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The short-lived trajectory of DOM in Cappadocian Greek: language contact, typological anomaly and morphological change

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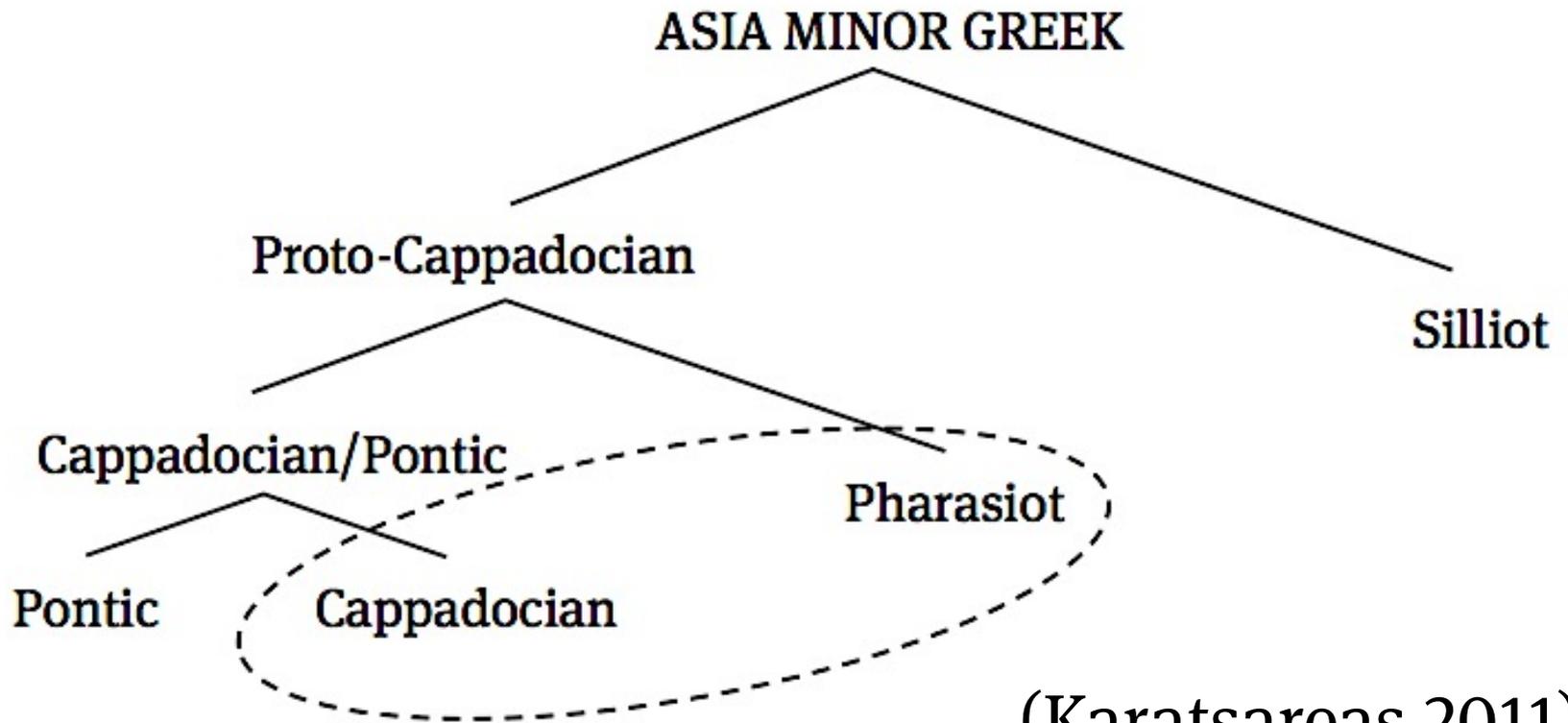University of the West of England — Open University of Cyprus

Cappadocian Greek

Cappadocian Greek

Cappadocian Greek

(Karatsareas 2011)

Cappadocian Greek

- Greek in Cappadocia developed for a significant amount of time

  (*a*) in (relative) isolation from the varieties spoken contiguously in other areas of the Eastern Mediterranean;

  (*b*) in the context of intense language contact with Turkish.

Cappadocian Greek

- Cappadocian Greek presents

   (*a*) numerous grammatical and lexical features reminiscent of earlier stages in the history of Greek (Late Medieval period, *i.e.* 1100–1500 CE);

   (*b*) a great deal of structural innovations that distinguish it from other Modern Greek dialects.

Grammatical convergence

	Standard ModGr	Cappadocian	Turkish
1.	interdental fricatives /θ ~ ð/	no interdental fricatives /t ~ d/	
2.	three genders	no grammatical gender	
3.	fusional	agglutinative	
4.	head-initial (VO, N + NGEN, N + REL)	head-final (OV, NGEN + N, REL + N)	
5.	prepositions	pre-, circum-, post-positions	postpositions
6.	no question marker	question marker	
7.	ACC–NEUTER marking	DOM	

Today's talk

1   The Turkish DOM system

2   The Modern Greek ACC–NEUTER system

3   The Cappadocian DOM system

   a.   its synchrony

   b.   its emergence

   c.   its decline

4   Conclusions

DOM in Turkish

- A textbook case: SPECIFICITY determines the marking of direct objects NPs.

- Specific direct object NPs are marked by *-(y)I*.

- *-(y)I* can co-occur with
  – the indefinite marker *bir* (< *bir* 'one');
  – definite determiners, *e.g.* demonstratives *bu*, *şu*, *o*;
  – universal quantifiers, *e.g. her* 'every', *bütün* 'all'.

- Non-specific direct object NPs are zero-marked.

DOM in Turkish

(1)   'Yasemin lost...
   a. *Yasemin   anahtar   kaybetti.*   ... keys.'
   b. *Yasemin   anahtar-ı kaybetti.*   ... the key.'
   c. *Yasemin bu anahtar-ı kaybetti.*   ... this key.'
   d. *Yasemin bir anahtar   kaybetti.*   ... a key.'
   e. *Yasemin bir anahtar-ı kaybetti.*   ... a certain key'

DOM in Turkish

- Definiteness Hierarchy (von Heusinger 2008: 5)

personal pronoun	>	proper name	>	definite NP	>	indefinite specific NP	>	indefinite non-specific NP	>	non-argu-mental NP
				-(y)I					-Ø	

- Head nouns of subject NPs in main clauses are also zero-marked:

(2) *Anahtar   paspas-ın   alt-ın-da.*
     key   doormat-GEN   bottom-3SG-LOC
     'The key is under the doormat.'

ACC–NEUTER marking in ModGr

- ModGr is non-differential.

- The head nouns of all direct object NPs are uniformly marked by the ACC irrespective of their position or that of their referents on the Animacy and Definiteness Hierarchies.

- ModGr distinguishes between definite and indefinite NPs:

  – all definite NPs are marked by the definite article;

  – indefinite NPs are marked by the indefinite article or are zero-marked.

ACC–NEUTER marking in ModGr

- There is no grammaticalised means for the marking of specificity.

- Definite NPs generally have a specific reading except for generic NPs, which are–nevertheless–still marked by the definite article.

- Indefinite NPs marked as such by the indefinite article can have both a specific and a non-specific reading.

- Zero-marked indefinite NPs can be interpreted as either non-specific or generic.

ACC–NEUTER marking in ModGr

(2) a.

o	*ðimarxos*	*evɣale*
ART.DEF.M.SG.NOM	mayor(M).SG.NOM	give.PST.3SG

loɣo	*stin*
speech(M).SG.**ACC**	PREP.ART.DEF.F.SG.ACC

platia
square(F).SG.ACC

'The mayor gave a speech on the square.'

ACC–NEUTER marking in ModGr

(2) b. *xriazome*   **xaraka**   *ɟa na*   *sçeðiaso*
need.PRS.1SG ruler(M).SG.**ACC**   COMP   draw.PNP.1SG

efθies   *ɣrames*
straight.F.PL.ACC   line(F).PL.ACC

'I need a ruler in order to draw straight lines.'

c. *θelo*   *na*   *aɣoraso* **enan**
want.PRS.1SG COMP buy.1SG   **INDF**.M.SG.**ACC**

ektipoti
printer(M).SG.**ACC**

'I want to buy a printer (any printer).'

ACC–NEUTER marking in ModGr

(2) d. *sina⁽ⁿ⁾disa*   **enan**   **filo=mu**,
     meet.PRS.1SG   **INDF**.M.SG.**ACC**   friend(M).SG.**ACC**=1SG.GEN

    to   **Manoli**
    ART.DEF.M.SG.**ACC**   PN(M).SG.**ACC**

    'I met a (certain) friend of mine, Manolis.'

  e. *ðen*   *ton=troo*   **ton**
    NEG   3SG.M.ACC=eat.PRS.1SG   **ART.DEF**.M.SG.**ACC**

    patsa
    tripe(M).SG.**ACC**
    'I don't eat tripe.'

ACC–NEUTER marking in ModGr

- In terms of Bossong (1991: 151), ModGr exhibits an ACC–NEUTER split:

  – only non-neuter (masculine or feminine) nouns have a distinct morphological form in the ACC;

  – neuter nouns have syncretic NOM/ACC forms.

- The ModGr ACC–NEUTER split is not DOM. It is strictly defined by inflectional class and, therefore, not based on semantic or pragmatic properties of the referents of direct object NPs.

DOM in Cappadocian: synchrony

- Cappadocian also distinguishes between definite and indefinite NPs:

  - all definite NPs are marked by the definite article, which has overt and zero forms (see Karatsareas 2013 for details);

  - indefinite NPs are marked by the indefinite article or are zero-marked.

- *Contra* Spyropoulos & Tiliopoulou (2006), there is no grammaticalised means for the marking of SPECIFICITY. Definite and indefinite NPs get the same specificity readings as their ModGr counterparts.

DOM in Cappadocian: synchrony

- Case marking in Cappadocian is differential and conditioned by DEFINITENESS (Dawkins 1916, Janse 2004).

- In the syntactic contexts in which the ACC is the only grammatical option in other ModGr varieties (direct object, indirect object, object predicative, preposition complement, adverbial NPs),

  – head nouns of definite NPs appear in the ACC;

  – head nouns of indefinite NPs appear in the NOM.

- In that sense, DOM is a misnomer for Cappadocian.

DOM in Cappadocian: synchrony

(3) a. *eto*   ***to***   ***aθropo***   *mi*

DEM.PROX.SG   **ART.DEF**.SG   man.SG.**ACC**   NEG

to=lalit

3SG.ACC=tell_off.IMPV.2PL

'Do not tell off this man.' (Tsitsopoulos 1962: 58)

b. *ɟolatsan*   ***ena***   ***aθropos***

send.PST.3PL   **INDF**   man.SG.**NOM**

na=to=tʃiɟirtiʃ

COMP=3SG.ACC=call.PNP.3SG

'They sent out a man to call him.' (*ibid*.: 54)

DOM in Cappadocian: synchrony

(4) a. **so**   *filan*   **son**

PREP.**ART.DEF**.SG   such.SG   PREP.**ART.DEF**.SG

topo   *en*   *ena*   *koritʃ*

place.SG.**ACC**   COP.3   INDF   girl.SG.NOM

'In that place, there is a girl.' (Dawkins 1916: 322)

b. *esena*   *pal*   *se=salsan*   *s=**ena***

2SG.ACC   PTCL   2SG.ACC=send.PST. 3PL.NOM   PREP=**INDF**

batax   ***topos***

slippery.SG   place.SG.**NOM**

'As for you, they sent you to a slippery place.' (*ibid.*)

DOM in Cappadocian: synchrony

- Owing to the collapse of the originally distinct masculine, feminine, and neuter forms of all agreement targets into a single, historically neuter form (Karatsareas 2009, 2014), the differential distinction between definite and indefinite NPs only becomes apparent on head nouns of NPs:

(5) *salse*   *ena*   *allo*   ***numatʃis***
     send.PST.3SG   INDF   other.SG   man.SG.**ACC**
     'Send another man.'
     (Phosteris & Kesisoglou 1960: 102)

DOM in Cappadocian: synchrony

- The NOM *vs* ACC distinction is morphologically marked only in the singular of three out of nine inflectional classes (Karatsareas under review):

		IC1 'man'	IC2 'thief'	IC3 'priest'
SG	NOM	*aθropo-s*	*klefti-s*	*papa-s*
	ACC	*aθropo-Ø*	*klefti-Ø*	*papa-Ø*
PL	NOM	*aθrop-i*	*klefti*	*papaδ-es*
	ACC			

DOM in Cappadocian: synchrony

		IC4 'woman'	**IC5** 'animal'	**IC6** 'ear'
SG	NOM	*neka*	*xtin-o*	*fti*
	ACC			
PL	NOM	*nec-es*	*xtin-a*	*fti-a*
	ACC			

		IC7 'house'	**IC8** 'money'	**IC9** 'cover'
SG	NOM	*spit*	*para*	*puma*
	ACC			
PL	NOM	*spit-ia*	*parað-ia*	*pumat-a*
	ACC			

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DOM in Cappadocian: emergence

- It is not unheard of for a non-differential language to develop into a differential one in its history through language-internal processes:

  - Vulgar Latin > Spanish, Catalan, Sardinian

  - Proto-Semitic > Hebrew

  - Proto-Indo-European > Slavonic languages

- The possibility that Cappadocian DOM emerged language-internally should not be dismissed in principle.

DOM in Cappadocian: emergence

- Aissen, drawing on Bossong (1985: 125):

  "*Overwhelmingly*, DOM is implemented by overtly marking the marked class of objects, and leaving the unmarked ones with no morphological mark."

  (2003: 446, emphasis in the original; see also Comrie 1989 and Croft 2003).

DOM in Cappadocian: emergence

- Cappadocian DOM violates Aissen's, Comrie's and Croft's generalisations:

Formal markedness	Semantic markedness
-*s*	indefinite
-Ø	definite

- The overt, morphologically more complex element marks the unmarked class of objects.

DOM in Cappadocian: emergence

- This violation casts doubt on a hypothesis that would treat the emergence of DOM in Cappadocian as a language-internal development.

- If this had been the case, we would expect NOM forms ending in -*s* to be used for definite NPs and *s*-less, zero-marked ACC forms to be used for indefinite NPs.

- The comparison of the Cappadocian DOM pattern with that of Turkish supports a language contact hypothesis.

DOM in Cappadocian: emergence

- In Cappadocian, head nouns of indefinite NPs appear in a form that coincides with that in which head nouns of subject NPs appear:

(6) a. *ɉolatsan*   *ena*   ***aθropos***

     send.PST.3PL   INDF   man.SG.NOM

     'They sent out a man.' (Tsitsopoulos 1962: 54)

   b. *eto*   ***aθropos***   *ðe=ne*   *xan*

     DEM.PROX.SG   man.SG.NOM   NEG=COP.3   SIM

     ta   *ala*   *ta*   *aθrop*

     ART.DEF.PL   OTHER.PL   ART.DEF.PL   MAN.PL.ACC

     'This man is not like the other men.' (*ibid*.: 58)

DOM in Cappadocian: emergence

- The same pattern holds in Turkish:

(7) a. *Yasemin bir **anahtar** kaybet-ti.*
PN INDF key lose-PST
'Yasemin lost a key.'

   b. ***Anahtar** paspas-ın alt-ın-da.*
key doormat-GEN bottom-3SG-LOC
'The key is under the doormat.'

DOM in Cappadocian: emergence

- The emergence of DOM in Cappadocian is due to an instance of pattern replication (in the sense of Matras & Sakel 2007) or selective copying (in the sense of Johanson 1999, 2002a, 2002b).

- Cappadocian speakers replicated (or, copied) the Turkish DOM pattern without borrowing any of the forms used for its implementation in the model language, in this case -*(y)I*.

DOM in Cappadocian: emergence

- Instead, they drew upon the language's own grammatical resources in order to establish

  (*a*) the referential property that would determine which NPs would be overtly marked and which would be left unmarked in the contexts in which DOM is active;

  (*b*) the formal means for the implementation of DOM.

DOM in Cappadocian: emergence

- Pattern replication:

Turkish

Referential property

SPECIFICITY

DOM in Cappadocian: emergence

- Pattern replication:

Referential property	Turkish	Cappadocian
	SPECIFICITY	DEFINITENESS

DOM in Cappadocian: emergence

- Pattern replication:

	Turkish	**Cappadocian**
Referential property	SPECIFICITY	DEFINITENESS
Formal marking	non-specific ⇒ NOM specific ⇒ ACC	

DOM in Cappadocian: emergence

- Pattern replication:

	Turkish	**Cappadocian**
Referential property	SPECIFICITY	DEFINITENESS
Formal marking	non-specific ⇒ NOM	non-specific ⇒ NOM
	specific ⇒ ACC	specific ⇒ ACC

DOM in Cappadocian: emergence

- Pattern replication:

	Turkish	**Cappadocian**
Referential property	SPECIFICITY	DEFINITENESS
Formal marking	non-specific ⇒ NOM -Ø	non-specific ⇒ NOM -*s*
	specific ⇒ ACC -*(y)I*	specific ⇒ ACC -Ø

DOM in Cappadocian: emergence

- (*a*) Turkish

personal pronoun	>	proper name	>	definite NP	>	indefinite specific NP	>	indefinite non-specific NP	>	non-argu-mental NP
-(y)I								*-Ø*		

(*b*) Cappadocian

personal pronoun	>	proper name	>	definite NP	>	indefinite specific NP	>	indefinite non-specific NP	>	non-argu-mental NP
-Ø								*-s*		

DOM in Cappadocian: decline

- Cases in which DOM does not operate as expected:

(8) a. *qarʃulatse*   ***to***   ***kleftʃis***
      meet.PST.3SG   ART.DEF.SG   thief.SG.NOM
      'He met the thief' (Dawkins 1916: 344)

    b. *na*   *pan*   ***su***   ***milus***
      COMP   go.PRS.3PL   PREP.ART.DEF.SG   mill.SG.NOM
      'that they go to the mill' (Costakis 1959: 82)

DOM in Cappadocian: decline

- Nouns undergo shift from a wide variety of ICs to IC7 (Karatsareas 2011, under review), affecting their ability to distinguish morphologically between NOM and ACC.

		IC1 'mill'
SG	NOM	*mil-os*
	ACC	*mil-o*
	GEN	*mil-iu*
PL	NOM	*mil-us*
	ACC	*mil-us*
	GEN	*mil-iu*

DOM in Cappadocian: decline

- Nouns undergo shift from a wide variety of ICs to IC7 (Karatsareas 2011, under review), affecting their ability to distinguish morphologically between NOM and ACC.

		IC1 'mill'		IC7 'house'
SG	NOM	*mil-os*	*milos*	*spit*
	ACC	*mil-o*	*milos*	*spit*
	GEN	*mil-iu*	*milos-iu*	*spit-iu*
PL	NOM	*mil-us*	*milos-ia*	*spit-ia*
	ACC	*mil-us*	*milos-ia*	*spit-ia*
	GEN	*mil-iu*	*milos-iu*	*spit-iu*

DOM in Cappadocian: decline

(9) a. *na*   *itun*   *ɣusmeʃ*   *na*   *perniʃka*

       COMP   COP.PST.3SG   fate.SG.NOM   COMP   take.PST.IPFV.1SG

       to   ***patiʃaxo***

       ART.DEF.SG   king.SG.ACC

       'If only I got married to the king.' (Phosteris 1962: 162)

    b. *as*   *perniʃka*   *c'*   *eɣo*

       MOD   take.PST.IPFV.1SG and   1SG

       to   ***patiʃaxos***

       ART.DEF.SG   king.SG.NOM

       'If I got married to the king.' (Phosteris 1962: 162)

DOM in Cappadocian: decline

- In the varieties in which IC shifts affected large numbers of nouns (Ulaghátsh, Ferték, Semenderé), DOM has fallen completely into disuse.

- The related dialect of Phárasa also developed DOM in a fashion similar to Cappadocian.

- Pharasiot nouns, however, did not undergo the morphological development of shifts to IC7.

- In Pharasiot Greek, DOM applies to all available nouns across the board and without exceptions.

DOM in Pharasiot

(10) *iðe*   *o*   *vasilos*
see.PST.3SG   ART.DEF.M.SG.NOM   king(M).SG.NOM

an   ***ipnos***   *(…)*   *pitaksete*
INDF   dream(M).SG.**NOM**   send.IMPV.2PL

nomati   *na*   *navrune*   ***ton***
man(M).PL.ACC   COMP   find.PNP.3PL   **ART.DEF**.M.SG.ACC

ipno*=mu*
dream(M).SG.**ACC**=1SG.GEN

'The king had a dream (…) Send men to discover my dream.' (Dawkins 1916: 542).

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Conclusions

- DOM in Cappadocian (and Pharasiot) is determined by DEFINITENESS.

- The morphological implementation of DOM violates robust crosslinguistic generalisations regarding the matching of formal and semantic markedness.

- Cappadocian DOM developed as a result of language contact with Turkish.

Conclusions

- SPECIFICITY was matched with DEFINITENESS.

- The use of the NOM for the unmarked set of objects and the use of the ACC for the marked set of objects were adopted (non-specific :: indefinite; specific :: definite).

Conclusions

- The morphological material used for the expression of DOM was affected by morphological change.

- The NOM vs ACC distinction upon which DOM was based was lost.

- DOM was short-lived in Cappadocian but survived in Pharasiot as the latter did not undergo the morphological change that Cappadocian did.

Thank you for your attention!

Acknowledgements

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