Active vs. Inactive Inherent Case features.
Evidence from three Greek varieties and diachronic implications[*]

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Abstract

This paper explores the syntactic properties of 'dative' arguments in the diachrony of Greek, especially Cypriot Greek, probably the best-documented variety as far as the substitution of the ancient dative is concerned. Contrasting the behaviour of dative substitutes with respect to minimality, A-movement and dative shift at different stages, we are led to a 2-way distinction of inherent Case features, partially corresponding to Chomsky's (2000) quirky vs. non-quirky distinction. After providing a synchronic account for each synchrony, a diachronic scenario is proposed and some further theoretical implications about the nature of inherent Case are introduced.

1 Introduction: dialectal and diachronic variation of datives

Classical Greek employed a morphologically distinct case to encode 'dative' arguments such as goals, beneficiaries, experiencers etc. Due to morpho-phonological changes throughout the history of Greek, the dative case became indistinguishable (at least from the accusative, but also from the genitive sometimes, depending on the phonological system and the phonological changes of each dialect, see Horrocks 2010) and was eventually lost. Almost all of its functions were taken up by (see Manolessou & Beis 2006): either (a) Accusative (Constantinople, Northern Greece, Pontic (cf. Michelioudakis & Sitaridou (forth.), etc.), or (b) Genitive (Cypriot Greek, Peloponnese), alongside (c) Prepositional phrases (in *almost* all dialects).

This paper argues that, apart from the morphological (mostly diatopic) typology, a syntactic (mostly diachronic) typology is also possible based on the behaviour of these dative substitutes with respect to Agree/A-movement.

2 Modern Cypriot Greek and Standard Modern Greek vs. Medieval Cypriot Greek

2.1 The available forms
In Modern Cypriot Greek, Genitive DPs and se-PPs alternate in ditransitives (1) and experiencer constructions (2), like in Standard Modern Greek, although there is a clear preference for genitives in the latter constructions.

(1) Edhiksa *se kathe jeneka$_i$/kathe jenekas$_i$* ton andra tis$_i$.
    showed1S to each woman.ACC/each woman.GEN the man her
    'I showed every woman her husband.'
(2) Efanin(-*tis*) *tis Marias*/Efanin (%?)*sti Maria* (na en) eksipnos.
 seemed3S-3FSGEN.CL the Mary.GEN/seemed3S to Mary.ACC (that is3S) smart
    'He seemed to Mary (to be) smart.'

In Medieval Cypriot Greek, on the other hand, indirect objects and (so-called *'piacere*-type') dative experiencers are exclusively realised as genitive DPs, with the exception of plural masculines, which are realised in an apparently accusative form (see Sitaridou & Terkourafi 2007; Markopoulos forth.). Se/is(εις)-PPs are restricted in constructions with either purely locative uses or inanimate recipients (e.g. collective nouns, ex.3; metonymies, ex.4).

(3) Na to   ksighunde   *is ton kosmon.*
     to 3NSACC.CL narrate3PL   to the people.ACC
    'to narrate it to the people.' (Machairas, 2.99.5)
(4) Oti to   dhikon tou na   dhothi […]   *is ta   cherja   tous pateres*
    That the own   his Subj. be-given.Subj.3S to the hands.ACC the   fathers.GEN
    tu San   Tomeniku.
     the Saint Dominique
    'that his fortune be given to the hands of the fathers (monks) of St. Dominique.'
    (Machairas 1.56.1-2)

2.2 Med CG vs. Mod CG vs. SMG: Syntax
The first striking property of genitive arguments in Med CG is that 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 apparen t effect, as if the genitive were not there. This appears to be the case in constructions with raising predicates (5) and psych unaccusatives that take dative experiencers (cf. (6) and (7), which allows even long distance Agree between the matrix T and the embedded subject), as well as in passivisations of the direct object (8) ('direct passives'), although the absence of blocking effects in this case can simply be attributed to the fact that genitive

indirect object in MedCG is lower than the direct object, as I will suggest below, i.e. the genitive in ditransitives is not even structurally an intervener.

(5) Ekinon, [CP to$_i$ [TP t$_i$ efanin-T   *tis vulis   mu* [TP t$_i$ ine   kalon]]],
    That   which seemed.3SG the senate/diet.GEN my   be.INF good
    fenete mu ki emenan.
    seems 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)

(6) [Toutos o   logos]$_i$ polla   aresen   *tou rigos*   t$_i.$
     This   the mention very-much appealed.3S the king.GEN
    'The king liked this mention very much.' (*Machairas*, 2.274.1)

(7) Den aresk**un**   *tus archondes   tus Genuvisus*   [na ine
    not   appeal.**3PL** the masters-ACC the Genoans-ACC to be.3PL
     i   las   mas kai to dikon   tus apokato is tin eksusian sas]'.
    the people-NOM our and the fortune-NOM 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)

(8) Pos estrafin   to rigaton$_i$ ape   tus Romeus ke (pro$_i$)
    that was-returned.3SG   the kingdom.NOM   from   the Romans and t$_i$
     edothin   *tus Latinus*.
    was-given.3SG   the Latins.ACC/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 (5), Spec-T in the relative clause is occupied by the trace of the embedded subject rather than by pro$_{expl}$: 'efanin' here is clearly not used as impersonal, taking into consideration that 'fenete' in the matrix clause, which is another token/occurrence of the same verb, has an overt referential subject, arguably raised out of an elided complement-TP; note that in MG, in which 'fenete' appears to have the same usage, the embedded subject of an elided complement clause cannot be (A')-moved (i.e. topicalised) into the matrix CP, if 'fenete' does not agree with it, i.e. if it is used as impersonal[1]. At any rate, in Med CG there are also quite a few other instances of raising

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[1] Consider, for instance, the following MG paradigm, which tests the properties of the structural equivalent of (5):

   (i)   Ekines i lisis pus su fenonde.3P esena na ine kales, mu fenonde.3P ki emena (~~na ine kales~~)

   (ii)   ?*Ekines i lisis pu su fenete.3S esena na ine kales, mu fenonde.3P ki emena (~~na ine kales~~)

   (iii)   *Ekines i lisis pu su fenonde.3P esena na ine kales, mu fenete.3S ki emena (~~na ine kales~~)

   (iv)   *Ekines i lisis pu su fenete.3S esena na ine kales, mu fenete.3S ki emena (~~na ine kales~~)

        'Those solutions that seem to you to be good, (they) seem good to me as well'.

predicates agreeing with embedded nominative DPs (regardless of their surface position) across genitive experiencers unproblematically, without evidence of any intervention effect, e.g. without obligatory cliticisation/clitic doubling (CD) of the genitive as in SMG (see below); interestingly, cliticisation/CD of the genitive is obligatory in SMG even when the raising predicate is impersonal, i.e. 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 (7) is concerned, the plural marking on the matrix verb could not be the result of sympathetic agreement with the experiencer, as there is no indication of such a possibility in any other point of the text, or any other Greek text for that matter; in all other cases with plural experiencers, psych Vs display singular 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 arguably have not yet developed a full CP-structure (see Roussou 2000), i.e. they are not strong phases, which is why they are not subject to the Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

It is also worth pointing out that there is no evidence that dative arguments at this stage can undergo any kind of A-movement, i.e. 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 Sigur∂sson's (1989) diagnostics for subjecthood[2]. Furthermore, if we follow Boeckx (2000:361), '[q]uirky elements always block raising of nominative 'objects' […] to the highest ('subject') position, irrespective of agreement pattern', which is not the case in Med CG, as already shown.

As far as ditransitives are concerned, there is evidence that in Med CG, 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. 9, in which the DO binds the dative reciprocal anaphor). In around 70% 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, e.g. with existential quantifiers (ex. 10, cf. Philippaki-Warburton (1982) for a similar argument for Modern Greek VSO as the unmarked order). (11) 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 Weak Crossover effects in examples such as (11), i.e. if the DO had to cross over an IO-DP containing a co-indexed possessor. Therefore,

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[2] See also Sevdali (2009), who makes the case for quirky datives in Classical Greek based on different sorts of evidence (case transmission, control, reflexive binding), which is also not to be found in Medieval Cypriot.

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 (12). The unique instance, in the latest text of the period, of a quantified IO binding a variable in the DO (13), clearly indicating that it c-commands it, may be an early example of the emergent IO>>DO pattern, which is now prevalent in Mod CG, or may constitute evidence that both patterns co-exist 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 (14). Finally, recall that Med CG can form perfectly acceptable direct passives, without obligatorily resorting to special strategies to circumvent any intervening DP's minimality effects, e.g. cliticisation/CD of the genitive IO (see (8) above).

(9) Po:s oun he: theos   […] tous agnooumenous edeiksen   *alle:lois* lekso:
    how so   the goddess […] the missing showed.3S each-other.DAT tell.1S.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)

(10) Ke   afini   kanenan pragman *katinos.*
     and leaves anything.ACC   anyone.GEN
     'and (if) he leaves anything to anyone' (*Assizae* f137, 190)

(11) An thelete me to kalon na   strepsete [to kastron]ᵢ [*tu afendi   tuᵢ*].
      if want.2P with the good Subj. return   the castle   the owner.GEN its
    'if you want to willingly return the castle to its owner.'(*Machairas* 3.472.10-11)

(12) Ke anen ke pepsoun   <u>i Genuvisi</u> […] tote na   dosoun
     and if and send.PFV.3P the Genoans […] then Subj. give.PFV.3P
     <u>*tus Genuvisus*</u> 100 doukata.
     the Genoans.ACC/GEN 100 ducats
     'and in case the Genoans send (someone)… then they (must) give the
     Genoans 100 ducats.' (*Machairas*, §353.17)

(13) Ke edoken *pasanu*ᵢ   tin dulian   tuᵢ.
     and gave.3S everyone.GEN the job.ACC his
     'and (he) gave everyoneᵢ hisᵢ job.' (*Machairas*, §174.7)

(14) a. Oti *to   tu*   afikan ekino to   zitai.
        that it.Cl.ACC him.Cl.GEN left.3P that   rel-pron. asks.3S
        'that they left him what he asks.' (*Assizae*, f134,188)

    b. Ape   ta perpira κ' (=20) *ta   su*   eparadoka.
       As for the perpers 2 them.NEUT.Cl.ACC you.SG.Cl.GEN handed-in.1S
        'As for the perpers (=local currency) (that I owed to you), I did give you
        20.' (*Assizae*, f74,103).

    c. Oti ekinos *to   tu*   epulisen ekinon to alogon.
       that he.NOM it.Cl.ACC him.Cl.GEN sold.3S   that   the horse
       'that he sold him that horse.' (*Assizae*, f191.30)

d. Oti   eteros   *tu*   *to*   epulisen.
   that someone-else him.Cl.GEN it.Cl.ACC sold.3S
   'that someone else sold it to him.' (*Assizae*, f191.30)

To sum up, genitive 'dative' arguments in Med CG 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 Modern Cypriot Greek and, especially, Standard Modern Greek, the picture is quite the reverse. To begin with, in ditransitives, it is a well-established fact that the genitive IO asymmetrically c-commands DO (based on Barss & Lasnik's (1986) diagnostics, e.g. quantifier variable binding (15), see also (1) for Mod CG, repeated here as (16)), rather than the reverse (see Anagnostopoulou 2003). Moreover, as Anagnostopoulou (2003) also showed, there is a dispreference for direct passives in SMG, unless under cliticisation/CD of the IO-DP (17); this pattern is equally or even more robust in Mod CG, where direct passives without a genitive clitic are deemed as totally ungrammatical (18).

(15) Edhiksa   *kathe miteras$_i$*   to pedhi   tis$_i$ / ?**tis miteras   tu$_i$*
     showed1S every mother.GEN the child.ACC her /   the mother.GEN its
     kathe pedhi.
     every child.ACC
     'I showed every/each mother her child / ?*his/her mother every/each child.'
(16) Edhiksa *kathe jenekas$_i$*   ton andran   tis$_i$ / ?*kathe andran$_i$ *tis*
     showed1S each woman.GEN the man.ACC her / every man.ACC   the
     jenekas   tu$_i$.
     woman.GEN his
     'I showed every woman her husband / ?*his wife every man.'
(17) Ta chrimata ?*(tis)   charistikan   tis Marias.
     the money.PL her.Cl.GEN were-donated/gifted   the Mary.GEN
     'the money was given away to Mary.'
(18) To vivlion en *(tis)   epistrafiken   tis Marias.
     the book   not her.Cl.GEN was-returned the Mary.GEN
     'the book was not returned to Mary.'

In the syntax of unaccusatives with genitives, there is an interesting split. In SMG, both genitive experiencers selected by *piacere*-type psych predicates (19, see also Anagnostopoulou 1999) and genitive goals selected by motion unaccusatives (20) must undergo cliticisation or CD, otherwise the construction is significantly degraded, thus indicating that genitives in SMG do induce minimality effects. In ModCG, however, only motion unaccusatives with genitive goals pattern with SMG –actually, Cypriot speakers find them sharply ungrammatical, unless a genitive clitic is present (21) —while genitive experiencers are perfectly acceptable either with or without cliticisation/CD (22).

Also, while both varieties allow raising (more or less marginally), only in SMG does the genitive experiencer require cliticisation/clitic doubling (23).

(19) Dhen *(tis)   aresi   tis Marias   i sindaksi.
    Not her.CL.GEN appeals-to the Mary.GEN the syntax.NOM
    'Mary does not like syntax.'

(20) To ghrama   dhen *(tis)   irthe   tis Marias   akoma.
    The letter.NOM not   her.CL.GEN came3S the Mary.GEN yet
    'Mary hasn't yet got the letter.' (lit. 'the letter has not yet come to Mary.')

(21) [To epidhoman]   irte   *(-tis) tis Marias.
    The allowance.NOM came3S 3her.CL the Maria.GEN
    'Mary got the allowance.' (lit. 'The allowance came to Mary')

(22) O Janis   areski (-tis)   tis Marias   polla.
    The John.NOM appeals her.Cl.GEN the Mary.GEN much
    'Mary likes John a lot'.

(23) Ta pedhia (dh)en [$\sqrt{}_{Mod\ CG}$/*$_{SMG}$(tis)] fenonde tis Marias (na ine/en)
    The kids not 3FSGEN.CL seem3P the Mary.GEN (that/to be3P)
  kurasmena
  tired
  'The kids do not seem to Mary to be tired.'

Finally, Anagnostopoulou (1999) provides a series of arguments that 'dative' experiencers in SMG can display subject-like behaviour, when preverbal (24), i.e. that they probably undergo A-movement, thus confirming the correlation mentioned above between quirky subjecthood and blocking effects of the (unmoved) dative.

(24) Tu Palama$_i$?*(tu)   arese   o Sikelianos$_k$ ala *pro*$_{i/*k}$
    The Palamas.GEN 3MSGEN.CL appealed the Sikelianos.NOM but
  misuse ton Kavafi.
  hated the Cavafy
  'Palamas liked Sikelianos, but he hated Cavafy.'

To sum up, in Modern Greek, both Standard and Cypriot, indirect object genitives are uniformly high, asymmetrically c-commanding DO, and genitive goals in general induce minimality/intervention effects, which can be circumvented by the occurrence of an element that forms a chain with the genitive (e.g. a clitic or a copy) in a position outside the probe's complement domain. This also extends to genitive experiencers in SMG, but crucially not in Mod CG.

3 The analysis

It seems that the most straightforward way to account for the contrasts above, as well as the manner in which some properties appear to cluster together, is to

assume that structural intervention is relativised to features (along the lines of Rizzi 2001). All variation in the behaviour of genitive 'datives' in Medieval and Modern Greek derives precisely from the differences in feature specification. 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, i.e. uninterpretable Case feature (following Chomsky 2000, 2001). Given that 'datives' in all the varieties we considered arguably carry all the interpretable features required by any phi-probe, we are led to the conclusion that they must differ in their [Case] feature. More concretely, genitive 'dative' DPs in Mod CG will be 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, genitive experiencers in SMG and genitive goals in both SMG and Mod CG bear a partially interpretable and partially unvalued Case feature [uCase], while still inherent (i.e. still associated with a series of theta-roles and with a non-absorbable PF-interpretable value), which 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 as follows:

(25) $[_{TP} ... T_{[u\phi]} ... [_{vP} v [_{(ApplP)} ... dative_{[iCase:no\ interv./\cancel{uCase}:intervention]} ... [_{VP} V ... [_{DP/TP} ... theme_{[uCase]} ...]]]]]$

More specifically, the intervention of a 'dative' with active Case in unaccusative contexts (raising, *piacere*-type psych predicates, and motion unaccusatives) is an instance of defective intervention (Chomsky 2000, 2001); we can either assume that the 'dative' gets its [uCase] valued and deleted via Agree with an applicative head (see Pylkkanen 2002, Anagnostopoulou 2003), which probably attracts it from a lower VP-internal position, or rather that the [uCase] feature we postulated fits Chomsky's (2000: 127) definition of 'quirky' Case: "*(theta-related) inherent Case with a structural Case feature*". If the latter is the case, then it is T that matches the 'dative' DP's phi-features and values/deletes its [uCase]. Such Agree blocks further probing of T, leaving the theme's [uCase] feature unvalued and thus failing the derivation. But if the 'dative' cliticises or undergoes CD, then the clitic will head the chain of the 'dative' argument; this saves the derivation in two ways: (a) the clitic, incorporated into T, as well as its copy if we assume a clitic movement approach, cannot value T's bundle of features; T matches all of the clitic's features, but the clitic, being a φP (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002, Roberts 2010), cannot match and value T's [uD], forcing T to probe further down; (b) even if there is a full 'dative' DP doubling the clitic, it must be ignored, because the head of the relevant chain is outside T's complement domain, thus canceling its defective

intervention effect (following again Chomsky 2001): so, T is free to Agree with the low nominative theme[3], as actually observed.

Turning to genitive indirect objects, we can extend and further motivate the distinction of [Case] feature we drew above. If the assumption that genitive IOs in Medieval Cypriot Greek can occur low, possible like dative IOs in Hellenistic Greek, is on the right track, then the only kind of [Case] feature that such DPs can carry is [iCase], which does not require valuation via phi-Agree; in such a low position, the DO would always intervene in and block any Agree relation with a higher phi-probe. On the other hand, the postulation of a hybrid/'quirky' [uCase] feature carried by IO genitives in systems such as SMG and Mod CG, would explain the (similar to the above) intervention effects in direct passives.
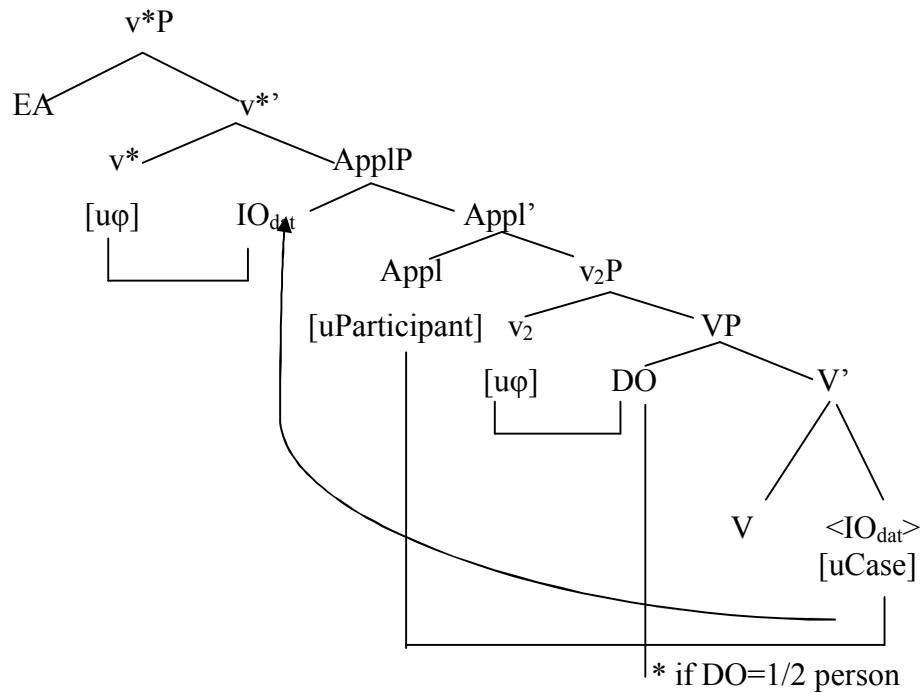
Furthermore, it would lend support to a movement analysis of double object constructions with 'shifted' IO-DPs (see Larson 1988 and subsequent work); all IOs are first-merged in a low position, asymmetrically c-commanded by DO, and those with [iCase] can stay there, while those with [uCase], need to move to a higher position, accessible to a phi-probe than can match and Agree with them. The specifier of the applicative head would then just be such a position. The applicative head attracts IO by means of Agree for a feature that encodes the main entailment that differentiates double object constructions from constructions with low goals (including prepositional IO constructions), namely the ability of conscious participation in the event. Such a feature could be Adger & Harbour's (2007) [±Participant], which also derives the animacy restriction on double object constructions and, varying Anagnostopoulou's (2003) original account, the Person Case Constraint (PCC). In the present analysis, the PCC is accounted for by the fact that an intervening 1st/2nd person DO would block Agree between Appl and the IO-DP (26).

Finally, it turns out that the semantic contribution of Appl is precisely the information about the dative argument's affectedness/consciousness, possibly a [±m(ental state)] thematic feature for the dative argument (following Reinhart's (2002) Theta-system): in systems with dative alternations, then, the difference between PP-IOs and IO-DPs with [uCase] is that the former need not be specified for [±m] (they are only [-c(ause change)] and whether they are consciously or indeed affected does not matter), while the latter have to. So, if we are to see inherent case as the reflex of the argument's thematic interpretation, then dative [iCase] is associated with just [-c] (recall that Mod CG in fact lacked dative alternations), while dative [uCase] is [-c, $_u$m], which justifies its characterization as partially uninterpretable/unvalued. The value for [$_u$m] is checked by Appl, under Agree for [uParticipant] and the "structural Case feature" which is parasitic to quirky DPs is then valued/deleted by v*, in double object constructions, or T in passives/unaccusatives, as above.

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[3] See Anagnostopoulou (2003) for an alternative account for the repairing effects of cliticisation/CD, based on the notion of equidistance of elements in the same minimal domain, which however cannot account for the constrast between the two kinds of datives examined here.

(26)

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                              v*P
                    ╱            ╲
                  EA              v*'
                         ╱              ╲
                       v*                ApplP
                      [uφ]      IO_dat        Appl'
                       └────────┘       ╱          ╲
                                     Appl            v₂P
                                  [uParticipant]  v₂      VP
                                                 [uφ]  DO     V'
                                                  └────┘    ╱    ╲
                                                           V    <IO_dat>
                                                               [uCase]
                                                        * if DO=1/2 person
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4 Diachronic implications

As already mentioned, Med CG did not have dative alternations: all genitive IOs were exclusively realized as genitive DPs, while PPs were restricted to more locative uses (see also section 2). So, animate PPs alternating with DPs were only possible with predicates ambiguous between the 'caused change of location' and the 'caused change of possession' reading, such 'send', 'return' etc. (see Romero & Ormazabal (2010) on the distinction). These ambiguous contexts may have eventually led to the rise of true dative alternations.

Assuming that what really differentiates prepositional from double object ditransitive constructions is the [uParticipant] probe which encodes the animacy requirement and the other entailments of the double DP frame, then the rise of true dative alternations must mean the emergence of a [uParticipant] probe for IO-DPs. We can tentatively assume that [uParticipant] was first assigned to v*, which often hosted scrambled IOs in its edge. Raising to this position was then reinterpreted as a result of Agree for this [uParticipant] feature, i.e. as A-movement. So, one can postulate the following stages of the reanalysis:

Stage I:

(27) [EA V-v-Voice [$_{v*P}$ <V-v$_{[u\varphi]}$> [DO$_{[uCase]}$ <V> IOgen$_{[iCase]}$]

A'-scrambling:

(28) [EA V-v-Voice [$_{v*P}$ IOgen$_{[iCase]}$ <V-v> [DO <V> <IOgen>]]]

Stage II:

(28) is reanalysed as involving [uParticipant] and [uCase]:

(29) [$_{VoiceP}$ EA Voice [$_{vP}$ IO   v*   [$_{VP}$ DO   V   <IO>]]]
                     [uCase]   [u\varphi]————————┘   ┘
                     [uPrt]——————————(x)————————

Stage III:

(29) is reanalysed as a more articulate structure (30=26), preferable to (29) probably because it involves fewer feature syncretisms (cf. Roberts & Roussou's (2003) 'simplicity metric')

(30) [$_{VoiceP}$ EA Voice [$_{v*P}$ v* [$_{ApplP}$ IO   Appl   [$_{v2P}$ v$_2$ [$_{VP}$ DO   V <IO>]]]]
                         [u\varphi]   [uCase] [uPrt]   [u\varphi]

The hypothetical structure in (29) may be reflected in the possibility of having both IO>>DO and DO>>IO in A-positions (if both structures are to be assigned to the same grammar, rather than two distinct, competing grammars, in the spirit of Kroch 1989, 1994), as well as in the clitic clusters in (14). Assuming that Voice is the real phase head and that the v-heads below it inherit its EPP- and phi-features, it seems plausible that in (29) v*'s EPP may be associated with either the [uParticipant] feature, which Agrees with IO, or the inherited uφ-features, that match the DO; as far as the unfixed order of clitic clusters is concerned, it seems that when DO undergoes clitic movement to an inner Spec of v, it is free to land either above or below IO (cf. Richards 1999).

Finally, it is reasonable to assume that [uParticipant] and, consequently, [uCase] spread to all constructions with genitive goals, i.e. even unaccusatives. In SMG, [uCase] spread even to dative experiencers, while this has not yet taken place in Mod CG[4], thus supporting a gradual lexical diffusion scenario, rather than one based on competing grammars (a similar diffusion scenario from one type of dative arguments to another, namely from quirky dative experiencers to other datives, i.e., the reverse of what appears to be the case in the history of Greek, has been suggested with regards to the loss of inherent Case in English, see Allen (1999) and Roberts (2004, 2007)) .

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[4] See also Michelioudakis (forth.) on the conservatism of ModCG in this respect, which also correlates with the retention of dative/genitive case as lexical Case (which is to be differentiated from inherent Case, cf. Woolford 2006) assigned by a number of simple (mono-)transitive predicates.

5 Conclusions

In this paper, it was suggested that 'dative' DPs in Greek differ not only in terms of morphological exponence across different synchronic varieties, but also in terms of syntactic behavior, which points towards a diachronic typology. The main theoretical implication is that Inherent Case can be parametrised with respect to its visibility/participation in Agree/A-movement relations. Purely inherent Case [iCase] does not cause minimality effects, while [uCase], either unvalued or valued, does. [uCase] directly correlates with the availability of dative alternations. So, in the diachrony of Greek, the emergence of [uCase] seems to have coincided with the emergence of IOgen>>DO. It was then diffused to all other constructions involving goals (Mod CG) or even experiencers (Standard Modern Greek).

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