OXFORD STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE SYNTAX II

Richard Kayne, General Editor

VARIATION IN DATIVES

A Microcomparative Perspective

Edited by Beatriz Fernández

and

Ricardo Etxepare

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CHAPTER 8

Syntactic Microvariation: Dative Constructions in Greek

DIMITRIS MICHELIOUDAKIS AND IOANNA SITARIDOU

1. SCOPE AND STRUCTURE OF THE ARTICLE

This article is a first attempt at a syntactic analysis of dative construc-
tions across a number of Greek varieties—a fairly understudied and inad-
equately explored area in the study of Greek dialects, in general (but see
Manolessou & Beis 2006 for a general overview). Drawing data from three
different varieties of Pontic Greek, namely Romeyka of Of (ROf), Romeyka
of Sürmene (RSür)—both spoken in Turkey—and Pontic Greek as spoken
in Thessaloniki (TPG), as well as Medieval and Modern Cypriot Greek
(MedCG and ModCG, respectively) and Standard Modern Greek (SMG),
we set out to explore all the possible patterns in the syntax of the substi-
tutes of the Ancient Greek (AG) dative.

The main aspects of cross-dialectal variation in Greek with respect to
datives are (i) the availability of dative alternations, that is, PP alternants;
(ii) the structural position of indirect object DPs relative to direct objects
(and, mainly as a consequence of this, the passivisability of the direct
object); (iii) the presence or not of minimality/intervention effects in rais-
ing/Agree across datives; and (iv) the presence and the "strength" of per-
son restrictions on the direct object in the presence of datives, both clitics
and full DPs. Of these four potential dimensions of variation, (iii) and (iv)
clearly depend on the status of (i) and (ii), that is, intervention effects of
the sort implied in (iii) and the strong PCC are available only when high
indirect DPs alternate with low (usually prepositional) indirect objects (but
the implication is certainly not bidirectional). For our purposes, "dative" is a
cover term for DPs and clitics serving as Goal/Recipient or Ablative argu-
ments of ditransitives, Benefactives/Malefactives, External Possessors, Ethical

Datives, and Experiencers of *piacere*-type psych predicates (following Belletti
& Rizzi's 1988 typology).

The article is organized as follows. In section 2, we outline our proposal.
In section 3 we present an overview of the syntactic isoglosses across the vari-
eties under discussion, which interact with the parameterization we propose
and yield further apparent variation. In section 4, we discuss the structural
representation of dative arguments in SMG in order to establish a compara-
tive platform for the dialectal data to be examined in sections 5–7, in each
of which we group our findings, depending on the availability of the relevant
data, under the following broad categories: (i) ditransitive constructions; (ii)
benefactives; (iii) datives with unaccusatives. In section 8 we discuss our anal-
ysis and its theoretical implications. Finally, we conclude in section 9.

2. AN OVERVIEW OF THE PROPOSAL

On the basis of how the above-mentioned properties (i–iii) correlate and
(some of them) cluster together, we suggest a bipartite syntactic distinction,
with the distinctive feature being the accessibility/visibility of the "dative" DP
to Agree/Move. Following Chomsky (2000, 2001), we assume that the value
and the "timing" of the valuation of the (abstract) Case feature of a DP
determines whether or not it is an active goal, and following Michelioudakis
(2010a, 2011), we put forward the proposal that minimality in φ-Agree
must be relativized to Case features, basically interpreting Chomsky (2000,
2001) as follows: (a) DPs with unvalued, uninterpretable Case features are
active goals; (b) DPs with uninterpretable Case features that have already
been valued by a lower φ-head H, when probed by a higher φ-head H₂, are
"defective interveners," in the sense that they cannot value H₂'s [uφ] while
preventing it from probing further down; (c) DPs with fully interpretable
and lexically valued theta-related Case do not induce any minimality effects
because φ-heads only look for (and can only "see") DPs with [uCase]. What
is particularly puzzling, then, in this respect, is the fact that, putting aside
the variation in intervention effects and possibly A-movability, all Greek
datives both diatopically and diachronically apparently bear inherent Case,
which cannot be suppressed in either ECM or passivization.[1] This forces
us to postulate (cf. McGinnis 1998, Michelioudakis 2010a, 2011) (at least)
two types of inherent Case: one that only allows a dative DP to behave as
described in (c) above; and a hybrid type that allows a dative to behave
as in (a) or (b), while retaining its PF- and LF-interpretable part intact.

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[1] But see Anagnostopoulou & Sevdali (2010) for datives becoming nominative in a
restricted number of passive constructions in Classical Greek, which we do not con-
sider here. Crucially, in all the varieties we examine here, abstract dative (whatever its

The latter may either be construed as a quirky Case feature in the sense of Chomsky (2000: 127), that is, as a "(theta-related) inherent Case with a [parasitic] structural Case feature" or, possibly, as a cluster of theta-features (in the spirit of Reinhart 2002), a part of which is inserted/valued in the derivation, while the rest of it is unvalued (or simply absent, making the theta-cluster incomplete) and awaits valuation (or supplementation) by some head carrying the corresponding LF-interpretable information (e.g., Appl, which may come in different semantic flavors). If the latter is on the right track, then inherent Case in its purest (i.e., *inactive*) form is a theta-cluster that is inserted fully valued/specified from the Lexicon. However, in this article, we do not discuss which (or whether only) one of these two conceptions is right, and for this reason we do not try to relate our cases with other cases that have been claimed to involve quirky Case, for example, Icelandic quirky datives (but see Svenonius 2006, 2010, who argues that quirky datives are actually structural). Furthermore, the way in which the availability of structurally "high/low" indirect object DPs correlates with animacy and person/agreement restrictions is argued to provide evidence for a movement analysis of the double object construction (DOC), compatible in fact with Kayne's (2010: 1) radical approach: "No dative is externally merged into its visible position," which we modify/relativize by construing "dative" in this context as any dative DP/pronoun in a language which also has prepositional alternants. That said, our analysis allows for "low" datives, possibly spelt out in their first-merged positions, in systems without dative alternations (e.g., Romeyka and, partly, MedCG), which overtly realize and therefore provide direct empirical evidence for a low first-merged position of these arguments. Also, in the context of our approach to Case, the "high/low" variation relates to whether or not the Case of the dative argument also originates low (see also Michelioudakis 2010a, 2011a, 2011b, forthcoming).

Our investigation clearly provides evidence for a radical dissociation between the morphological exponence and the syntactic properties of dative expressions; exploiting all possible combinations resulting from the existence of two morphological cases realizing abstract dative and the dichotomy between two flavors of inherent Case, the diachrony of Greek is such that all the syntactic patterns that logically follow from the above are actually attested and are apparently compatible with any of the two morphological exponents available in Greek dialects. Therefore, our findings essentially point toward a four-way typology of these expressions (see Table 8.8). All syntactic variation can then be shown to derive from factors other than morphological case, while even from a diachronic perspective it can be argued that there is only an indirect, but certainly not causal, relation between morphological and syntactic change with respect to datives

2 For a discussion of the classification of Romeyka and other Pontic Greek varieties

3. SYNTACTIC ISOGLOSSES RELATING TO DATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS ACROSS GREEK DIALECTS

The goal of this section is twofold: (a) to provide some necessary information on the classification of the varieties under discussion; and (b) to introduce the facts which are pertinent to a discussion of dative constructions across the following diatopic and diachronic varieties of Greek—(i) SMG; (ii) TPG; (iii) Romeyka (ROf and RSür); (iv) MedCG; and (v) ModCG.

3.1 Morphosyntactic Distribution of "Dative" and Dialectal Variation in Greek

Once morphological dative was lost in Greek, almost all of its argumental functions were taken up by (see Manolessou & Beis 2006) (a) accusative: Constantinople Greek, Northern Greek, Pontic, etc.; (b) genitive: ModCG, Peloponnesian, Dodecanesian, etc.; (c) prepositional phrases (alongside (a) or (b)): *almost* all dialects (with cross-categorial variation).

The morphological substitution of ancient Greek "dative" yields the typology in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1. CLASSIFICATION OF MODERN GREEK DIALECTS ACCORDING TO M-SUBSTITUTION OF ANCIENT GREEK DATIVE.

mCase	Varieties				
mACC	Pontic[2]	TPG	Romeyka	Of	Sürmene
mGEN	(Peloponnesian)	SMG			
	MedCG	ModCG			

3.2 Head Directionality and Dialectal Variation in Greek

SMG, MedCG, and ModCG are all head-first varieties both within the VP (1) and the DP (2):

(1) a. O   Janis   efaje   to   milo. (SMG)
       the.NOM John.NOM   ate.3SG   the.ACC apple.ACC
       "John ate the apple."

b. Edžerasa   tu   xtisti   kafen. (ModCG)
   treated.1SG theGEN builder.GEN coffee.ACC
   "I made coffee to the builder"
   (Terkourafi & Sitaridou, in progress)

c. Kai afinei   kanenan   pragman   katinos. (ModCG)
   and leave.3SG anything.ACC   anyone.GEN
   "And (if) he leaves anything to anyone"
   (Assizes f.137, 190 in Michelioudakis 2010b:4)

(2) a. I   katastrofi   tu   kambu. (SMG & ModCG)
   the.NOM destruction.NOM   theGEN   valley.GEN
   "The destruction of the valley"
   (Terkourafi & Sitaridou, in progress)

b. Is   tin   filakin   tus   kleptes.[3] (MedCG)
   to   the.ACC prison.ACC   the.ACC thieves.ACC.PL
   "To the prison of the thieves"
   (Assizes f.2, §268 in Sitaridou & Terkourafi, in progress: 54)

c. To   zo   to   γiltsi.
   theGEN animal.GEN the milk.NOM
   "The milk of the animal"

Interestingly, although the VP in TPG is head-first (3a), genitive preposing within the DP is the only grammatical option (3b):

(3) a. Iða   tin   Parthena. (TPG)
   saw.1SG   the.ACC Parthena.ACC
   "I saw Parthena."

b. T'armen   tin   to   spaksimon. (TPG)
   the.GEN.PL Armenian.GEN.PL   the.NOM massacre.NOM
   "The massacre of the Armenians"
   (Drettas 1997: 122)

On the other hand, in Romeyka, apart from the DP which is head-final (4c), as in TPG, there is clear indication that the VP is predominantly head-final as well (4a–b) without however excluding VO orders:

(4) a. Šdlon   exo. (ROf)
   dog.ACC   have.1SG
   "I have a dog."

b. O   Mehmetis   tin   Aiše   psomin   eðotsen.
   the.NOM   Mehmet.NOM   the.ACC Aiše.ACC bread.ACC gave.3SG
   "Mehmet gave bread to Aise."

[3] On the genitive/accusative syncretism with plural masculines, see Sitaridou & Terkourafi (2009, in progress).

Although the discussion of linear OV and its interaction with information structure falls outside the remit of the present article (but see Sitaridou & Kaltsa 2010), it is important to point out that (4a) is the preferred and unmarked option, that is, not the result of discourse-related movement, unlike OV in TPG, which is a more marked option.

3.3 Clitics and Dialectal Variation in Greek

The distribution of clitics alone is, according to Condoravdi & Kiparsky (2001: 1–3), a sufficient criterion for the cartography of Greek varieties. It is well known that SMG has clitics that are mostly proclitics (5a) (enclitics appear only after gerunds and imperatives; see (5b)).

(5) a. To   ipe. (SMG)
   it.ACC.CL   said.3SG
   "He told him."

b. Leyondas to/pes to.
   saying   it.ACC.CL/say.IMP it.ACC.CL
   "Saying it / say it!"

On the other hand, ModCG allows enclitics (6a), with proclitics triggered only when preceded by a NEG marker (6b), a mood marker, a focused XP, or a complementizer (6c):

(6) a. Ethkiavasa   to. (ModCG)
   read.1SG   it.ACC.CL
   "I read it."

b. En   ton   iksero.
   not him.ACC.CL   know.1SG
   "I don't know him."

c. Ksero   oti   i   Maria   to   ethkiavasen.
   know.1SG   that the.NOM Maria.NOM   it.ACC.CL read.3SG
   "I know that Mary read it."

As for MedCG, the clitic placement pattern is not radically different from that of ModCG, and by no means different to what we find in other Medieval Greek varieties (7c), namely object clitic pronouns may appear

either before or after the verb (cf. Pappas 2001, Vassiliou 2002), as shown in (7a–b):

(7) a. Oti ekinos o iatros didi tu pragmata
that that the doctor give.3SG him.GEN.CL things
kinitika i pragmata therma (MedCG)
mobile or things hot
"that that doctor gives him unblocking or hot things (for the intestines)"
(Assizes, f. 179, 9)

b. Ke ekinos endexete na tu
and that one may.3SG PRT.SUBJ him.GEN.CL
dosi pragmata stifthika
give.3SG things laxative
"And he may give him laxatives."
(Assizes, f. 189, 12)

c. To diadima perni to (Medieval Mainland Greek)
the crown.ACC takes it.ACC.CL
"The crown, he takes it."
(Belisarios, 42 in Pappas 2001: 82)

A third clitic placement pattern among Greek dialects is exemplified by TPG and Romeyka, which have enclisis to the verb form across the board:

(8) a. {as/ondas/eγo/ki} telion-ato (TPG)
MOOD.OPT/When/I/FOC/not finish.1SGCL.3SG.ACC
"{Let me / When I / I / I don't} finish it"
(adapted from Drettas 1997)

b. O Mehmetis emenan/EMENAN eðotšen-æ. (ROf)
The Mehmet me.ACC/ME.ACC.FOC gave.3SG-Cl.3SG.ACC
"Mehmet gave it to me /ME."

c. O Mehmetis eðoke-m(e)-æ. (TPG)
the.NOM Mehmet gave.3SG-me.ACC.CL-3SG.ACC.CL
"Mehmet gave it to me."

d. Leγo-s-ata.
tell.1SG-you.ACC.CL-them.ACC.CL
"I am telling you these."

In Romeyka, /æ/ appears to be the only third-person clitic (with neutralized gender and possibly number), whereas the Romeyka counterpart of the TPG third-person clitic "aton.MASC/NEUT-atin.FEM," etc., that is, "ato(n(a))" or "ado(n(a))" for the masculine and the neuter, "ati(n(a))" for the feminine, does not appear to be a clitic; apart from not being able to cluster with clitics such as /æ/ (10c), it can also follow words other than verbs, having roughly the same distribution as full DPs (10b), while it can also carry independent stress when appearing as trisyllabic (10b–c).[4] The syntactic status of first- and second-person pronominal forms is more dubious, however, as they cannot easily occur in a nonadverbial position (see (10a, 10d)).[5]

(10) a. Eðotšen-eme(n) o Mehmet atona. (RSür)
gave.3SG me.ACC.CL the Mehmet.NOM him.ACC
"They showed Mehmet to him."

b. Eðiksane to Mehmet atona. (RSür)
showed.3PL the Mehmet.NOM him.ACC
"They showed Mehmet to him."

c. O Mehmetis adona etsino fanerose. (RSür)
the.NOM Mehmet.NOM him.ACC this.ACC showed.3SG
"Mehmet showed this to him."

d. Eðotšen eme(n(an)) o Mehmet aton. (ROf)
gave.3SG me.ACC the Mehmet.NOM him/it
"Mehmet gave him/it to me."

It is also worth pointing out that in both Romeyka varieties, namely ROf and RSür,[6] there is no evidence that tonic object pronouns are only used for emphatic or other discourse-related reasons; rather, they seem to constitute an unmarked option, clearly owing also to the restricted distribution of TPG.

However, Romeyka and TPG do not seem to behave identically when it comes to clitic clusters. In Romeyka the clitic/æ/ (9a) cannot combine with any other clitic in any person to form clitic clusters (9b), whereas in TPG this is possible (9c–d):

(9) a. O Mehmetis emenan eðotšen-æ. (ROf)
the.NOM Mehmet.NOM me.ACC gave.3SG-Cl.3SG.ACC
"Mehmet gave it to me."

b. *O Mehmetis eðotše-m-æ.
"Mehmet gave it to me."
Mehmetis eðotše-m-æ.

4 When trisyllabic, it cannot be neuter.
5 The full cartography of the Pontic pronominal system awaits further study.
6 It should be noted that there is a third Romeyka variety still spoken in Turkey, namely the variety of Tonya, for which, however, we do not have any data at this stage

clitics (cf. English stressed pronouns that are not used emphatically).[7] Thus the behavior of the Romeyka pronominal system contrasts with the other Greek varieties, notably SMG (cf. Kayne 1975, Bianchi 2006 for Italian), where strong pronouns are always a marked option and focused(either contrastively or informationally) when appearing undoubled in an A-position (see also Cardinaletti & Starke 1999 for an overview of the process that allows tonic pronouns to occur only when focalized or topicalized). On the basis of this description, it follows that in Romeyka even when object pronouns precede the verb, the resulting OV lacks the interpretive effects it has in most other varieties (e.g., SMG); therefore, Romeyka pronouns can still have a neutral reading. Furthermore, given the general unavailability for clitics, PCC-like restrictions in Romeyka seem to apply to strong pronouns, unlike SMG.

3.4 Wh-Formation and Dialectal Variation in Greek

It is well known that SMG does not allow multiple wh-fronting, as shown in (11b):

(11) a. Pjos eðose ti se pjon? (SMG)
who gave.3SG what to whom
"Who gave what to whom?"

b. *Pjos ti (se pjon) eðose?
who what to whom gave.3SG

ModCG is by no means different from SMG:

(12) a. Pcos iðen pcon pothe? (ModCG)
who saw.3SG whom where
"Who saw whom where?"

b. *Pcos pcon (pothe) iðen?
who whom where saw.3SG
"Who saw whom where?"
(Stavroula Tsiplakou, p.c.)

Interestingly, however, TPG, like Romeyka, seems to allow multiple-wh fronting:

7 Overall, there seems to be an interesting correlation between lack of clitics, pro-nouns used nonemphatically, predicate duplication for affirmation, null objects, and the Romeyka

(13) a. Tinan pion ospit eðiksises? (TPG)
whom which house showed.2SG
"Which house did you show to whom?"

b. *Pion ospit eðiksises tinan?
which house showed.2SG whom

c. O Mehmetis tinan doryan eðotše? (ROf)
the.NOM Mehmet.NOM whom what+PRT.SUBJ gave.3SG
"Mehmet gave what to whom?"

Crucially, Romeyka seems to exhibit Superiority effects (14a–b), which show that multiple wh-fronting is strictly order-preserving, as in Bulgarian (14c–d) albeit not otherwise identical (see Bošković 1997, Michelioudakis & Sitaridou 2012):

(14) a. Pios tinan ayapai? (ROf)
who whom love.3SG
"Who loves whom?"

b. *Tinan pios ayapai?
whom who love.3SG

c. Koj kogo obia? (Bulgarian)
who whom love.3SG
"Who loves whom?"

d. *Kogo koj obia?
whom who love.3SG

3.5 Passives and Dialectal Variation in Greek

Unlike SMG, in which passives are fairly productive (15a), especially in "high" (written) register, passives in TPG and Romeyka are systematically dispreferred, despite the availability of verbs with mediopassive morphology (e.g., deponents). From all three Pontic varieties, TPG allows more passives, probably because of contact with SMG, but not so readily with ditransitives (15b); RSür more or less marginally tolerates passives even in the presence of indirect objects and benefactive DPs (15c–d), while ROf apparently allows very little passivization(15e).

(15) a. I Maria filithike apo ton Jani. (SMG)
the Maria.NOM kissed.PASS.3SG from the.ACC John.ACC
"Mary was kissed by John."

b. Ta paraðas eðothan (?sin Anastan). (TPG)

c. I para tin Aiše eðoste. (RSür)
money.NOM the.ACC Anastasia.ACC given.PASS.3SG
"Money was given to Aiše."

d. To xarti eγrafte tin Aiše. (RSür)
the letter.NOM the.ACC written.PASS.3SG Anastasia.ACC
"The letter was written for Aiše."

e. *Ena kitap eγrafte/eðothe(n) (to Mehmet). (ROf)
a book/letter.NOM written.PASS.3SG (the Mehmet.ACC)
"A book/letter was written/given (for/to Mehmet)."

As for MedCG and ModCG, although in general passives are usually not spontaneously produced, they are tolerated with both monotransitive and ditransitive predicates, which pattern with SMG in most respects (but cf. clefting in (16b)):

(16) a. Ta rialia eðothikasin/eðothisan *(-tis) tis Marias. (ModCG)
the money.PL were-given.3PL her.GEN.CL the Maria.GEN
"The money was given to Mary."

b. En TIS MARIAS, pu eðothikasin/eðothisan ta rialia t,
is.3SG the Maria.GEN that given.PASS.3PL the money.3PL
"It was Mary that the money was given to."
(Theoni Neoldeous, p.c.)

4. DATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN STANDARD MODERN GREEK

In SMG, the morphological exponent of abstract dative for DPs and clitics is the genitive. With the exception of some nonrecipient benefactives and ethical datives, the m-GEN datives alternate with PPs headed by "se"—a preposition roughly equivalent to "to," used in both motion-locative and stative-locative expressions.

4.1 Ditransitives in SMG

In SMG goal/recipient ditransitives, there are clearly two structural patterns (pace Dimitriadis 1999; see also Anagnostopoulou 2003, among others): one in which the indirect object (IO) asymmetrically c-commands the direct object (DO), which has often been likened to the English double object construction (DOC), and one in which DO asymmetrically c-commands IO. The former can be instantiated by either genitive DPs or PPs functioning as IOs, while the

latter can only be instantiated by prepositional IOs, as is evident by the behavior of each type with respect to Barss & Lasnik's (1986) diagnostics[8] (17–19).

(i) Quantifier variable binding (SMG):

(17) a. O Kesaras eðikse [(tu) kathe ðiikiti],
the.NOM Caesar.NOM showed.3SG the each governor.GEN
[tin eparxia tu.] (ston xarti). (IO_{gen}>DO)
his province.ACC (on the map)
"Caesar showed each governor his province."

b. O Kesaras ?(tu) eðikse [tin eparxia tu.]
the.NOM Caesar.NOM '(him.GEN.CL) showed.3SG his province.ACC
[tu kathe ðiikiti], (underlying IO_{gen} >DO in A-positions).
each governor.GEN
"Caesar showed each governor his province."

c. ?*O Kesaras eðikse [tu ðiikiti tis,]
the.NOM Caesar.NOM showed.3SG the governor.GEN its
[kathe eparxia],.(*underlying DO>IO_{gen} in A-positions)
every/each province.ACC
"?*Caesar showed its governor every/each province."

d. ?*O Kesaras eðikse [kathe eparxia],
the.NOM Caesar.NOM showed.3SG [every province]
[tu ðiikiti tis,]. (*DO>IO_{gen})
[its governor.GEN]

e. O Kesaras eðikse [ston kathe ðiikiti]
the.NOM Caesar.NOM showed.3SG to-the each governor.GEN
[tin eparxia tu.] (ston xarti). (IO_{pp}>DO)
his province.ACC (on the map)
"Caesar showed each governor his province."

f. O Kesaras eðikse (?ston ðiikiti tis,)
the.NOM Caesar.NOM showed.3SG (to-the governor.ACC its)
[kathe eparxia], (ston ðiikiti tis,). (DO>IO_{pp})
each/every province (to-the governor its)
"Caesar showed each/every province to its governor."

8 For expository reasons, we only make use of the three diagnostics shown in (17–19), as only these are applicable to all the Greek varieties under examination. See Catsimali (1990) and Anagnostopoulou (2003) for the full set of diagnostics. The asymmetric relation indicated by these tests is not necessarily reflected in the surface word order, which is relatively free, since any one of the two internal arguments can freely undergo A'-scrambling over the other.

(ii) Weak Crossover (SMG):

(18) a. [Pjanu ðiikiti]ᵢ   ?(tu)   governor.GEN (him.GENCL)   eðikses
    which
    tin eparxia   tuᵢ? $(IO_{gen}>DO)$ showed.2SG
    the province.ACC   his
    "(To) which governor did you show his province?"

b. (?)*[Pja eparxia]ᵢ   eðikses   tu ðiikiti   tisᵢ? $(*DO>IO_{gen})$
    which province.ACC   showed.2SG   the governor.GEN   its
    "(?*)Which governor did you show his province?"

c. [Se pjo(n) ðiikiti]ᵢ   eðikses   tin eparxia tuᵢ? $(IO_{pp}>DO)$
    to which governor.ACC   showed.2SG   the province.ACC his
    "(?*)Which governor did you show his province to?"

d. [Pja eparxia]ᵢ   eðikses sto(n)   ðiikiti   tisᵢ? $(DO>IO_{pp})$
    which province.ACC   showed.2SG   to-the   governor   its
    "Which province did you show to its governor?"

(iii) Superiority effects (SMG):

(19) a. (?)Pjanu   eðikses   ti/pjon? $(IO_{gen}>DO)$
    who.GEN   showed.2SG   what.ACC/who.ACC

b. ?*Ti/pjon   eðikses   pjanu? $(*DO>IO_{gen})$
    what.ACC/who.ACC   showed.2SG   who.GEN

c. (?)Ti/Pjon   eðikses   se   pjon? $(DO>IO_{pp})$
    what.ACC/who.ACC   showed.2SG   to   who.ACC

d. (?)Se   pjon   eðikses   ti/pjon? $(IO_{pp}>DO)$
    to   whom   showed.2SG   what.ACC/who.ACC
    "What/whom did you show to whom?"

This pattern is partly replicated by benefactives in SMG, with the exception of prepositional beneficiaries—in particular, in those cases where prepositional realization is actually possible, especially when the beneficiary is a potential recipient or possible owner of DO. By applying Barss & Lasnik's paradigm again, we observe that benefactives, either realized as DPs or PPs, always have to asymmetrically c-command DO (20–22) (see also Anagnostopoulou 2005):

(20) a. O   Kesaras   zoyrafise   [ston   kathe ðiikiti/tu kathe
    the.NOM   Caesar   drew.3SG   to-the   each governor.ACC/every
    ðiikiti]ᵢ   [ena   sxeðiaɣrama   tis eparxias tuᵢ]/[tin eparxia tuᵢ] $(Benef_{gen/pp}>DO)$
    governor.GEN   (a map of)   the province his/his province
    "Caesar drew every governor (a map of) their province."

b. *O   Kesaras   zoyrafise   [kathe eparxiaᵢ
    the   Caesar   drew.3SG   [every province.ACC]
    [tu ðiikiti   tis/ston   ðiikiti tisᵢ] $(*DO>Benef_{gen/pp})$
    the governor.GEN   its/to-the   governor.ACC its]
    "Caesar drew every province for/to their governor."

(21) a. {Pjanu (tu)}/{Se pjon}   zoyrafises   tin eparxia tuᵢ? $(Benef_{gen/pp}>DO)$
    Who.GEN (him.GENCL)/to whom.ACC drew.2SG   its/to-the   governor.ACC his
    "Who did you draw his province (for)?" $(*DO>Benef_{gen/pp})$

b. *[Pja eparxia]ᵢ   zoyrafises tu ðiikiti   tis/ston   ðiikiti   tisᵢ?
    which province.ACC drew.2SG the governor.GEN   its/to-the   governor.AC its
    "Caesar drew every province for/to their governor."

(22) a. Pjanu/se pjon   zoyrafises   ti? $(Benef_{gen/pp}>DO)$
    who.GEN/to whom.ACC   drew.2SG   what.ACC

b. ?*Ti   zoyrafises   pjanu/se pjon? $(*DO>Benef_{gen/pp})$
    what.ACC   drew.2SG   who.GEN/to whom.ACC
    "What did you draw for whom?"

The above tests are summarized in Tables 8.2 and 8.3, for (s-selected) IOs and benefactives, respectively.

Table 8.2. C-COMMAND RELATIONS IN GOAL DITRANSITIVES (SMG).

	IO>>DO	DO>>IO
DPgen	✓	*
se"to"-PP	✓	✓

Table 8.3. C-COMMAND RELATIONS IN BENEFACTIVES (SMG).

	Benef>>DO	DO>>Benef
DPgen	✓	*
se"to"-PP	✓	*

4.2 Passives in SMG

In SMG, $IO_{gen}/Benef_{gen}$ cannot be nominativized in passives (23a–b), as well

Case is inherent. On the other hand, DO can be passivized in the presence of an IO or even a Benef$_{gen}$ (*pace* Anagnostopoulou 2005), provided that its minimality effects (due to its intervention between T and DO) are obviated in some way, for example by clitic movement, or clitic doubling, which puts the head of IO$_{gen}$'s chain outside T's complement domain. Otherwise, direct passives are significantly degraded (23c–d). In accordance, then, with the assumptions sketched in section 2, this must be an instance of defective intervention, that is, IO$_{gen}$'s inherent Case feature must be active/visible for Agree. In the presence of a prepositional IO, on the other hand, DOs can passivize unproblematically (23e). Importantly, (23e) does not have a counterpart with beneﬁ/benefactives (23f), as predicted by the observation (see Table 8.3) that Benef$_{PP}$s always intervene between T and DO.

(23) a. *I   Maria   epistrafike   ta lefta.
    the.NOM Maria.NOM returned.PASS.3SG the money.NOM/ACC
    "Mary was given back the money."

b. *O   Mara ipsothike/xtistike ena vomo apo tus γalus.
    the.NOM Marat erected/built.PASS.3SG an altar.ACC by the French
    ";Marat was built an altar (by the French)."

c. Ta lefta ?*   (tis)   epistrafikan tis   Marias.
    theNOM money.NOM herGEN given.PASS.3PL theGEN Maria.GEN
    "The money was returned to Mary."

d. [...] opu ?*(tu)   ipsothike/xtistike (tu Mara) vomos apo tus γalus.
    where.REL him.GEN.CL erected/built.PASS.3SG theGEN Mara altar by the French
    "where an altar was built for Marat by the French"
    (knol.google.com/k/ζαν-πολ-μαρα)

e. Ta   lefta   epistrafikan sti Maria.
    the money.NOM.PL returned.PASS.3PL to-the.Maria.ACC
    "The money was returned to Mary."

f. ?*Enas vomos ipsothike/xtistike sto   Mara.
    an altar.NOM erected/built.PASS.3SG to-the.ACC Mara
    "An altar was built for Marat."

4.3 Unaccusatives (Psych and Motion) in SMG

In unaccusatives, genitive goals (with motion predicates) and genitive experiencers (with *piacere*-type psych verbs) appear to behave alike: (a) they alternate with "se"-PPs (thus contradicting Baker's (1996) generalization about the unavailability of dative alternations with unaccusatives), and allow ... possible c-command/binding pattern (24a–d). Crucially, when realized

suggests that they always intervene and block the Agree relation between T and the nominative DO, that is, they always c-command DO when T is merged, thus deriving the well-known backward binding effects associated with these constructions. The availability of both binding patterns for both experiencers and goals is simply due to the fact that the nominative theme may be LF-interpreted in either its low (thematic) position or in a derived (subject) position. Note also that there is a number of contexts (e.g., control into absolutives, etc.; see Anagnostopoulou 1999) in which "dative" experiencers can have subjectlike behavior too, that is, they may occupy Spec-T, while this may also be the case for genitive goals with unaccusatives, middles, and passives (see Michelioudakis 2011 for discussion). Despite these similarities, however, a closer look at the cross-dialectal (see below) and cross-categorial variation (see Michelioudakis 2010b for syntactic asymmetries in datives with predicative deverbal APs) reveals that the first-merged positions of such datives cannot be quite the same.

(24) a. Kathe ðikeuxu$_i$ *(tu)$_i$ irthan/se kathe
    every endorsee.GEN him.GEN.CL came.3PL/to every
    ðikeuxo$_i$ irthan i   epitajes tu$_i$
    endorsee came.3PL the checks his
    "Every endorsee$_i$ got/received his/their$_i$ checks."

b. Kathe epitaji$_j$ pije/eftase stus ðikeuxus tis$_i$/*(tu)$_j$irthe
    Every check went/arrived.3SG to-the endorsees its/him.GEN.CL-
    tu   ðikeuxu   tis$_j$
    arrived.3SG the endorsee.GEN its
    "Every check went/arrived into the hands of its endorsees."

c. Kathe miteras$_i$?*(tis) aresun/se kathe mitera$_i$
    every mother.GEN her.GEN.CL appeal.3PL/to every mother
    aresun   ta peðja   tis$_i$
    appeal.3PL the kids.NOM her
    "Every mother likes her (own) children."

d. Kathe peðji$_i$?*(tis)   aresi   tis miteras
    every child him.GEN.CL appeals.3SG the mother.GEN
    tu$_i$/aresi sti mitera   tu$_i$
    its/appeal.3SG to-the mother its
    "Every child$_i$ appeals to her$_i$ mother."

4.4 Person Restrictions in SMG

In SMG, the strong version of the person case constraint (PCC) (Bonet

as on DO clitics alone, in the presence of a genitive DP (25b). Crucially, it does not affect strong DO pronouns (25c). Also, interestingly enough, it does not block first- and second-person themes with dative experiencers[9] (25d).

(25) a. Mu/su/tu   ton/tin/*me/*se   eðiksan. (SMG)
[me/you/him].GEN.CL   [him/her/me/you].ACC.CL   showed.3PL
"They showed me/you/him him/her/*me/*you."

b. To/(?)ton/?*me/?*se   eðiksan   tis   Marias.
[it/him[-animate]/[θ]him[+animate]/me/you].ACC.CL   showed.3PL, the   Maria.GEN
"They showed it/him/me/you to Mary."

c. Tu/su eðiksan   emena.
[him/you].GEN.CL   showed.3PL, me.ACC
"They showed me to him/you."

d. Tu/tis/mu   pro   aresis.
[him/her/me].GEN.CL   pro.2S   appeal.2SG
"You appeal to him/her/me."

5. PONTIC VARIETIES OF NORTHERN GREECE (TPG)

The TPG data come from fieldwork in northern Greece—most speakers come from the Thessaloniki area. An important methodological caveat is attrition because of contact with SMG. Overall, TPG datives largely pattern with datives in SMG *modulo* the morphological exponence, which is accusative across the board (always within the vP).

5.1 Ditransitives in TPG

TPG employs morphologically accusative NPs for indirect objects, but those also alternate with PPs. What complicates the picture is the use of the fusional determiners *son/sin/so* [*se + ton/tin/to*]="to+the.MASC/FEM/NEUT": These are used (exclusively) for definite dative DPs across the board, making the use of the bare accusative article for these arguments hardly acceptable, even in the IO>>DO pattern, while "se" may be absent when this pattern is instantiated by quantified/wh- (bare accusative) IOs. This may mean that TPG has a specialized definite dative definite article. Also, TPG

[9] The issue of the PCC with genitive goals in unaccusatives is more complicated and we do not address it here. At first sight, the varying tolerability of first-/second-person themes in such constructions seems to be coextensive with the variable tolerability of dative (nonprepositional) goals in nonactives in general (see Michelioudakis 2011)—cf. also Spanish, in which the strong blocking effects of datives in, e.g., raising

arguably has clitic clusters, with an IO-DO order (see 9c–d), subject to a weak version of the PCC (see the discussion on Romeyka in section 6).

(26) To   peði   eðoke   fai   son   aðelfo. (TPG)
the   child.NOM   gave.3SG   food.ACC   to-the   brother.ACC
"The child gave food to the brother."

TPG patterns with SMG with respect to the hierarchical/c-command relations between IO and DO (27)–(29).

(i) Superiority effects (TPG):
(27) a. (se) tinan   pion   ospit   eðiksises? (IO$_{DP}$>DO, IO$_{PP}$>DO)
to who.ACC   which   house.ACC   showed.2SG
"Which house did you show to who?"

b. Pion   ospit   *(se) tinan   eðiksises? (*DO>IO$_{DP}$, DO>IO$_{PP}$)
which   house.ACC   to whom.ACC   showed.2SG
"Which house did you show to whom?"

(ii) WCO (TPG):
(28) a. (Se) tinan,   eðiksises   t'ospitin-at? (IO$_{DP}$>DO, IO$_{PP}$>DO)
to who.ACC   showed.2SG   the house.ACC-his
"(to) whom did you show his house?"

b. *(se) kim-at, /*ton kim-at? (DO>IO$_{PP}$, *DO>IO$_{DP}$)
which house.ACC showed.2SG to-the owner.ACC-its/the owner.ACC-its
"Which house did you show to his owner?"

(iii) Quantifier variable binding (TPG):
(29)a. [Enan enan ta   peða]_j   eðiksan   ton
one one the   children.ACC   showed.3PL   the
ðeskalon-at_j (IO$_{DP}$>DO)
teacher.ACC-its
"They showed every child (one by one) his/her teacher."

b. [Enan enan ta   peði]_j   eðiksises?   son   ðeskalon-at_j /*ton
one one the   children   showed.2SG   to-the   ðeskalon-at_j/the
teacher-its/the teacher-its
"They showed every child to his/her teacher."

Table 8.4 summarizes the c-command relations in goal ditransitives in TPG.

5.2 Benefactives in TPG

Benefactives in TPG appear to pattern with ROf, which we discuss collectively in

Table 8.4. C-COMMAND RELATIONS IN GOAL DITRANSITIVES (TPG).

	IO>>DO	DO>>IO
DPacc	✓	*
se"to"PP	✓	✓

definite benefactive arguments as *se*-PPs. This, in conjunction with the availability of "low" recipient-benefactives like in ROf (which do not intervene between DO and its probe), yields constructions that are unique to TPG (30b):

(30) a. Emairepsen pita son Jorikan (TPG)
cooked.3SG pie.ACC to-the Jorikas.ACC
"(S)he baked a pie to/for Jorikas."

b. I pita emairefen son Jorikan
the pie cooked.PASS.3SG to-the Jorikas
"The pie was baked for Jorikas."

5.3 Passives in TPG

TPG patterns with SMG with respect to the availability of direct passives: in the presence of hierarchically high IO DPs, direct passives are impossible (31a) unless the IO undergoes clitic movement (31b):

(31) a. *Para eðothen tin Anastan. (TPG)
money.NOM given.PASS.3SG the Anasta.ACC
"The money was given (to) Anasta."

b. (??Tin Anastan) eyraffen-aten to yraman.[10]
the Anasta.ACC written-PASS.ClACC.3SG.FEM the letter.NOM
"Anasta was sent the letter."

5.4 Unaccusatives (Psych) in TPG

The use of unaccusatives with datives, especially *piacere*-type psych-predicates, is rather limited in Pontic, and mostly in the Romeyka varieties. To the extent that they are used, at least in TPG and ROf, they involve the same thematic hierarchy as their equivalents in SMG, Italian and so on, since, for instance, they allow for backward binding of the nominative theme by the dative experiencer (32).

(32) O eatfonats ki ares sin/*tin Aïše. (ROf)
the self-her.NOM not appeal.3SG to-the Aïse.ACC
"Aïse does not like herself."

It is striking that TPG has suffered attrition, due to the influence of SMG, to such an extent that it has lost morphologically accusative Class III experiencers; instead, it has genitive—as well as PP (33)—"dative" experiencers, just like SMG does.

(33) Ti Mehmet ke ti Aïšes aresi
the.GEN Mehmet and the.GEN AiseGEN appeal-to.3SG
o enas son/ton[11] alon.(TPG)
the one.NOM (to-)the other
"Mehmet and Aise like each other."

6. ROMEYKA VARIETIES OF PONTUS (OF AND SÜRMENE)

Romeyka are Greek varieties still spoken in Pontus, Turkey. From a typological perspective, Romeyka are Pontic Greek varieties that, in turn, belong to the Asia Minor Greek dialectal group. From a glossonymic perspective, we use the term "Romeyka varieties of Pontus" to refer to what is previously known as "Muslim Pontic" (Mackridge 1987). When further specification is required— "Romeyka varieties of Pontus" is an umbrella term, after all (cf. Sitaridou forthcoming/a)—we specify it as "Romeyka of Of" or "Romeyka of Sürmene." The methodology we used entailed oral interviews based on structured questionnaires (cf. Sitaridou forthcoming/a). Overall, in the Romeyka varieties of Pontus, all datives are morphologically accusative DPs, which, however, behave as bearing genuinely inherent Case, inactive and inert for Agree/Move.

6.1 Ditransitives in Romeyka

IO DPs are accusative and do not alternate with PPs (34a), unlike TPG considered so far (34b):

(34) a. To peði eðotše fai ton aðelfo/*son aðelfo. (RSür)
the child gave-3SG food the brother.ACC/*to-the brother
"The child gave food to the brother."

11 The possible use of a bare definite article in the accusative, which is not expected here, is probably a sign that in this variety the periphrasis "o enas ton alon" is becom-

b. To peđi eđose fai son ađelfo. (TPG)
the child gave-3SG food to+the brother
"The child gave food to the brother."

Like other varieties, both surface orders (IO-DO and DO-IO) are licit, despite the morphological homonymy, although the most common order in our data was DO-V-IO:

(35) a. To peđi eđoše fai ton ađelfo/ton ađelfo fai (RSür)
the kid gave.3SG food the brother/the brother food
"The kid gave food to the brother."

b. Eγo eđoka ton Mehmeti ena kitap/ena kitap ton Mehmeti. (ROf)
I gave.1SG the Mehmet a letter/a letter the Mehmet
"I gave Mehmet a letter."

PP-realization is restricted to purely locative uses:

(36) Epjie so kulin. (ROf)
went.3SG to-the school.ACC
"He went to the school."

Crucially, Barss & Lasnik's (1986) diagnostics for c-command indicate that DP_{DO} asymmetrically c-commands DP_{IO}:

(i) Weak Crossover Effects (Romeyka):
(37) a. Pion zon ekloses ton tšopanonat? (RSür)
which animal sent.2SG the shepherd-its
"Which animal did you send to its shepherd?"

b. *Tinan tšopan(i) ekloses to zonat? (RSür)
which shepherd sent.2SG the animal-his
"Which shepherd did you send his animal to?"

(ii) Superiority effects (Romeyka):
(38) a. Do tinan eđikses? (ROf)
what whom showed.2SG

b. *Tinan do eđikses? (ROf)
whom what showed.2SG
"What did you show to whom?"

c. Pion fa(i)in tinan eđotšen?
which food who-ACC gave.3SG
"Which food did she give to whom?"

(iii) Quantifier variable binding (Romeyka):
(39) Ta γaređela xora xore, eđiksa tši marγlimisʲatun, (ROf)[12]
the children each each showed.1SG the teachers-their
"I showed all the children, one by one, to their teachers (each child to her own teacher)."
*"I showed every child his/her teacher."

Table 8.5 summarizes the c-command relations in goal ditransitives in Romeyka.

Table 8.5. C-COMMAND RELATIONS IN GOAL DITRANSITIVES (ROF, RSÜR).

	IO>>DO	DO>>IO
DPacc	*	✓
se"to"PP	*	*

These data are rather important because it seems that the underlying DO>>IO in the double DP construction is not nonexistent or unique to German, for which the same diagnostics have led to the same conclusion (see Müller 1995, McGinnis 1999). In fact, the situation seems to be the same in some diachronic varieties of Greek as well, notably Medieval Cypriot Greek (as well as Hellenistic Greek; see Michelioudakis 2010b, 2011). This constitutes a serious challenge for the validity of any cross-linguistic generalization whereby IO DPs always merge higher than DOs. Furthermore, the observation that the IO is asymmetrically c-commanded by the DO also ties in well with the fact that direct passives are entirely unproblematic in such languages, since the low position of the IO cannot cause any locality effects.

6.2 Benefactives in Romeyka

As in the case of genuine (goal) ditransitives, both surface/linear orders (IO-DO and DO-IO) are attested in (almost) all varieties. Additionally, benefactives may alternate with PPs headed by *đe* "for" (in ROf) or *ja* "for" (in RSür and TPG). However, there is a dispreference for the $DP_{DO}>DP_{Benef}$ structure, when the beneficiary is not the potential/intended recipient—we shall call this subcase of benefactives "on behalf of/for someone's sake"—benefactives.

12 The speakers were presented with a context in which no more than one teacher corresponds to each pupil; therefore, the teachers necessarily covary with the children, i.e., a distributive interpretation of the plural is necessitated. Also, reversal of word
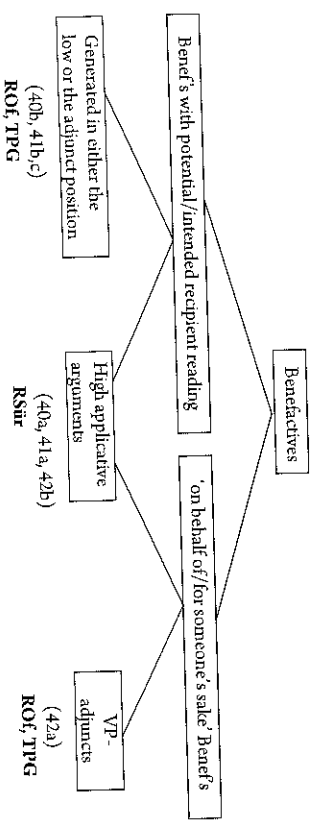
Figure 8.1
Benefactives in different Pontic varieties.

Although our data still do not give us conclusive indications, a first approximation about the c-command relations of benefactives would lead us to categorize them (see figure 8.1) on the basis of two main factors: (i) the distinction mentioned above, namely between "(potential/intended) recipient" benefactives (40–41) and "on behalf of" benefactives (42); this distinction is relevant for ROf and TPG, where beneficiaries may appear as adjuncts c-commanding [V DO], in which case they can neither bind the DO (because they are not in an A-position) nor be bound by it (since it does not c-command them), which is why the Quantifier Variable diagnostic is not applicable; "recipient" benefactives may either merge as adjuncts or in a low position (probably the one associated with goals/recipients), which is c-commanded by DO (41b–c), whereas "on behalf of" benefactives can apparently only merge with VP as adjuncts (42a); (ii) the availability of an A-position above VP for benefactives, possibly the specifier of a High Applicative head (Pylkkänen 2002)[13]: it appears that in RSür, all benefactives are being reanalyzed as high applicative arguments c-commanding DO and not vice versa (41a, 42b). This may also entail some change in the character/content of its [Case] feature, that is, the emergence of an "active" inherent Case feature, as in SMG, which is able to cause intervention effects; this would explain the unavailability of direct passives with benefactives in this variety (see 5.3) as the impossibility of raising DO to T across the dative (especially in the absence of clitic doubling in Romeyka); direct passives are ruled out in ROf anyway, even when the dative is a genuine (low) IO, probably because of a general avoidance of passivization, as mentioned in 3.5.

An anonymous reviewer points out, *"on behalf of*-benefactives have been noted to be located high in the structure of the IP in several languages. [...] This [also] explains why ["free"] benefactives can only be clitics in Romance" (see also Micheliudakis 2011 for an analysis of "free" benefactives as (very) high applicatives; [...]

(40) a. Aiše   epiíše   to Mehmet   pide/pide   to Mehmet. (RSür)
        Aise   made.3SG the Mehmet.ACC pie.ACC/pie.ACC the Mehmet.ACC
        "Aiše baked Mehmet a pie."

     b. I Aiše   epiíšen   aton   enan pita /?enan pita   aton. (ROf)
        the Aise.NOM made.3SG him.ACC   a pie.ACC/a pie.ACC   him.ACC
        "Aiše baked him a pie."

(41) a. (Ja) tinan   d'   epitše?/*Do tinan epitšen? (RSür)
        (for) whom.ACC   what.ACC made.3SG/What.ACC whom.ACC made.3SG

     b. Tinan   doxna   epitšen?/ Pion   fa(i)n   tinan   epitšen? (ROf)
        whom.ACC what.ACC made.3SG/ which   food.ACC   whom.ACC made.3SG

     c. Tinan   ti   epitšen?/ Ti   tinan   epitšen? (TPG)
        whom.ACC what.ACC made.3SG/ What.ACC whom.ACC made.3SG
        "What did (s)he make for whom?"

(42) a. Tinan tšopan, efaises to zon-at?/??Pion zon, efaises ton tšopanin-at? (TPG/ROf)
        which shepherd fed.2SG his animal/which animal fed.2SG his shepherd.ACC

     b. (Ja) tina tšopano   ta provatat   efaises?/*Pio provat efaises ton tšopan-at? (RSür)
        (for) which shepherd the sheep-his fed.2SG/which sheep fed.2SG the shepherd its
        "For which shepherd did you feed his sheep? / Which sheep did you feed for its shepherd?"

According to Pylkkänen (2002), a tell-tale sign of high Applicatives is their compatibility with unergatives. In SMG, where a high A-position for benefactives is independently supported, benefactives are indeed compatible with unergatives; interestingly, this is also the case in RSür, but crucially not in ROf and TPG, which works *in tandem* with our assumptions above.

(43) a. *O Mehmet   etreksen/jelase   tin   Aiše. (ROf, TPG)
         the Mehmet   ran.3SG/smiled.3SG   the   Aise.ACC
         "Mehmet ran for Aise / smiled for/at Aise."

     b. O Janis *(tis)   etrekse/*(tis)   xamojelase tis Marias. (SMG)
        the John CLGEN.3SG.F   ran.3SG/CLGEN.3SG.F   smiled.3SG the Mary.GEN
        "John ran for Mary/smiled for/at Mary."

     c. O Mehmetis   sin   Aiše/*tin Aiše   merea   etrexse. (RSür)
        the Mehmet.NOM to-the   Aise.ACC/theAise.ACC   toward   ran.3SG
        "Mehmet ran to / *for Aise."

     d. O Mehmetis   tin   Aiše   examojelase. (RSür)
        the Mehmet.NOM the   Aise.ACC smiled.3SG
        "Mehmet smiled for/at Aise."

Table 8.6 summarizes the c-command relations in benefactives across all varieties of Pontic.

Table 8.6. C-COMMAND RELATIONS IN BENEFACTIVES (ALL VARIETIES OF PONTIC GREEK).

	Benef>>DO	DO>>Benef
DPacc	✓ (in all varieties, esp. with nonrecipients)	* (RSür), ?/% ✓ (ROf, PG)
se "to"-PP	* (RSür, ROf), ✓ (TPG)	* (RSür, ROf), % ✓ (TPG)
ju/δe "for"-PP	✓ (RSür, ROf)	✓ (RSür, ROf, only with potential recipients)

6.3 Passives in Romeyka

In RSür passives, the theme Agrees with T and becomes nominative (and, possibly, moves to a subject-position), without the requirement that the dative argument cliticize (44a), unlike SMG and TPG, as expected, given that IO DPs (and "recipient" benefactives) were found to be lower than DO, that is, in a position not intervening between the latter and T (44a, b). Passivization of IO is again ruled out (44c). ROf, on the other hand, as already said, appears to lack passives altogether.

(44) a. I para tin Aise eδoste. (RSür)
   the money.NOM the Aise.ACC given.PASS.3SG
   "The money was given (to) Aise."

b. To harti eγrafte tin Aiše. (RSür)
   the letter.NOM written.PASS.3SG the Aise.ACC
   "The letter was written for (and sent to) Aise."

c. *I Aiše eδoste tin paran. (RSür)
   the Aise.NOM given.PASS.3SG the money.ACC
   "Aise was given the money."

6.4 Unaccusatives (Psych and Motion) in Romeyka

In Romeyka, apart from direct passives, Agree of the (nominative) theme with T, possibly followed by movement, is unproblematic with unaccusatives, both psych and motion ones. In motion unaccusatives, it can be argued that goal DPs are again merged below themes, thus not intervening (45). The availability of psych constructions is, however, more limited—the lexeme involved in (46)

elicited, it arguably involves the same thematic hierarchy as their counterparts in all other varieties, i.e., an experiencer above the nominative theme (prior to movement of any of the two to a pre-INFL position (46a-b)), suggesting that what is crucial here for the absence of intervention effects between T and NOM is probably the inactive inherent Case feature of the experiencer which does not render it active/visible for Agree. Also, unlike SMG, which allows PP- and DP-experiencers of such predicates to have subjectlike behavior, quirky experiencer subjects are clearly not possible in Romeyka (47).

(45) To xarti to Meme epidže. (RSür)
   the paper.NOM the Mehmet.ACC went.3SG
   "The letter arrived (to) Mehmet."

(46) a. ?I patši to Hosni aresi. (ROf)
   the girl.NOM the Hosni.ACC appeal.3SG
   "The girl appeals to Hosni."

b. ?To Hosni, tši ares to kendinatç (ROf)
   the Hosni.ACC not appeal.3SG the self-his
   "Hosni does not like himself."

(47) *Ton Abdula₁ i Aiše aresen ROf ana pro₁ (ROf)
   The Abdulah.ACC the Aise.NOM appealed-to.3SG, but pro
   tin Eminen epiren (Rof).
   the Emine.ACC married.3SG
   "Abdulah liked Aise, but he married Emine."

6.5 Person Restrictions in Romeyka

Interestingly enough, Person-Case effects are not absent from Romeyka, despite the lack of clitic clusters. Combinations of strong pronouns or of clitics and strong pronouns, are subject to the PCC, though a weaker version of it: as is expected in both strong and weak PCC languages, a first- and second-person accusative pronoun cannot be interpreted as a direct object in the presence of a third-person pronoun (48) –irrespective of their relative order, since both orders are in principle acceptable; however, the sequences of a first-person clitic and a second-person pronoun (cf. 49) are acceptable for most of the speakers, and surprisingly the same pattern (as in 49a–49b) is attested in some Pontic varieties of northern Greece too (cf. Chatzikyriakidis 2010). Recall that SMG has the strong version of the PCC (49c).

(48) a. Eδikšane m(e)'emenan atona. (RSür)
   showed.3PL me.ACCCL/me.ACC him.ACC

(b) Eðiksan(e) æ/aton(a) emenan. (RSür/ROf)
showed.3PL him.ACC.CL/him.ACC me.ACC
"They showed him to me / *they showed me to him."

(49) a. Eðiksane-m-ese /*eðiksane-s-eme (ROf)
showed.3PL-me.ACC.CL.you.ACC /showed.3PL-you.ACC.CL me.ACC

b. Atos esena emen eðiksen. (ROf)
he you.ACC me.ACC showed.3SG

c. *Mu se/su me eðiksan. (SMG)
me.GEN.CL you.ACC.CL/you.GEN.CL me.ACC.CL showed.3PL
"They showed you to me."

It is worth noting that the equivalent of (48b) in SMG (50), with an IO-clitic and a strong pronominal first-person DO, would be perfectly grammatical on the reading "They showed me to him"; this is probably attributable to the observation in section 3.3 about the inherently emphatic use of the strong pronoun in this context, while in Romeyka, as already claimed, this is the unmarked option.

(50) Tu eðiksan emena. (SMG)
him.GEN.CL showed.3PL me.ACC
"They showed me to him."

7. MEDIEVAL AND MODERN CYPRIOT GREEK

MedCG is trivially considered to be the earliest attested Modern Greek dialect in the historical record. ModCG on the other hand, is a nonstandardized variety, a continuation of MedCG, but which also exhibits various degrees of intradialectal variation. Overall, although in both MedCG and ModCG all datives are morphologically genitive, the MedCG datives behave as inactive inherent, whereas the ModCG ones behave as active inherent.

7.1 Morphological Exponence/Distribution in Cypriot Greek

MedCG, genitive DPs and se-PPs alternate in ditransitives (51) and experiencer constructions (52), as in SMG, although there is a clear preference for genitives in the latter constructions.

(51) Eðiksa se kathe jeneka/kathe jenekas,
showed.1SG to each woman.ACC/each woman.GEN

ton andran tis,/(/kathe jeneka ston andran tis) (ModCG)
the man.ACC her/each woman to her man)
"I showed every woman her husband."

(52) Efanin(-tis) tis Marias/Efanin
seemed.3SG-3FSGENCL the Mary.GEN/seemed.3SG
(%??) sti Maria (na en) eksipnos. (ModCG)
to Mary.ACC (that is.3SG) smart
"He seemed to Mary (to be) smart."

In MedCG, on the other hand, indirect objects and (so-called *piacere*-type) dative experiencers are exclusively realized as genitive DPs, as in Romeyka, *modulo* the m-case. Se/is-PPs only occur in constructions with either purely locative uses, that is, with V(P)s in which the transfer of location reading is more or at least as prominent as the transfer of possession reading, or with inanimate recipients (e.g., collective nouns (53) and metonymies (54)).

(53) Na to ksighunde is ton kosmon (MedCG)
PRT.SUBJ it.ACC.CL narrate.3PL to the people.ACC
"To narrate it to the people"
(Machairas 2.99.5)

(54) oti to dhikon tou na dhothi [...] is ta cherja
that the own his PRT.SUBJ be-given.3SG to the hands.ACC
tous pateres (MedCG) tu San Tomeniku
the fathers.GEN theGEN Saint Dominique.GEN
"that his fortune be given to the hands of the monks of St. Dominique"
(Machairas 1.56.1–2)

7.2 MedCG versus ModCG: The syntax of dative arguments

The first striking property of genitive arguments in MedCG is that, like accusative "datives" in Romeyka, they clearly do not induce any minimality effect, since any Agree/Move relation between a probing head and a lower goal can be established across a structurally intervening genitive argument, with no apparent effect, as if the genitive were not there. This appears to be the case in constructions with raising predicates (55) and psych unaccusatives that take dative experiencers (cf. (56) and (57), which allows even long-distance Agree between the matrix T and the embedded subject), as well as in pas-
sivizations of the direct object (56) ("a...

of blocking effects in this case can simply be attributed to the fact that the genitive indirect object in MedCG is lower than the direct object, as we will suggest below; that is, the genitive in ditransitives is not even structurally an intervener; this appears to be the case in Romeyka too, that is, the indirect object DP, being lower than DO, is not an intervener there either.

(55) edinon, [CP to [TP t efanin-I' tis vilis mu [TP t ine kalon]]], fenete
that which seemed.3SG the senate/diet.GEN my be.INF good seems
mu ki emenan (MedCG)
me.GEN.Cl and me.GEN
"What seemed to my senators/consultants to be good seems to me (to be good) too."
(Boustr. Chron. A 52.13–15)

(56) [Toutos o logos], polla aresen tou rigos t.(MedCG)
This the words very-much appealed.3SG the king.GEN
"The king liked these words very much."
(Machairas 2.274.1)

(57) Den areskoun tous archondes tous Genouvisous[na cine oi las
not appeal.3PL the masters.ACC the Genoans.ACC to be.3PL the people.NOM
mas (MedCG) kai to dhikon
our and the fortune-NOM
tous apokato eis tin eksousian sas]
their under to the power your
"The Genoan masters do not like the fact that our people and their fortunes are under your rule."
(Machairas 3, 372)

(58) Pos estrafin to righaton, ape tous Romeous ke (pro.)
that was-returned.3SG the kingdom.NOM by the Greeks and
edothin t, tous Latinous
was-given.3SG the Latins.GEN
"That the kingdom was returned by the Greeks and was given to the Latins"
(Machairas 2.99.1–2)

It should be pointed out that in (55), Spec-T in the relative clause is occupied by the trace of the embedded subject rather than by pro_{expl}[14] since *efanin* here is clearly not used as impersonal, taking into

consideration that its other occurrence (*fenete*) in the matrix clause has an overt referential subject, arguably raised out of an elided complement-TP; note that in SMG, in which *fenete* appears to have the same usage, the embedded subject of an elided complement clause cannot be (A')-moved (i.e., topicalized) into the matrix CP, unless *fenete* agrees with it, that is, if it gives rise to raising.[15] At any rate, in MedCG there are also quite a few other instances of raising predicates agreeing with embedded nomina-tive DPs (regardless of their surface position) across genitive experiencers unproblematically, without evidence of any intervention effect, for example without obligatory cliticization/clitic doubling (CD) of the genitive as in SMG; interestingly, cliticization/CD of the genitive is obligatory in SMG even when the raising predicate is impersonal, that is, there still appears to be a need to establish some Agree relation with the embedded CP, for which the genitive would act as an intervener. As far as (57) is concerned, the plural marking on the matrix verb could not be the result of sympa-thetic agreement with the experiencer, as there is no indication of such a possibility in any other point in the text, or any other Greek text for that matter; in all other cases with plural experiencers, psych Vs display singu-lar agreement. On another topic, it seems that raising/long-distance Agree is possible out of subjunctive complements, probably because *na*-clauses at this stage serve mostly as substitutes of the infinitive (there still seems to be free variation among infinitival and *na*-clauses in this period) and argu-ably have not yet developed a full CP-structure (see Roussou 2000), that is, they are not strong phases, which is why they are not subject to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2000, 2001). It is also worth point-ing out that there is no evidence that dative arguments at this stage can undergo any kind of A-movement, that is, there are no quirky subjects, nor indirect passives; all genitive experiencers in the extant medieval Cypriot texts occur postverbally and do not seem to pass any of Sigurðsson's (1989) diagnostics for subjecthood.[16] Furthermore, if we follow Boeckx (2000: 361),

14 If we are to follow Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998) in that pro_{expl}[14] does not exist anyway, then the discussion here simply amounts to whether the matrix T Agrees ...

15 Consider, for instance, the following SMG example, which is as close structurally to (55) as possible:
(i) Ekines i lisis pus su fenonde.3PL esena na ine kales, mu fenonde.3PL ki emena (na ine kales)
(ii) ?*Ekines i lisis pu su fenete.3SG esena na ine kales, mu fenonde.3PL ki emena (na ine kales)
(iii) *Ekines i lisis pu su fenonde.3PL esena na ine kales, mu fenete.3SG ki emena (na ine kales)
(iv) *Ekines i lisis pu su fenete.3SG esena na ine kales, mu fenete.3SG ki emena (na ine kales)
"Those solutions that seem to you to be good, (they) seem good to me as well."
16 See also Sevdali (2009) who makesV the case for quirky datives in Classical Greek based on different types of evidence (case transmission, control, reflexive bind-

"[q]uirky elements always block raising of nominative 'objects' [...] to the highest ('subject') position, irrespective of agreement pattern," which is not the case in MedCG, as already shown.

Turning now our attention to ditransitives, there is evidence that in MedCG, genitive indirect objects can stay structurally low, possibly in the same position as prepositional IOs in languages with dative shift/dative alternations, which is probably a survival of the Koine DO>>IO pattern (cf. (59), in which the DO binds the dative reciprocal anaphor). In around 70 percent of all the cases in which both internal arguments occur postverbally, DO precedes IO. More importantly, this can be argued to be the unmarked order on the basis of the fact that it occurs when there is no reason or way to suspect or justify either focus- or topic-movement, for example with existential quantifiers ((60); cf. Philippaki-Warburton (1982) for a similar argument for Modern Greek VSO as the unmarked order). (61) also provides a piece of evidence that DO>IO cannot be claimed to be the result of A'-scrambling applied to an IO>DO base-generated order; if this were the case, it should give rise to WCO in examples such as (61), that is, if the DO had to cross over an IO-DP containing a coindexed possessor. Therefore, DOs can occupy an A-position above IO, and the simplest assumption would be that IO is base-generated below DO. On the other hand, it seems possible that IO>DO may, at least sometimes, be the result of A'-scrambling, since it can be employed for defocusing purposes, as in (62). Also, interestingly, there is no evidence in any of the extant texts for "free" benefactive DPs, which are typically first merged above DO.

(59) pos oun he: theos [...] tous agnooumenous edeiksen alle:lois
      how so the goddess [...] the missing showed.3SG each-other.DAT
      lekso: (Koine Greek)
      tell.1SG.FUT
      "So now I'll tell you how the goddess (Venus) showed/revealed the two missing heroes to each other."
      (Chariton, *Callirhoe*, 8.1.5.2)

(60) kai afni   kanenan   pragman   katinos (MedCG)
      and leave.f.SG any thing.ACC   anyone.GEN
      "and (if) he leaves anything to anyone"
      (*Assizes* f.137, 190)

(61) an   thelete me   to kalon   na strepsete
      if   want.2P with the good PRT.SUBJ   return.2PL
      [to kastron]$_i$ [tu afendi   tu$_i$] (MedCG)
      the castle   the owner.GEN its
      "if you want to return the castle to its owner willingly"

(62) ke anen ke pepsoun   i Genuvisi [...]   tote na
      and if and send.3P   the Genoans   then PRT.SUBJ
      dosoun tus Genuvisus   100 doukata   (MedCG)
      give.3P the Genoans.ACC/GEN 100 ducats
      "and in case the Genoans send (someone)...then they (must) give the Genoans 100 ducats"
      (Machairas §353.17)

The unique instance, in the latest text of the period, of a quantified IO binding a variable in the DO (61), clearly indicating that it c-commands it, may be an early example of the emergent IO>>DO pattern, which is now prevalent in ModCG or may constitute evidence that both patterns coexisted in that period. Interestingly enough, clitic clusters in the earliest text from that period, appear to have an unfixed order, while being comparatively very few anyway, allowing both IO-DO and DO-IO orderings (64). Finally, recall that MedCG can form perfectly acceptable direct passives, without obligatorily resorting to special strategies to circumvent any intervening DP's minimality effects, for example cliticization/clitic doubling of the genitive IO (see (58) above).

(63) kai edhoken pasanou$_i$ tin dhoulian tou$_i$(MedCG)
      and gave.3SG everyone.GEN   the job.ACC his
      "and (he) gave everyone his job"
      (Machairas §174.7)

(64) a. oti to   tou   afikan ekeino to zitaei (MedCG)
        that it.Cl.ACC him.Cl.GEN left.3P that rel-pron. asks.3SG
        "that they left him what he asks"
        (*Assizes* f.134,188)

b. Ape   ta perpira   k' (=20) ta   sou
   as for the the perpers 20 them.NEUT.Cl.ACC   you.SG.Cl.GEN
   eparadhoka.
   handed-in.1SG
   "As for the peppers (=local currency) (that I owed to you), I did give you 20."
   (*Assizes* f.74,103).

c. oti ekeinos   to   tou   epoulisen ekeinon to alogon
   that he.NOM   it.Cl.ACC him.Cl.GEN sold.3SG that   the horse
   "that he sold him that horse"
   (*Assizes* f.191,30)

d. oti eteros   tou   to   epoulisen
   that someone-else him.Cl.GEN it.Cl.ACC sold.3SG

To sum up, genitive "dative" arguments in MedCG do not display any minimality effects in Agree/Move, they arguably cannot undergo A-movement, and genitive indirect objects in particular are (often) asymmetrically c-commanded by the direct object in an A-position.

Moving on to ModCG, the picture is the reverse in most respects. To begin with, in ditransitives, it is quite straightforward that genitive IOs, as well as benefactives, asymmetrically c-command DO (based again on Barss & Lasnik's (1986) diagnostics, e.g., quantifier variable binding (65)), rather than the reverse. Moreover, the dispreference Anagnostopoulou (2003) observed for direct passives, is equally or even more robust in ModCG, where direct passives are deemed as totally ungrammatical (66a), unless IO is cliticized/clitic doubled or clefted (66b).

(65) Eðiiksa   kathe jenekas,   ton andran   tis/?*kathe   andran, tis
      showed.1S   each woman.GEN   the man.ACC   her/every   man.ACC
      jenekas   tu, (ModCG)
      the woman.GEN his
      "I showed every woman her husband / ?*his wife every man."

(66) a. Ta   rialia   eðothikasin/eðothisan   *(-tis) tis Marias (ModCG)
         the   money,PL   were-given.3PL herGEN.CL   the Maria.GEN
         "The book was given (to) Mary."
         (Theoni Neokleous, p.c.)

      b. En   TIS MARIAS,   pu   eðothikasin/eðothisan   ta   rialia t,
         be.3SG the Maria.GEN   that were-given.3PL   the   money.3PL
         The money was given (to) Mary."
         (Theoni Neokleous, p.c.)

As far as the PCC is concerned, ModCG has its strong version, while in MedCG texts there are quite a few indications that first- and second-person clitics in the presence of a third-person genitive goal are systematically avoided and some escape strategy is opted for (e.g., strong accusative pronouns, alternative morphological exponence of the goal). Combinations of first- and second-person internal arguments (which should be available, given the parallel with Romeyka) are hard to be tested, due to the narrative nature of the extant texts, however there is no a priori evidence that these were ungrammatical.

Finally, in the syntax of unaccusatives with genitives, there is an interesting split. In SMG, as we said, both genitive experiencers selected by piacere-type psych predicates and genitive goals selected by motion unaccusatives must undergo cliticization or clitic doubling, otherwise the construction is significantly degraded, thus indicating that genitives in SMG do induce minimality effects, by both intervening between T and the theme, and having an

with genitive goals pattern with SMG—in fact, Cypriot speakers find them sharply ungrammatical, unless a genitive clitic is present (67)—while genitive experiencers are perfectly acceptable either with or without clitic doubling (68). Also, while both varieties allow raising (more or less marginally), only in SMG does the genitive experiencer require cliticization/clitic doubling (69).

(67) [to epiðoman]   irte   (-tis)   tis Marias (ModCG)
      the allowance.NOM came.3SG   herGEN.CL the Maria.GEN
      "Mary got the allowance." (= "The allowance came to Mary")

(68) O   Janis   areski   (-tis)   tis Marias polla (ModCG)
      the John.NOM   appeals herGEN.CL   the Maria.GEN much
      "Mary likes John a lot."

(69) Ta peðja (ð)en [$V_{Mod\,CG}$ /*$_{SMG}$(tis)] fenonde tis Marias (na ine$_{SMG}$/en$_{ModCG}$)
      the kids not herGEN.CL   seem.3P the Mary.GEN (PRT.SUBJ/are.3PL)
      kurasmena (ModCG)
      tired
      "The kids do not seem to Mary to be tired."

8. CORRELATIONS AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

Despite the considerable amount of cross-dialectal and cross-categorial microvariation that can be found in the varieties we considered so far, there are some very important correlations and generalizations that appear to hold across all diachronic and diatopic varieties of Greek. First, as already mentioned in section 2, the existence of minimality effects in Agree/raising across a dative (at least a goal DP) seems to depend on the availability of structurally high IO DPs, which, in turn, presupposes the existence of dative alternations. There also appears to be a strong correlation between the existence of dative alternations and the strong PCC. On the contrary, in systems with no dative alternations, only a weak PCC is operative and no minimality effects in Agree/raising across datives is observed. The first tentative conclusion drawn from these facts is that whatever makes a dative visible for Agree/Move (even as a defective intervener) must also be found in the double object/dative-shifted construction, and not in the one where the IO stays "low."

What differentiates the double DP frame from the prepositional ditransitive construction in all varieties is the animacy restriction on the IO. There are systems (like Spanish, according to Ormazabal 2000) in which the presence of a dative pronoun, which is by definition animate, excludes any other animate internal argument. Compared to this, the strong PCC appears to
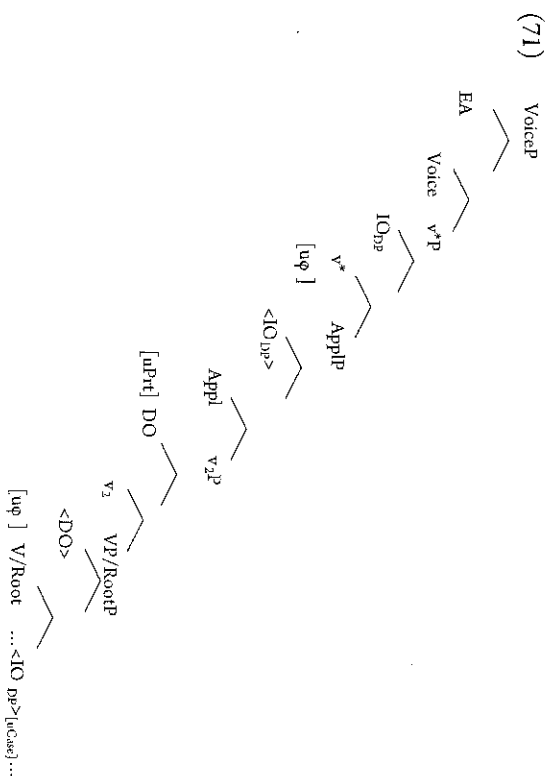
Michelioudakis (2010b, 2011) we propose that all these restrictions are due to a selectional uninterpretable feature in the double DP construction, which encodes (e.g., [+animate]) or entails (e.g., [±Participant], in Harley & Ritter's (2002) feature geometry) the aforementioned animacy requirement.

In weak PCC systems, which also happen to be systems in which only IO DPs (and not PPs) may be animate, the situation is as follows: (i) both internal arguments can be third-person, therefore an uninterpretable [Participant] feature is matched by IO alone and is valued as [-Prt] (third-person DOs are not specified for this feature at all, see Adger & Harbour 2007); (ii) first- and second-person pronouns can co-occur, which suggests that they can both simultaneously match a positively valued [Participant]; (iii) the two internal arguments cannot have different values of [±participant], that is, no third-person ([-Prt]) datives co-occurring with [+Prt] DOs, which means that there may not be a mismatch between [Participant], whatever its value, and any of the internal arguments. All three states are only compatible with a first-merged configuration where the two internal arguments are probed by a low probe and are equidistant from it, perhaps in the spirit of Kayne's (1984, 2010) suggestion that they originate, quite symmetrically, in the same DP. Perhaps the probe is the ditransitive V/Root itself, which s-selects only animate DPs. DO then Agrees with v*, which inherits Voice's phi-features (which we take to be the real low phase head), and is finally attracted by it to its Spec, following Chomsky (2006, 2008),[17] thus deriving the DO>IO$_{DP}$ order attested in Romeyka and MedCG:

(70) $[_{Voice^*}$ EA V-v*-Voice $[_{vP}$ DO $<$V-v*$_{[u\varphi]}>$ $[_{vP}$ $<$V$_{[uParticipant]}>$ $[<$DO$>$ IO$_{[uCase]}]$ $]]]$

In strong PCC systems, on the other hand, the animacy restriction only affects IO DPs, not PPs, so we may not say that [uParticipant] is an s-selectional feature of V, but rather a feature associated with a head that is present only in the double object construction, arguably the one that hosts the IO DP in its Spec. Following the literature on applicatives, we take this to be an Appl head c-commanding VP. Moreover, we assume that two v-heads are present in DOCs, assuming that this is the right minimalist update of Larson's (1988) original idea about the presence of two VP-shells in DOCs, especially if, as commonly assumed, v-heads are the real verb(alizer)s rather than Roots themselves, as well as others' suggestion about the lexical decomposition of verbs taking double objects. Both v-heads inherit Voice's phi-features and its EPP. Then the derivation proceeds as follows. After DO's Agree with and raising to v$_2$, Appl probes the IO DP, which must then have an active, even if inherent, Case feature,

perhaps akin to what Chomsky (2000) terms "quirky Case," as we have already said. If the intervening DO is 1st/second-person, then its defective intervention blocks Agree with IO and the deactivation of its Case, which derives the strong PCC. Otherwise, the IO DP matches Appl's [uParticipant] and is attracted to its Spec, where it can be probed and matched by v* and have its Case deactivated. This derives the familiar IO>DO order in DOCs (in, e.g., SMG, TPG, and ModCG):

(71)


```
        VoiceP
       /      \
     EA      Voice'
            /      \
        Voice     v*P
                 /    \
            IO_DP     v*'
                     /    \
               [uφ] v*    ApplP
                   [uφ]  /     \
                     <IO>      Appl'
                             /      \
                     Appl [uPrt] DO  v_2P
                                    /    \
                                  v_2   VP/RootP
                                       /      \
                                    <DO>    V/Root ...<IO_DP [uCase]>...
```

The schema in (71) may be generalized to all DOCs, even the ones that involve completely structurally Case-marked IO DPs, like English. Another implication of this is that the IO must have an active Case feature, whenever it c-commands DO from an A-position; this applies even to shifted IOs headed by a P (as e.g. in SMG, see Table 8.2), and of course se-PP benefactives (see Table 8.3). One then has to assume that P in this case is nothing more than a dative case marker; this must certainly be the case in benefactives, where se ("to") has none of its original locative (either directional or stative) meaning. A process of grammaticalization is probably still in progress in SMG, whereas se as a dative case marker has already become fully grammaticalized, hence the only option, in TPG definite dative DPs.

The postulation of two types of inherent Case for shifted and nonshifted "datives" also derives the correlation between dative-shift and intervention effects in Agree/raising across datives. As already assumed throughout the article, phi-probes, such as T and v*, probe for interpretable phi-features and consider an XP/DP as a possible/"active" goal if it carries an active, that is, uninterpretable Case feature (Chomsky 2000, 2001). Given that "datives" in

required by any phi-probe, we are led to the conclusion that they must differ in their [Case] feature. More concretely, "dative" DPs in MedCG and Romeyka, despite their distinct morphological realization, are all assumed to carry a (fully) valued Case feature [iCase], associated with a series of theta-roles therefore, LF-interpretable, which makes the DP "invisible"/"transparent" for a phi-probe, which looks for [uCase] features. On the other hand, experiencers in SMG and TPG and genitive goals in both SMG/TPG and ModCG bear a partially interpretable and partially unvalued Case feature [uCase], which, while still inherent (i.e, still associated with a series of theta-roles and with a nonabsorbable PF-interpretable value),awaits valuation in the course of the derivation. This makes such DPs visible to phi-probes, either as active goals, or as defective interveners, if their [uCase] has already been valued and marked for deletion in the course of the derivation. So, for instance, when a dative intervenes between T and a nominative theme, its status as an intervener can be parameterized. Assuming "active" inherent Case is an instance of a [uCase] feature, while "pure" inherent Case is [iCase], the following three possibilities arise:

(72) H[uφ]...DAT[iφ, uCase/ uCase/ iCase]...DP[iφ, uCase]
                      (i)   (ii)   (iii)

(i)   If DAT carries an unvalued [uCase] feature, then it is an active goal that can match and fully Agree with H, as long as it is its closest potential goal, deactivating its own [uCase], and preventing H from probing further down;

(ii) If DAT is the most local goal for H but it has already valued its [uCase] via Agree with a closer phi-head H<pr>, then DAT is a *defective* intervener, blocking Agree between H and any lower active goal. This defective intervention effect can be obviated if DAT undergoes some (movement-related)process which puts the head of DAT's chain outside H's Agree domain, following Chomsky (2000, 2001);

(iii) If DAT carries [iCase], it is transparent/invisible for Agree purposes, and H can unproblematically Agree with the next closest DP with [uCase].

As already implied, φ-probes such as T only probe for [uCase], hence the immunity of [iCase]. Blocking effects in DAT-above-NOM can then be parameterized, as necessary, if we treat them as defective intervention effects (case ii): in languages with [iCase], no intervention effects arise, while in languages with active inherent Case, they do and, being defective, they can be obviated via some movement process involving DATs with already valued [uCase] (clitic movement in SMG, perhaps scrambling in other languages

(see Anagnostopoulou 2003), clefting in Modern Cypriot Greek, etc.). Finally, obligatory cliticization/clitic doubling in DAT-above-NOM contexts (e.g, in SMG) serves as a means of cancellation of defective intervention as follows:

(73) [...*(φP_DAT)-T...[[DAT <φP_DAT> [0/DP_DAT[iCase]]]...DP_NOM]]

(a)   T (which has an uninterpretable phi-set as well as [uD]) probes DAT first;

(b)   if DAT is headed by a (φ-) clitic, it matches it, deletes the [uCase] of the clitic (and consequently DAT itself) and incorporates the clitic (see Roberts2010);

(c)   the head of DAT's chain is now outside T's Agree domain(i.e, no longer visible);

(d)   however, the dative clitic, being a φ(P) (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002, Roberts 2010, as opposed perhaps to DO clitics, see Daskalaki & Mavrogiorgos 2010, Anagnostopoulou 2006), cannot satisfy T's [uD], so T (requiring full matching, see Chomsky 2001) has to probe all over again across the (now invisible) DAT in order to match [uD]; this enables T to fully match NOM and Agree with it.

The intervention then of a dative with active Case in unaccusative contexts (raising, *piacere*-type psych predicates, and motion unaccusatives) is an instance of defective intervention, as defined above, since in the configuration in which the dative intervenes between T and the theme, the dative's φ-features have already been matched and its Case deactivated by T itself. In (70-71), the dative appears to c-command the theme: this is the case with dative experiencers anyway, whether they are/need to be attracted by an Appl head or not, given the evidence we have about their thematic position (cf. backward binding, etc.); for goals, this is a derived position; in systems with inactive inherent Case and no dative alternations, goal DPs with unaccusatives may stay low causing no intervention effects (45, 67). However, given the uniform positioning of experiencers higher than nominative themes, the absence of intervention effects (68–69) in ModCG, which arguably has active inherent Case, is quite surprising. We are therefore led to one last factor that yields (cross-categorial, this time) microvariation, a split in Case features depending on theta-roles. Active inherent Case has apparently been spread to all IO-related theta-roles in both transitive and intransitive contexts, but crucially not to experiencers. In SMG (and TPG) this spread has been more pervasive and complete.

Therefore, as mentioned in section 2, there is only a one-way implication relating (i) the existence of "active" dative experiencers, giving rise to intervention effects, and (ii) the availability of "high" indirect object DPs

(asymmetrically commanding DO): the former entails the latter but not vice versa. ModCG constitutes a counterexample explicable on these grounds, while experiencers with blocking effects also presuppose the availability of high IOs but do not in principle exclude the coexistence of low IO DPs asymmetrically c-commanded by DO (cf. Icelandic, where both high (i.e., "active") and low (i.e., "inactive") inherently Case-marked IOs are available (see Anagnostopoulou 2003)), as in Hebrew, although dative experiencers have active Case only, causing blocking effects, and arguably linked to quirkiness (Boeckx 2000, among others).

Finally, the apparent availability of high applicatives in RSür may be a first step for the emergence of quirky inherent Case in this variety too. On the other hand, TPG benefactives have the same properties as in ROf, which arguably do not involve Appl. Benefactives seem to develop quite independently from canonical ditransitives, especially when they do not involve a potential recipient interpretation.

Table 8.7 below summarizes our empirical findings in this article and Table 8.8 illustrates the four-way syntactic typology we have developed, based on our approach to inherent Case.

9. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This article has aimed to show that all cross-categorial and cross-dialectal (and possible diachronic) variation with regards to datives in Greek results from the interplay and the interaction of a limited number of variables: (i) the nature of the (inherent) Case feature, active (uCase) vs. nonactive (iCase), (ii) their position on the thematic hierarchy (goals, experiencers, or "free" benefactives behaving as semi-adjuncts), and (iii) their morphological exponence/m-case, which turned out to be the least crucial factor, as far as syntax is concerned. Furthermore, an important finding of this investigation is that the derivation of "dative" DPs, when these constitute the only realization of dative arguments, does not involve (high) Applicative heads, unlike SMG and TPG/ModCG goal constructions (with the only exception of some classes of benefactives in RSür, which in turn may have important diachronic implications). Indirect object DPs in Romeyka and ModCG are consistently structurally lower, asymmetrically c-commanded by the direct object, an observation that challenges any claims about universal IO>DO in the double DP frame. The central theoretical conclusion of this article, then, is that the thematic interpretation can be exclusively derived by the positioning of the arguments relative to V/Root, and that applicative heads, when/if present, simply attract DPs with active Case from their thematic positions to positions accessible to phi-probes/struc-

Table 8.7. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF PROPERTIES ACROSS GREEK VARIETIES.

Properties \ Varieties		Active "inherent" Case			Nonactive Inherent Case		
		SMG	PG	ModCG	MedCG	ROf	RSür
Ditransitives							
c-command relations	DP_{IO}	IO>DO			DO>IO		
	DP_{Ben}	Ben>DO			n/a	Ben>DO (adjunct)	Ben>DO (argum)
Direct passives		yes			yes	yes	no
Cliticization/CD of the dative in passives		obligatory			optional	optional	n/a
Indirect passives		no			no		
Animacy restriction on dative "DPs"		yes			yes (all and only animate arguments)		
Person restrictions (PCC)		strong			n/a (cf. 7.2)	weak	
Clitic clusters		fixed IO-DO order (procl.)	fixed IO-DO order (encl.)	fixed IO-DO order (both)	Few; unordered	no	no
PP substitutes	Goal	DO>PP PP>DO			no (but see 6.1)	no	no
	Benef	PP>DO			no	only adjunct-PPs	only adjunct-PPs
"Datives" with unaccusatives							
Cliticization/Clitic doubling of the "dative"	psych/raising	obligatory	optional		optional	n/a	
	Motion V's	oblig.	oblig.	oblig.	n/a	n/a	optional

Table 8.8. M-CASE AND THE ACTIVE VS. NONACTIVE DISTINCTION ACROSS GREEK VARIETIES.

m-case / +/- active	Active Inherent	Inactive Inherent
mACC	TPG	ROf, RSür
mGEN	SMG, ModCG	MedCG

restrictions across datives and the syntax of ditransitives, of which the following two also seem to hold cross-linguistically: (a) if a language has "active" dative experiencers, it also has high IO DPs; in other words, dative experiencers give rise to intervention effects in raising/unaccusative constructions, if IOs with the same form/Case have to escape VP/√P; and (b) The strong PCC in ditransitives presupposes the existence of high IOs, that is, the DOC frame (alongside prepositional low IOs).

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