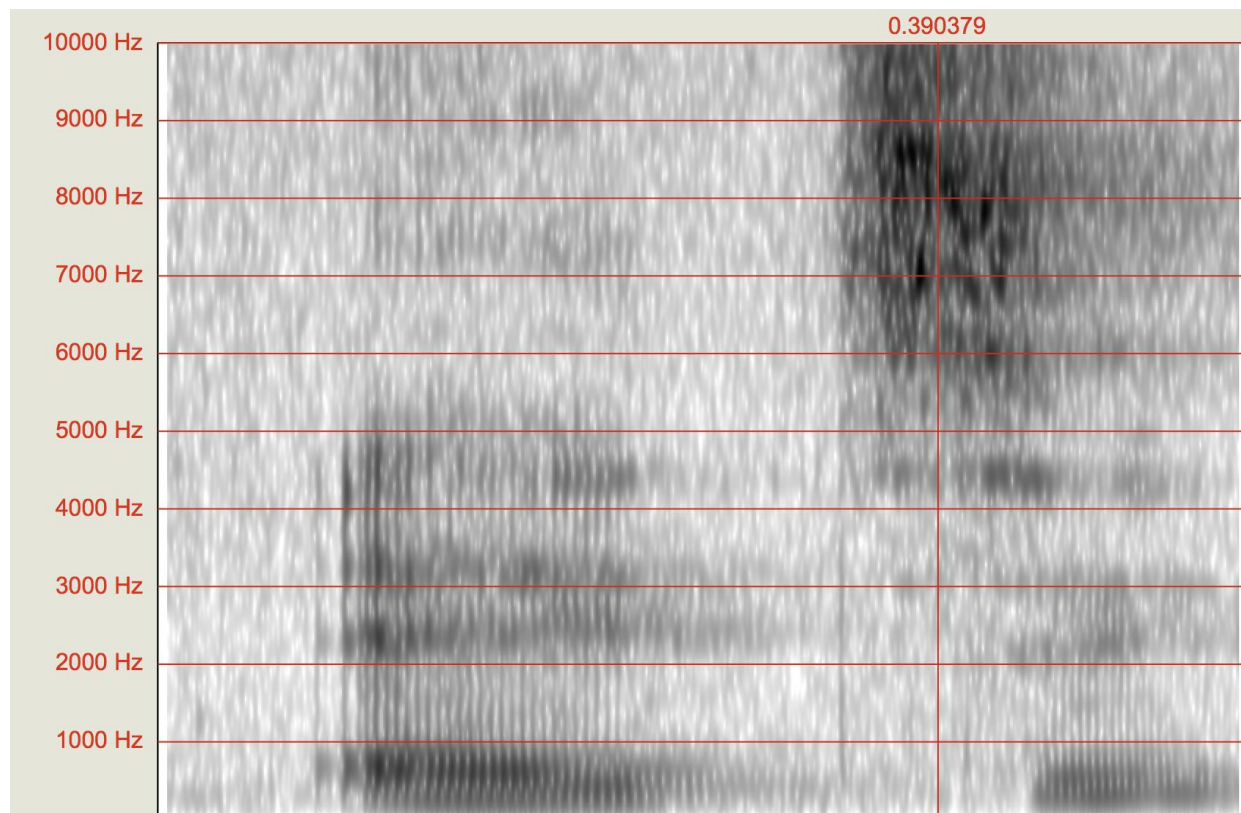


Figure 17. SMG /etsi/

SMG Female in her 30s uttering /etsi// Note that the fricative portion of the affricate has a COG value of 8106 Hz, with the frication noise beginning at around 4000 Hz, signaling an alveolar affricate.

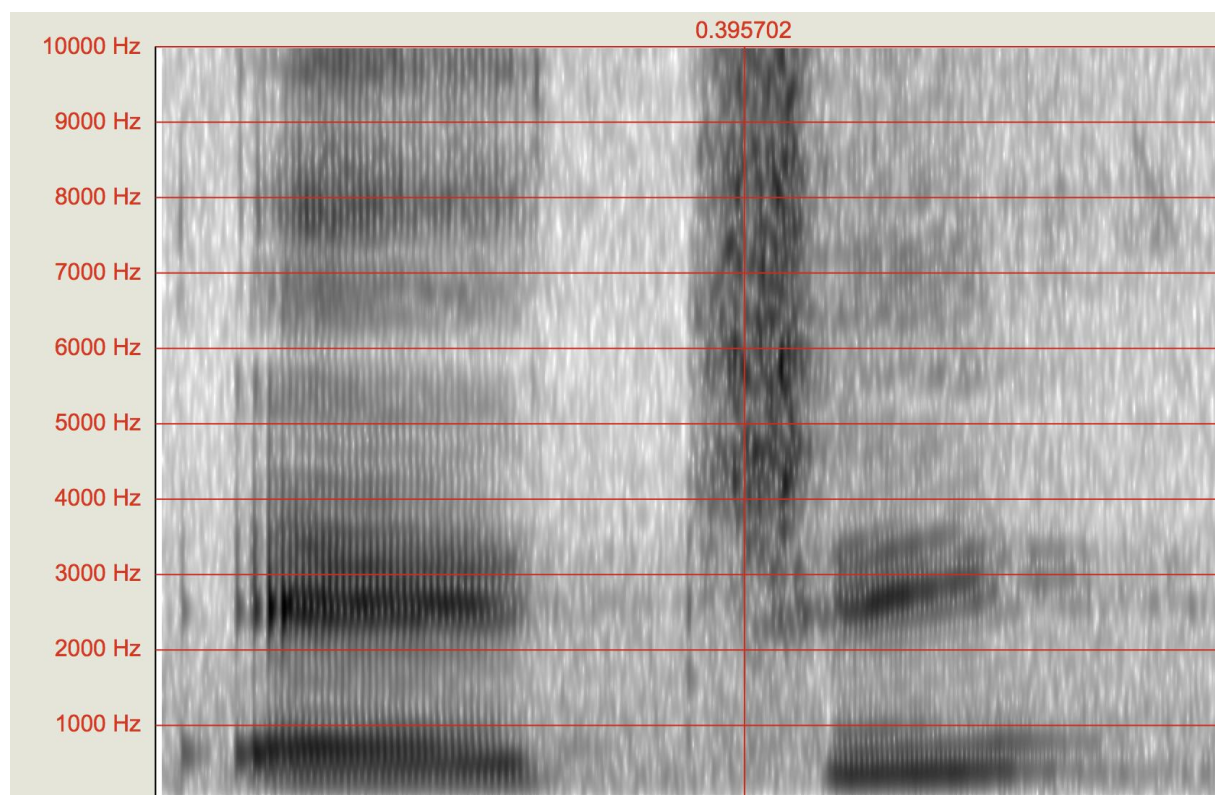


Figure 18. IG /etsi/

IG Female in her 30s uttering /etsi/ Note that the fricative portion has a COG value of 4618 Hz, with the frication noise beginning at around 2000 Hz, signaling a postalveolar affricate.

midpoint COG values before back vowels. Figure 17 shows the spectrogram for a SMG female uttering the word /etsi/ “like so” from a wordlist. Comparing her production with that of an IG female of a similar age (Figure 18), we see a stark contrast in the alveolar production of the SMG affricate and the IG postalveolar affricate based on COG values and the start of the frication noise. However, retracted alveolar productions have COG values and frication noise starts intermediate of the values seen in the figures above. Although lateral velarization is scalar, so is the place of articulation for fricatives and affricates. Frication location is arguably even more gradient in the case of Greek, as there is greater variable frication articulation along a continuum. Meanwhile, velarization requires additional articulatory gestures and creates greater divergence between the SMG and IG productions. Therefore, lateral velarization in IG is a highly salient dialectal feature

based on phonetic divergence from the standard variety (Trudgill, 1986) and “extreme acoustic values” (Podesva, 2011). This salience is reinforced in the metapragmatic discourse that circulates regarding laterals, which demonstrates how they index IG identity. Postalveolar affricates are then less salient due to lesser degrees of divergence from SMG alveolar and retracted alveolar affricates, which in turn lead to less metapragmatic discourse surrounding the dialectal production. As a result, affricates do not have the same indexical properties as laterals because they occupy different positions in the IG semiotic field. I assert that this difference in the features plays an important role in how the laterals and affricates pattern within the IG community.

Interlude 4: Running from Place to Place

I am running across the street in Nişantaşı, an upscale neighborhood in the European side of Istanbul. Wide boulevards made of cobblestone and asphalt are lined with fancy shops and malls with street vendors selling simit (circular sesame bread rolls) and corn on the cob. It's Halloween night and the oppressive humidity that lingers over the City all summer and fall has appropriately manifested as fog as I follow Evridiki, an Istanbul Greek in her 20s. As my two-month stay in 2018 was winding down, I had a rush of participants agreeing to be interviewed right before I flew back to the states on November 7th. At this point, I have interviewed about 25 Istanbul Greeks adding to the 46 I had done two years prior not knowing I would add another 10 or so before I went back to the States. Doing any kind of ethnographic fieldwork is challenging, particularly in such a closed off community; you never know who may or may not be interested in interviews or when and where they will be available to meet. With only about 2,000 IGs left in Istanbul, coordinating can become rather difficult, especially with speakers dispersed throughout the European and Asian sides of the City. It was not uncommon for me, and I suppose most other researchers doing urban ethnographic fieldwork, to go stretches of time without a single interview, only to have to balance four or five on the same day, running from place to place. On one very stressful day in the summer of 2016, I had seven interviews which required me from morning until late at night taking metros, busses and ferry boats from the European center of Taksim to the Bosphorus, to the Asian side to the Prince Islands. Many of those interviews were tentative until receiving confirmation at the last moment. On Halloween of 2018, I went from having only one meeting planned the night before to ultimately securing four interviews, three of which were back to back. Most of my last push of interviews were thanks in large part to Evridiki.

Evridiki is a pretty, fair-skinned, dark-haired master's student in chemistry and also a science teacher at one of the few remaining Istanbul Greek high schools. My introduction to her was the result of the friend of a friend method in action. I was looking to interview more younger IGs to gain additional perspectives and balance the predominantly older speakers I had interviewed in 2016, and a friend introduced me to a speaker in his 30s. He in turn introduced me to his cousin who is in her 20s, and she in turn introduced me to her friend Evridiki. I had met her for the first time the day before my birthday and she had also put me in contact with many younger members of the community within only a few days after our interview. In fact, we had just met her friend and former classmate Melissa at one of the ubiquitous Starbucks locations that even Turkey cannot avoid. I actually was running late to my meeting with Melissa, having just interviewed a middle-aged Istanbul Greek woman who has written a series of cookbooks, telling the stories of Istanbul's cosmopolitan Greek cuisine in a parallel sort of ethnography. That interview, as amazing as it was to hear the stories that Meri had compiled while working with locals of her own, delayed me to my third meeting of the day (Melissa), which in turn delayed Evridiki and me to our next destination: ERTHO. ERTHO (Cultural and Arts Center) is the youth organization for the Istanbul Greeks and they plan parties and workshops ranging from educational, religious, theatrical, and so on. As we quickly walk down the narrow streets, Nişantaşı's high end shops and boutiques quickly turn into the slightly more middle-class neighborhood of Pangaltı, my family's current neighborhood, which used to be known for its seafood restaurants. Now, it mostly has a variety of markets, restaurants, and storefronts. Soon Pangaltı turns into Kurtuluş (the famous Greek neighborhood formerly known as Tatavla), before becoming Feriköy, the location of the Church of the 12 Apostles, which houses ERTHO and their events.

The entire scurried walk, Evridiki and I are chatting in Greek with occasional Turkish about how my research is going. She really got a kick out of being present for her friend Melissa's interview, having already gone through the experience herself; as Melissa answered questions that Evridiki had done just eight days prior, the latter would give her friend a knowing smile as I showed pictures of food and diverse situations that Istanbul Greeks would probably use separate vocabulary for. The two of them would laugh in recollection of terms they hadn't heard or said in years. That seemed to be a major theme in my interviews; regardless if my interviewee was older or younger, there was this palpable nostalgia they would express at the IG expressions of their childhood. Back on the street, I thank Evridiki again for all of her help in finding the younger people I needed in order to get a wider perspective of the situation of the Istanbul Greeks, and for escorting me (a burly man) to the location of ERTHO's meeting for their Christmas party planning. Evridiki is an active member of the organization and performs in their theatrical productions as well as helps plan events they throw for the children and the rest of the IG community. I met a few of the other members of ERTHO about 10 days prior and they invited me to attend their first meeting of the season. In addition to allowing me observe and record the group of young IGs in action, Xristos the president agreed to be interviewed immediately after the meeting (making him my fourth interview of the day).

As Evridiki and I cross the major boulevard of Ergenekon Caddesi approaching the last few winding roads to the church, our conversation shifts to names. We related to each other's struggles of trying to "justify" our own names; her first name to most Turks and my last name to most Americans. I tell her that for me, not only has it been difficult to explain what Aramaic is, but then that I am also Armenian and Greek from Turkey, which is confusing for most Americans who are unaware of the history of the region. She asks if there are separate terms in English for

Greeks from what is now Greece and for those from the remaining lands of the former Byzantine Empire, the way both Greek and Turkish separate the two. I respond in the negative, explaining that you just say “Greek.” She then interrupts me, continuing my code-switch in relatively unaccented English. “I would never say I was *Greek* though; they would confuse me with the mainlanders. I’m part of the *Greek minority of Turkey*,” she asserts resolutely.

5.0 Speaking Heavy

As described in the last chapter, velarized laterals are a salient feature of IG, and postalveolar affricates are a less salient but still noticeable feature of IG. Laterals are relatively frequent consonants in Modern Greek whereas affricates are among the least frequent in Greek. Despite also appearing in Northern Greek dialects, IG speakers associate velarized laterals with being an IG speaker. Post-alveolar affricates are found in southeastern dialects of Greek, although as allophones of /k/ rather than a phonetic variant of /ts/. In this chapter, I present how IGs discuss their dialect, including metapragmatic discussion of laterals and affricates, provide distributions of how the two linguistic variables' variation pattern from wordlist data, and provide further metapragmatic discussion to account for some of the variation.

5.1 Metapragmatic Awareness of /l/ and /ts/

As mentioned in the previous section, IG speakers are clearly aware of differences in /l/ production between IG and SMG. Fewer speakers discuss differences with /ts/ production. Examining ways in which IGs discuss these dialectal productions and the presence of the phones within the IG semiotic field can reveal how these aspects of IG linguistic repertoire is used when constructing an IG identity. Sociophonetic analyses have also offered insights as to what linguistic features may directly and indirectly index membership to a particular group in terms of performance and perception (Kiesling in press; Levon 2006; Podesva 2011). For example, Kiesling (in press) discusses how “gay voice” has become enregistered based on certain phonetic traits,

such as released [t], although such traits only serve as indexes for one specific gay style within a broad spectrum and are also used by speakers of diverse groups. By examining ways IG features have become enregistered through IGs' direct discussions of the dialect, media representations, and performances, I will show how velarized laterals' position in the IG semiotic field differs from that of postalveolar affricates.

5.1.1 Direct Discussion

IG speakers' metapragmatic discourse as discussed in Section 4.2 and 4.3 revealed that the lexicon is considered a primary difference between IG and other Greek varieties. Most speakers also noted velarized laterals as a big difference between SMG and IG, and a clear way to recognize someone is from Istanbul. Participants most commonly described the lateral as *heavy* or *thick*, which also is how some speakers described the dialect holistically. It was rather common to have IGs tell me "we speak heavy" when asked about the dialect.

Unlike with laterals, fewer IG speakers cited the affricate as a feature of IG or as being different from SMG. Most speakers did not mention it at all, and the majority of those who did note affricates were typically younger speakers and only did so after having been asked if there were other differences they could think of. Some did comment on it, though, although this was rather limited to direct discussion and not apparent in any performances. As mentioned above, few IG speakers mentioned the affricate as being different in IG. However, several did mention that sometimes SMG speakers confused them for being Cypriot. Despite Cypriot Greek not being identical to IG and lacking velarized laterals, Cypriot does have postalveolar affricates. As mentioned in Chapter 2 and 4, however, the postalveolar affricates in Cypriot are allophones of

velar stops before front vowels, which neither SMG nor IG participate in. Consequently, some SMG speakers with exposure to Cypriot may hear an IG producing a postalveolar variant of /ts/ and perceive them to be Cypriot despite the phonetic realizations belonging to separate phonemes. This contrasts with speakers' discussions of how upon SMGs' hearing their velarized lateral they are often asked if they are from Thessaloniki, the major city in Northern Greece which does participate in lateral velarization. This adds to IGs positioning of SMGs as less sophisticated in that they are unaware of IGs or Istanbul as a historic Greek center, while also pushing IGs into the periphery of SMG and Athens.

5.1.2 Media Presence

Prior to the 1960s, IGs had their own printing presses, books, literary groups, playwrights, music recordings, and even a few films. Now, the vast majority of Greek media consumed in Istanbul is produced in Greece and only a couple local newspapers are owned and operated by IGs. These newspapers are only a handful of pages long, essentially an extended newsletter, and have been struggling to stay open for the past few decades. Virtually all Greek media IGs consume, including satellite television, online movies and music, are produced in Greece and showcase SMG. Some IGs do not consume any Greek media at all (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007; Tunç & Ferentinou, 2012).

IG and IG speakers have been “represented” in various media over the years, although these representations typically have not been portrayed by actual IGs themselves nor have faithful representations of IG speech been used. Perhaps one of the best examples of this is the famous book *Λωξάντρα* *Loxandra* written by IG Maria Iordanidou in 1963 and made into a television series in 1980. Set in the late 1800s through WWI, the novel takes place in Constantinople with

the exploits of an IG family. Although the book's narrative is written in SMG, much of the dialogue employs considerable IG features, as well as code-switches to Turkish, French, and Armenian. In addition to capturing the multilingualism of the City, the novel also depicts the cosmopolitan cuisine and attire. The television series adaptation, on the other hand, focused primarily on the cuisine and elaborate dress of the time period, with very little attention paid to dialectal features. Not a single actor in the cast was IG, nor did any use any noticeable IG features during filming including velarized laterals.

The film *Politiki Kouzina*⁵² (Boulmetis, 2003) came up in a few participants' interviews. The film was quasi-autobiographical and based on the IG author-director's life experience of being deported to Athens as a young child in the 1960s. Actual geopolitical conflicts of the time included issues between Turkey and Cyprus that were isolated from Istanbul, led to many IGs being heavily taxed and those that held a Greek passport (although born in Turkey) were exiled for treason (Örs, 2006). Whereas previous Greek television and films often would portray IGs by SMG actors, Boulmetis did cast some IGs in a few roles. The film delves into the Iakovidis family's subsequent "deportation," and specifically their son Fanis' difficult transition, leaving as Greeks from Turkey, yet being received as Turks in Greece. As the film was in part based on social issues and cultural conflicts an IG family faced in having to relocate to Athens, language was outwardly discussed in several scenes. Throughout the film, different aspects of IG linguistic repertoire are employed with characters code-switching between Turkish and Greek and using IG lexical items and velarized laterals. No postalveolar affricates as far as I could tell were used, however. The major language attitudes and ideologies expressed by certain characters in the plot reveal attitudes and ideologies

⁵² The film's Greek title had the first word stylized in all capitals to form a play on words of "political kitchen" and "Istanbul's (or the city's) cuisine," yet translated into English and Turkish releases of the film as *A Touch of Spice*, based on additional thematic elements of the plot.

of nationalism, ethnicity and even religion, while manifesting themselves in language use and practice (stance).

The film is predominantly spoken in Greek, although the bilingual IG characters employ Turkish, not only when communicating with Turks, but in specific Greek environments. For example, a scene in which elderly Istanbul Greek men are waiting for dinner to be served in Athens speak to each other in Turkish before they switch to Greek to accommodate a non-Turkish speaking member. In this case, a stance-based analysis would allow for the interpretation that IG speakers prefer using Turkish while in Greece to connect them to Istanbul. An early scene with Fanis' parents arguing in the kitchen demonstrates code-switching from Greek to Turkish when realizing their son was watching them. The implication is the desire of Fanis' parents (Savvas and Sultana) to shield their child from any profanity or unpleasantness, so they switch to Turkish assuming that their son does not understand as much Turkish. The concepts of public versus private (e.g., Gal, 2005) inform the stances taken by Fanis' mother and father. For example, Turkish can be considered a public language uttered on the streets of Istanbul with friends and non-family members, whereas Greek is representative of a private language reserved for intimate occasions within the home and away from potential prejudice. The switch to Turkish during the argument can then be considered another layer of privacy, in which the parents are using a code they perceive to be unavailable to their son. In this sense, the public becomes the private as a mechanism to maintain a sense of familial harmony.

Stance is examined in further detail in scenes between IG and SMG speakers. The contents of these scenes underscore nonfictional ideologies that illustrate the extent to which the Greek language has been used to foster a reimagined sense of Greek national identity. Any trace of non-mainland influence in speech can be interpreted as an affront and threat to a "Hellenic ideal." As

a result, the IG diaspora in Athens is further isolated from achieving accepted legitimacy from either Greeks or Turks. Mr. Iakovidis has a meeting with Fanis' schoolteacher inside the classroom while the children are outside playing during recess. The teacher requested the meeting with Savvas to discuss some concerns she has with Fanis' academic performance. After Fanis' teacher explains some of the boy's alleged social and behavioral issues, she proceeds to engage in the following dialogue⁵³

1. Teacher: How long has it been since your family has come from **Turkey**, Mr. Iakovidis?

2. Savvas: From **Constantinople**, you mean? Around four years now.

3. T: If I may, what language do you speak at home?

4. S: *Romeika*, of course.

5. T: But with a **Turkish accent**.

6. S: But does that matter?

7. T: Does it matter, of course it matters. It causes him to make **spelling mistakes**. Two days ago, he wrote "Kolokotronis" with "epsilon, iota," as if it were a verbal conjugation. Kolokotronis is not a verb, Mr. Iakovidis, but a **national** hero. You must do something to vitalize his sense of **ethnic pride**. **Hellenic** heroes must have a place in his mind.

With Fanis' teacher using the term "Turkey" rather than equally frequent and more Greek-oriented "Asia Minor" when asking how long the family has been in the country, she is stressing the Otherness of the family. This demonstrates that her positionality is to distance herself from the family by equating them with Turkey rather than with the Greek people. Mr. Iakovidis attempts to bridge the distance by redirecting the question as "coming from Constantinople?" This repair can be seen as a way for him to orient and align with the Greek teacher by implementing the Greek name for the city rather than the Turkish word for the country. It also indexes more of an affinity

⁵³ Translation mine.

for being from Istanbul, which is a much more integral part of an IG speaker's identity than being from Turkey. However, his response to her question of what language is spoken in the home is "*Romeika*," rather than "*Ellinika*." In this sense he exemplifies what Örs (2006) discusses as the distinctiveness through distinction. This in turn creates an opportunity for the teacher to refocus on the differences between the dialects. The teacher then candidly addresses the variety of Greek as having a Turkish accent. She presumably is clued into some of the marked forms of Savvas's speech (e.g. use of the accusative rather than the genitive, velarized laterals) that suggest he has a "Turkish accent," and her use of "but" in line 5 further distances and delegitimizes the language that they speak and the claim to being an authentic Greek dialect. This open categorization of the dialect as Turkish implies that their language inherently lessens the Greekness of the boy, particularly as the teacher related the Iakovidis family's language to Fanis' misspelling of the last name of a Greek freedom fighter from the turn of the 19th century. That the teacher equates IG to a lack of Greek ethnic pride reveals her stance on the dialect as an index of Otherness. This stance is further strengthened by her use of *Hellenic* heroes to stress the importance of Greekness, with Hellenes being more Greek than *Romioi*. As such, the implications are that unless Fanis abandons his Istanbul accent, he will not be able to become a part of the "Greek" narrative in Greece.

This and similar scenes show how linguistic differences were part of the culture shock IGs experienced when relocating to Athens. Such scenes have made this film particularly poignant for the IG diaspora in Greece, but even for the remaining IGs in Turkey when even just visiting family and friends abroad. The characters' use of Turkish across domains in the film reflect how IGs use their linguistic repertoire in daily life. The speech in the film is filled with velarized laterals and dialectal lexical items, as these index IG identity quite starkly in contrast with the SMG it opposes throughout the film. However, affricates were not noticeably played up or seemed to be made with

any discernible postalveolar production in any of the scenes with IG characters. Comparing artistic performances with reflexive performances (e.g., Bauman, 2000) by actual IGs may also help determine indexical relationships with IG dialectal features.

5.1.3 Performance

Linguistic performances are understood as utterances where speakers use enregistered dialectal or stylistic features to recreate or reference a persona (e.g., Schilling, 1998). Kiesling (2009) has asserted stylistic performances are always examples of stancetaking because the performance contains the speakers evaluation of either the content of the talk, the addressee, or themselves in relation to the above or other macro-level contexts. Bauman (2000: 4) has discussed reflexive performances as bringing “special attention on the part of performer and audience alike to the intrinsic qualities of the communicative act...[this] in turn highlights the salience and cultural resonance of the meanings and values to which the performer gives voice.” He goes on to assert that such linguistic performances are reflexive not only regarding language but also cultural and social forms. In Section 4.2, I provided some examples of IG performances from online discourse. Below, I highlight a couple analog performances that demonstrate which IG dialectal figures are salient to the community and how they inform the greater research questions surrounding IG identity.

In 2016, I procured a meeting with a VIG (Very Important Istanbul Greek) who is well-known throughout the community. Mixali Vasiliades is the head of one of the few remaining IG newspapers, *APOYEVMATINI*, “The Evening.” Once a thriving newspaper, like the population it serves, the *APOYEVMATINI*,’s daily issue now has dwindled to only a handful of pages each. It has nearly gone out of business many times, but support from the IG diaspora in Greece helped it

along with local funds from the Turkish government and Ecumenical Patriarchate. Mr. Vasiliades is an older gentleman, born in 1939, although his ponytail and larger than life personality make him seem decades younger. He invited me into his home, an apartment that's about a 5 minute walk from my family's. To call him gregarious is an understatement, and we ended up talking for over 2 hours, one of the longest interviews I had recorded.⁵⁴ As I enter their living room, his wife leaves to run some errands, although she would come back about 45 minutes later and contribute every so often to our discussion. As a retiree, he still is pretty active and has done much work on behalf of the IG community. Important to note is that, like many of my participants, he has lived for some time in Greece before returning to Turkey. In his case, he married his wife in Istanbul and they moved to Athens where they had their children and stayed for about 20 years before moving back to Istanbul. His son is now the editor of the bilingual newspaper his father helped keep afloat for years.

Throughout the interview he has been jovial and friendly and helpful. We complete the more sociolinguistic interview type questions and move on to the more elicitation type tasks (see Appendix A). Once we get to the wordlist portion though, he becomes especially playful and performative. I ask him to recite the alphabetical wordlist slowly, when he sees the first word “análogo” and interrupts me.

V: Τι να πω? Ανάλογο! Η ανάλογο?

M: Όχι, όπως-

V: Ανάλογο, βαλίτσες...

V: What should I say? [anaʎogo] or [ɛneʎogo]?

⁵⁴ I had a handful of recordings lasting 2.5/3 hours. These were mostly elderly speakers who opened up their hearts and homes to a young man interested in hearing about their lives.

M: No, however-

V: [ɛnɛloyo], [valifɛs], etc.

Vasiliades's performance here is noteworthy for a few reasons. His lateral is not particularly velarized for the majority of the interview, most likely due to influence from SMG from his time in Greece.⁵⁵ What is interesting about this brief performance is that before even overtly discussing the dialectal features of IG, upon seeing the first word of the wordlist, Vasiliades performs a key feature of it for me. Nevertheless, his production of the velarized lateral in /analoɣo/ differs acoustically among his utterances. During the performance, his midpoint F2 of /l/ is 760 Hz, well below IG velarized laterals mean F2 measurements (see Figure 19 and compare with Figure 16). He first follows up this performance with a clearer production (midpoint F2 of 1259 Hz) before he moves on to the actual wordlist recitation and his lateral's midpoint F2 is 1304 Hz (see Figure 20). He also changed his body posturing when contrasting the first two utterances, which aligns with how Rampton (2006, 2011) has discussed stylistic performances. In addition to the difference in lateral quality, the four vowels in the IG performance are compressed back vowels with lower F2s. What makes this performance all the more interesting is that while he "reverted" back to more SMG features when he continued the wordlist recitation, he still maintained the postalveolar production of the coronal affricate. This discrepancy in IG and SMG features being used contributed to some of the major research questions in this dissertation. Furthermore, when later asked about dialectal differences, Vasiliades did mention laterals, but not affricates or even vowels for that matter.

⁵⁵ My data has shown that IGs in Athens have largely shifted to clearer alveolar laterals than they have other dialectal features, which I assert is the result of velarized laterals' high levels of salience.

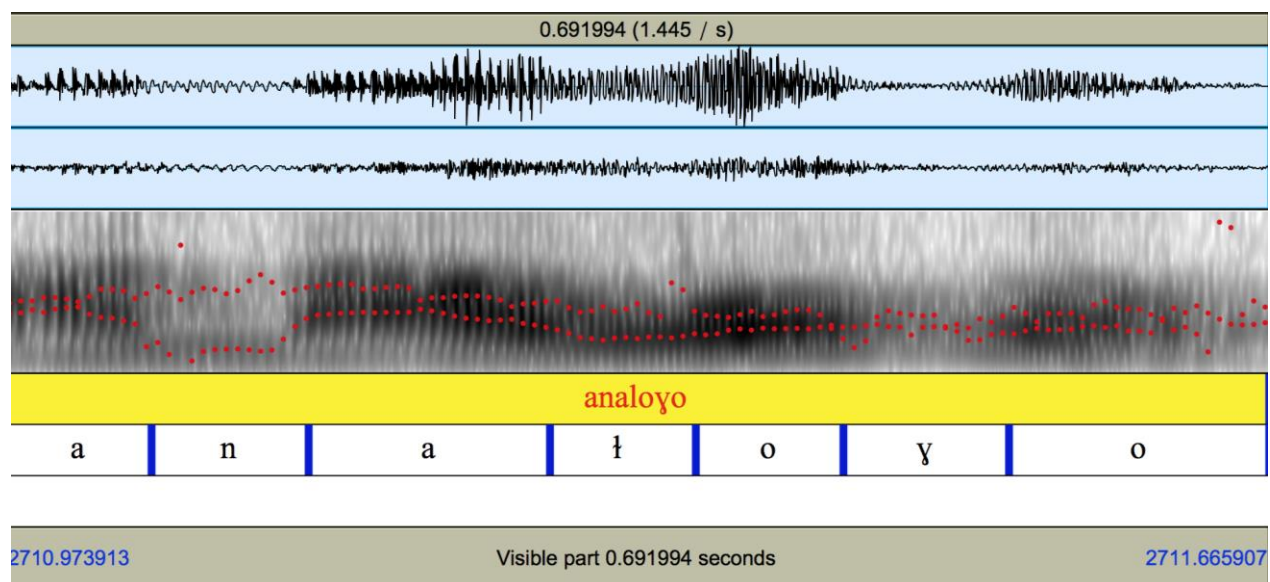


Figure 19. Reflexive Performance of /analojo/

Vasiliades's performance of /analojo/. Note the mean F2 of midpoint /l/ is 760 Hz.

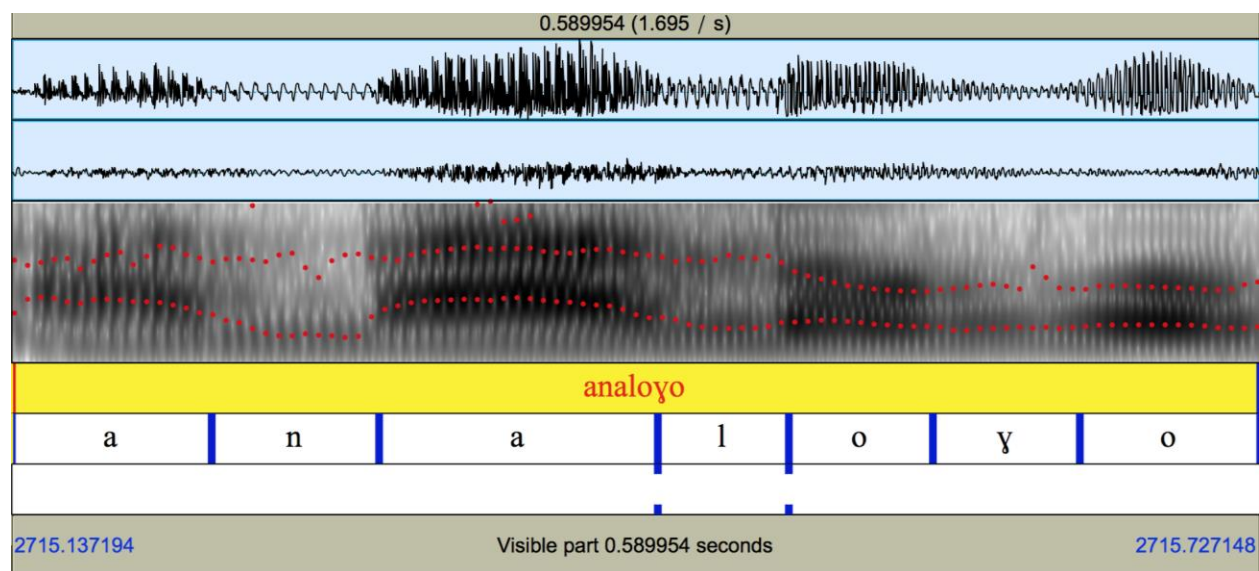


Figure 20. Wordlist Recitation of /analojo/

Vasilides's recitation of /analojo/. Note the mean F2 of midpoint /l/ is 1304 Hz.

I witnessed similar performances of laterals among multiple IGs. One in Athens with another older male IG speaker stands out. Nikos Zahariadis is an IG male in his 70s. He was one of the IGs “deported” from Turkey in the 1960s as a teenager with his family. He received his

degree in civil engineering in Athens and now that he is retired, has been dedicating significant time to one of his hobbies, rare books and the history of Istanbul. In 2014, Zahariadis published a dictionary of Istanbul Greek, which he compiled after finding specific words in IG publications (newspapers, theatrical librettos, magazines, and more) that had been collected at the Sismanoglio Megaro, the library of the Greek consulate in Istanbul. As an IG, he was keenly aware of most of these terms and able to supply examples of their usage in a naturalistic way. Considering no formal background in linguistics or publishing, the book is an exceptional testament to his ability and love for Istanbul. I had been put in touch with him in 2015 when I had reached out to Eva Achladi, head librarian of the Sismanoglio Megaro, prior to embarking on fieldwork. He very graciously sent me a copy of his dictionary with an inscription to me. It was an honor to finally meet him in the summer of 2017 at the Center for Istanbul Greeks in Athens (where later I would meet a relative of mine who is the current president of the organization). There he gave me a bit of history of the center and the Istanbul Greek community in Athens and I shared with him some of my research. He agreed to have a proper interview with him at his home on another occasion.

In speaking with Mr. Zahariadis, I noticed that like many other IGs in Athens, his lateral productions were not as dark as those of the IGs remaining in Istanbul. Similar to Vasiliades, his coronal affricates seemed to be exclusively postalveolar. In other words, they both produce a more SMG lateral but a more IG affricate across conversational contexts. Regardless, he velarized his laterals quite readily when performing IG. Unlike Vasiliades, Zahariadis's performance was not preemptive, but rather occurred when I directly asked about dialectal differences between SMG and IG. In addition to naming the lateral as a difference, he also discussed contexts where he would still velarize. He stated that despite having changed his lateral production he still does velarize when talking with his mother and other relatives, where he would feel inappropriate to do

otherwise. His performance of saying [k^halo ine] “it is good,” imagining he were speaking with his mother added an important layer of how social meaning contributes to language variation in the IG community in Athens. His shift in demeanor from more serious interview to more light-hearted demonstrates a stylistic shift (Rampton, 2011) that also marks the oppositional characterological figures of *Ellines* and *Romioi*, while adding a layer to the semiotic field that encompasses IG identity. Specifically, IG is the language of the home and warmth, in comparison to SMG being an impersonal language variety.

Performances of IG, including those by Vasiliades and Zahariadis, do a lot of social work for the IG community. They emphasize salient linguistic features that have become enregistered in indexing an IG identity while also revealing cultural and social values attributed to the IG community. Although other dialectal features can be included in performances, for example the production of /a/, /o/ and /u/ further back and lower than SMG speakers would, the focal point in these tend to be lexical items and laterals. Affricates are rarely included within these types of reflexive performances. That is to say, while some IGs pointed out affricates as being different, few modified their speech to showcase it. Instead performances near always include lexical items with /l/ and have the speakers velarizing it while commenting on cultural elements specific to IG. This indexical linkage bears out in performances and metapragmatic discourse more generally. We can see how the indexicality of velarized laterals plays a large role in how IG dialectal features pattern when we compare lateral velarization and coronal affricate production in a variationist design with how they are used in metapragmatic discourse.

5.2 What the /l/

I wanted to see how IGs were producing laterals and affricates as a group. Previous variationist literature has shown that speech style elicits distinct phonetic realizations, with wordlists expected to elicit the most standard language production (e.g., Kiesling, 1998; Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1974). As a result, using wordlist data was a clear way to establish a baseline of /l/ and /ts/. In this section, I describe the relevant words chosen for the list and detail speakers' levels of lateral velarization and postalveolar affricate production based on relevant acoustic measurements. Finally, I end with describing patterns of variation among speakers' productions of the two dialectal features and comment on ways they pattern similarly and distinctly from one another.

For the purposes of the statistical analyses described in this section, ideally I wanted a representative sample population that would allow for robust testing and the ability to make appropriate claims based on results. Ultimately, I was restricted based on the nature of participant recruitment in this type of a closed community. Determining how to group my participants based on age and other social demographics traditional variationist methods rely on was a bit challenging. My initial fieldwork in 2016 saw me group participants based on three age categories that roughly corresponded to major sociopolitical movements of the 20th century that impacted the IG population described in earlier sections. As a result, I initially grouped the 45 participants into 3 age categories of elder (born 1946 and earlier) middle aged (1947-1969) and younger (1970 and later). This was based on needing to meet enough tokens for participants along various categories and possible factors for statistical analysis, while still having some basis based on geopolitics and the sociohistorical development of the community. After filling out age gaps from additional interviews in 2018, my participants totaled 81, 41 females and 40 males. I contemplated using the

same age categories to group participants, but then realized that I would have very imbalanced age demographics. I experimented with partitioning the participants into age cohorts using different metrics, but most were disproportionate along some axis. I finally decided that four age groups with the oldest (born 1949 and earlier), second oldest (1950-1969), second youngest (1970-1989), and youngest (1990 and later) made the most sense statistically and in terms of cohesion amongst participants. Using these age groups, named groups 1, 2, 3, and 4, respectively, I have a better balance of demographics across age, including gender. In the eldest age group 1, 24 participants (10 female, 14 male); in age group 2, 26 participants (16 female, 10 male); in age group 3, 20 participants (8 female, 12 male); and in age group 4, 11 participants (7 female, 4 male). Still, no method is perfect. Ultimately, with 81 participants, I had recorded interviews with roughly 4% of the entire IG population remaining in Turkey. I am confident in that despite whatever limitations I may have had with my data and running statistical models, the large percentage of the total IG population represented in my analysis is demonstrative of overarching trends within the community.

5.2.1 Wordlist Lateral Measurements

The wordlist contains 66 lexical items, 21 of which contain an /l/ token. Laterals occur fairly frequently in Greek. The items with laterals are distributed relatively evenly throughout the wordlist, although an admitted weakness of the wordlist's design is that all laterals are word medial with one exception, *lambades* "lamps." There is no evidence in the literature for word position to impact lateral quality, so I do not anticipate this to be significantly problematic. Nevertheless, future research should have more word initial lateral measurements to confirm this. See Appendix for entire sociolinguistic interview questionnaire including the wordlist.

Although my preliminary research on laterals compared lateral quality before all vocalic contexts, due to the interest of time, I did not measure laterals before /e/ and /i/ for any tokens from my 36 additional speakers collected in 2018. This was done not only to save time for analysis, but also because front vowels are not a context which promotes velarization. As Arvaniti (2007) has discussed coda position as not having been tested for velarization in Northern Greek dialects, these laterals were included in the current analysis to further add to the discussion. After hand segmenting lateral token boundaries in Praat (Broersma & Weenink, 2017) based on the method described in Section 4.3, I ran two scripts to a) isolate the segmented laterals and b) find the midpoint formant measurements.⁵⁶ There are issues that both scripts and manual annotation encounter, such as creaky voice, wind, ambient noise, etc. A script cannot differentiate between a low F2 that results from lateral velarization or creaky voice. Furthermore, sometimes ambient noise will affect higher frequencies more so than lower. Consequently, manual checking of all formants was done after running the scripts to ensure no major errors with the coding. As a result, one speaker's entire wordlist was unsuitable for acoustic analysis because of high wind levels in the recordings, and several tokens from other speakers were also deemed unusable due to background noise interfering with the lateral segment. This left 856 lateral tokens from 79 participants that were segmented and coded. I used Rbrul (Johnson, 2009) to run mixed-effects models⁵⁷ on the remaining tokens, and my primary factors included age (as separated into the four

⁵⁶ The segmentizer script does not have an author or creator attributed to it, but does have the following note: "This script is not by Will Styler, but is distributed by him because it's super useful." The "GetFormant" script is attributed to Katherine Crosswhite crosswhi@ling.rochester.edu. Both scripts were modified for my data with the help of PhD student Miroo Lee.

⁵⁷ I entered the following mixed effects model into shiny Rbrul: F2 ~ AgeGroup + Context + Dative + Education_Level + Gender + Ideologies + Network + Positionality + Stance + Vowel + AgeGroup:Gender + Ideologies:Positionality + Ideologies:Stance + Positionality:Stance. This would be better placed in the text, not as a footnote.

Table 3. Output of Mixed Effects Models from Rbrul for Lateral Velarization

Input variables in Intercept include all factors expected to be most SMG-like (e.g., youngest, female, etc.)

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	1934.787	68.068	28.424	< 2e-16 ***
AgeGroup1	-101.814	43.415	-2.345	0.019259 *
AgeGroup2	-148.482	36.505	-4.067	5.22e-05 ***
AgeGroup3	-41.168	35.812	-1.150	0.250667
Contextback	-308.693	28.642	-10.778	< 2e-16 ***
DativeACC	-167.533	26.694	-6.276	5.64e-10 ***
DativeINT	-106.949	26.363	-4.057	5.46e-05 ***
Education_LevelBasic	-26.078	28.595	-0.912	0.362051
Education_LevelHigh	-82.942	23.612	-3.513	0.000468 ***
GenderM	-227.740	46.347	-4.914	1.08e-06 ***
IdeologiesIstanbul	401.486	155.162	2.588	0.009839 **
IdeologiesNeutral	244.764	126.950	1.928	0.054198 .
NetworkEqual	-47.490	38.210	-1.243	0.214267
NetworkIstanbul	-97.597	34.841	-2.801	0.005213 **
PositionalityByzantine	-528.120	121.380	-4.351	1.53e-05 ***
PositionalityCosmo	-333.531	111.675	-2.987	0.002906 **
PositionalityHeritage	-125.148	77.270	-1.620	0.105703
PositionalityInsecure	-358.420	107.644	-3.330	0.000909 ***
PositionalityProfessional	-98.108	84.230	-1.165	0.24456
StanceDifferent	270.862	96.245	2.814	0.005007 **
Vowela	1.519	28.355	0.054	0.957294
Vowelm	3.157	28.822	0.110	0.912817
Vowelo	2.587	28.544	0.091	0.927818
AgeGroup1:GenderM	80.820	56.683	1.426	0.154302
AgeGroup2:GenderM	177.001	53.203	3.327	0.000918 ***
AgeGroup3:GenderM	62.348	54.201	1.150	0.25032
IdeologiesIstanbul:PositionalityByzantine	87.279	101.672	0.858	0.390903
IdeologiesNeutral:PositionalityByzantine	327.327	102.420	3.196	0.001448 **
IdeologiesIstanbul:PositionalityCosmo	79.613	81.239	0.980	0.327381
IdeologiesNeutral:PositionalityCosmo	38.359	80.765	0.575	0.634950
IdeologiesNeutral:PositionalityHeritage	-383.122	143.679	-2.667	0.007817 **
IdeologiesIstanbul:PositionalityInsecure	74.508	98.492	0.756	0.449575
IdeologiesIstanbul:PositionalityProfessional	-284.771	142.444	-1.999	0.045922 *
IdeologiesNeutral:PositionalityProfessional	-159.903	114.900	-1.392	0.164402
IdeologiesIstanbul:StanceDifferent	-417.506	133.627	-3.124	0.001845 **
IdeologiesNeutral:StanceDifferent	-368.219	102.077	-3.607	0.000328 ***

groups described previously), gender, and social networks as the more traditional variationist sociolinguistic independent variables. Because virtually all IGs family and friends that have relocated in Athens, all IGs will have some networks in Greece. I determined IGs as having predominantly Istanbul, Greece, or relatively equal networks depending on how much time they have spent in Greece, the location of secondary and higher education, their proportion of friends and family in Greece rather than in Turkey, their proportion of non-Greek friend groups, whether they have an exogamous marriage, whether they have Greek satellite television, whether the majority of their consumption is Greek or other. I included additional social factors based on participants' responses throughout the interview. These include overarching stance as to how similar and different IGs are from other Greeks based on cultural practices or lived experiences (i.e., whether they emphasize similarity or difference), and the general theme of how the participants positioned themselves as an IG (e.g., as being more Byzantine, as insecure with language and community knowledge, etc.). The results of these models are found in Table 3.

To visualize this data, I've selected a few key factors to focus on. Figure 21 shows the distribution of midpoint F2 of wordlists /l/ tokens for all IG speakers. There is considerable variation of lateral quality before each vowel and in coda position, as noted with the standard error bars in the box plots. However, mean F2s are near identical for the coda position environments, which are significantly higher than all of the back vowels. Similarly, F2 measurements of laterals before /o/ and /u/ are near identical, with those before /a/ only slightly higher, but not significantly so. While lateral measurements before /e/ or /i/ were entered into the model, the preliminary lateral data done in 2016 (as seen in Figure 16) suggest that lateral quality before front vowels would certainly be significant compared to that before back vowels, and most likely in comparison with the coda position laterals, too.

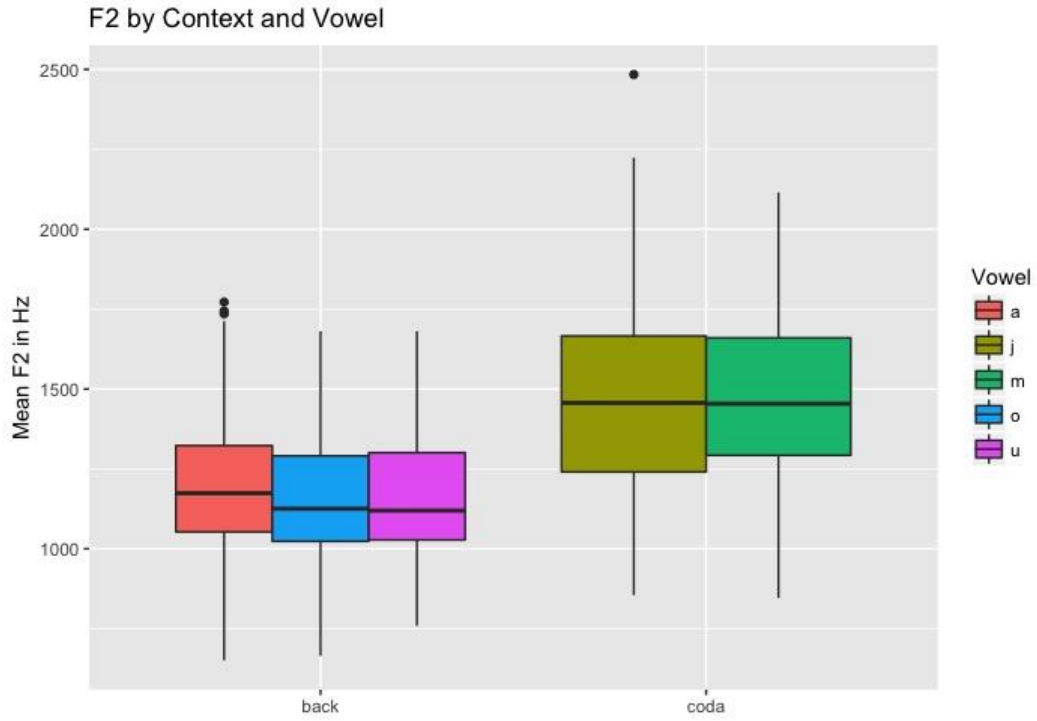


Figure 21. Distribution of F2 of /l/ Depending on Following Segment

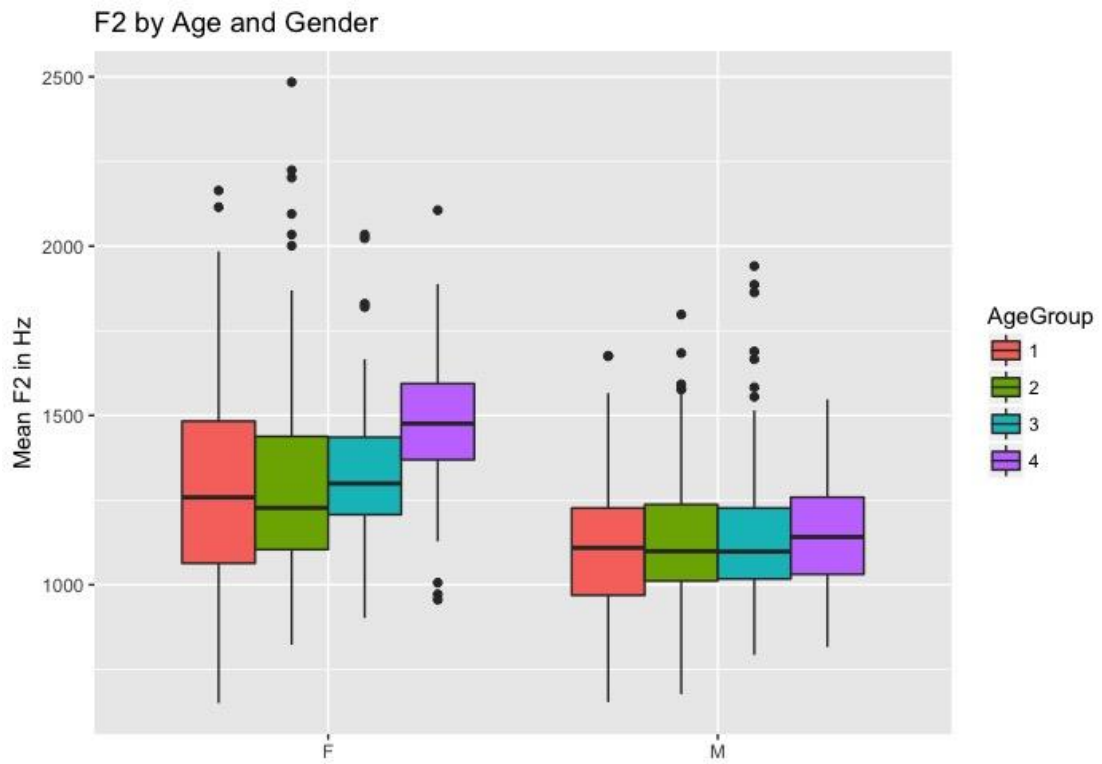


Figure 22. Distribution of F2 of /l/ by Gender and Age

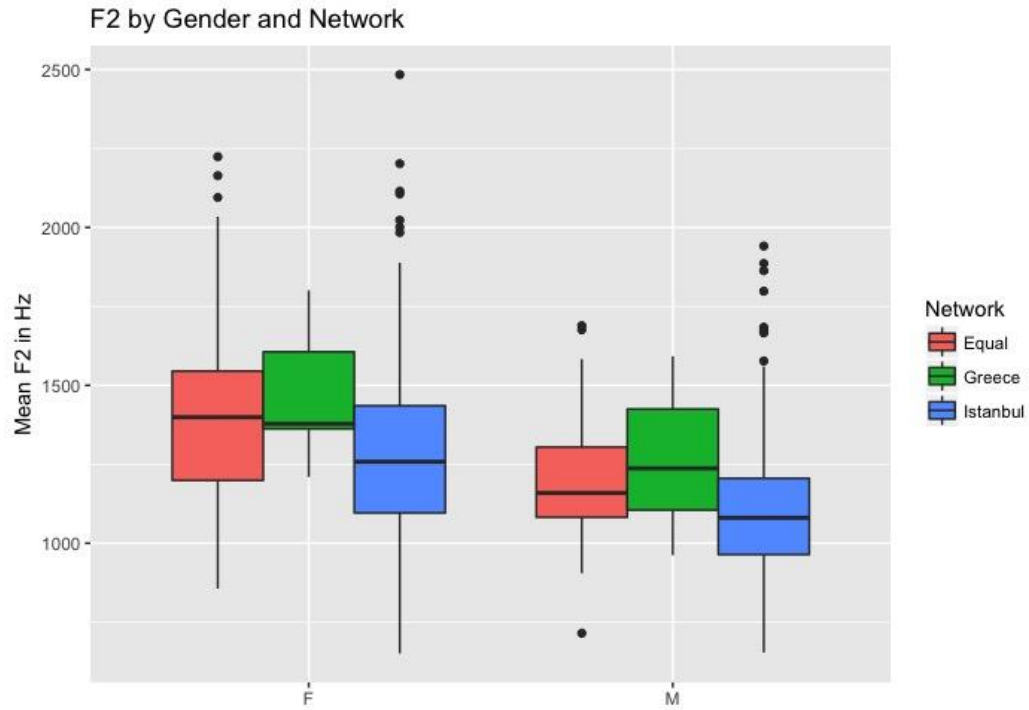


Figure 23. Distribution of F2 of /l/ by Gender and Network

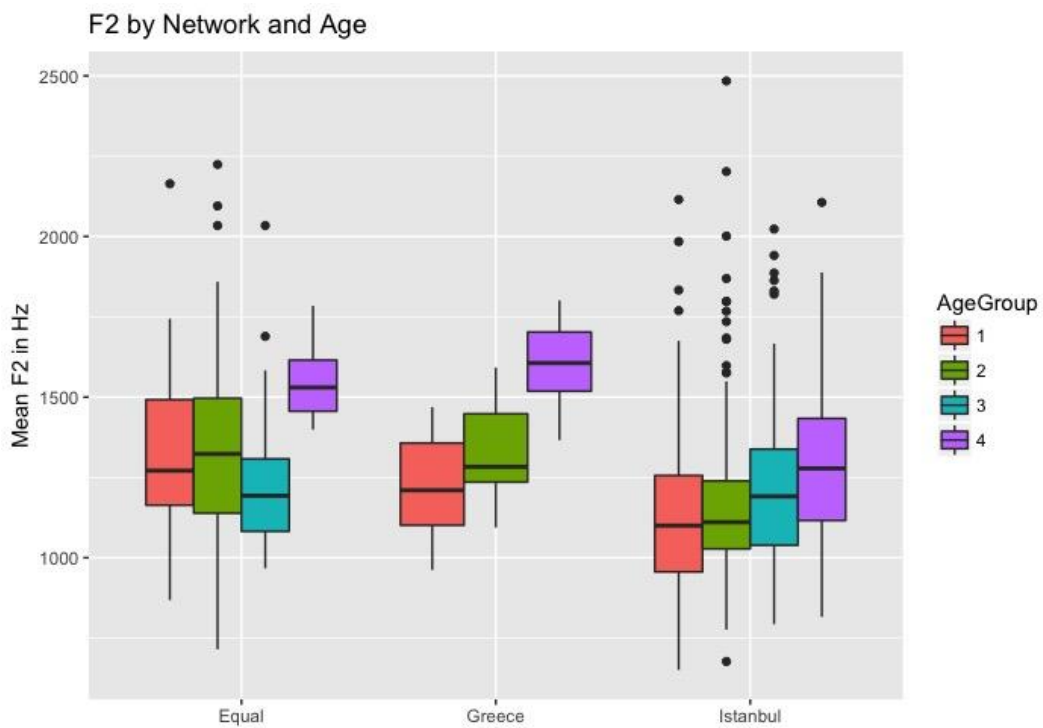


Figure 24. Distribution of F2 of /l/ by Network and Age

Figure 22 showcases the interaction of age and gender with lateral velarization. Males across age groups are consistently velarizing with mean F2 measurements below 1100 Hz. Females vary considerably in degree of velarization based on age, with older speakers varying the most. Whereas males have fairly consistent levels of velarizing, the youngest group velarizes slightly less, but not significantly so. Meanwhile, the youngest females are also velarizing less, but at significant levels.

In terms of social networks, IG men and women pattern fairly similarly with those who have stronger IG networks velarizing the most, as seen in Figure 23. For males, those with stronger Greece networks velarize the least and those with equal networks are intermediate. For females, although there is a tendency for those with stronger Greek networks to velarize the least, the velarization range for those with equal networks make it so that their mean velarization is actually higher than those with stronger Greek networks. Examining network by age, we see strong tendencies for the youngest speakers to velarize the least, particularly when they have strong Greek networks. Figure 24 shows that while the overall tendency is for progressively younger speakers to velarize less, the third youngest group velarizes the most when it comes to those with equal network types. Not enough data points are available to see patterns of velarization for this age group with strong Greek networks. Examining ideologies as to whether SMG or IG is a better language variety, there is a tendency for those with IG-positive ideologies to velarize more. However, as seen in Figure 25, when ideologies are paired with positionalities of Istanbul Greekness, language ideologies are not necessarily great predictors of velarization. For example, some of the IGs who velarize the most are those with SMG-positive ideologies but who are linguistically insecure. Meanwhile, none of the IGs who emphasized the concept of *omoyeneis* had IG-positive ideologies and their mean /l/ F2 is at SMG levels ~1500 Hz. Nevertheless, when

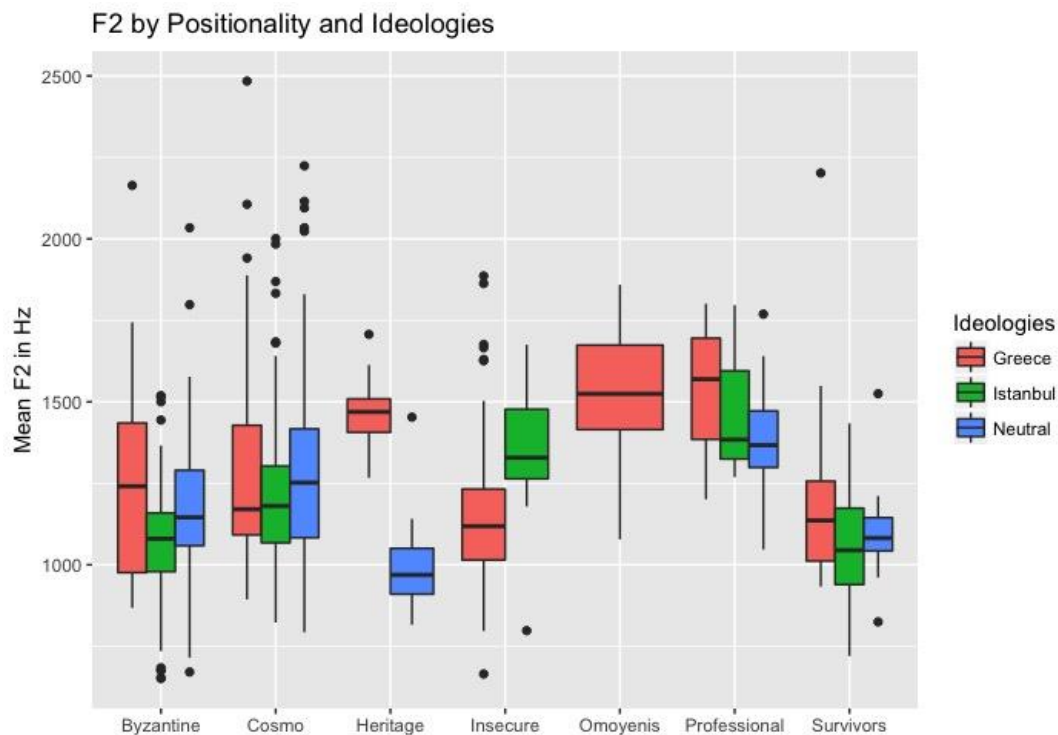


Figure 25. Distribution of // F2 by Positionality and Language Ideologies

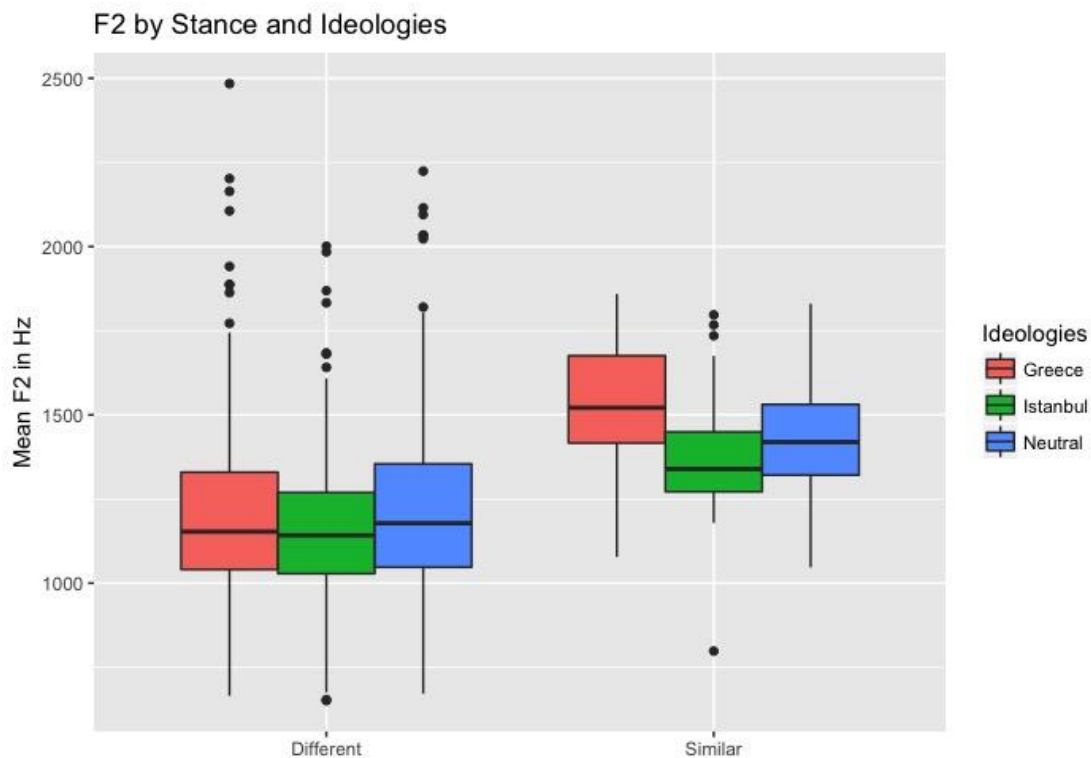


Figure 26. Distribution of // F2 by Stance and Ideologies

coupling ideologies with overarching stances of how similar and different IGs are behaviorally or culturally from Mainland Greeks, somewhat clearer patterns emerge. Figure 26 shows that while those who emphasize similarity between IGs and other Greeks velarize less overall, their mean levels of velarization depend on what type of language ideologies they hold. Meanwhile, language ideologies do not appear to play much of a role in velarization for those who view IGs as distinct from other types of Greeks, although nuance can be gleaned from positionalities, such as those discussed in Figure 25.

5.2.2 Wordlist Affricate Measurements

Of the 66 lexical items in the wordlist, 12 contain an /ts/ token, 6 in word medial position and 6 in word initial position. As mentioned in Section 4.3, coronal affricates are among the least commonly occurring segments in Greek. The items with affricates are distributed relatively evenly throughout the wordlist. However, as the wordlist was presented to participants in alphabetical order, all of the word medial affricates are dispersed over the first two thirds of the list and all of the word initial affricates were in a row near the end of the list. This is an admitted weakness of the design. See Appendix for entire sociolinguistic interview questionnaire including the wordlist.

Although I lost some data points from laterals, more of the recorded wordlist affricate data was unusable for acoustic analysis. Because COG values, even for the most postalveolar affricates, are all at high frequency levels, winds and ambient noise make it near impossible to measure segments for meaningful acoustic analysis. As a result, certain participants' wordlists were completely unusable and only 72 of my participants' wordlist affricate data is included in this analysis. After removing unusable tokens from these 72 speakers, 831 affricate tokens were able to be measured confidently. Similar to laterals, we run into problems with scripts for affricates

Table 4. Output of Mixed Effects Models from Rbrul for Affricate Production

Input variables in Intercept include all factors expected to be most SMG-like (e.g., youngest, female, etc.)

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	6349.01	6349.01	15.257	< 2e-16 ***
AgeGroup1	949.03	296.51	3.201	0.001426 **
AgeGroup2	1163.58	267.92	4.343	1.59e-05 ***
AgeGroup3	942.67	250.66	3.761	0.000182 ***
WPInitial	-393.77	68.98	-5.709	1.61e-08 ***
DativeACC	487.27	200.02	2.436	0.015065 *
DativeINT	131.38	194.24	0.676	0.499017
Education_LevelBasic	-109.82	156.77	-0.701	0.483803
Education_LevelHigh	244.81	132.18	1.852	0.064384 .
GenderM	1378.03	306.80	34.492	8.12e-06 ***
IdeologiesIstanbul	-1528.38	883.52	-1.730	0.084040 .
IdeologiesNeutral	-561.48	686.54	-0.818	0.413695
NetworkEqual	-931.38	230.71	-4.037	5.94e-05 ***
NetworkIstanbul	-932.63	209.95	-4.442	1.02e-05 ***
PositionalityByzantine	-384.87	676.39	-0.569	0.569516
PositionalityCosmo	-82.12	617.66	-0.133	0.894268
PositionalityHeritage	1877.61	467.01	4.021	6.36e-05 ***
PositionalityInsecure	-265.82	614.30	-0.433	0.665341
PositionalityProfessional	-1183.93	501.76	-2.360	0.018539 *
PositionalitySurvivors	169.88	657.58	0.258	0.796207
StanceDifferent	-1149.88	537.24	-2.140	0.032631 *
Vowela	90.69	103.05	-0.880	0.379053
VoweLe	-62.48	104.28	-0.599	0.549259
Vowelo	-586.71	102.82	-5.706	1.63e-08 ***
Vowelu	-506.27	103.52	-4.891	1.22e-06 ***
AgeGroup1:GenderM	-2084.28	353.03	5.904	5.26e-09 ***
AgeGroup2:GenderM	-2004.41	351.41	-5.704	1.65e-08 ***
AgeGroup3:GenderM	-2145.47	346.98	-6.183	1.00e-09 ***
IdeologiesIstanbul:PositionalityByzantine	2467.80	578.46	4.266	2.23e-05 ***
IdeologiesNeutral:PositionalityByzantine	292.43	569.76	0.513	0.607915
IdeologiesIstanbul:PositionalityCosmo	1420.51	453.27	3.134	0.001789 **
IdeologiesNeutral:PositionalityCosmo	352.31	437.93	0.804	0.421350
IdeologiesNeutral:PositionalityHeritage	-2703.49	778.25	-3.474	0.000541 ***
IdeologiesIstanbul:PositionalityInsecure	1774.75	570.45	3.111	0.001931 **
IdeologiesIstanbul:PositionalityProfessional	1703.85	791.36	2.153	0.031613 *
IdeologiesNeutral:PositionalityProfessional	2045.44	640.33	3.194	0.001457 **
IdeologiesIstanbul:StanceDifferent	170.89	777.77	0.220	0.826144
IdeologiesNeutral:StanceDifferent	389.31	554.07	0.703	3890.482488

which are even more complex segments than laterals. I could not find a reliable script to run to extract COG measurements from the fricative portion of the affricate. As a result, all affricate measurements were hand done in Praat (Broersma & Weenink, 2017), finding the midpoint COG values after segmenting. Similar to with the wordlist lateral measurements in 5.2.1, I ran mixed-effects models in Rbrul shiny (Johnson, 2009).⁵⁸ The results of these models are found in Table 4. I am highlighting similar factors for us to visualize the affricate data more usefully. To establish coarticulation of the affricate, Figure 27 illustrates mean COG values based on the following vowel and the affricate's position in the word. Overall, initial position prompts a lower COG than medial, although this seems to be more relevant for front vowels, as the COG of /ts/ before back vowels is also lower.

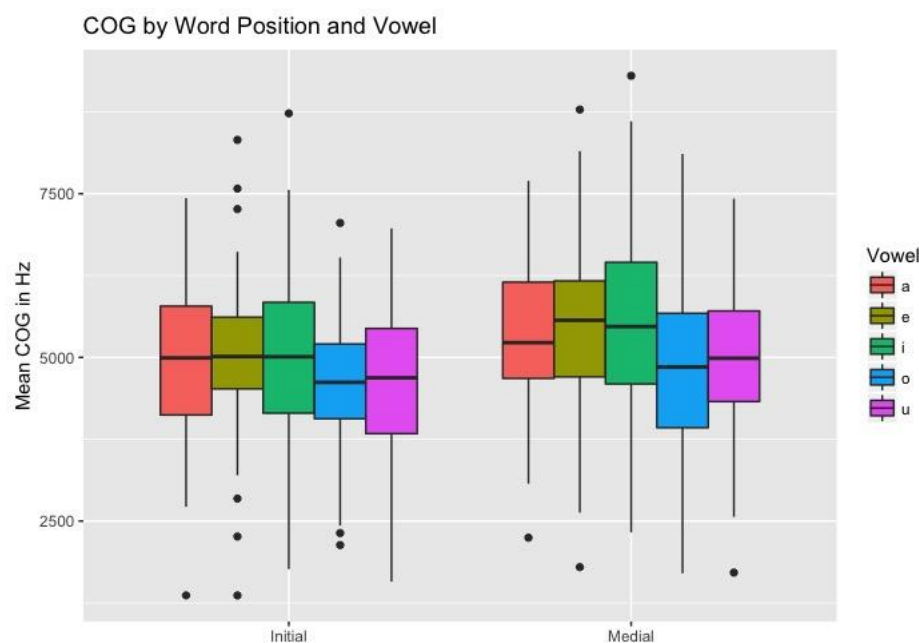


Figure 27. Distribution of /ts/ COG Depending on Following Segment and Word Position

⁵⁸ I entered the following mixed effects model into shiny Rbrul: COG ~ AgeGroup + WP + Dative + Education_Level + Gender + Ideologies + Network + Positionality + Stance + Vowel + AgeGroup:Gender + Ideologies:Positionality + Ideologies:Stance + Positionality:Stance.

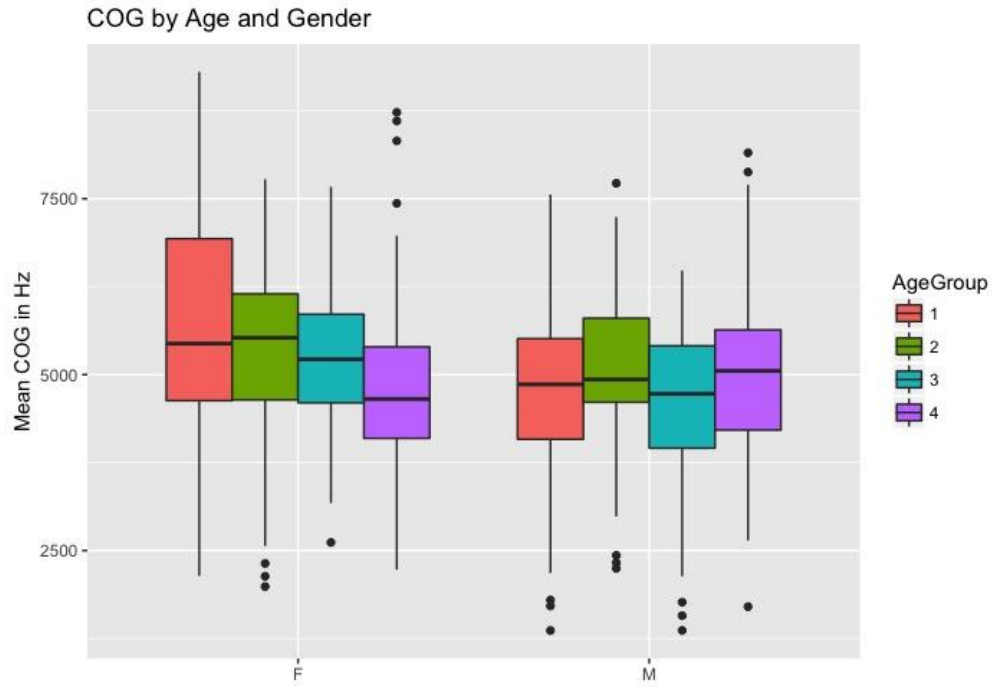


Figure 28. Distribution of /ts/ COG by Age and Gender

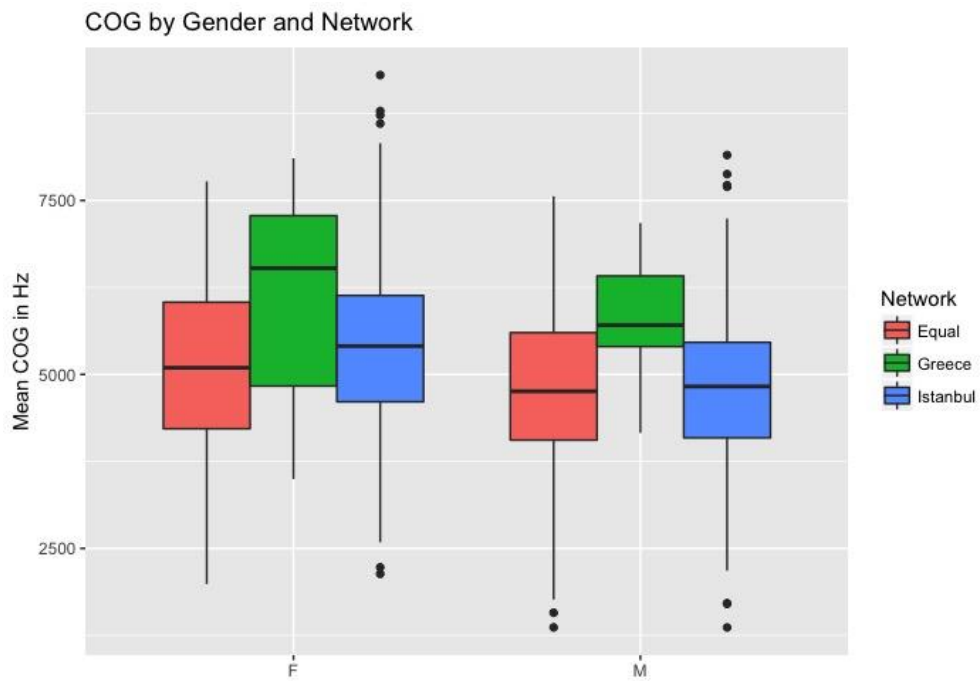


Figure 29. Distribution of /ts/ COG by Social Network and Gender

Moving on to social factors, Figure 28 demonstrates male and female COG measurements across age groups. Mean COG values appear to be lowering as age decreases in IG females, whereas males again are more stable with the youngest IG males COG measurements increasing. When examining COG values based on social networks, Figure 29, we see that females and males have similar patterns in that those with stronger Greek networks have higher COG values and those with equal or stronger IG networks have similar COG levels. Figure 30 highlights COG measurements based on social networks and age. Across equal and stronger IG networks, age does not appear to play a large role in COG values, as noted by similar means and very large standard error bars. However, for those with stronger Greek networks, the youngest speakers have lower COGs and the two oldest groups actually have the highest means across social network types.

In Figure 31, COG values across ideologies and positionalities are presented. Here, certain positionalities pattern similarly, such as Byzantine and Cosmopolitan positionalities, or those who were insecure in their Istanbul Greekness or emphasized Greekness with professionalism, with IGs with IG-positive ideologies actually having higher COG means. When comparing ideologies and stance, those who viewed IGs as more similar to other Greeks patterned as expected with higher overall COG means than those with “different” stance. See Figure 32. Of the similar stance group, those with Greek-positive ideologies have higher mean COGs, than those with neutral and Istanbul-positive ideologies had the lowest COGs of the group as expected. However, ideologies do not seem to have an impact on mean COG measurements for those who emphasized that IGs are distinct from other Greeks.

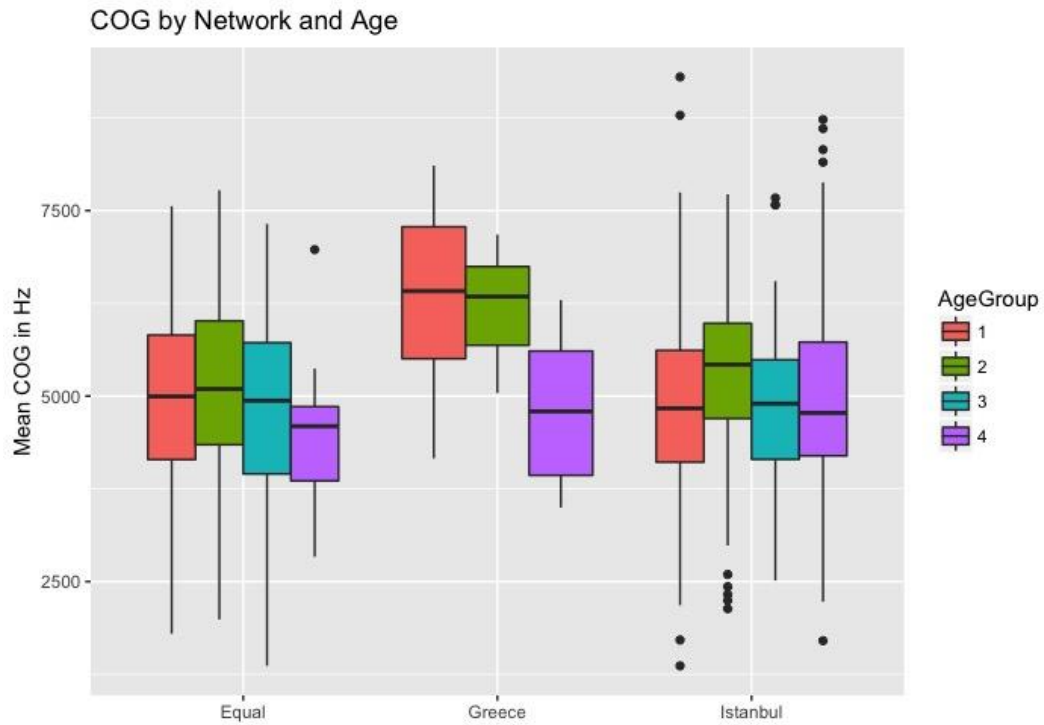


Figure 30. Distribution of /ts/ COG by Social Network and Age

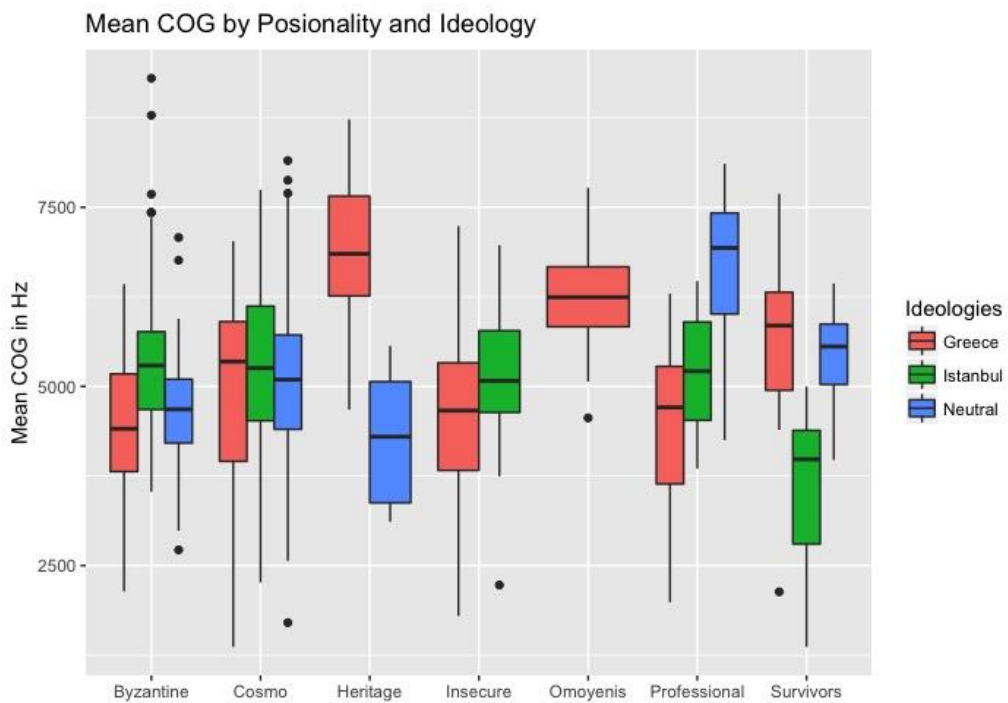


Figure 31. Distribution of /ts/ COG by Positionality and iIdeologies

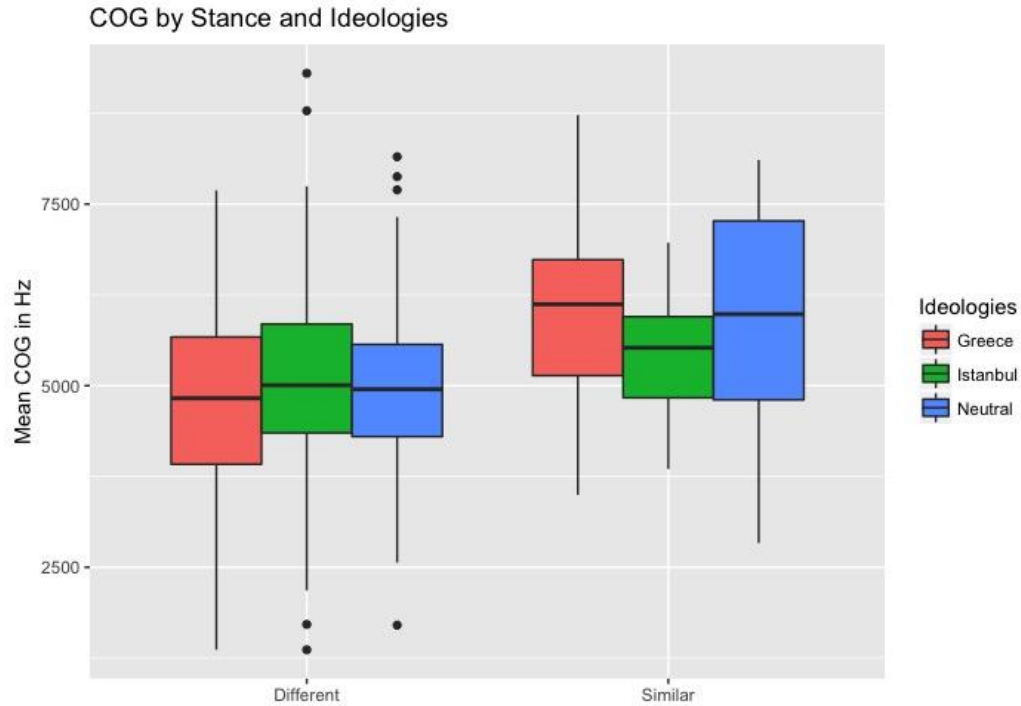


Figure 32. Distribution of /ts/ COG by Stance and Ideologies

5.2.3 Comparing Patterns of Variation

Although there is some overlap in how these two phonetic variables pattern, there are some interesting discrepancies. Perhaps most interesting is that whereas with laterals we see traditional variationist principles in action with the youngest females leading change to the standard form, with affricates the opposite is true. Although not occurring at the same levels as women adopting clearer laterals, more young women are producing lower COGs in their affricates, suggesting increased postalveolar affricate production. Social networks appear to pattern similarly for both variables in males, although social networks appear to play a much stronger role for females adopting clearer laterals than for females' affricate production.

Overall younger IGs are velarizing less much more than they are producing alveolar affricates. This might be obfuscated by large levels of affricate variation as noted in standard errors. An interesting overlap between lateral and affricate production concerns the distribution based on stance and ideologies. Regardless of the feature, ideologies mostly seem to impact those who emphasize IGs as being similar to other Greeks rather than those who emphasized difference. Although those emphasizing difference always have lower mean Hz values for both laterals and coronal affricates, IGs different positionalities seem to interact with ideologies.

In any case, these two variables do not pattern the same way. Laterals, the more salient dialectal feature, pattern somewhat similarly to what is expected from language change based on an attention to speech model. Yet this is most pronounced with young females. Males, on the other hand, seem not to be shifting regardless of age. Social networks have very little predicative power with the laterals, only really playing a role in the youngest IGs' lateral production. Affricates, however, do not have the same patterns regarding gender or social networks. Young females are producing more postalveolar affricates, which is counterintuitive based on accepted variationist predictions. Whereas social networks played little roles for lateral production, those with Greece-dominant networks are much more likely to produce alveolar affricates across genders and age. The exception to this is younger speakers' affricate production being less influenced by social networks. Perhaps younger speakers have had less exposure and opportunities to develop more Greek networks. The overall differences in patterns of variation is presumably due to the affricates' lesser salience not creating the same type of social meaning as laterals for the majority of the speakers. Because laterals are more salient due to phonetic divergence from SMG, they are openly discussed in metapragmatic commentary. The more indexical meaning of velarized laterals linked to IG identity then understandably plays a role in how speakers use the variant across contexts.

Let's now contextualize the wordlist data with metapragmatic discourse to highlight what social meaning IG linguistic forms have. This in turn will allow for greater understanding as to why IGs do not vary their postalveolar affricates the same way as laterals.

5.3 Pockets of Change

The wordlist data in 5.2 does provide some useful insights about linguistic variation in the IG community. Although we can see interesting patterns in terms of how lateral velarization and postalveolar affricates are produced in wordlists, coupling how these are employed metapragmatically will provide the necessary nuance to understand how these and other dialectal features are linked to the IG semiotic field. In the sections that follow, I show different types of metapragmatic discourse and how the commentary reflects attitudes to IG broadly and how laterals and affricates are tied to IG identity in different ways.

5.3.1 Whose Katharevousa?

In Section 2.2.2, I provided a brief overview of Katharevousa as the H form in Ferguson's (1959) understanding of diglossia within Modern Greek. Although Katharevousa is understood based on specific morphosyntactic forms and lexical items. Mackridge (1985), Ralli (2012), and other scholars previously have discussed the Greek of Constantinople as not having been that substantially different from SMG and in fact as having contributed to both Katharevousa and demotic Greek. IG certainly does exhibit more Katharevousa elements in daily speech as illustrated in Section 2.3, particularly in phonotactics and certain verbal conjugations, and some speakers

have openly discussed these as demonstrating IG as being a more “proper” or “correct” version of Greek.

Other IGs however do not view IG as containing or employing more Katharevousa elements. These speakers tend to be more linguistically insecure and similar to Lazaro’s metapragmatic discourse in Section 4.2, cite increased use of Turkish as a source of anxiety and linguistic impurity. For example, Stavro, who comments on his speech and connects it to his exogamous marriage with a Turk and how he does not speak Greek as readily as he used to. He then cites having a hard time understanding SMG-speakers when visiting Athens because they talk quickly and use “Katharevousa” forms that IG doesn’t use. Curiously, some other IGs who also view SMG to be more demonstrative of Katharevousa make those claims while using arguably more Katharevousa forms. Take Gligori’s metapragmatic discourse discussing differences between Greek as spoken in Athens and in Istanbul as an example:

Η διαφορά? **Μεταχειρίζονται** εκεί μερικές λέξεις Καθαρευούσα τις οποίες δεν γνωρίζουμε εδώ. **Μεταχειρίζονται** πιο πολύ **Καθαρευούσα** εμείς εδώ πιο **λαϊκή γλώσσα μεταχειριζόμαστε**. Αυτή, μια διαφορά υπάρχει...Και η προφορά όπως και πάντα σε κάθε περιοχή η προφορά αλλάζει δεν μπορεί να είναι ίδια. Η εδώ προφορά άλλη, εκεί η προφορά άλλη, και στην Αθήνα με άλλη προφορά μιλάνε, αν πάτε και σε στα νησιά η πάτε, ξέρω εγώ, Καβάλα η κάπου αλλού και εκεί ο **απλός λαός** θα μιλάει με τη δικιά του προφορά ... αλλάζει με τον μέρος αλλάζει η προφορά. Κι εδώ πάνε στη Μαύρη θάλασσα μιλάνε αλλιώς έτσι. Στην Ανατολή μιλάνε αλλιώς.

The difference? They use there some Katharevousa words which we don’t know here. **They use much more Katharevousa, we here more of a vernacular language we use.** This, there is a difference...And the accent as always in every region the accent changes, it can’t all be the same. Another accent here, there another accent, and in Athens another accent they speak, if you go to the island too, or if you go I don’t know Kavala or someplace else, there too, the **simple people** will speak with their own accent...it changes with the place, the accent changes. And here if you go to the Black Sea they speak in another way. In Anatolia they speak yet another way.

What initially makes Gligori’s metapragmatic discourse compelling is that he asserts mainland Greeks as using Katharevousa forms that are unfamiliar to IGs, who use more of a slang,

vernacular language. Yet he does not provide examples of either types of words. Meanwhile he employs the IG verb *Μεταχειρίζομαι* /metaxirizume/ rather than SMG *χρησιμοποιώ* /xrisimopio/, for the verb “to use.” *Μεταχειρίζομαι* is a variant form of *Μεταχειρίζομαι* /metaxirizome/, so not only is the lexical item itself a more Katharevousa word choice over the SMG variant, but then the specific verbal conjugation of it arguably makes for a more marked Katharevousa form for a SMG speaker. Gligori has some contacts with Greece, but as an older IG male born in 1940, he is more rooted to Istanbul. He references accent differences in every place, particularly that of the “simple people,” yet does not have specific examples to provide. Here he is similar to Lazaro where they both align with being uneducated or simple and justify so with generic language use. However, the idea is that because IGs do not recognize certain SMG lexical items, or that IGs at the very least recognize that certain SMG lexical items are not Turkish influenced, then SMG is deemed purer and thereby more Katharevousa, regardless of the actual linguistic forms used.

Gligori’s lateral production was ranked 17th most velarized out of the 80 participants who completed the wordlist, with a mean /l/ F2 of 1099 before back vowels and in coda position. His lateral production in metapragmatic discourse is consistent with that of his wordlist, for example the midpoint F2 measurement of his utterance of *glossa* “language” is 1051 Hz. Although he does not mention laterals as a specific difference between Greek dialects, Gligori does discuss IGs’ language as vernacular and their being simple people compared to SMG. This categorization could possibly be contributed in part to velarized laterals, which could be deemed more vernacular. In other words, the attribution of Athens as speaking purer without foreign influenced is able to be codified by their lack of velarization, which is influenced by Turkish phonology.

As Gligori’s discourse above presents, IGs may understand Katharevousa differently from SMGs. IGs may also reference other types of archaisms that can be understood to be more

Katharevousa. Take Gianni's metapragmatic commentary below. Of a similar age and gender cohort to Gligori (male born in 1945), Gianni discusses linguistic elements that differ between IG and SMG and uses a few small stories (Georgakopoulou, 2006) to demonstrate these differences.

Διαφέρει πολύ αυτό. Τα Ελληνικά της **Κωνσταντινουπόλεως** είναι διαφορετικά τα Ελληνικά των **Ελλήνων** είναι πολύ... Τώρα εκεί πέρα ε... **Έλα!** Εγώ τώρα *παίρνω* στην εξαδέλφη μου την πρώτη φορά στην **Ελλάδα**, την *ανοίγω* το τηλέφωνο και τη λέω.. «**Έλα**» με λέει κι γω νομίζω, που θα ρτω τη λέω, που που που να έρτω? Εκείνη με λέει γεια σου δηλαδή, Γιάννη γεια σου. Εμείς εδώ πέρα λέμε **άλλο**.

Πρώτη χρονιά στην Ελλάδα που πηγα με τον Κύριο Μιχάλη με το λεωφορείο απ τα Ύψαλα κάτσαμε στα... ήρτε ένα γκαρσόν και είπε:

-τι θα παραγγέλνεις?

-**όρνιθα** δώσε παρακαλώ.

-Όρνιθα? Τι θα πει Όρρρρνηθα! Όρρρρνηθα! (Με κάνει μα τω Θεό!) Όρρρρνηθα! **Κοτόπουλο** θα πεις.

It is very different. The Greek of **Istanbul** is different the Greek of the **Hellenes** is very... Now over there uh... **Come!** [ela] Now I *call* my cousin, my first time in Greece [elaða], I give her a phone call and I tell her... “**Come!**” She tells me, and I’m thinking where should I come I tell her, where, where, where should I come? She was telling me hello, in other words “Gianni, hello.” Over here we say **other** things instead.

My first year in Greece which I went with Mr. Mixali on the bus from Ypsala (historically Greek town in Turkey’s western most part of Thrace bordering Greece). We sat down somewhere, and the waiter came and asked:

- “what will you order?”

-**Ornitha** (chicken), please.

-Ornitha? What does Orrrrrnitha mean? Orrrrrnitha! (He’s doing this to me, my God!) Ornitha! Kotopoulo you mean.

Gianni’s discussions of his experiences with SMG are noteworthy for multiple reasons. In the first paragraph he is responding to the question of what the differences between Greek spoken in Istanbul and Greece are. Gianni pauses for a moment and rather than asserting lexical or phonetic differences directly, he recalls what to him was a salient experience, and does one of the few overt performances of SMG of all of my participants. He encapsulates this experience as how SMG uses unrecognizable discourse markers, such as “come,” which decidedly is not Katharevousa and uncommon in IG. *Embros* “forward” or *oriste* “at your service” would be the

conventional IG terms and more akin to Katharevousa or at least formal speech in SMG. Although he does not mention Katharevousa explicitly, this distinction with IG aligning more with Katharevousa is reinforced when he uses the Katharevousa genitive declension of -poleos (bold in the first paragraph) rather than demotic -polis for Istanbul. Katharevousa is also indirectly invoked in the second scene where he plays up the mocking nature of the waiter not understanding his order of chicken. *Ornitha* is the IG word for cooked chicken and a derivative of the same root of English ornithology. However, the most interesting aspects of Gianni's commentary is the phonetic shifting he does in both of these small stories. For example, the rhotic in IG is almost exclusively an alveolar tap and is often devoiced word finally. In the performance of the SMG waiter, Gianni trills the rhotic with multiple closures, whereas the rest of his speech is tapped or flapped. Furthermore, Gianni is the 8th most velarizing IG based on the wordlist with a mean F2 before back vowels and in coda position of 1005 Hz. When he performs SMG by recounting *ela*, his midpoint F2 jumps up to 1595 Hz. In the next sentence when he is not performing SMG and mentions his first time calling his cousin in Greece *Elada*, his /l/ F2 drops down to 825 Hz. When he recreates his SMG-speaking cousin's utterance of *ela* again, the F2 shoots back up to 1583 Hz. Similarly yet inversely to Vassiliadis's performance in 5.1, Gianni's vowels also shift with these performances. The /a/ in both of his SMG *elas* have midpoint F2 measurements of 1485 Hz and 1401 Hz respectively. The stressed /a/ in his IG *Elada* has an F2 of 1263 Hz. Even though he never mentions specific phonetic aspects of the IG accent being different, he demonstrates this knowledge in these performances, which were intended to highlight lexical difference and politeness. In any case, Gianni has very positive attitudes toward IG as his discourse below indicates:

Ως για μένα τα Ελληνικά της **Τουρκίας** είναι πιο ωραία, της **Κωνσταντινουπόλεως**. Δεν καταλάβεις εκεί πέρα σε λένε **αγγούρι** [αντί] **δροσερό** και κάθε «**έλα τι μου κάνεις.**» οι

ομιλίες που κάνουνε ε είναι λίγο με φαίνεται εμένα **κοροϊδευτικά** να πούμε. Για της Πόλης τα Ελληνικά είναι πολύ πιο ωραία

As for me, the Greek from **Turkey** is nicer. Greek of **Istanbul**. You don't understand over there when they tell you *anguri* [instead of] *drosero* (cucumber), and every “**Come now, what are you doing to me [genitive].**” The speeches that they make uh it's a little, they seem to me a bit **mocking**, let's say. The Greek of Istanbul is very much nicer.

Gianni first orients his speech to Turkey as opposed to Greece, quickly specifying Istanbul, again with the Katharevousa genitive marker. He provides examples of not being able to understand SMG speech, although he in fact can understand such terms, but rather does not prefer them. For example, the distinction between *anguri* and *drosero* that I touched upon in section 2.3 is not one of comprehension on the part of IGs, as *anguri* merely serves a different pragmatic function than *drosero* does for “cucumber.” If anything, the lack of comprehension is on the part of SMGs unfamiliar with the IG term, which is what Gianni had commented on in another example not presented in this text. More important of a factor in Gianni's ideological leanings toward Greek varieties is when he refers to SMG as being *mocking*. He does not view their language use as sincere Greek because his primary interaction with Greek is based on an IG environment. The following sections explore some of the same types of language ideologies as presented by both Gligori and Gianni, however in different contextualizations.

5.3.2 Conflicting Ideologies

As seen in the previous sections, different IGs have different attitudes regarding their speech and ideologies about the Greek language more broadly. These seemingly conflicting attitudes, understandings of ideologies, and evaluations of language often revolve around notions of purity and historical legacy, and perhaps can be attributed to the specific constellations of features that speakers attend to. However, in addition to conflicting with one another, some IGs'

metapragmatic discourse reveals conflicting ideologies within an individual. Speakers might view certain dialectal features more positively than others, which creates a tension when discussing their speech holistically. Take Magda, an IG school teacher who was born in 1964. Although she was born and raised in Istanbul, Magda attended a university in Athens to receive a degree in Greek philology. After living in Athens for 4 years, she returned to Istanbul, married an IG man and both of them work in one of the few IG high schools in Istanbul where she teaches the Greek language. This happens to be the same high school where her late father was a former principal. Here are her responses when asked about the dialectal differences between IG and SMG:

MF: Η μεγαλύτερη διαφορά είναι το “με”. Το με είναι πολύ έντονο το με και το σε. Είναι οι λέξεις τουρκικές που βάζουμε ανάμεσα και είναι και στην προφορά το λάμδα και το σίγμα....Πολύ, πολύ έντονο είναι. το “ζ” το “ς” το “ξ” και το λάμδα είναι πολύ έντονο επειδή είναι περασμένα από τα τουρκικά. Επειδή το λένε το “ς” το “ζ” είναι πολύ έντονα στα τουρκικά και το “ξ”. Αν ακούσεις τούρκους που έχουνε μάθει ελληνικά να μιλάνε το πρώτο πράγμα που κάνει εντύπωση είναι το σίγμα ακούγεται πολύ έντονα. Ενώ στους Έλληνες δεν παρατηρείτε το σίγμα να μιλάνε.

MJH: Οι **Ελλαδίτες** δηλαδή.

MF: Μάλιστα. Οι **Ελλαδίτες** δεν το ακούς το σίγμα ένα “ς” ναι. Αλλά το αυτό...συρτάκι δηλαδή βγαίνανε έντονα “ς” όταν δηλαδή είναι επειδή επηρεαζόμαστε εδώ από την Τουρκική γλώσσα το “ς” το πάει άσχημα, το ακούς έντονα το «ς» το λάμδα και το τσ/τζ. Αυτό... Τώρα στην Ελλάδα όταν λες Ελλάδα τι εννοείς? Γιατί στην Αθήνα έχεις τόσο πολύ ξενόκοσμο που αξεί και Ελληνική γλώσσα της Αθήνας να αλλάζει, να παίρνει λέξεις που παλιά δεν τις ακούγω στην Αθήνα.

MF: The biggest difference is the [use of] “me.” The “me” is very intense, both the “me” and the “se.” Also the Turkish words that we put in between [Greek words] and regarding pronunciation, the “l” and the “s.” ...It’s very, very intense. The “ch” and the “j” and the “s” and the “l” are very intense because they are passed onto us from Turkish. Because they say “j” and “ch” very intensely in Turkish and the “s,” too. If you hear Turks who have learnt to speak Greek, the first thing that makes an impression is that the “s” sounds very intense. Meanwhile you don’t notice the “s” when the *Ellines* speak.

MJH: The **Mainland Greeks** you mean.

MF: Yes. The **Mainland Greeks** you don't hear the "s" a "s-" yes, a [slight] "s." But this *sirtaki* [drawer] then comes out as an intense "s" because we are influenced here by the Turkish language, the "s" becomes ugly, you hear it intensely the "s" and the "l" and the "ch" and the "j." This.... Now in Greece when you say Greece what do you mean? Because in Athens you have such foreigners that lead even the Greek language in Athens to change, to take words which before I would not *hear* in Athens.

Magda's metapragmatic discourse is noteworthy for a few reasons. Similar to Yorgo in Section 4.2 and most other IGs in general, she makes a distinction between *Ellines* and *Romioi* wherein the former aligns with mainland Greek and SMG and the latter with IGs and IG. Only when I interject to clarify that she means Mainland Greeks with *Ellines* does she then use *Elladites* to continue this section (although later she goes back to using *Ellines* for Mainland Greeks). Whereas Yorgo's earlier discussion concerned the linkage with *Romioi* and IG to IG verbal conjugations, here Magda links the use of the accusative for the historic dative (rather than using SMG genitive), Turkish lexical items, and multiple phonetic differences. Although she begins by stressing how the primary difference is the IG accusative use, she spends the most time discussing phonetic differences of fricatives and affricates. She lists laterals as the first pronunciation difference, before discussing the claims that the SMG fricatives are less "intense." What is curious is that Arvaniti (2007) and others have commented on that SMG fricatives range in place of articulation and often are so retracted that they approach postalveolar position. Furthermore Turkish has both alveolar and postalveolar fricatives as separate phonemes, so Magda's claim that Turks learning Greek use the postalveolar phone is somewhat unexpected. Nevertheless, when going back and forth between demonstrating an SMG /s/ and IG /s/ Magda's COG goes from nearly 7200 Hz to around 5000 Hz.

Her later commentary of unrecognized current Athens and Athenian speech (i.e., SMG) is interesting because she uses IG form [akuyo] "I hear" rather than SMG [akuo]. Further making this a noteworthy section is her lateral quality upon saying the word Greece /elaða/. In the wordlist,

Magda was ranked 53rd of 80 in most velarized laterals with a mean /l/ F2 of 1300 Hz. However, her utterance of the /l/ of Greece (“when you say Greece”) has a midpoint F2 of 976 Hz. This demonstrates a genre or style shift of /l/ to SMG for the wordlist, and possibly the stancetaking of disaligning with SMG or Greece. This distancing is made the more curious because it is somewhat in conflict with her earlier claims that the effect of Turkish has made IG “ugly,” as opposed to what it was before, which presumably is setting up the SMG opposition as “pretty.” By acknowledging contact-induced change in SMG, however, Magda is negotiating a conflicting ideology and tempering that by realigning with some IG features in [akuyo].

Evridiki is another female IG. Evridiki is very involved in dense IG networks and participates in multiple roles and planning events. Similar to Magda she teaches at a local IG high school. Dissimilar to Magda, she teaches science and was born in 1990. However when asked about dialectal differences, she also brings up the use of the accusative for the historic dative case as a primary example of dialectal differences. Perhaps as educators, Evridiki and Magda are more tuned into such features as important differences. Below is Evridiki’s commentary:

E: Το με. Το μου και το με. (γέλια) Εκείνο είναι.

M: Και με την προφορά?

E: Και μια το **λάμδα...καλά**. Λίγοοοοο νομίζω ότι πολύ δεν το... χρησιμοποιώ έτσι, **αλλά** βέβαια όταν βλέπω όταν ακούω βασικά περισσότερο εκείνο. Και μας λένε πολλές φορές, από **Θεσσαλονίκη** είστε όταν μιλάμε»

M: Τίποτα άλλο με την προφορά

E: Το “τζ” μπορεί...ναι και τουρκικά είναι ΤΣ...από κει είναι επειδή...ÇUÇUK είναι.

M- Πιο βαρύ είναι?

E: Ενώ το «κάτσε» είναι πιο λεπτό «τζ»

M- Δεν είναι τόσο κοινό το τς» στα τουρκικά çabuk.....geç

E- Και πιο πολύ είναι στην αρχή της λέξης νομίζω...ότι *kaçak... çabuk ...çok* πιο πολύ το *çok* φυσικά.

M- άμα “*geç kaldı*”

E-όταν είναι στο τέλος τόσο *Ç* δεν είναι φυσικά. Το *geç* δεν είναι τόσο, το «*Ç*» «*τς*» είναι.

E: The [use of] me. The [use of mu] and the [use of] me. (laughter). That’s what it is.

M: And with the accent?

E: One difference is the *lamda...kala*. I think a littlllle that I don’t...use it like that, *but* certainly when I see when I hear, basically mostly that. And they tell us many times, “Are you from **Thessaloniki**?” when we speak.

M: Anything else with the accent?

E: The “ch” might be...yes because in Turkish it’s a “CH” it’s from there because... *ÇUÇUK* (child) is how you say it.

M: So it’s heavier?

E: Whereas “katse” is a lighter “ts”

M: It isn’t so common the “ts” in Turkish *çabuk geç* (late)

E: And much more at the beginning of the word, I think. *Kaçak* (escape). *çabuk* (quick). *çok* (much) the most with *çok*, naturally.

M: But *geç kaldı* “it’s late”?

E: When it’s at the end it’s not so “CH,” of course. With *Geç* the “ch” is more of a “ts.”

Here Evridiki was content on ending the discussion of difference with the accusative use.

However, when asked specifically about the accent she says the lateral by its Greek name *lamda* and performs a velarized lateral in the word *kala* “well.” She goes on to say she doesn’t think she speaks with a particularly velarized lateral. Out of the 80 participants, she is ranked as 64th in terms of velarization with a mean F2 of 1400 Hz for the wordlist. Her production of *lamda* has a midpoint F2 of 1180 Hz and her performance of *kala* has a midpoint F2 of 904 Hz, markedly lower than her

wordlist recitation of *kala* with an F2 of 1559 Hz. However, her spontaneous speech of *alla* “but” and Thessaloniki have midpoint F2 values of 1389 and 1241, respectively. These both are considerably lower than the 1400-1600 Hz that we expect in SMG according to Loukina (2010). Similar to Magda, she has attended to SMG laterals in the wordlist, but not so in general conversation. Furthermore, her discussion of allophonic properties of Turkish /tʃ/ was fascinating, as I never have seen this documented in any literature on Turkish phonology, and yet it is somewhat compatible with how my IG speakers’ affricates pattern in the wordlist. Here is Evridiki’s additional metapragmatic commentary regarding language ideologies:

Ναι στην Αθήνα πιο καλά μιλάνε (γελάει).....αλλά ΟΧΙ ενώ επειδή, όταν δεν μιλάμε «πολίτικά» μπορώ να πω ότι μιλάμε εμείς πιο καθαρά. Αλλά όταν βάζουμε τουρκικές λέξεις και όταν κάνουμε αυτά, τα λάθη, τότε εντάξει. Δηλαδή πολλές φορές με έχουνε πει στην Ελλάδα πολύ καθαρά ελληνικά μιλάς και επειδή δεν έχουμε καμιά...όπως οι Κριτικοί μιλάνε διαφορετικά δεν έχουμε μια πως το λένε... μια τοπική...προφορά δεν έχουμε... είναι ...αν κάνουμε αυτά, τα λάθη κάνουμε μόνο ...το “λάμδα” το “τς.”

Το μου uhuh φαίνεται ότι είναι πιο χωριάτικο...δεν είναι έτσι? «να μου κάνεις κάτι...δηλαδή με φαίνεται ότι πρέπει να είναι «με»...δεν έχουμε προφορά και χωριάτικα, και στην Ελλάδα δεν ξέρω έχουνε φτάσει να βάζουνε και Αγγλικές λέξεις πολλές φορές. Εμείς εντάξει επειδή μιλάμε πολύ τουρκικά...αλλά ένας που ζει στην Ελλάδα για τί να χρησιμοποιεί αγγλικές λέξεις όταν μιλάει ελληνικά? Είναι παράξενο. Τουλάχιστον μπορώ να πω εμείς έχουμε δικαιολογία-ζούμε στην Τουρκία!

Yes, in Athens they speak better (laughs). But NO I mean because, when we don’t speak *Politika* (IG) I can say that we speak clearer. But when we put Turkish words and when we do these, the mistakes, then alright. For example, they have told me many times in Greece that you speak very good Greek and because we don’t have any...like the Cretans speak differently, we don’t have what do you call it... we don’t have a local accent. It’s...if we do such things, it’s only the mistakes...the “l” the “ch.”

But the [use of] “mu” uhuh. It seems so villagery...Isn’t that right? “Can you do something for me [mu]” like it just feels like it should be [me]...so we don’t have an accent let alone a villager one...Also in Athens I don’t know they’ve gotten to the point where they put in English words many times. So alright because we speak a lot of Turkish...but someone who lives in Greece why should they use English words when they speak Greek? It’s strange. At least I can say we have an excuse-we live in Turkey!

This commentary is compelling for multifold reasons. Evridiki's automatic response is that Athenians (i.e., SMG) speak better than IGs, but then a very deliberate NO qualifies what she says quite strongly. For Evridiki, IG is not a different dialect but rather a combination of what she views as mistakes from Turkish. This despite the fact that earlier in the interview she commented on remembering IG lexical items that are different from SMG, and of course the use of accusatives throughout her commentary, none of which are influenced by Turkish but rather evidence of internal variation. Referencing mutually unintelligible or at least less intelligible varieties of Greek, such as Cretan, she qualifies IG as being not as different from SMG. In other words, the fractal recursivity of IG in comparison with other types of Greekness is centered around degrees of difference from SMG. As such we have scalar notions of difference, not unlike scalar properties of both lateral and affricate quality. While she may view certain aspects of contact-induced change on IG as negative (as apparently many IGs do), nevertheless, she has a very negative perception of SMG using the genitive for historic dative. By referencing the "villager" quality of SMG, she is simultaneously engaging in historic IG discourse of Athens being a rural village in opposition to Istanbul being an urban cosmopolitan city. Both Magda's and Evridiki's metapragmatic commentary speak to the idea of distinct characterological figures of SMG *Ellines* and IG *Romioi* embodying distinct linguistic and social features. Magda's repeated use of *endono* "intense" in describing IG phonetic variants is in line with other descriptors IGs use for laterals and IG holistically, such as "thick" and "heavy." When I referenced the emic term of "heavy" in asking Evridiki about the affricate, she responds with the SMG form being "lighter." This further reinforces the oppositional nature of the characterological figures of *Ellines* and *Romioi* and how linguistic features form part of the semiotic field that informs the IG identity.

5.3.3 Different Experiences

The idea of how different lived experiences with a community and language influence linguistic variation is not new. As Johnstone & Kiesling (2008) demonstrated with Pittsburghese, multifold factors related to community involvement influence variation, awareness of features, and indexical orders. I now present metapragmatic discourse taken from fraternal twin brothers Stef and Filipo. I was put into contact with Stef from another IG I had interviewed. Stef is an IG born in 1988 and who attended local IG schools before attending the University of Patras in Greece. He ended up staying in Greece for about seven years and has worked in different positions in both Greece and Turkey. He has been back in Istanbul for several years and in fall 2018 had just opened up a café (his second) in the Pera neighborhood. Here is his response to my question of the differences between dialects:

Πολλές διαφορές. Καταρχήν, ε εμείς εδώ πέρα μιλάμε πολύ *γλήγορα* μπερδεμένα. Και εκεί πέρα μιλάνε *γρήγορα* οι άνθρωποι αλλά εμείς τα μπερδ- **στρώμε** και τις λέξεις. Εκεί τα λένε και πιο ξεκάθαρα. Εμείς...**στρώμε**. Στην Ελλάδα πιο καθαρά τα λένε ναι. Λίγο πιο *χαλαρά* είναι εκεί πέρα από δω. Εεε Το' χουμε τις λέξεις στο μυαλό μας την έχουμε τη λέξη ας πούμε τη βγάλουμε,, μπλοκάρει. Εε αυτό. Ύστερα *χρησιμοποιούμε* εμείς πιο παλιές λέξεις. Εγώ Πήγαινα *στην* Ελλάδα και έλεγα «*καλαθόσφαιρο*» και με κοροϊδεύανε, μου λένε «τι «*καλαθόσφαιρο*» μαλάκα» μου λένε, «*μπασκετμπολ* παίζουμε εδώ πέρα.» Εκεί πέρα, ξέρεις επειδή...κάθε γλώσσα στο κάθε χορό γίνεται γλώσσα του δρόμο. Εμείς τώρα που ζούμε στην Πόλη, γλώσσα του δρόμου που μιλάνε *στην* Ελλάδα δεν την **μάθαμε**.

Many differences. For starters, uh over here we speak very *fast*, confused. Well over there the people speak *fast* too, but we confu- we **muddle** the words. There they speak so much more clearly. We...**muddle**. In Greece, they speak more clearly, yes. They are a little bit more *relaxed* over there than here. Uh: We have the words in our mind, we have the word let's say we try to get it out, it's blocked. Uh: This. Later, we use older words. I went to Greece and I said "*Kalathosfero*" and they were making fun of me, *malaka* "wanker" they tell me "*basketball* is what we play over here." Over there, you know because...every language in every place becomes a language of the street. We now who live in the City, the street language they speak in Greece we didn't **learn**.

Stef comments on IGs speaking fast using the IG form [ɣliɣora] before switching to more of an SMG form [ɣriɣora] when saying SMGs also speak fast. Despite that most IGs' rate of speech is actually somewhat slower than that of SMGs, Stef does speak fairly quickly and is using his own experience to generalize the rest of the IG community. He uses the verb *strono* to describe how IGs confuse and handle the language. I have never heard of anyone using *strono* this way before, as the verb means to cover something in a layer, so my best attempt at a translation was that he views IGs as muddling words. In his description of SMGs' language he also attributes them with being more relaxed. This can be interpreted both in speech and in behavior, as multiple participants commented that in Greece the people are a lot more open and comfortable whereas IGs are more closed off. This again gets at Gal's (2013) concept of qualia, however, rather than the heaviness of velarized laterals and other backed phonetic properties being tied to IGs closed off nature, here we see SMG's relaxed nature related to their language use. This sort of metapragmatic discussion reinforces the IG semiotic field both in terms of the linguistic features used by IGs, but also overarching characteristics of members of the community and the community as a whole.

Stef's small story of being ridiculed for using an IG term deemed outdated by SMG speakers is similar to Gianni's experience with *Ornitha*. These Katharevousa forms that are no longer or less frequently used in Greece have the possibility to be evaluated positively, such as by Gianni, whereas it is viewed more neutrally to negatively by Stef. This makes some sense due to his being ridiculed by perceived peers while he was in Greece. Furthermore, although Gianni has visited Greece multiple times and has family there, he has lived in Istanbul his entire life. Stef, on the other hand, has not only traveled to Greece multiple times but lived there for seven years in addition to attending a Greek university. As a result, their lived experiences and intimate

relationships with SMGs also play a role in how they orient to and take stances regarding language use.

After interviewing him, Stef had recommended I interview his fraternal twin brother Filippo. He claimed that it would be useful because his brother didn't live in Greece like he had and spoke very differently from him. Filippo has lived his entire life in Istanbul and attended university in Turkey after completing IG primary and secondary schooling. Below is Filippo's response to the same questions I asked his brother:

Η μεγαλύτερη διαφορά ποια είναι σχετικά μ' αυτά τα Ελληνικά μιλάς Ελλάδα και εδώ πέρα? Η μεγαλύτερη διαφορά βασικά σχετικά με γραμματική ίδια γραμματική **ίδια γλώσσα** έχουμε αλλά το πρόβλημα τι είναι? Ότι εμείς έμαθε μόνο τα Ελληνικά που **διαβάζω σε βιβλία**, ενώ η γλώσσα είναι κάτι που ζει και εξελίσσεται οπότε εκεί πέρα μένετε λίγο πιο "updated" Ελληνικά, δηλαδή, τα **μεταχειρίζουνε** διαφορετικές λέξεις αναλάβανε την επικαιρότητα που έχουνε εκεί πέρα.

Εννοείτε που μιλάνε πιο καλά Ελληνικά, δηλαδή μιλάνε Ελληνικά εκεί πέρα. Εγώ δεν έχω την ευκαιρία να μιλήσω... Τελείωσε το λύκειο, πας στο πανεπιστήμιο-αγγλικά και τουρκικά, στη δουλειά μου-αγγλικά και τουρκικά. Εγώ δεν έχω την ευκαιρία να μιλήσω Ελληνικά, τότε ξεχνάω. Εάν δεν τα ξεχνούσα και μιλούσα λίγο τα Ελληνικά, εννοείτε ότι δε θα- πάλι καλύτερα σχετικά αλλά, ε: αυτό είναι επειδή **μεταχειρίζεις** και ακούς περισσότερο...

The biggest difference about the Greek you speak in Greece and over here? The biggest difference basically concerns the grammar, it's the same grammar, same language we have so what is the problem? That we were only taught the Greek that I read in books when language is something that lives and evolves so over there it stays as a bit more "updated" Greek. Meaning they use different words that have taken over their current events that they have over there.

Certainly they speak better Greek, I mean they speak Greek over there. I don't have the opportunity to speak...high school ended, you go to university-English and Turkish, at my work-English and Turkish. I don't have the opportunity to speak Greek so I forget. If I didn't forget it and spoke a little Greek, of course it wouldn't-well still it would be better uh: that's because you use and hear it more.

In comparison to his brother Stef, Filippo is not as confident in his Greek and attributes this largely to lack of exposure and opportunities to practice. His metapragmatic discourse is similar

to his twin when he mentions that language is something that is alive and changes, and that it has changed in Greece, whereas he views it as having been stagnant in Istanbul. Although he has a fine vocabulary, Filippo does make a few grammatical “mistakes,” such as his use of the verb *Μεταχειρίζομαι* “to use.” This is the same Katharevousa-esque verb that elder Gligori used in the previous section, however Filippo produces [metaçirizune] rather than expected [metaçirizunde], with the voiced stop segment. At first I thought this might have been a flub while talking, but in the next section he makes another, different mistake with the same verb, this time removing the passive voice and making it active voice *μεταχειρείζεις* [metaçirizis] rather than expected *μεταχειρείζεσαι* [metaçirizese]. Meanwhile, his brother Stef used SMG *χρησιμοποιούμε* for “we use.”

Despite Stef having adopted more SMG features than Filippo, presumably due to his time abroad, Stef’s laterals are velarized more with significantly lower F2 values than Filippo’s. In fact, Stef was the 20th most velarized IG (mean F2 of 1102 Hz), whereas Filippo is 50th (mean F2 of 1294 Hz). However, Stef’s /ts/ COG values are higher than his brother’s suggesting he has adopted more SMG-like affricate production. Tables 4 and 5 show the two brothers’ lateral and affricate measurements, respectively. When taking measurements of their laterals from the metapragmatic discourse, we see that both brothers are fairly consistent with their wordlist production. Stef’s *malaka* /l/ has an F2 of 962 Hz and his *γlossa* /l/ has an F2 of 857 Hz. Filipos *γlossa* /l/ has an F2 of 1105 Hz and his *alla* /l/ has an F2 of 1186 Hz.

Table 5. Stef and Filippo’s Wordlist Lateral Quality

Measurements in Hz.

Token	Speaker	F2	Speaker	F2
analoyo	Filipo	1123	Stef	935
dulapi	Filipo	1039	Stef	1181
epangelmata	Filipo	1941	Stef	1289

kalanda	Filipo	1326	Stef	973
kala	Filipo	1229	Stef	946
kalo	Filipo	1218	Stef	915
kalus	Filipo	1189	Stef	926
lambaðes	Filipo	1399	Stef	1188
meyalo	Filipo	1114	Stef	897
nostaljia	Filipo	1555	Stef	1863
valume	Filipo	1099	Stef	1012

Table 6. Stef and Filipino's Wordlist Affricate Quality

Measurements in Hz.

Token	Speaker	COG	Speaker	COG
etsi	Filipo	3197	Stef	5386
karfitsa	Filipo	5294	Stef	4892
katso	Filipo	3944	Stef	3531
koritsi	Filipo	4180	Stef	3297
paratsoukli	Filipo	4152	Stef	4904
tsakono	Filipo	2979	Stef	5116
tsekouri	Filipo	3303	Stef	5189
tsiggounis	Filipo	3343	Stef	4128
tsimbo	Filipo	3520	Stef	5195
tsobanis	Filipo	2513	Stef	4827
tsoureki	Filipo	4044	Stef	3124
valitses	Filipo	4342	Stef	6114

So what we see here are interesting parallels between younger and older IGs and their associations with standard language ideologies. We have two different types of appeals to “better” language ideologies in the varieties of Greek. One type of appeal is the association with loanwords and other influences from languages, primarily Turkish. When people discuss contact-induced change, they either view it positively when invoking cosmopolitanism, or negatively with ideologies of linguistic purity. The latter is particularly common for those who feel insecure in their lack of knowledge of Greek. The other type of ideology is rooted in dialectal features that are

either retentions of archaisms or non-standard internal changes. In this case, most speakers who appeal to what they view as older and therefore more “correct” forms view either view IG holistically to be better (as was the case with Gianni) or specific aspects of IG to be better (as was the case with Evridiki). This tension also makes sense when we consider Section 5.2 and how language ideologies were not the greatest predictor in lateral or affricate production. Because ideologies tend to be holistic evaluations of a confluence of several distinct linguistic features, a given speaker’s linguistic output may not neatly fit their holistic evaluations.

When comparing the last four IGs from sections 5.3.2 and 5.3.3, we notice that women are much more likely to adjust to standard language ideologies for lateral production in wordlists than men are. Men’s lateral and affricate production in metalinguistic commentary is fairly consistent with their wordlist production, provided they are not performing. Although men holistically velarize their laterals, we see some change particularly with younger IGs. Stef and Filippo also demonstrate how social networks and exposure to SMG play different roles for laterals and affricates. Although both brothers tend to produce postalveolar affricates, Stef’s COG values appear to have shifted higher, similar to what we saw in 5.2 for IGs with more Greek-dominant networks. Affricates do not pattern in the wordlist the same way laterals do, and I believe this is because of the metapragmatic discourse that surrounds these features and IG holistically. Stef’s increased lateral velarization could also be accounted for based on his time abroad. As he recounted in his story, the differences between SMG and IG were made clear to him based on SMGs making fun of his lexical items and whatnot. Because Stef takes great pride in being from Istanbul and even opened two businesses in Istanbul after returning from Greece, the indexical nature of the velarized lateral can be understood as a display of his IGness, one that was made all the more salient as a result of his time in Greece. His postalveolar affricate production also shifted somewhat

because of his time abroad. However, it has become closer to SMG affricates due to the lack of postalveolar affricates being an index of IGness in comparison to velarized laterals. As a result, the variation of IG dialectal features truly depends on the social meaning tied to them.

Interlude 5: Teatime with Grandmas

Ετσι κάνε /etsi kane/ “do it like this” my grandmother would say to me, although she pronounced it [etʃi kʰame]. I remember being in the kitchen in our home in Rhode Island and my grandmother showing me how to properly dunk a hard cookie into a mug of tea. As she showed me how to do the *papara*, the *krikak* “salted cookies” softened and became easier for my four-year-old self to eat. She smiled at me as though she showed me a priceless secret.

I would have many breakfasts with my grandmother, complete with eggs, black olives, cucumbers, tomatoes, toast, white cheese and tea. A traditional Turkish style breakfast. As I grew, the “English-style” tea (diluted with milk) I drank as a child would change to a plain *demli* with nothing added, just some occasional sugar. Sometimes we would sit in silence, other times we would play card games she taught me. But always I enjoyed the time with my grandmother. Her laugh was infectious and her little voice always made me smile.

Thinking about such teatimes with my grandmother remind me of the many times I had similar experiences in Istanbul with little old Greek women. One of the most hectic days I had in 2016 was post-coup attempt. As I had recounted in an earlier interlude, I procured interviews with seven individuals all spread out throughout the City and five of them on the island of Antigone, the second smallest of the Prince Islands. In the middle of what ended up becoming a very long day, I had met Despina, a retired school teacher, who was staying in the courtyard of a monastery higher up on the island. In addition to sharing my grandmother’s name, she was also watching after her grandson, who was about seven-years-old. As we met in the middle of the afternoon in the heat of summer, she offered me refreshments prior to beginning our interview. She sat in front of me a snack not unknown to many Greeks, a spoonful of mastic in a glass of ice-cold water. The

vanilla-flavored mastic needs to be eaten quickly otherwise it will harden. The submerged nature of the treat has led to it being named “submarine” in most Greek regions that serve it. In IG, however, we just refer to it as “white sweet,” similar to how we call feta cheese “white cheese,” as opposed to SMG-speaking regions. The smile that Despina gave me as she set glasses of the white sweet in front of me and her own grandson made me think of my grandmother who would have done the same thing.

On a visit to Xalki earlier in the summer of 2016, I had attended church at Saint Nicholas. After the liturgy, I sat in the courtyard with dozens of other people and was introduced to a group of women who not only were IGs but proudly locals to Xalki. They were proud to point out to me that they were native islanders, as opposed to the IGs who lived on the mainland and vacationed on the islands. I sat down with my recorder on the middle of the table listening to the group provide some general stories of their life on the island. One particularly lively, elderly woman was excited for an interview, recounting her travels and how despite not having an education behind high school worked for the Nestle company in Switzerland because she spoke excellent French as all “good Istanbul Greek girls learnt.” Of course, this is only a partial truth, but women of a certain age in Istanbul were certainly encouraged to study and speak French. Then again, most IGs were at the very least bilingual in Greek and Turkish, and many also knew conversational French and Armenian. Even those IGs who were not fluent or conversant in languages other than Greek and Turkish would undoubtedly use many terms that had been borrowed into IG, such as French *jour fixe* for a regular gossip session, or Spanish *papel* for paper money borrowed by the Ladino speaking Sephardic community.

One of the first interviews I conducted was with an elderly woman and her middle-aged son. She treated me to chocolates and other snacks as is “our custom” and despite not having

formal education beyond the *astiki* (literally urban school; e.g., public elementary school as opposed to SMG *dimotiki* “public school”) or having learnt any French, and claiming not to speak very good Turkish (one of the few who I spoke with who had said so), she peppered her speech with very typical IG uses of French *merci* and *pardon*, with IG alveolar taps replacing French uvular trills. After the interview had ended, I attempted to offer her a small box of *lukumia*, Turkish Delight. Paying cash to participants for their time would be insulting for the IG community. Instead, I offered most (especially elderly participants) a small box of Turkish delight or equivalent sweet. There were a few younger IGs who I treated to a drink instead. And there was one very lively elderly IG male that I needed to treat to an elaborate meal of köfte in the *Balat* neighborhood of the Old City after he showed me the old IG neighborhood and then we conducted the interview. But as several of my informants had done, this little woman refused my gift. Raising her head and eyebrows to signal no (as is the practice across Greece and Turkey), she said “No, no. You’re like my nephew now, you do not need to give a gift when you visit your aunt.”

6.0 Putting the Pieces Together

In this final chapter, I come to conclusions regarding the Istanbul Greek language variety and its role within the IG community in creating and circulating a distinct IG identity. I discuss linguistic implications for the IG within the realm of Greek dialectology, specifically the types of linguistic phenomena that occur in IG and how they can be accounted for in variationist research. I then move on to the strategies IGs use in different contexts to discursively create and recreate an IG identity. What these two sections demonstrate is how central social meaning is to linguistic forms and variation, particularly in endangered minority contact varieties. My last section then summarizes how language use within the IG community reflects and constructs a distinct IG community. I believe the information presented here hold for other communities as well, and a contribution of this research is the application of how patterns of language variation are reflective and constructive of social phenomena.

6.1 IG in Greek Dialectology

As IG has not previously been properly represented within Greek dialectology literature (e.g., Kontosopoulos, 2005), an important contribution of this dissertation is the description of IG and how it relates to other Greek varieties. I would argue that part of what has contributed to the dearth of IG literature is demographic with so few IGs left in Istanbul and many IGs having shifted to SMG. Furthermore, they are a highly closed off group and have tended to be suspicious of non-community members, so working on or with the IGs has previously been limited. Beyond this

though, I believe preexisting ideologies on the part of Greek linguists and other researchers has played a substantial role in the lack of IG representation. For example, the conflation of Fanari and Fanariots with Constantinople and all Istanbul Greeks undermines the IGs and their history. By the 19th century IGs had long spread from the old city center well into the upper European peninsula and along the Bosphorus shores on both sides in both continents for centuries. As a result, the wealthy educated Fanariot bourgeois who had the most contact with Greece (specifically Athens) did not ever represent a typical IG dispersed throughout the City. The language of the other IGs, particularly those in peripheral regions, were in much more direct contact with Turkish than the Fanariots, and the tradespeople of Pera had more than sufficient contact with Turkish, French, Italian, and more. The ideological erasure of the heterogeneity of IGs in part has led to many reputable sources not recognizing the dialectal diversity within Istanbul (see Section 3.2 for more on ideological erasure). Consequently, much historic written IG data has been interpreted by scholars such as Mackridge (1985, 2009) and Ralli (2012) as not as divergent from SMG and so there has been less of an impetus to document, describe, or discuss IG.

As the IG community has actively been in contact with speakers of other Greek varieties and diverse languages, the IG dialect exemplifies external, contact-induced change along with internal changes and maintenance of archaisms. Certain structural features found in other peripheral Greek varieties are also present in IG, as well as innovations and influence from Turkish and Romance languages not found in other Greek dialects. These features not only define IG as a contact variety, but IG speakers exemplify a wave-theory model of language change based on Istanbul's geography and distribution. These characteristics in turn add to the social symbol of the variety for IG speakers and how they consequently relate to other Greeks based on their speech. In this sense, IG has variation at nearly every structural level corresponding to those found in what

have been considered to be distinct dialectal groupings. I am proposing that IG is a sort of “Cosmolect,” in that it contains features from all sorts of dialects that fit in other regional Greek varieties. The sociohistorical development of Greeks in Istanbul from Antiquity through the modern day has shaped the cosmopolitan nature of Istanbul and accounts for the diversity of linguistic features in IG.

6.1.1 Contact Theory

IG is and should be described as an endangered language variety that has been in intense contact with Turkish and somewhat in isolation from larger communities of Greek speakers. However, IG speakers are a rather heterogeneous group, with many having at least one parent or grandparent from another Greek-speaking region such as Northern Greece, Southern Greece, Greek Islands, Balkans, Cappadocia, Pontus, etc. Due to the decreasing IG population, most younger generations are either shifting to Turkish or replacing some dialectal features with those found in SMG (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007). Despite claims of IG not being significantly different from or having isoglosses separating it from SMG (Kontosopoulos, 2008; Papadopoulou, 1975), the intimate contact IG had had with Turkish has resulted in largescale code-switching, lexical borrowings and structural diffusion not found in SMG (Komondouros & McEntee-Atalianis, 2007; Zahariadis, 2014). Furthermore there is evidence of some unusual isogloss formation, as IG exhibits lexical and morphosyntactic features found in peripheral Greek varieties of Crete and Cyprus, as well as other features that pattern with Northern Greek varieties, and others still that pattern with now purportedly extinct Old Athenian/Maniot. The specific language ecology for the IG community encompasses large sociohistorical and geopolitical developments, and discussing contact from an ecological perspective then needs to take into

account how a language develops based on social developments. In the case of IG, it developed differently from other Greek varieties due to historic migration patterns, and more recently over the 19th and 20th centuries due to national policies that have led it to continually diverge from SMG and other Greek dialects.

6.1.2 Gravity Wave Theory Exemplar

Wave Theory suggests that in addition to traditional understandings of diachronic language change as languages evolving from “genetically” (i.e., structurally similar) related languages over periods of time, that new varieties form based on contact and proximity of languages and dialects within one another. As IG has several salient features found in what are considered Northern Greek varieties (e.g., lateral velarization, historic dative becoming accusative rather than genitive) and because of Istanbul’s geographic location, it might be tempting to say that IG is a northern variety that also happened to undergo extensive contact-induced change. However, that would undermine the role of Istanbul as a millenia-old Greek center. As Vassilios Spyropoulos (personal communication, March 2, 2018) suggested IG most likely served as the basis speech that Northern Greece emulated due to proximity. This is very much in the same vein that eastern counties in northern New Jersey are considered to be part of the greater New York City dialectal region (Labov, Ash, & Boberg, 2006), with further southwestward movement exhibiting fewer and fewer NYC features. Similarly, Northern Greek varieties most certainly could have been influenced by the formerly prestigious variety of Greek as was spoken in Istanbul.

Joseph (2019) discusses the “gravity model,” in which a linguistic innovation that begins in an urban center spreads from one larger city to another, avoiding less urban areas, with respect to historic developments in Greek and Judeo-Greek. Because of the historic role Constantinople

served in the development of SMG and Katharevousa, and because of the migration patterns from peripheral Greek regions varieties to the City, I would assert that IG's development demonstrates elements of both a gravity and wave model. Specifically, certain morphosyntactic and phonotactic features found in IG and particularly in Fanari were spread to Athens (and to a lesser extent Thessaloniki) via a gravity model, in which Constantinopolitan elite had contacts in the then Hellenic Kingdom. Consequently, the development of SMG is the result of IG diffusing from a gravity model perspective. However, contact-induced change and internal changes to morphology, lexical items, and other elements that are shared along the peripheral northern and southern varieties that migrated to Constantinople can be understood as having been diffused via a wave model, in which the heterogeneous IG community developed forms that slowly spread to neighboring regions. Hence, IG exhibits some features found in some Northern Greek dialects (e.g., the accusative for historic genitive, velarized laterals, lexicon) because these features spread from Constantinople to Thrace and so on.

6.1.3 Social Symbol

Symbolically, IG is a representation of the cosmopolitan identity of the IG community. The features described above, particularly related to contact-induced change, are used as evidence by IGs as a manifestation of their cosmopolitan sophistication. Multilingualism and word play also factor into this understanding of cosmopolitanism. The semiotic field described in the earlier sections encompass linguistic and social characteristics of the IG community. Furthermore, the semiotic field also encompasses aspects of the IG language ecology. The sociohistorical developments of IG that led to the IG ecology is important for the dialect's development. The knowledge of the sociohistorical and geopolitical movements that have affected the IG community

are also a part of the IG semiotic field. As a result, washing hands with lemon cologne, using loanwords from Spanish, and understanding Byzantine and Ottoman influences, all function together in how members of the IG community negotiate themselves. The language especially espouses the cultural knowledge because it demonstrates some degree of investment in the community's history.

As we saw in Chapter 5, the linguistic variation of IG dialectal features changes based on the social meaning of the variant. Laterals are highly salient due to phonetic and phonological differences, which contributes to their being more widely discussed, which in turn contributes to their being a key index for IG identity. The indexicality of velarized laterals then contributes to how speakers use this form, which patterns differently from other variants that do not have the same social meaning.

6.2 Discursive Tactics

The IG community has many linguistic resources within their repertoire that allow them to perform and circulate an IG identity. Metapragmatic discourse, in which they highlight differences from other Greeks, Turks, and the other minorities of Istanbul, demonstrate ideologies related to language use and other aspects of material culture. Nostalgic narratives, both in-person and digitally, employ chronotopes as mechanisms for IGs to make sense of their history and sense of IGness. Characterological figures of the *Ellinas* and *Romios* have been ascribed linguistic features to correspond with archetypal mainland Greek and Istanbul Greek, respectively. All together, IGs engage with these discursive practices daily in their negotiation of identity.

6.2.1 Evaluating Differences

Metapragmatic discourse (Silverstein, 1976, 2003) is how speakers demonstrate the social meaning of their language variety and understanding of indexical linkages of linguistic forms within specific contexts. IGs vary along a continuum of viewing IG as greatly contrasting with SMG or having minimal differences at best. Different speakers are aware of different linguistic elements that make up the IG repertoire and distinguish it from SMG and other IG varieties. Although lexical items were unanimously considered by all to be the biggest difference with IG, speakers attended to different types of lexical items, whether borrowings from Turkish or Romance languages, or Greek lexical items found in peripheral dialects of Greek, too.

Lateral quality is the most common phonetic difference that people discussed in interviews. Acoustic analysis of wordlists have shown velarization to pattern more or less as expected with regard to traditional variationist methods, although not as expected when considering different speakers' lateral production in metapragmatic discourse, such as Stef's and Filippo's. These twins show how the salience of the velarized lateral has a different indexical property and social meaning from postalveolar affricates, and consequently this explains how both features pattern differently as they occupy different spaces in the IG semiotic field.

6.2.2 (Re)constructing the Past

IGs engage in different types of chronotopic constructions and reconstructions of their identity. Using different Facebook groups, diasporic IG members share photographs of the City. These include older images taken from decades past in addition to contemporary photographs. I have identified a few key strategies IGs employ when using these Facebook groups to recreate a

Greek Istanbul: photographs, photographs with commentary or recollections, asking who from the community remembers a specific location, item, or expression, and performative narratives where posters and commenters play along as though they were still in Istanbul speaking in the dialect. Sometimes multiple strategies are used at the same time, and often such posts contain more IG dialectal features than the posters normally would use. These all engage with different types of nostalgia whether directly, as is the case with old photos, or indirectly, as is the case with hypothetical instances where IG dialectal features are performed, often for humoristic intent.

In terms of analog discussions, IGs residing in Istanbul reference the change that the City has undergone and the past grandeur of both Istanbul and the IG community. The multiple historic Greek neighborhoods on both sides of the Bosphorus and the Prince Islands that IGs still live in (albeit with smaller populations) shows how the IGs have resisted ghettoization and stayed in their ancestral communities. This also attests to how IGs are not in a diaspora in Istanbul; whereas many mainland Greeks have settled in specific areas in new locations such as Astoria, Queens, Tarpon Springs, Florida, or Greektown (Chicago, Detroit, Toronto, etc.), the Istanbul Greeks were never restricted to a singular neighborhood in Istanbul. Yes, certain neighborhoods have been noted as specifically having larger Greek populations, but IGs were always present along the Asian and European sides of the City and never restricted to one primary location. This is different from how IGs relocated in Athens primarily settled in the Paleo Faliro neighborhood, which being on the Athens Riviera in some ways resembled the shores of the Bosphorus and Marmara.

6.2.3 Characterological Figures

Characterological figures (Agha, 2005; Johnstone, 2017) are ways that enregistered speech comes to represent a persona. We can also understand them as a way of positioning differentiation.

What appears to happen with the IG community is the enregisterment of specific features that then are mapped onto the terms of *Ellines* and *Romioi*. As Halstead (2014, 2018) has demonstrated when IGs relocated in Athens align themselves with mainland Greeks they refer to themselves as *Ellines*, but when they distinguish themselves from them they use the term *Romioi*.

IG speakers use these terms in their separation of an IG identity and the attribution of *Ellines* with *Elladites*, or Greeks from Mainland Greece. By asserting an *Ellinas* will say X, a *Romios*, will say Y, IGs engage in linguistic differentiation (Gal & Irvine, 2019) and take stances while doing so. These terms interact with what Bucholtz and Hall (2005) define as an emergent principle of identity, wherein just the labeling of the self and other form discrete identities. In Gal & Irvine's (2019) framework, these opposing figures are ideologically used as a source of differentiation with the attribution of qualities that correspond linguistic phenomena to social phenomena. Furthermore, the qualia (Gal, 2013) of velarized laterals being "heavy," "thick," "closed," etc. have been mapped onto the IG variety holistically and by extension to the conceptualization of the *Romios* as a characterological figure opposing the more "European," "open," "comfortable," and "light" SMG-speaking *Ellines*.

6.3 Moving Forward

The above sections, in this and earlier chapters, demonstrate the complex sociohistorical development of the IG community. Their specific language ecology that has developed over the centuries, and especially as a result of geopolitics of the 20th century, have had a tremendous impact on the linguistic resources and social symbols that contribute to the IG semiotic field. The IG situation then serves as a case study for what to expect in situations of language contact in

minority linguistic communities. I further assert that we can extend the principles of language change and their relation to social phenomena within the IG community to other communities more broadly.

6.3.1 Dialect and Language Contact

The IG dialect, as I mentioned before, is not a singular variety, but rather a collection of speech styles found within the IG community. I suppose this idea is not unique to IG and we can argue that the speech of NYC locals is similarly heterogenous with a few key dialectal features that typify the regional variety. Nevertheless, because of the historically nebulous borders of Istanbul and the migration of diverse Greek and non-Greek populations to the City, IG certainly exhibits quite a bit of diversity amongst speakers. That is not to say it is not a united variety at all, rather despite the historic development and individual members' ancestry, we do see quite a bit of convergence.

What IG offers dialectologists more broadly is the extent to which we have retention of “archaisms” while also exhibiting varying levels of structural diffusion from other languages. We see that unlike varieties of Asia Minor Greek, such as some of the Cappadocian Greek varieties, IG is not a mixed language. Although IG certainly has exhibited much influence from Turkish, to the point of having affected aspects of morphosyntax, phonetic and phonology, it does not experience the sort of typological disruption expected in mixed languages. IG demonstrates that social networks and social meaning play a role in how historic contact interacts with language change at both diachronic and synchronic levels.

6.3.2 Scalar Salience

The sociophonetic analyses in Chapters 4 and 5 encompassed two notoriously challenging phones: laterals and affricates. As Recasens (2004, 2012) and Gordon, Barthmaier, & Sands (2002) have asserted, these segments are phonetically gradient rather than categorical. I have argued that this scalarity contributes to how speakers and interlocutors perceive difference. As we differentiate based on a bricolage of linguistic characteristics, Gal (2016) noticing degree of difference is intuitive. However, this intuition is confirmed when considering metapragmatic discourse. The most salient dialectal differences that speakers are aware of are unanimously lexical. Next is lateral velarization, although speakers discuss this not in terms of velarization but in terms of difference in quality based on how divergent this characteristic is from SMG. IGs discuss affricates less in metapragmatic commentary, which corresponds to it being less divergent from SMG. So we see how different dialectal features pattern differently in the IG community with the wordlists productions, which I argue demonstrate indexical links borne out in the metapragmatic sections. As such, we cannot truly separate social meaning from linguistic variation. Variationist sociolinguistic analyses would be much more robust with the inclusion of speakers' stances in metapragmatic discourse along with language use in other settings.

6.3.3 IG Language and Identity

I believe all of the above shows how challenging of a concept identity is to neatly summarize. Even with the assumption that language and identity are both fluid, constantly changing, and context-dependent, members of the same community who arguably all share the same identity can attend to different social meaning properties of what is available in their semiotic

field. What complicates the IG situation is the huge historical trajectory of the community. The sociohistorical developments in this City over millennia, and particularly the last several centuries, have had a tremendous impact on all Istanbulites, and the IGs have particularly been affected because of the geopolitics of the region. Consequently, the nebulous borders and migration patterns have led to a cosmopolitan Constantinopolitan identity. As language is so intrinsically linked to identity, the linguistic resources available to the IG community are extensions of this cosmopolitanism. Speakers are aware of certain elements that have gained salience because of their sharp contrast with SMG, and even extend some of these differences as exclusive to IG, despite say lateral velarization occurring in multiple Greek varieties. However, it is not merely the linguistic features, but the cultural practices that are then ascribed onto the dialect that add to IG identity. The overt discussions of tea and food preparation and cultural differences and personality differences with SMGs all work together in the creation of an IG identity. At the end of the day, IGs may or may not orient or position themselves as “IG” IGs, and more “SMG” IGs, therein demonstrating the social scalarity that mirrors linguistic scalarity.

Interlude 6: May Your Road Be Glass

A very Istanbul Greek parting expression is *ora sou kali kai o dromos sou yalli*. The literal translation is “may your hour be well and may your road be glass.” The idea of your road being made of glass may not be intuitive at first, but ultimately the idea is that as glass is smooth, may your path go smoothly and unobstructed. My grandmother would say this to me on occasion when I would be leaving home. Whether going to school, heading to work, whatever the occasion, my grandmother would always say “God be with you” and make the sign of the cross as I left. However, for longer travels or if I were leaving to go to my dormitory as an undergraduate student, she would add an *o dromos sou yalli*, may your road be glass. Other Greeks and Greek-Americans I had met weren’t familiar with the expression, but some of them could piece together the meaning. Doing my fieldwork of course, all of my IGs knew the meaning. After finishing with each of my interviewees, as I was departing either their home or office, or wherever we met, I would often leave them with that phrase. Some of them would correct me, saying that they should be the ones telling me that as I was leaving from their home. While I already knew that, I suppose on some level my repeating this phrase I heard so frequently from my grandmother was my attempt to keep her with me on my fieldwork.

Being in Istanbul is always bittersweet for me. Seeing the homes where my family has lived, the church that my ancestors helped build, streets where generations before me had walked on and gone about their daily lives, well it certainly is an intense feeling to say the least. Meeting members of the few 2,000 remaining IGs is beautiful and sad. Beautiful to meet someone with whom you share a bit of history, but sad knowing you will have to say goodbye. I am eternally grateful for the friendships I have made with all of the IGs, the elderly and youth, those in Athens,

those in Istanbul. Over the three and a half years since I began fieldwork on the IG community and dialect, I know of at least four of my participants who have since passed away. It felt so weird to listen to recordings of them for this dissertation. At times it made me feel as though my work was meaningless or that in the grand scheme of things I was not making any sort of contribution or difference in their lives by doing this. I began to think about all the time I had spent working on different aspects of the doctoral program and that maybe I could have been more useful in some other capacity. More useful to the IGs or to the world in general. After all, I'm not saving anyone's life talking about whether they velarize a lateral or consider themselves to be more *Romioi* than *Ellines*.

But then I thought about each of my interviewees. I thought about how while some IGs had more of maybe a tepid response to my work, my interviewees for the most part welcomed me into their lives and shared a piece of themselves with me. They believed in my work enough to want to sit down and chat. Maybe for some of them it was more of a curiosity, and for some a bit of a chore, but many were so glad to hear about my research. I think about the ladies in St. Demetrious's church courtyard in Tatavla who told me I should call my book *Heroes of the City*, because they were heroes for having stayed in Istanbul when so many other IGs left and now wish they could return. I think about the young IG children I saw playing at the monastery on top of the island *Proti*, all of whom seemed so excited and full of life. I think about all of the people who I interviewed, even the ones who sadly have passed away, and think that I have the opportunity to share their stories, at least parts of them with the world. When I think about these things, then I think maybe I have made the right decisions after all.

When my grandmother passed away in 2014, I was devastated. For over a month, I didn't know what to do with myself. I didn't just lose my grandmother; I lost my best friend. She really

was my biggest champion. Whenever my parents expressed doubts or concerns about my goals or plans, she was the loudest voice cheering me on. I really think her spirit helped me throughout this entire process. All the twists and turns that have led me to this point, she guided me through. She was always very happy with the work I had done. She always would always tell me *avrio methavrio megalos enas anthropos tha yeneis*, that one day I would be a great man. I hope I've made you proud, grandma.

Appendix A Interview

English translation of interviews/elicitation tasks. Note that follow-up questions not included below were asked based on participants' responses. For example, did you get along with siblings, etc.

Full Name:

Mother Tongue(s):

Foreign Languages spoken:

Religion:

Birthdate:

Birthplace:

Places Lived and Time Spent There:

Education:

Professions and Time Employed:

Father's Name and Profession:

Mother's Name and Profession:

Marriage Info:

Spouse's Professions and Time Employed:

Siblings:

Children:

Extended Info:

Describe your childhood in Istanbul and how the city has changed.

Television/Music habits:

Did you participate in Pedoupoli/live on Prince Islands:

Thoughts on Population Changes:

Travels to Greece/Elsewhere:

Describe in detail what exactly you see in each picture (colors, size, etc.)

























Read all of the following words in the most natural way as possible

1. Ανάλογο
2. Βαλίτσες
3. Βάλουμε
4. Βάρκα
5. Γάιδαρος
6. Γεμιστό
7. Γκάμα
8. Γκέκο
9. Γκοφρέτα
10. Γκρι
11. Γκρούπ
12. Γουρούνια
13. Δαγκωμένο
14. Δέντρο
15. Εγγόνι
16. Επαγγέλματα
17. Έτσι
18. Ζωή
19. Ζωηρώς
20. Καβγά
21. Κάλαντα
22. Καλά
23. Καλέ
24. Καλή
25. Καλό
26. Καλούς
27. Καρφίτσα
28. Κάτσω
29. Κέντρο
30. Κοντά
31. Κορίτσι
32. Λαμπάδες
33. Μαγαζί
34. Μαμά
35. Μεγάλο
36. Μιά
37. Μπαμπάς
38. Μπερδεύω
39. Μπίρα
40. Μπορώ
41. Μπουκάλι
42. Μυρμήγκι
43. Νεολαία
44. Νοσταλγία
45. Ντάμα

- 46. Ντελίριο
- 47. Ντοκιμαντέρ
- 48. Ντουλάπι
- 49. Ντρέπομαι
- 50. Ντύνομαι
- 51. Παρατσούκλι
- 52. Πόδι
- 53. Πόλη
- 54. Πόμπα
- 55. Σκέψου
- 56. Ταλέντο
- 57. Τσακόνω
- 58. Τσεκούρι
- 59. Τσιγγούνης
- 60. Τσιμπώ
- 61. Τσομπάνης
- 62. Τσουρέκι
- 63. Ψάρια
- 64. Ψεύτικο
- 65. Ψιλή
- 66. Ψωμί

Questions:

1. What do you say to someone who has filled your cup sufficiently?
2. What do you call the day before yesterday? And the day before that?
3. If you haven't seen a very close friend in a long time, what would you say to him/her when you finally reunite?
4. You have a young cousin named Maria who you love very much. What nickname would you give her? What if her name were Eleni? Do you have any nicknames?
5. Let's say it's exactly noon. A film starts in 3 hours. What would you say if someone asks you what time you're leaving for the cinema?
7. What's another word that means «ξανά» (again)?
8. What's the opposite of the word «σιγά» (slowly)?
9. How do you say the verb «βλέπω» (see) in the future and past tenses (e.g., tomorrow I will X, yesterday I X)?
10. How do you say the verb «ρωτάω» (ask) in the future and past tenses (e.g., tomorrow I will X, yesterday I X)?
11. If you have fruit in front of you and someone asks you «what are you eating» how would you respond?

12. What would you call something that is very, very small? What's the difference between «μικρούτσικο and μικρούλικο»?

13. You enter your friend's home and they say «Welcome!» how would you respond?

14. What do you believe are the biggest differences between the Greek spoken in Athens and Istanbul?

15. Do you think that one way of speaking Greek is more correct or better than the other?

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