Differential Object Marking in Asia Minor Greek Revisited

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1   Introduction

Inner Asia Minor Greek dialects (iAMG) of Pharasa and Cappadocia (Figure 1) display Differential Object Marking. The data in this presentation come from modern day dialect of Pharasa (PhG) as it is spoken in northern Greece (Figure 2).
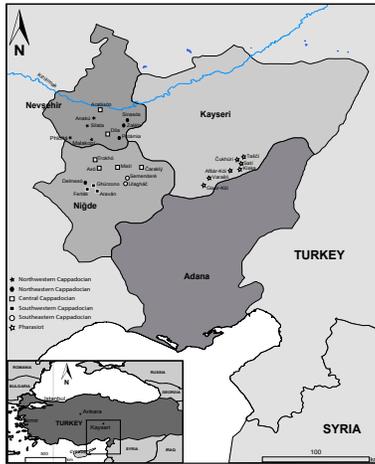

Figure 1: iAMG < 1925

Figure 2: PhG now

Definite NPs with the direct object function in PhG bear the accusative case (1) whereas indefinite and bare NPs are systematically marked in the nominative (12-b) (Levidis 1892; Dawkins 1916; Favis 1948; Andriotis 1948; Anastasiadis 1976; Janse 2004; Karatsareas 2011).

(1)   To   čočuxi   faiz   ton   tana-Ø.
       the.NOM child.NOM feed.3SG the.M.ACC.SG calf.M-ACC.SG
       'The child is feeding the calf.'   [definite]

(2)   To   jadhi   pičin   (an) tana-s.
       the.NOM cow.NOM made.3SG (an) calf.M-NOM.SG
       'The cow made a calf.'   [indefinite /bare]

Differential object marking (hereafter DOM) in PhG is visible only on the (historically) masculine singular nouns, for which – unlike nouns in other inflectional classes – there is no nominative-accusative syncretism (cf. Table 1).

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	MASCULINE			FEMININE		NEUTER		
	IC1	IC2	IC3	IC4	IC5	IC6	IC7	IC8
NOM	ap-os	nomat-is[1]	prakan-as	kori-Ø	ɣræ-Ø	v-o	praði-Ø	koma-Ø
ACC	ap-o	nomat-i	prakan-a	kori-Ø	ɣræ-Ø	v-o	praði-Ø	koma-Ø
GEN	ap-u	nomat-u	prakan-a	kori-s	ɣræ-s	v-u	praði-u	komat-u
	'fox'	'man'	'insect'	'woman'	'old woman'	'egg'	'foot'	'piece'

Table 1: Noun inflectional classes (singular)

DOM is not attested in other Modern Greek dialects, nor was it present in Medieval Greek, the predecessor of the inner Asia Minor Greek dialects (Holton et al. 2012). It has become by now standard to assume DOM in iAMG emerged under contact with Turkish (Dawkins 1916; Dawkins 1950; Spyropoulos and Kakarikos 2007; Janse 2004; Karatsareas 2011; Karatsareas 2020), a language in which differential marking of objects is present:

(3)   a.   Çocuk dana-yı besledi.
           child   calf-ACC fed.3SG
           'The child fed the calf.'   [specific]
     b.   İnek (bir) dana-Ø doğurdu.
           cow   one   calf-NOM gave.birth.3SG
           'The cow gave birth to (a) calf.'   [non-specific]

The most up-to-date analysis for the the emergence of DOM is that of Karatsareas (2011) and Karatsareas (2020), who considers this an outcome of **pattern replication** from Turkish (cf. Matras 2009). According to the author, PhG-Turkish bilinguals drew upon their existing grammatical resources in PhG to establish (a) the referential property that would determine which NPs would be overtly marked and which ones would be left unmarked in the contexts in which DOM would be active; and, (b) the formal means for the implementation of the DOM pattern. Turkish specificity was matched with Greek definiteness, which has always been expressed in the language by use of overt definite articles. The outcome of this matching was that definite and indefinite NPs in PhG were taken to correspond to specific and non-specific NPs in Turkish, respectively. This distinction was subsequently formally realised by matching Turkish zero marking with the Greek nominative by virtue of the fact that they were both used to mark subject NPs in the languages involved, and the Turkish accusative with the Greek accusative by virtue of the fact that both mark the head nouns of direct object NPs. This is schematized as follows:

Stage I: no DOM: all direct objects in the accusative

- Referential property: match specificity (Turkish) with definiteness (Greek)
- Formal property: match cases
  NOM: non-specific (Turkish) = indefinite (Greek)
  ACC: specific (Turkish = definite (Greek)

Stage II: DOM: accusative on definite object NPs alone

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[1]In the nominative singular,the inflectional affix of this word is dropped. This is a simple phonological deletion, for the details of which, see Bağrıaçık (2018, p. 33). We will reconstruct the affix throughout. We do not illustrate the inflectional classes with nouns in the plural, for which nominative-accusative syncretism is observed throughout.

Main Claims

1. DOM in PhG and Turkish are outputs of similar mechanisms.
   a) In both languages, DOM Case is Accusative assigned via dependent case
   b) In Turkish non-specific NPs are invisible for Dependent Accusative calculus whereas in PhG indefinites are invisible
2. DOM in PhG emerges as contact-induced grammaticalization that was triggered by V+O calques.

Goals of the talk

1. Provide a comparative structural analysis of DOM in PhG and Turkish
2. Discuss the impact of Turkish on the emergence of DOM in PhG

2   DOM in Turkish

Assuming that DOM in PhG developed in contact with Turkish, we first present a working hypothesis regarding the theoretical status of DOM in Turkish. Adopting the Dependent Case view (Dependent Accusative Case (Marantz 1991; Baker 2015), we propose that DOM in Turkish is the dependent accusative case assigned by the following rule.

(4)   **Dependent Accusative Rule**
      NP_1 c-commands $NP_2 \rightarrow NP_2 = $ ACC.

The Dependent Case Rule in (4) is too strong as it predicts all the object NPs to receive accusative case.

2.1   DOM Triggering Features

DOM in Turkish has been attributed to **specificity** (Enç 1991).

(5)   a.   Çocuk bir dana-yı besledi.
           child   one calf-ACC fed.3SG
           'The child fed the calf.'   [specific]
      b.   İnek (bir) dana-Ø   doğurdu.
           cow one calf-NOM gave.birth.3SG
           'The cow gave birth to (a) calf.'   [non-specific]

(6)   Definiteness Hierarchy
      Pronoun   >   Name   >   Definite   >   **Specific**   >   Nonspecific

The DOM marker in Turkish (ACC) is not limited to specific objects though. As observed by Dede (1986), **generic** objects can (optionally) get accusative.

(7)   a.   Çocuk-lar çikolata-Ø   sev-er
           kid-PL   chocolate-NOM like-AOR
           'Kids like chocolate.'   (Dede 1986)
      b.   Çocuk-lar çikolata-yı   sev-er
           kid-PL   chocolate-ACC like-AOR
           'Kids like chocolate.'   (Dede 1986)

Von Heusinger and Kornfilt (2005) show that generics obligatorily get accusative when they don't immediately precede the verb.

(8)   a.   Bizim ev-de   çay-ı   her   zaman Aytül yap-ar.
           our   house-LOC tea-ACC every time   Aytül make-AOR
           'In our family, it is always Aytül who makes the tea.'   (Von Heusinger and Kornfilt 2005)

    b.   *Bizim ev-de   çay-Ø   her   zaman Aytül yap-ar.
         our   house-LOC tea-NOM every time   Aytül make-AOR
         'In our family, it is always Aytül who makes the tea.'[2]   (Von Heusinger and Kornfilt 2005)

We assume that the feature that triggers DOM in Turkish is associated with a syntactic head (call it D) that makes it visible to the dependent acccusative calculus. It is the presence/absence of this head plus the syntactic position of the nominal that determines the distribution of DOM.[3]

2.2   Interim Proposal: DOM in Turkish is Dependent Case

Proposal[4]
- NPs lacking the specific, definite, or generic features lack the D head. This hides them from the Dependent Accusative calculus.
- Other NPs (specific, definite, generic etc.) are visible to Dependent Accusative calculus.
- The ability to move away from the immediately preverbal position is contingent upon having the D head.
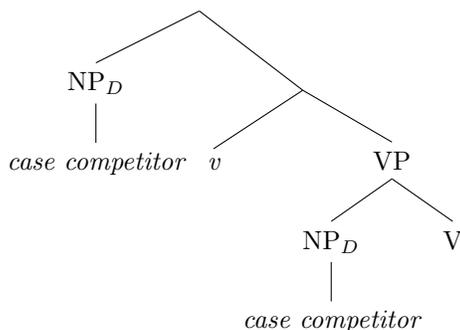
(9)   D-head present   (10)   D-head absent
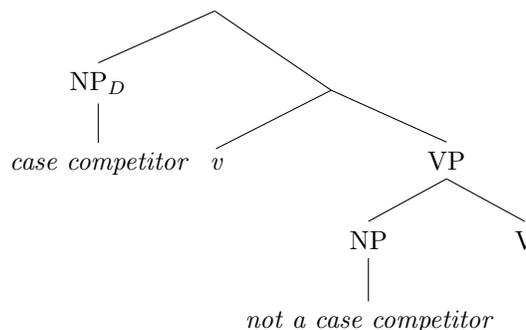
The lack of D prevents the nominal to receive dependent accusative case in addition to allowing it to pseudo-incorporate into the verb or preventing it from moving to a higher position. The dependent case approach accounts for a range of facts associated with accusative case in Turkish:

- Accusative is only attested in transitive clauses.
- Accusative is lost under passivization.
- Moved objects must receive accusative but movement is not required for accusative case.
- External arguments of unergatives receive accusative case under causativization.
- Accusatives are never lexically assigned (inside PPs or elsewhere).

3   Main Claim

DOM in PhG is also a result of the Dependent Case Rules interacting with the visibility conditions of NPs for dependent case calculus. Indefinite NPs in PhG are invisible for Dependent Accusative calculus.

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[2] Our glossing slightly differs from theirs.

[3] See Von Heusinger and Kornfilt (2005) for a proposal in the same spirit.

[4] An alternative proposal would invoke a combination of Existential Closure (Diesing 1992), Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2000), and possibly Holmberg's Generalization (Holmberg 1986). We could stipulate that specific NPs must move out of the VP which moves them into the same phase as the external argument yielding dependent accusative case. We prefer not pursuing this line of thought as it seems that specific NPs marked with accusative can appear after low adverbs.

4 PhG Primer

- Word order is VSO and SVO.
- OV order yields a pragmatically "marked" meaning (topic/focus).
- NOM-ACC alignment.
- Animacy plays a role only in heteroclitic nominal inflection.
- Proper names, pronouns, nouns with strong quantifiers are obligatorily marked in the accusative.
- Definiteness is expressed with definite articles.
- Pleonastic definite articles with proper names.
- Bare singulars are restricted to certain contexts.
- Distinct indefinite article (an) from the numeral 'one' (ina)

(11)   Pičin   tarna   ton   gamu-Ø.
       made.3PL quickly the.ACC wedding-ACC
       'They held the wedding quickly.'

5 DOM in PhG

DOM in PhG shows some similarities as well as differences with DOM in Turkish.

5.1 Similarities

5.1.1 Definitenes

In PhG, DOM is associated with **definiteness**. Definite objects receive accusative case while indefinites remain nominative.

(12)   a. To   čočuxi   faiz   ton   tana-Ø.
           the.NOM child.NOM feed.3SG the.M.ACC.SG calf.M-ACC.SG
           'The child is feeding the calf.'   [definite]
       b. To   jadhi   pičin   (an) tana-s.
           the.NOM cow.NOM made.3SG (an) calf.M-NOM.SG
           'The cow made a calf.'   [indefinite]

Although Spyropoulos and Kakarikos (2007) suggested that it is specificity rather than definiteness of the referent of the object-NP that DOM, it has been established in the literature that triggers DOM in PhG is clearly based on definiteness. Pronouns, proper names, common NPs with definite referents on the definiteness scale (13) are always marked in the accusative:

(13)   Pronoun > Proper Name > **Definite** > Indefinite Specific > Non-Specific   (Croft 1988)

(14)   Idha   esena   / *si.
       saw.1SG you.ACC / you.NOM
       'I saw you.'

(15)   Idha   to   Murati-Ø   / *Murati-s.
       saw.1SG the.ACC Murat-ACC / Murat-NOM
       'I saw Murat.'

(16)   Idha   to   nomati-Ø / *nomati-s.
       saw.1SG the.ACC man-ACC / man-NOM
       'I saw the man.'

Indefinite object NPs, whether they are specific or non-specific, appear systematically in the nominative:

(17)   a. Gho idha an ipno-s.
           I   saw a dream-NOM
           I saw a dream'   [specific indefinite; Dawkins 1916, p. 536]

b. Eši an jo-s   ja t-onema tu čo katexu   da.
   has a son-NOM but the-name his not know.1SG 3OBJ
   'She has a son but I don't know his name'.   [specific indefinite; field notes]

(18) Irevu   (an) toxtori-s,   otis   na in as   en.
      want.1SG a   doctor-NOM whoever NA is HORT is
      'I want a doctor, no matter who he is.'   [non-specific]

The neighboring position of Definite and Specific features on the Definiteness Hierarchy silverstein led some researchers (e.g. Karatsareas (2011) and Karatsareas (2020)) to claim that the DOM in PhG is due to some pattern replication from Turkey plus the association of the Definiteness in PhG with Specificity in Turkish. While this is a plausible hypothesis, it barely scratches the surface.

5.1.2 Genericity

Generic/kind-referring NPs are always in plural and they require overt definite articles in PhG:

(19) Ghapo   *(tis)   ap-i.
      love.1SG the.ACC foxes-ACC
      'I love foxes.'

Bare NPs receive an existential/weak quantificational interpretation.

(20) Grevi   na navri   ap-i.
      want.3SG NA find.3sg foxes-foxes-ACC/NOM
      'He wants to find foxes (any fox will do).'

Bare singular objects are allowed only in light verb constructions/in idioms which are almost always calques from Turkish (21), as complements of verbs associated with *have* predicate (22), as complements of intensional predicates (23). In these restricted contexts, if the object is masculine, it receives nominative case:

(21) Pika   tova-s.
      did.1SG prayer-NOM
      'I prayed'

(22) a. Apse   piin   so Vereki če ghorasin   tana-s.
         yesterday went.3SG to.the Everek and bought/3SG calf-NOM
         'He went to Everek yesterday and bought (a) calf.
      b. To jadhi pičin   tana-s.
         the cow made.3SG calf-NOM
         'The cow gave birth to (a) calf.'

(23) Irevo   čaræ-s   son pono m.
      look.for.1SG cure-NOM to.the pain my
      'I am looking for (a) cure to my pain.'

5.1.3 Animacy

While definiteness and genericity play a role in DOM in PhG, animacy does not. DOM applies to any masculine singular noun, animates and inanimates alike.

(24) a. Idha   to   nomati-Ø.
         saw.1SG the.ACC man-ACC
         'I saw the man.'   [animate (human)]
      b. Idha   a nomati-s.
         saw.1SG a fox-NOM
         'I saw a man.'   [animate (human)]

(25) a. Idha   ton   apo-Ø.
         saw.1SG the.ACC fox-ACC

     'I saw the fox.'   [animate (non-human)]

    b.   Idha   an apo-s.
        saw.1SG a   fox-NOM
        'I saw a fox.'   [animate (non-human)]

(26) a.   Pirin   to   čezva-Ø.
        took.3SG the.ACC cofee.pot-ACC
        'He took the coffee pot.'   [inanimate]

    b.   Ghorasin   an čezva-s.
        bought.3SG a   coffee.pot-NOM
        'He bought a coffee pot.'   [inanimate]

5.1.4   Interim Summary

In terms of features that co-occur with DOM, PhG is similar to Turkish. Generic object NPs are marked accusative in both languages. In both languages, all the NPs down to definiteness on the specificity hierarchy are marked with the accusative case. The only difference seems to be that Turkish also marks specific NPs as well.

5.1.5   DOM Case is Structural in PhG

Just like in Turkish, accusative is lost under passivization, indicating that the DOM case is structural.

(27) a.   I   Turči skotsan   an apo-s   / ton   apo-Ø.
        The Turks killed.3PL a   fox-NOM   the.NOM fox-ACC
        'The Turks killed the fox / a fox.

    b.   Skotothin o   apo-s   / an apo-s   s-is   Turči.
        was.killed the.NOM fox-NOM / a   fox-NOM by-the Turks
        'The fox / a fox was killed by the Turks.'

5.1.6   Word order in sentences with mono-transitive verbs

PhG is a VSO/SVO language. Leftward movement of the direct object past the V consistently gives rise to a pragmatically marked structure, in which the object is interpreted either as topic or focus. If the DO is definite and thus if it appears in the accusative, it may precede or follow a lower adverb/(light) manner adverb in a pragmatically neutral sentence with a mono-transitive verb. Notice, however, that they are judged more natural when they appear to the left of the adverb:

(28) a.   Pičin   tarna ton   gamu-Ø.
        made.3PL quickly the.ACC wedding-ACC
        'They held the wedding quickly.'

    b.   Pičin   ton   gamu-Ø   tarna.
        made.3PL the.ACC wedding-ACC quickly
        'They held the wedding quickly.'

An indefinite/bare DO, which appears in the nominative, on the other hand, can only appear to the right of a VP-level adverb:

(29) a.   Effain tarna   an xurma-s.
        ate.3SG quickly a   date-NOM
        'He quickly ate (a) date.'

    b. ??Effain   an xurma-s tarna.
        ate.3SG a   date-NOM quickly
        'He quickly ate (a) date.'

5.2 Differences

5.2.1 Marking indirect objects

Unlike in Turkish, definite indirect objects in PhG appear in the accusative case.

(30)   Dhoka   paradha to   nomati-Ø.
       gave.1SG money   the.ACC man-ACC
       'I gave money to the man.'   [PhG]

Marking indirect objects in the accusative is common to many dialects, in and outside Asia Minor. It was also observed in Medieval Greek eastern vernaculars. This is different from Standard Modern Greek (as well as higher registers of Medieval Greek), in which indirect objects appear either as a PP or in the genitive.

(31)   Edhosa lefta   tu   anthrop-u / s-ton   anthrop-o.
       gave.1SG money the.GEN man-GEN   to-the.ACC man-ACC
       'I gave money to the man.'   [Modern Greek]

Indefinite indirect objects in PhG appear consistently as complements of the preposition *s* to'. In this context as well, they are marked in the nominative.

(32)   Dhoka   paradha s-a   nomati-s.
       gave.1SG money   to-a man-NOM
       'I gave money to a man.'   [PhG]

In Turkish, indirect objects always receive dative case regardless of specificity.

(33)   a. Ben para-yı   bir adam-a   ver-di-m.
           I   money-ACC one man-DAT give-PAST-1SG
           'I gave the money to a man.'   [indefinite, non-specific]
       b. Ben para-yı   adam-a   ver-di-m.
           I   money-ACC man-DAT give-PAST-1SG
           'I gave the money to the man.'   [definite, specific]
       c. *Ben para-yı   bir adam ver-di-m.
           I   money-ACC one man give-PAST-1SG
           'I gave the money to a man.'   [indefinite, non-specific]

### 5.3 Accounting for PhG Case Patterns

Proposal
- DOM in PhG is similar to DOM in Turkish with minor differences.
- Accusative in PhG is Dependent Case.
- Indefinite NPs are invisible for Dependent Accusative calculus.
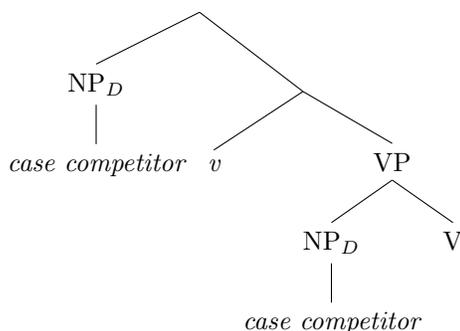
(34) D-head present   (35) D-head absent
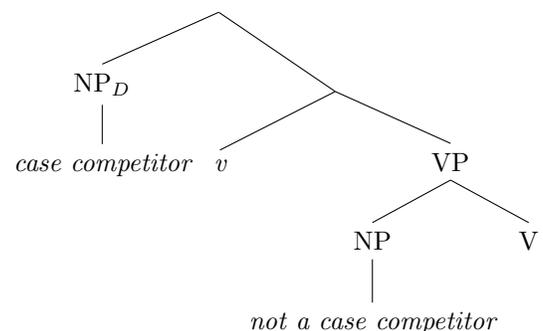
Accounted for
- Only definite NPs receive accusative case.
- Both of the internal NPs receive accusative case when they are definite.
- Only case marked (i.e. definite) NPs can move their base positions (immediately preverbal position).

(36)   Ditransitives (Both Accusative)

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                              ●
                  ╱───────────┴───────────╲
            NP_D                            ●
             │                       ╱──────┴──────╲
     case competitor   v          VP
                              ╱────────┴────────╲
                        NP_D                      VP
                         │                  ╱─────┴─────╲
                 case competitor          NP_D           V
                                           │
                                     case competitor
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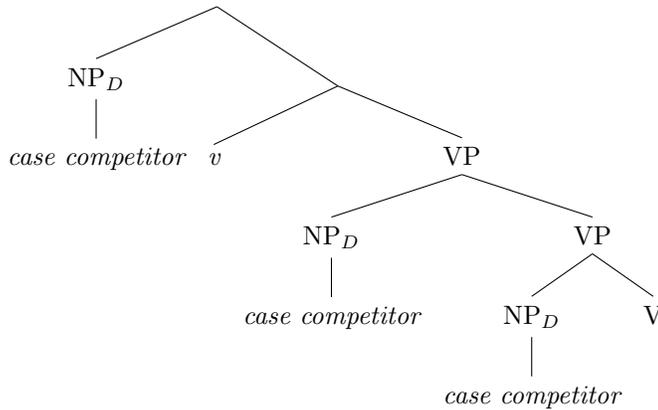
Unexplained
1. Why does Turkish not have double accusative?
2. Why do PhG indefinite indirect objects get NOM inside a PP?

The answer to the first question is relatively straightforward. Following Baker (2015), we consider Dative to be the vP internal Dependent Case assigned to the higher NP. While Turkish has a Dependent Dative Rule, PhG does not.

(37)   **Dependent Dative Rule**
        NP$_1$ c-commands NP$_2$ in vP → NP$_1$ = DAT.

The Dependent Dative Rule in (37) accounts for the dative case on the indirect objects in Turkish.[5] It also accounts for the fact that external arguments of transitive verbs get dative case when they are transitivized.

(38)   a.   Ali yemek ye-di.
              Ali food   eat-PAST
              'Ali ate food'.
        b.   Cem Ali-ye   yemek ye-dir-di.
              Cem Ali-DAT food   eat-CAUS-PAST
              'Cem made Ali eat food'.

The answer to the second question is a little more complicated. For this, we need to consider the PCC effects in PhG.

5.4   PCC-effects

PhG has strong and weak (clitic) pronouns. If both the direct and the indirect object are weak pronouns, the order between the two is IO > DO. No two identical weak object forms can co-occur (39). PhG also exhibits strong PCC-effects (Bonet 1991); in ditransitive constructions with a weak 1st or 2nd person indirect object and a weak direct object, the weak direct object must be third person (40):

(39)   a.   *Edhiksane   mi mi
              showed/3PL 1SG 1SG
              int.: 'They showed me to me'

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[5]We have to assume that specificity does not hide an NP from the Dependent Dative Rule. This suggests that Dependent Case Rules can be parameterized for features.

  b. *Edhiksane da da
   showed/3PL 3SG 3SG
   int.: 'They showed him to him'

(40) a. *Dhokan mi si
    gave.3PL 1SG 2SG
    int.: 'They gave you to me.'
  b. *Dhokan si mi
    gave.3PL 2SG 1SG
    int.: 'They gave me to you.'

(41) a. *Dhokan ta mi
    gave.3PL 3SG 1SG
    int.: 'They gave me to him.'
  b. *Dhokan ta si
    gave.3PL 3SG 2SG
    int.: 'They gave you to him.'

(42) a. Dhokan mi ta
    gave.3PL 1SG 3SG
    'They gave him to me.'
  b. Dhokan si ta si
    gave.3PL 2SG 3SG
    'They gave him to you.'

PCC effects have been claimed to occur as a result of the Person Licensing Condition.

(43) **Person Licensing Condition**   Preminger (2011)
   A [participant] feature on a DP that is a viable agreement target (as far as its case is concerned, etc.), and for which there is a clausemate person probe, must participate in a valuation relation.

Atlamaz (2019) observed that the PCC-like effects are not restricted to NPs with [participant] features and revised it as the Feature Licensing Condition as in (44).

(44) **Feature Licensing Condition**   (Atlamaz 2019)
   a) A nominal N with a feature F ($N_{[F]}$) must enter an agreement relation with a probe P with a matching F ($P_{[F]}$) if N is visible to P.

   b) F is a feature drawn from animacy/specificity hierarchies and varies depending on the language.

FLC violations result in ineffability as observed in the PCC effects ((39)-(40)) unless they are repaired. Béjar and Rezac (2003), Kalin (2018) (a.o.) proposed a last resort probe that can assign case (R-Case of Béjar and Rezac (2003)) to repair the PLC violation (by licensing or hiding it from the agreement probe).

Preposition on indefinite indirect objects is R-Case
- Subject agreement in PhG tracks nominative arguments.
- When the indirect object is in nominative case, it is visible to the agreement probe on T.
- R-case hides it from T to satisfy the FLC.

Why does the same strategy not work for the PCC effects?
- Object Agreement Probe (usually realized through clitics) tracks accusative NPs.
- When both NPs are accusative, they are both visible to the object agreement probe. R-Case cannot rescue any of the NPs since they are already case marked.

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6   Mechanisms behind the emergence of DOM in PhG

Given that the scarce available written texts from the Pharasa region from late Medieval times do not contain traces of DOM, it can be safely assumed that it emerged as an outcome of language contact with Turkish. Pattern-replication account (cf.Karatsareas (2011) and Karatsareas (2020)), under to most sensible interpretation, implies an abrupt, all-or-nothing/cataclysmic change in the system of PhG. According to this scenario, G_1 adult bilingual speakers identify definiteness in PhG with specificity in Turkish and use accusative morphology that is used to mark specificty in Turksih to mark definites in PhG, leaving the indefinites with nominative. The cross-linguistic evidence for the emergence of DOM under language contact (eg. Basque, Rodríguez-Ordóñez 2017) shows with empirical evidence that emergence and levelling of restricted case-marking spans over multiple generations. Furthermore, whether abstract rules, such as DOM-marking, can be borrowed or not has been debated in the literature. While some scholars argue that syntax is opaque to borrowing (Sankoff 2002), it has also been postulated that certain structural innovations can be mediated only by lexical borrowing (Winford 2005) or even replicated, leading to a grammaticalization process (Heine and Kuteva 2005; Heine and Kuteva 2010).

The alternative scenario we posit here is based on partial inference of a rule via lexical borrowing + grammaticalization. Speakers of the replica language across multiple generations create a new use pattern that is akin to a corresponding category in the model language evoking materials from their own language (c.f. Heine and Kuteva (2005) and Heine and Kuteva (2010)). In order to sustain this, however, the 'trigger' of a propelling force that allows the system to closely pattern with the recipient grammar needs to be identified. We claim this propelling force is the massive number of V + O collocations/idioms that emerged in PhG as loan translations (calques) (with or without pure loanwords).

Apart from words in all categories, numerous V + O collocations/idioms emerged in PhG as loan translations (calques). Similar to the case in Turkish, the object in these collocations are bare singulars nouns. Such collocations are abundant with nouns in the neuter (see Appendix 1.a for further examples):

(45) a.   ftenu   kabuli
           do.1SG acceptance.N
           'I accept'   < T. *kabul et-*
      b.   thoro   rgho
           see.1SG work.N
           'I function'   < T. *iş gör-*

That the O-nouns in these collocations are very often in the neuter is not a surprise given that (a) Hellenic masculine/feminine words shift to neuter class in PhG (b) the default accommodation strategy of Turkish nouns into PhG lexicon is to locate them in the neuter class unless very specific semantic (animacy) or phonological clues (phonological similarity with the members of masculine & feminine class) disrupt this and lead the accommodation of the borrowed noun as masculine or feminine. There are also numerous of V + O collocations whereby the O is feminine (not illustrated) or masculine (see also Appendix 1c):

(46) a.   ftenu   yolčis
           do.1SG traveller.M
           'I send off'   < T. *yolcu et-*
      b.   penu   čigharas
           drink.1SG cigarette.M
           'I smoke'   < T. *sigara iç-*

We believe that the grammaticalization path is initiated with the emergence of 'calques' from Turkish, which according to many borrowability scales (Matras 2009 etc.) precede structural borrowing.

Objects in the V+O collocations in Turkish as non-specific/generics. Turkish does differentiate (indefinite) specifics from non-specifics by marking the former in the accusative. The specificity is therefore a morphologically salient feature in Turkish.

Unlike Turkish, on the other hand, Late Medieval Greek/Modern Greek does not have certain morphology to distinguish (indefinite) specific object nouns from non-specific ones. Noun phrases that contain an indefinite article are ambiguous between specific and non-specific reading Marinis 1999, Alexiadou, Haegeman, and Stavrou 2007):

(47) Stis   dhiakopes dhiavazo panda ena mithistorima.
      in.the holidays   read.1SG always a   novel
      'I always read a (specific) novel during the vacation.'

Definite objects always appear with definite articles:

(48) ...dhivazo to   mithistorima
      read.1SG the novel
      . . . I read the novel.'

Therefore, in Hellenic the salient morphological dichotomy is between definiteness and indefiniteness. Bare NPs (singular or plural) (see Sioupi 1999; Kampanarou 2018 for their licensing), are also necessarily indefinite in the history of Hellenic. They almost always receive non-referential reading, although specific reading can also be found when they are complements of verbs of creation:

(49) a. Dhiavazo panda efimerida
          read.1SG always newspaper
          'I always read newspaper.'
      b. Ehtise   (ena) erghostasio pu   ihe sigekrimeni hrisi.
          built.3SG a   factory   that had specific   use
          'S/he built a (specific) factory that had a specific use.'

PhG-Turkish bilinguals must have been susceptible to systematic lack of accusative marker on O in O+V collocations in Turkish. While creating calques, they must have—either as deliberate decision or through global copying—replicated the Turkish case-pattern, i.e., no ACC on the O. This would have no overt effect when the O is neuter, given nominative-accusative syncretism in this category, but occasional calquing that involved masculine objects probably forced bilinguals to mark the bare object in the nominative. Given that their PhG repertoire does not make specificity-non-specificity distinction overt, and indefiniteness/definiteness being the salient category for PhG, 'no-ACC on O' might have been occasionally used even on objects with an overt indefinite article. What ambiguous corpus was provided to further generations, which was further supplied with further V+O collocations, was further systematized, generalizing the restricted domain of marking to ALL indefinite objects (with or without articles).

7   Conclusion

- DOM in Turkish and PhG are both Dependent Accusative Case
- Non-specific NPs in Turkish and indefinites in PhG are invisible to Dependent Accusative Case calculus
- DOM spread from Turkish to PhG as a result of borrowed phrases items followed by grammaticalization

8   Appendices

Appendix-I

V+O collocations/idioms with a neuter object

PhG	Turkish	translation	PhG	Turkish	translation
ftenu kabuli	kabul et-	'accept'	ftenu xaxi	hak et-	'deserve'
ftenu embri	emret-	'order'	ftenu krami	ikram et	'offer'
ftenu jartimi	yardım et	'help'	ftenu zarari	zarar et-	'make a loss'
ftenu memuni	memmnun et-	'please'	ftenu meraxi	merak et-	'wonder'
ftenu muxapeti	muhabbet et-	'converse'	ftenu sapuri	sabret-	'be patient'
ftenu čočuxi	çocuk yap-	'make children'	ftenu merxemeti	merhamet et-	'mercy'
ftenu taveti	davet et	'invite'	ftenu zapti	zaptet-	'seize'
dhitu xapari	haber ver-	'inform'	dhito **kači**	söz ver-	'promise'
dhitu **ti**	kulak ver-	'listen'	dhitu izini	izin ver	'allow'
peru soluxi	soluk al-	'breathe'	peru **kači**	söz al-	'obtain a promise'
thoro **rgho**	iş gör-	'function'	čaltau **makarti**	yoğurt çal-	'make yoghurt'
vkalenu sasi	ses çıkar-	'complain'	kaftu **traghodhi**	türkü yak-	'sing'

Appendix-II

V+O collocations/idioms with a masculine object

PhG	Turkish	translation	PhG	Turkish	translation
ftenu perišanus	perişan et-	'ruin'	ftenu ghamus	düğün yap-	"hold a wedding'
ftenu yolçis	yolcu et-	'send off'	vkalenu yalançis	yalancı çıkar-	'contradict'
vkalenu ghavghas	kavga çıkar-	'start a fight'	vkalenu **xumas**	sorun çıkar-	'act up'
ksiau fuxaras	fakir düş-	'become poor'	penu čigharas	sigara iç-	'smoke'
irevu 'caræs	çare ara-	'seek a remedy'	tavro cezas	ceza çek-	'be punished'
ivro maxanas	bahane bul-	'find a pretext'			

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