Cosmopolitan or local? The dialects of the Smyrna region

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1. Introduction

The Greek spoken in Smyrna and its neighbouring areas has been relatively little studied from a dialectological point of view, with the exception of Giakoumaki's work on Smyrna (2003) and Milioris (1972) on Vurla. These two works concentrate mainly on the description of characteristic features of the phonetics, morphology and vocabulary of the dialects in question; there are also two glossaries, Solomonidis (1962) and Diamantis (1999), which give a general picture of the vocabulary of the dialect of Smyrna, with an emphasis on loanwords. There are two reasons behind the inadequate representation of this region in linguistic studies: (a) there have been no serious attempts to define the geographical range and borders of the dialects in question, and therefore their identity remains a vague and confused concept in the literature (e.g. 'the Greek which is spoken on the coast of Asia Minor' Triantafyllidis 1993: 274), in contrast to other dialect groups of the Greek islands and mainland, which have been more clearly and easily defined, and (b) the dialect of Smyrna has generally been considered to be an urban variety of Modern Greek which does not differ significantly from the standard language, and therefore presents little of interest for traditional dialectology (cf. Giakoumaki 2003: 91). In this article, I hope to make a contribution to filling the gaps and correcting the misunderstandings resulting from these two factors.

1.1 Hypotheses

The first hypothesis is that the dialects of the Smyrna region constitute a non-transplanted, separate dialect group and a transitional area between the northern, Thraco-Bithynian, and south-eastern dialects. I will refer here to basic characteristics which, when compared with the characteristics of known dialect groups of the neighbouring regions, can help us to locate the dialects of the Smyrna region on dialect maps, and to understand their history and the relationships between them.

The second hypothesis is that the urban dialect of Smyrna does indeed show strong influence from Standard Modern Greek (SMG), but nonetheless preserves its identity as the language of a cosmopolitan centre of not only the local area, but also the whole Greek-speaking, and non-Greek-speaking world, a fact which explains its evident heterogeneity at all linguistic levels. Testing this second hypothesis involves, in reality, testing the position of Tzitzilis (2000: 20), who maintains that the variability observed in the urban speech of the Greek cities is the result of the meeting of speakers with different geographical (=immigrant) dialect backgrounds, but is not generally associated with social class distinctions. This view articulates the peculiarities of the Greek situation, at least in relation to the well-known statement of Trudgill (1986: 126) to the effect that in the process of dialect formation, linguistic variants with their origins in different local varieties often come to express social or register differences.

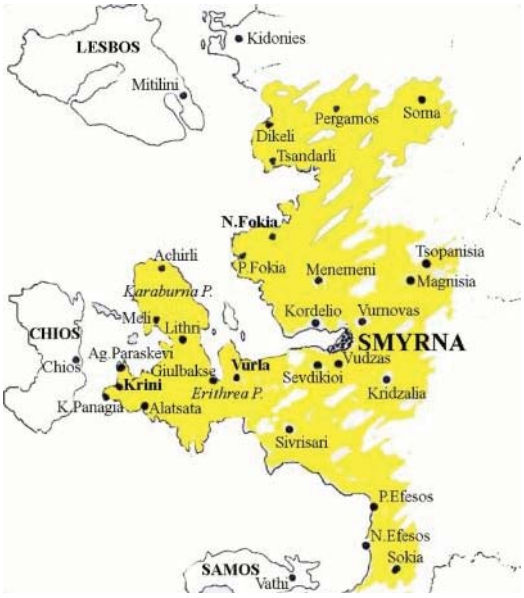
The development of the urban dialect of Smyrna was affected by not only Greek dialects with varying degrees of linguistic and geographical proximity to that of the city itself, but also languages such as Turkish, Italian and French, whose presence is associated with older or more recent phases in the history of settlement and trade in the metropolis of Asia Minor.[1] As we would expect, this

[1] Tzitzilis (2000: 20) coined the Greek term 'πολυσυλλεκτικότητα', i.e. the quality (or tendency that present-day urban varieties have) of gathering material from multiple linguistic sources, and especially from the surrounding rural dialects. In the case of the dialect of Smyrna I think that the most fitting way to understand and translate this term is to use the phrase 'cosmopolitan nature'.

linguistic environment is very promising from a theoretical point of view as regards the appearance, development and handling of linguistic variability (dialect diffusion by means of adaptation, mixed/intermediate lects etc.).

1.2 Definition and borders

The term 'Dialects of the Smyrna Region' (DSR) is used to describe the dialects spoken in the city itself and its suburbs (Kordelio, Vurnovas, Vudzas, Sevdikioi), as well as the wider central zone of the west coast of Asia Minor (see map 1). At the northern extreme of this zone are the villages Dikeli, Pergamos and Soma (immediately south of Kydonies and opposite Lesbos), while to the south the region extends to the villages Palia Efesos, Nea Efesos and Sokia (opposite Samos). Also included on the map are the villages (proceeding from north to south) Tsandarli, Palia and Nea Fokia, Menemeni, Tsopanisia, Magnisia and Kridzalia, as well as those of the peninsula of Erithrea: Achirli, Meli, Lithri (on the Karaburna peninsula), Krini, Alatsata, Kato Panagia, Agia Paraskevi, Vurla, Sivrisari and Giulbakse. An obvious, but methodologically unavoidable, weakness of the map is that it does not include all the villages which we know to have been wholly or partly Greek-speaking prior to the exchange of populations (cf. Kontogiannis 1919, 2000: 295-338; Kalfoglous 2002: 117-136; Papadopoulos 1921; Milioris 1970), but only those for which we have at least a small amount of primary material.[2]



Map 1: *The dialects of the Smyrna region*

2. Basic characteristics of the DSR and relationships with neighbouring dialects

The dialects of all the above-mentioned settlements possess a group of common characteristics whose regularity lessens as the geographical and linguistic distance from the centre of the region grows. Most of these characteristics are also found in other dialects; as a bundle, however, they give the region its own particular dialect identity (Liosis under publication):

1) Stress-conditioned allomorphy *-(ήδ)ες* [-ˈiδes]/*-(ηδ)οι* [-iδi] in imparisyllabic plural of masculines in *-ης(-ής)* [-(ˈ)is] and *-ας* [-as], e.g. *παπουτσής* [paputsˈis] 'shoemaker' *-παπουτσήδες* [paputsˈiδes], but *φούρναρης* [ˈfurnaris] 'baker' *-φουρνάρηδοι* [furˈnariδi], *μάγερας* [ˈmaɣeras] 'cook' *-μαγέρηδοι* [maˈɣeriδi],
2) The *ts*-form of the article, personal, and possessive pronoun, e.g. *τση αδρεφής* [tsi aδreˈfis] 'of the sister', *τσι διώχνουνε* [tsi ˈδjoxnune] 'they drive them out', *η κόρη τση* [i ˈkori tsi] 'her daughter',
3) Deletion of final *-ν* [-n] of (frequent) genitive plural, e.g. *αθρώπω* [aˈθropo] 'of the men', *δουλώ* 'of the maids', *παιδιώ* [peˈδjo] 'of the children',

[2] All the data presented in this paper regarding the DSR have been collected from primary and secondary sources which are included in the References, and from other primary sources, mostly ethnographic descriptions and transcribed audio recordings. These descriptions are in the form of manuscripts in the 'Pergamos Digital Library' (University of Athens), available at: http://pergamos.lib.uoa.gr/dl/navigation?pid=col:folklore. The audio recordings are derived from the digital dialect archive of the Institute of Modern Greek Studies, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

4) Formation of 3sg.[3] and 3pl. mediopassive imperfect with the endings *-ό(ν)τανε* [-ˈo(t/d)ane]/*-ού(ν)τανε* [-ˈu(t/d)ane], e.g. *βαφό(ν)τανε* [vaˈfo(t/d)ane]/*βαφού(ν)τανε* [vaˈfu(t/d)ane] 'he was/they were being painted',
5) Stressed and unstressed augment *η-/ή-* [-(ˈ)i], e.g. *ηπέθανα* [iˈpeθana] 'I died', *ήφηκα* [ˈifika] 'I left', *ηκατήβηκα* [ikaˈtivika] 'I descended',
6) Conversion of verbs from many categories to 2nd declension, often with (phonetic or analogical) deletion of etymological or secondary semivowel, e.g. *κλω* [klo] (< *κλείω* [ˈklio]) 'I close', *ανώ* [aˈno] (< ανοί(γ)ω [aˈni(γ)o]) 'I open', *φτω* [fto] 'I spit', *τυλώ* [tiˈlo] 'I wrap'.

The hypothesis proposing that the DSR are of local origin, and should be considered transitional forms between the neighbouring northern, Thraco-Bithynian and south-eastern dialects, seems to be confirmed, if we focus on isoglosses which define these dialect groups. I refer in general terms to a few very characteristic isoglosses (cf. Tzitzilis under publication):

I. DSR and Thraco-Bithynian:
These groups share the characteristic lack of a phonological distinction between alveolar ([s], [z], [ts], [dz]) and palatoalveolar consonants ([Σ], [Z], [tΣ], [dZ]). The lack of palatoalveolar phonemes distinguishes the consonant system of these dialects from that of the northern dialects of mainland Greece.

II. DSR, Thraco-Bithynian and northern dialects:
These groups share the following: (a) the sigmatic imperfect of verbs of the 2nd declension, e.g. *καλούσα* [kaˈlusa] 'I was inviting', and (b) the mediopassive aorist in *-(θ)ηκα* [-ˈ(θ)ika], e.g. *κοιμήθηκα* [ciˈmiθika] 'I slept'. The latter is also found in the dialects of the Peloponnese and the Ionian islands.

III. DSR, Thraco-Bithynian and eastern island dialects:
All these groups show anaptyxis of /γ/ in the verbal ending [-vo], e.g. *παιδεύγω* [peˈδevγo] 'I chastise', *ανάβγω* [aˈnavγo] 'I kindle', and manner dissimilation [rx] > [rk], e.g. *έρκουμαι* [ˈerkume] 'I come', *αρκινώ* [arkiˈno] 'I start', an isogloss that runs through the dialects of Greek from Northern Thrace to Cyprus, but in the DSR is confined to the peninsula of Erithrea.

IV. DSR, Thraco-Bithynian, northern, and eastern island dialects:
All these dialects share the following: (a) manner dissimilation [rθ] > [rt], e.g. *ορτός* [orˈtos] 'standing', (b) syncretism of nominative and accusative plural of masculines in *-ος* [os], e.g. nom. *οι λαγοί* [i laˈγi] 'the rabbits' -acc. *τσι λαγοί* [tsi laˈγi] (except for Cyprus and the Dodecanese; it is, however, found in Halicarnassus (Kontosopoulos 1958: 262), e.g. acc. *τις αθ-θρώποι* [tis aθˈropi] 'the men'), (c) a common form for masculine and feminine in acc. pl. of the definite article and the personal pronoun, with prevalence of the feminine form, e.g. *τσι αδρεφοί* [tsi aδreˈfi] 'the brothers', *τσι γυναίκες* [tsi jiˈnekes] 'the women', *τσι ήφεραν* [tsi ˈiferan] 'they brought them' (sporadically and partially in the Dodecanese).

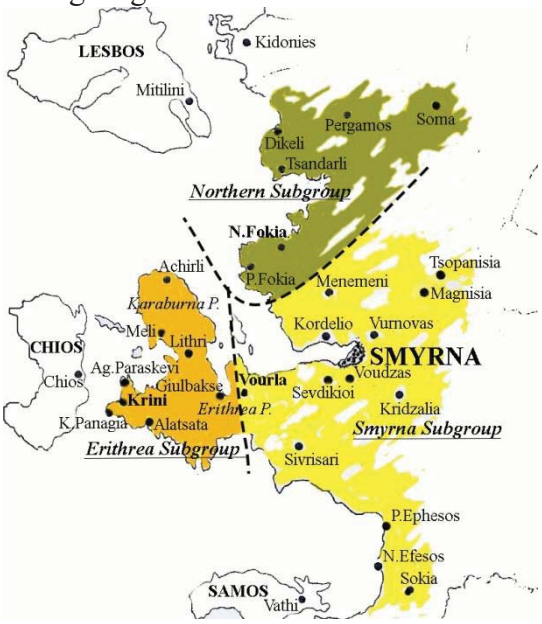
V. DSR and southern dialects:
A characteristically southern phenomenon in the DSR is the syntax of the indirect object with genitive case, e.g. *ήδωκα του αγοριού* [ˈiδoka tu aγorˈju] (I-gave the boy-GEN) 'I gave [it] to the boy'.

[3] List of abbreviations: sg. = singular, pl. = plural, nom. = nominative, gen. = genitive, acc. = accusative.

VI. DSR and south-eastern dialects:
Basic isoglosses shared with the south-eastern dialects include (a) the weak form of the possessive pronoun *τως* [tos]/*δως* [dos], e.g. *η μάνα τως* [i ˈmana tos] (the mother their) 'their mother', (b) the augment *η-/ή-* [-(ˈ)i], e.g. *ήφερα* [ˈifera] 'I brought'-*ηφέραμε* [iˈferame] 'we brought'.

Characteristics shared with the (south-)eastern island dialects, especially with that of Chios (and Ikaria), increase dramatically if we focus specifically on the dialects of the peninsula of Erithrea, which for this reason should be considered a separate subgroup within the DSR (see map 2). In this subgroup we find (a) the characteristic interrogative pronoun *είντα* [ˈi(n)da] 'what', (b) the negative particle *εν* [en] 'not', (c) the suffix *-ούσης* [-ˈusis] for the formation of toponymic derivatives, e.g. *Αγιοπαρασκευούσης* [ajoparaskeˈvusis] 'an inhabitant of the village Agia Paraskevi'.

A parallel situation obtains if we compare the northern subgroup of the DSR with the Thraco-Bithynian dialects; this northern subgroup shows typical Thraco-Bithynian characteristics such as (a) semi-northern vowel system, though this is not strict, e.g. *παιδάκ'* [peˈδac] 'little boy', *το ψωμί τ'* [to psoˈmi t] 'his bread', (b) violations of the three-syllable rule, e.g. τα παράθυρα τους [ta paˈraθira tus] (instead of [ta paˈraθiˈra tus]) 'their windows', (c) deletion of final /e/ in proparoxytone verb forms, mainly in the village Soma, e.g. *κάνομ'* [ˈkanom] 'we do', *έρχοδ'* [ˈerxod] 'they come', (d) syntax of the indirect object with accusative case, e.g. *να σε βγάλω τη βέρα* [na se ˈvγalo ti ˈvera] (to you-ACC I-take.off the wedding.ring) 'that I take your wedding ring off [your hand]'.



Map 2: *The northern and Erithrea subgroups*

The conclusion resulting from this general overview is that the DSR occupy a well-established position on the dialect continuum, on which they occupy intermediate positions, forming in effect transitional zones between neighbouring dialect groups.

3. The DSR on the dialect continuum

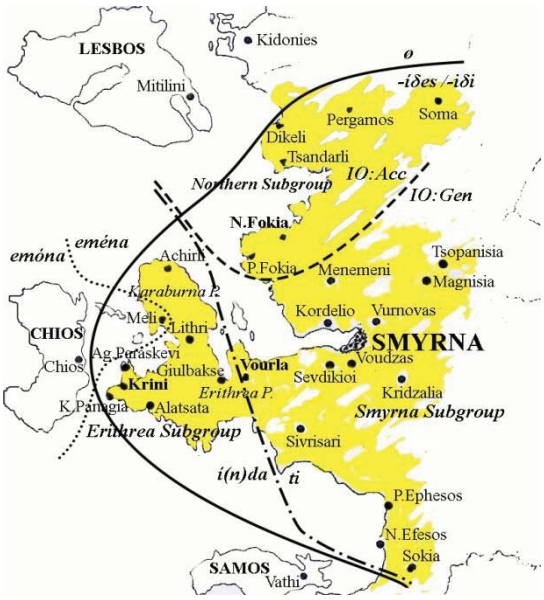
The gradient transitionality which characterizes to some degree many of the DSR is the root cause of the difficulty in grouping them based on the axioms of traditional dialectology, and confirms the theoretical concerns of Chambers and Trudgill (2011 [1998]: 23) that the way a dialect continuum is divided 'can be arbitrary from a purely linguistic point of view'.

This means that based on purely linguistic criteria, the subgroup of Erithrea could or should be considered to be the continuation and end point of the south-eastern dialects, especially that of Chios, given the fact that we have historical information concerning recent migrations from Chios to Erithrea; for example, Vios (1920) refers to the settlement of Meli by people from Kardamyla. This reference justifies the presence of specifically Chian characteristics in the dialect of Meli (for details of these characteristics, see Tzitzilis under publication (b)) which are missing in the other DSR, such as the retention of nasal-stop clusters, e.g. *αμπέλι* [aˈmbeli] 'vineyard', double consonants, e.g. *σκύλ-λος* [ˈscillos] 'dog', manner dissimilation of the cluster /vγ/ (> /vg/), e.g. *παιδεύγκω* [peˈδevgo] 'chastise', *αβγκό* [aˈvgo] 'egg', the pronunciation of [z] as a (prenasalized) voiced affricate, e.g. *μα(ν)τζί* [maˈ(n)dzi] 'together', *τζευγκάς* [dzeˈvgas] 'plowman', the oblique personal pronoun forms *εμόνα* [eˈmona] 'me', *εσόνα* [eˈsona] 'you', verb ending *-σι* [-si] for 3pl., e.g. *φέρνουσι* [ˈfernusi] 'they bring', *κάμασι* [ˈkamasi] 'they did', among others. In a similar way, the many characteristics shared by the northern subgroup with the Bithynian dialects referred to above (i.e. semi-northern

vowel system, violations of three-syllable rule, deletion of final /e/ of verb endings, indirect object in accusative case) could lead to the conclusion that this subgroup is the continuation and end point of the Bithynian dialects.

Chambers and Trudgill (2011 [1998]: 128-32), in an attempt to produce evaluative and hierarchical criteria for the division of dialects, adopt, though not without reservations, the so-called 'structural weight' criterion for isoglosses; morphological and syntactic criteria seem to have more weight or value than lexical or phonological ones, and lead to more reliable classifications. However, even if we accept that this criterion is cross-linguistically useful or at least indicative of something important, it does not seem to operate in the case of the DSR. For example, grammatical characteristics such as the question marker *είντα* [ˈi(n)da] in the subgroup of Erithrea, or the syntax of the indirect object with accusative case, and the deletion of final /e/ of verb endings in the northern subgroup, should, according to this criterion, discourage us from including these two areas in the same dialect unit, and encourage us to categorize the former into the south-eastern dialects, and the latter into the Thraco-Bithynian dialects. Dividing the dialect continuum of the wider area in this way would ultimately confine the DSR to a very narrow core; the dialect of Smyrna itself, with all its metropolitan urban characteristics, and a few more dialects around it and to the south of it. However, just as 'important', i.e. with equivalent 'structural weight', are some of the characteristics mentioned at the beginning of section 2 (cf. the masculine plural allomorphs *-ήδες* [-ˈiδes]/*-ηδοι* [-iδi] etc.), which, being structural in nature and therefore possessing 'increased weight', allow us to categorize all the DSR, including the two subgroups (Erithrea and northern), as an autonomous and distinct dialect entity.

Thus, a collective examination of the often conflicting characteristics which unite or divide the dialects of the region presents a picture that will be familiar to any dialectologist, that of isoglosses crossing each other, which demonstrates, if nothing else, the long history of the presence of the Greek language in this area. Map 3 shows just four of these isoglosses which divide the DSR up into different ways: presence or absence of stress-determined allomorphs *-ήδες* [-ˈiδes]/*-ηδοι* [-iδi] for the formation of the masculine plural, use of accusative or genitive for indirect object, preference for interrogative marker *είντα* [ˈi(n)da] as opposed to *τι* [ti], and forms *εμόνα* [eˈmona] or *εμένα* [eˈmena] for the oblique case of the strong personal pronoun.

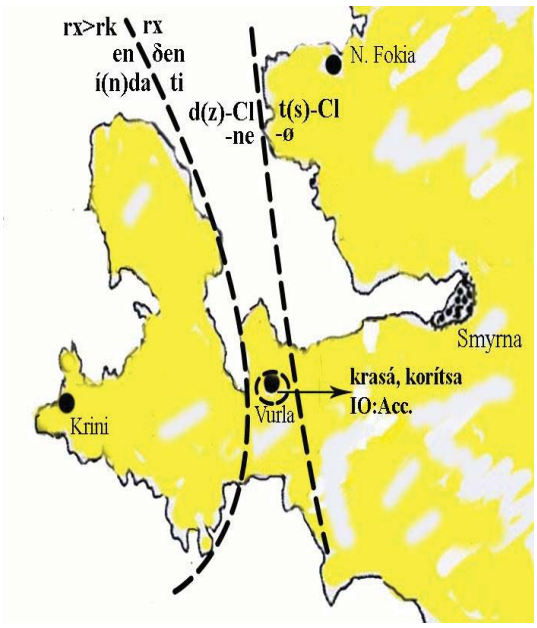


Map 3: *Example of isoglosses which cross each other: (a) -íδes /-iδi ~ ø, (b) IO Acc. ~ IO Gen., (c) i(n)da ~ ti, (d) emóna ~ eména.*

Finally, geopolitical, administrative and historical factors count in favour of the distinct identity of the DSR; the whole area came under a unified administration in both the Byzantine period (Thracesian theme) and the Ottoman empire (Vilayet of Aydın/Izmir). In addition, all these dialects shared the fate of being uprooted and transplanted to the territory of the Modern Greek state, as opposed, for example, to the neighbouring dialects of Chios, Lesbos and the Dodecanese, which are preserved in their historical homelands.

4. The dialect of Vurla as a meeting point of the three subgroups

From a theoretical point of view, things become more interesting as we concentrate on particular areas of the dialect map; let us now examine the case of the dialect of Vurla. As we might expect given its geographical position (about halfway between Smyrna and Krini), it may be considered a transitional dialect between the subgroup of Smyrna and its environs and that of Erithrea (see map 4); it shares with the latter characteristics such as voicing of the initial dental or affricate consonant of the clitic pronouns, e.g. *δώκε του δα* [ˈδoce ˈtu da] 'give them to him', *η μάνα dzης* [i ˈmana dzis], and the extension *-νε* [-ne] of 3sg. imperfect and aorist endings, e.g. *ηζύμωνένε* [iˈzimoˈnene] 'she was kneading'. However, it lacks, as does the Smyrna subgroup, the marker *είντα* [ˈi(n)da], the dissimilation /rx/ > /rk/, and the negative marker *εν* [en]. It also possesses other characteristics which are not found in either the subgroup of Erithrea or Smyrna, such as depalatalization of sibilant and affricate consonants in environments of synizesis, e.g. *τραπέζα* [traˈpeza] 'tables', *κορίτσα* [koˈritsa] 'girls', and, most importantly, use of accusative case for indirect object, e.g. *να τον πεις τον βασιλέ* [na tom ˈbis tom vasiˈle] (to him tell the king-ACC) 'that you tell the king'. We know, however, that these two characteristics are not found exclusively in Vurla, but also appear in the northern subgroup of the DSR (Fokia, Soma). They are also found in the dialects of Lesbos and Kidonies (cf. Kretschmer 1905: 153; Sakkaris 1940: 99, 115). In other words, these two characteristics show a significant discontinuity in their geographical distribution on the dialect map, and therefore, from a theoretical point of view, they could be considered to be older characteristics (the familiar pattern of 'fossilized characteristics' in Chambers & Trudgill 2011 [1998]: 125), whose distribution was broken up by contact-induced changes which took place in the intervening areas.[4] Alternatively, the presence in the dialect of Vurla of accusative case for indirect object and depalatalization could be the result of recent settlement of speakers from Mytilene, which is historically attested at least in the case of the northern coast of Asia Minor (Fokia, Dikeli, Kydonies etc.) (Kontogiannis 2000: 319; Triantafyllidis 1993: 274; Melissaropoulou 2007: 23). Therefore, depending on the interpretation we give to the presence of these two phenomena (fossilized characteristics or the result of contact with northern dialects), we could consider them as either archaic or innovative elements in the dialect of Vurla; note that this does not mean that we are obliged to accept the same interpretation for both characteristics. In any case, whatever the true origin of these two features is, what is certain is that they coexist with characteristics from the other two groups, resulting in the formation of a new, mixed variety.



Map 4: *Transitional and discontinuous features of the Vurla dialect*

[4] Tzitzilis (p.c.) believes that the presence of typically northern dialect characteristics such as semi-northern vocalism, syntax of the indirect object with accusative case etc. in dialects all the way along the western shores of Asia Minor, and as far south as the dialect of Livisi in south-west Asia Minor, demonstrates the presence of a northern substrate which was subsequently interrupted by migrations of speakers of southern dialects to the area.

5. Problems and interpretations

Just how unpredictable the results of the geographical diffusion of dialect characteristics can be in cases of contact between island dialects and the dialects of the neighbouring mainland areas is apparent also in the case of the ending *-ουμουν* [-umun] for 1sg. active imperfect of verbs of the 2nd conjugation, as, for example, in the form *ρώτουμουν* [ˈrotumun] 'I was asking' (map 5). This ending is widely distributed throughout the islands of the north-eastern Aegean (Limnos, Lesbos, Samothrace) and the adjacent coast of Thrace (Ainos, Gallipoli peninsula) and Asia Minor (Kidonies) (Kretschmer 1905: 328-32; Tzitzilis under publication). It also appears in Chios (Tzitzilis under publication (b)) and the neighbouring dialects of Erithrea; it is, however, absent from the northern subgroup of the DSR, from Smyrna itself, and from Vurla. In other words, it is a characteristic which unites dialects which are genetically quite far apart from one another (such as the northern dialects, which include those of the islands of the north-eastern Aegean and, in part, the adjacent shores of Thrace and Asia Minor, and the south-eastern dialects, which include those of Chios and, in part, the subgroup of Erithrea (Tzitzilis under publication (b)), while at the same time it is absent from areas (such as the northern subgroup of the DSR and the transitional dialect of Vurla) where, based on other shared characteristics, we might have expected to encounter it.

Map 5: *Diffusion of the ending -umun (and allomorphs) for 1sg. active imperfect of verbs of the 2nd conjugation*

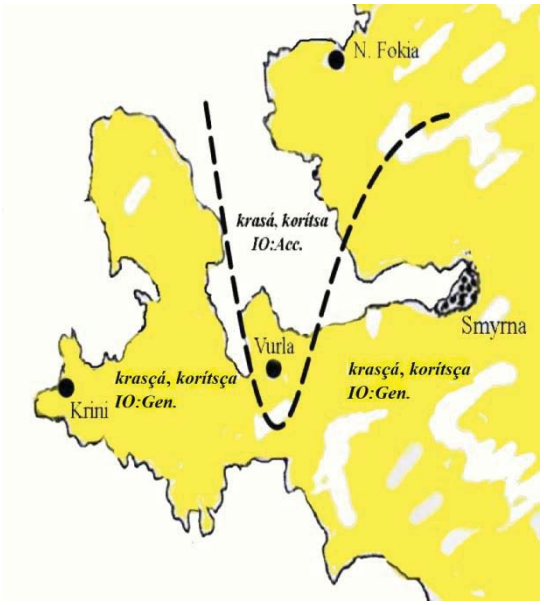
The particular problems raised for dialect research by the island environment, at least as regards the attempt to trace isoglosses across hundreds of often uninhabited islands, are emphasized by Trudgill (2003: 47). Bearing in mind the linguistic 'ecology' on the coast of Asia Minor and neighbouring islands, we could add to Trudgill's statement the uncertainty associated with the intervening areas of sea, which sometimes act as natural boundaries between adjacent dialects, and sometimes as bridges for the spread of innovations. Although there are no studies on this subject, we could propose the preliminary hypothesis that it is exactly in such cases that we find divergences from the established models that attempt to interpret the diffusion of characteristics as successive jumps from one area to another, leaving gaps in between (Chambers & Trudgill 2011 [1998]: 210-1). For example, if we consider the area of sea between Lesbos, Fokia and Vurla to have been a channel of communication in terms of settlement, trade etc., then the actual geographical distance is lessened, and the presence of depalatalization and indirect object in accusative case in the dialect of Vurla does not represent a discontinuity in the diffusion of these phenomena (as shown on map 4), but rather the southern extreme of their spread (map 6), and thus does not presuppose that they were previously present in the dialect of Smyrna as an intermediate stage.

According to the theoretical framework which has generally been proposed for dialect systems in contact (Trudgill 1986; Hinskens 1998; Chambers & Trudgill 2011 [1998]; Thomason 2001, among others; for Greek, Tzitzilis 2000), the high degree of variability that is found in an interdialect as a result of the meeting of elements from different dialect backgrounds may either be preserved through the process of focusing in the form of free variation,[5] or reduced in one or more of the following ways: (a) levelling of marked/minority forms, (b) simplification of more linguistically complex

[5] The term 'free variation' is more of a label than an interpretation, because in reality the choice of value for a given linguistic variable is not truly free, but is usually defined by social, stylistic or other such criteria.

forms, (c) creation of intermediate or hybrid forms (hybridization), (d) reallocation of variants to distinct roles.

Certainly, the preference in the dialect of Vurla for accusative instead of genitive case for the indirect object is an example of this type of levelling of one out of two available syntactic choices, always supposing that the accusative was not the original case which continued to be used, but rather the product of contact with the neighbouring more northerly dialects, which was generalized and replaced the genitive.



Map 6: *The dialect of Vurla as the southern extreme of the spread of depalatalization and indirect object in accusative*

In contrast, the dialect of Soma, which belongs to the northern subgroup, presents an example of partial role reallocation of the two variants within the system of the dialect; although the accusative has been generalized as the case for the indirect object, as in the other dialects of the northern subgroup, e.g. *να πάρ' τη πεθερά τση κάλτσες* [na ˈpar ti peθeˈra tsi ˈkaltses] (to she-take the mother.in.low-ACC of-her socks) 'that she buys her mother-in-law socks', *με* [me]/*σε* [se]/*τη λέει* [ti ˈlei] 'he tells me/you/her', in this dialect we also find constructions with genitive case, exclusively for 3rd person, e.g. *τση λέει* [tsi ˈlei] 'he tells her', *το δίνει τση νύφης και του γαμπρού* [it he-gives the bride-GEN and the groom-GEN] 'he gives it to the bride and groom'. This phenomenon is presumably due to the need to pragmatically distinguish between 1st and 2nd person on the one hand (proximal deixis) and 3rd person on the other (distal deixis).

An analogous tendency for linguistic parametrization of the same -but expressed differently within the system- characteristic (i.e. case of indirect object), is found in the dialect of the city of Smyrna itself. The indirect object is normally expressed with genitive case e.g. *ήδωκα τ' αδρός* [ˈiδoka t aˈdros] (I-gave the man-GEN) 'I gave (it) to the man', but in the plural, parallel with the expected *ήδωκα των αδρώ* [ˈiδoka ton aˈdro] (I-gave the men-GEN), we also find constructions with accusative, e.g. *ήδωκα τσ' άδροι* [ˈiδoka ts ˈadri] (I-gave the-ACC men) 'I gave (it) to the men'. In other words, here, the parametrization of the characteristic of the indirect object is not based on the deictic distinction between persons as in Soma, but on the category of number, and could be ascribed to a tendency for reduction in the productivity of the genitive in the plural. This interpretation is supported by the presence in the dialect of Smyrna of the pronominal clitic *τους* [tus], e.g. *τους λέει* [tus ˈlei] (them-ACC he-tells), obviously borrowed from SMG, coexisting with the inherited forms *τως* [tos]/*τώνε* [tone], e.g. *τως/τώνε λέει* [tos/tone ˈlei] (them-GEN he-tells) 'he tells them', which shows exactly this tendency for paradigmatic reduction of cases in the plural, with the accusative form winning out in the system of clitic pronouns, as we find in SMG. The final stage in the process of the elimination of case distinctions is expressed in the syncretism of nominative and accusative endings in the plural, e.g. nom. *οι άδροι* [i ˈadri] ~ acc. *τσ' άδροι* [ts ˈadri]; the only remaining case marker at the level of the determiner phrase is the definite article. The coexistence of two competing syntactic systems, one completely caseless and the other with three case distinctions, which even tolerates, in contrast to SMG, the genitive of diminutive forms, e.g. *του λουλουδακιού* [tu luluδaˈcu] 'of the flower', *των ναυτακιώ(ν)* [to naftaˈco(n)] 'of the little sailors', also bears witness to the high level of heterogeneity which characterizes the urban dialect of Smyrna.

6. The dialect of Smyrna: towards an urban koine

The above example of the case of the indirect object in the dialect of Smyrna is indicative of the cosmopolitan nature of this dialect, i.e. the fact that it contains material from many different sources. The characterization of this dialect as cosmopolitan is justified by the high level of heterogeneity it presents, to begin with; it could be considered a zone of variability according to the terminology of Charalambakis (1991: 289). This view is supported by quite a large number of other examples regarding all linguistic levels, such as: (a) the sporadic cases of lexical spread of vowel raising phenomena such as *αχιλώνα* [açiˈlona] instead of *αχελώνα* [açeˈlona] 'turtle', *ψιγάδι* [psiˈɣaδi] instead of *ψεγάδι* [pseˈɣaδi] 'flaw' etc., (b) the dialect forms with and without tsitacism, e.g. *κιουρά* [cuˈra]/*τσουρά* [tsuˈra] 'lady', (c) the allomorphy between the characteristically southern suffix *-αγα* [-aɣa] and the characteristically northern suffix *-ούσα* [-ˈusa] of the active imperfect of verbs of the 2nd conjugation, e.g. *ηγάπαγα* [iˈɣapaɣa] ~ *ηγαπούσα* [iɣaˈpusa] 'I was loving', (d) the sporadic cases of augment *έ-* [ˈe-] parallel with *ή-* [ˈi-], even for the same lexeme, e.g. *έπαιξα* [ˈepeksa] ~ *ήπαιξα* [ˈipeksa] 'I played', (e) the forms *τωνε* [tone]/*τως* [tos]/*τους* [tus] of oblique clitics, e.g. *τωνε* [tone]/*τως* [tos]/*τους* [tus] *λέει* [ˈlei] 'he tells them'. Characteristic of this dialect is the existence of several different forms for 3pl. mediopassive imperfect, a category which shows a high degree of variability both geographically (between different varieties of Greek) and historically (in different periods of the development of the language) (Horrocks 2010: 320-3).[6] Together with the frequent forms *-ό(ν)τανε* [-ˈo(d/t)ane]/*-ού(ν)τανε* [-ˈu(d/t)ane] (which exist in most of the DSR) and *-όντουσταν* [-ˈodustan]/*-ούντουσταν* [-ˈudustan] (found in the northern subgroup and in Ephesus) we also find the hybrid/analogical forms *-όντουστε* [-ˈoduste], *-ούντουστε* [-ˈuduste], *-ούντοστε* [-ˈudoste] and *-όντουστουν* [-ˈodustun]. In the context of the historically attested presence of Greek-speaking populations in the city from not only various islands of the Aegean, but also the mainland (Kalfoglous 2002; Kontogiannis 1919, 2000), it is difficult today to accurately locate the sources of this unusual variability, the like of which is rarely found in the Greek language and its dialects. It is also difficult to exclude possible influence from the Koine of Constantinople, and, before or after the exchange of populations, from SMG.

What is certain is that the dialect of Smyrna shows strong influence from Turkish and the western Romance languages, as shown by the presence of not only a large number of loanwords, but also items that are lower down in the 'borrowability' hierarchies that have been proposed (Thomason 2001: 70-1; Matras 2007), such as (adapted) verbs, e.g. *αλικοδίζω* [alikoˈdizo] (< Turk. *alıkomak*) 'I block', *γοντέρνω* [ɣoˈderno] (< Ital. *godere*) 'I rejoice', *σουφρίρω* [suˈfriro] (< Fr. *suffrir*) 'I suffer' etc. and indeclinable forms, e.g. *άσκολσουν* [ˈaskolsun] (< Turk. aşk olsun) 'bravo!', *σέρια* [ˈserja] (< Ital. serio) 'seriously' etc. In fact, the sound change [ʎ] > [j] in the environment of a semivowel, e.g. *σκογειό* [skoˈjo] < *σχολειό* [sxoˈʎo], *πουγιά* [puˈja] < *πουλιά* [puˈʎa], *φασόγια* [faˈsoja] < *φασόλια* [faˈsoʎa] etc., possibly shows influence, from Venetian, even at the level of phonology. This is apparent from its appearance initially in borrowed forms, e.g. *ταγιάρω* [tajaro] < Venet. *tagiar* (cf. Ital. *tagliare*), *κουσέγιο* [kusejo] < Venet. *consegio* (cf. Ital. *consiglio*), and also from other Modern Greek dialects which have been strongly influenced by Venetian, e.g. those of Corfu, Kythira, Sifnos etc., where we find forms such as *πετρόγιο* [peˈtrojo] 'oil', *χιγιάρικο* [çiˈjariko] 'grand' etc. (Liosis & Kriki under publication; Giakoumaki under publication).

We find similar cases which indicate intense contact and bilingualism in other dialects of the Smyrna region. For example, Kleanthis (1987: 199) states that in Alatsata in Erithrea we find the

[6] Horrocks (2010: 323), referring to the variability of the medieval mediopassive imperfect paradigm in particular, states characteristically: 'Though particular forms may originally have been characteristic of particular regions, mobility seems to have created a situation in which dialect mixture and free variation were the norm amongst city-dwellers of all classes'.

sound [∝], probably as a peripheral phoneme in words of Turkish origin, e.g. *κῐρντίζω* [k∝rˈdizo] (< *kırmak*) ‘I break’, *γιακί́νι* [jaˈk∝ni] (< *yakın*) ‘neighbourhood’ etc.

7. Conclusions

Ultimately, the linguistic situation in the dialects of this region is the result of the conjunction of two opposing tendencies; on the one hand, it is quite easy to discern that they are native to the area, in that, they form part of dialect continua with a wider extent, acting as intermediate links, and show transitional characteristics that connect them with their neighbouring dialects and dialect groups, linking them more closely with those that are geographically closer. On the other hand, I have shown that we also find elements that are unexpected in the context of the linguistic profile of the region, which can only be interpreted as the result of contact with neighbouring or more distant Modern Greek dialects, and with languages such as Turkish or Romance. This applies more than anywhere else to the dialect of Smyrna as a meeting point of patterns of sociolinguistic and geographical spread of change. In this dialect, there is variability, but we find obvious signs that the dialect is ‘tidied up’ and fitted into the system, i.e. hybrid forms, elimination or reallocation of free variants with various functions, as discussed above. This shows a tendency towards the gradual emergence of a local koine (koineization) in the Asia Minor metropolis, a melting pot of populations with widely differing dialect and linguistic backgrounds.

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