Syntactic micro-variation in Pontic: Dative constructions[1]

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1. Introduction

This paper is a first attempt at a syntactic analysis of dative constructions in Pontic Greek (PG) (see also Drettas 1997), quite an understudied syntactic phenomenon, and an inadequately 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)[2] –both spoken in Turkey– and Pontic Greek (PG) as spoken in Thessaloniki, we set out to explore all the possible patterns in the syntax of the substitutes of the Ancient Greek (AG) dative. In doing so, we relate them to some more general properties of double-object constructions and dative alternations, whilst also trying to specify the status of the PG 'datives' with regards to the 'inherent' vs. 'structural' distinction.

It is claimed that: (a) Romeyka (both Of and Sürmene varieties) lacks dative alternations despite having the double DP frame for ditransitives; (b) The underlying hierarchical relations in Romeyka are the reverse from what we find in PG; (c) PG behaves syntactically on a par with Standard Modern Greek (SMG) despite the differences in the morphological realisation of the DPs (and which is almost identical in all Pontic varieties namely, mACC for both arguments); (d) ROf and RSür behave identically with the exception of the benefactives where we find more intense microvariation; (e) In all three Pontic varieties clitic movement of the dative arguments –which is otherwise obligatory in SMG– is not required in unaccusatives and passives thus indicating that the Case feature in these varieties is such that it does not cause any minimality effects, i.e., non-quirky, purely inherent.

The paper is organised as follows. In section 2 we discuss the structural representation of dative arguments in SMG in order to establish a comparative platform for the Pontic data to be examined in section 3; in particular, we discuss the prototypical ditransitive

[2] This article forms part of a larger project on the syntax of the Romeyka (Hellenic) varieties of Pontus "Contact, continuity and change: The syntax of the Romeyka varieties in Pontus" (PI: Ioanna Sitaridou, http://people.pwf.cam.ac.uk/is269/research-projects.html). For a general view on microvariation in the Pontic varieties see Kaltsa and Sitaridou (2009). For other syntactic phenomena in Pontic varieties see Sitaridou (2009a), Kaltsa & Sitaridou (this volume). On the methodology, taxonomy and language use of the Of variety in Pontus see Sitaridou (2009b). From a glossonymic perspective, we use the term 'Romeyka varieties of Pontus' to refer to what is previously known as 'Muslim Pontic' (as in Mackridge 1987). When further specification is required –'Romeyka varieties of Pontus' is an umbrella term after all (cf. Sitaridou 2009b)– we further specify it as 'Romeyka varieties of Of', 'Romeyka varieties of Sürmene'. The methodology we used entailed oral interviews comprising structured questionnaires. The only variants we controlled for –and the only ones we think are relevant for this phenomenon/varieties– are: (i) geographical location of the speaker; and (ii) the degree of exposure to either Standard Modern Greek (SMG) or Turkish.

constructions in section 3.1, benefactives in 3.2 and experiencers in 3.3 whereas in 3.4 we summarise our findings. Finally, in section 4 we present our concluding remarks with regard to mCase and the abstract 'dative' features.

2. The structural representation of dative arguments in Standard Modern Greek

SMG has two structural representations for ditransitives (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2003), as shown in (1):

(1) DP_{IO}>>DP_{DO} (where '>>' means asymmetric c-command)
a. O Kesaras eðikse [tu kathe ðiikiti]$_i$ [tin eparxia tu$_i$] (sto(n) xarti) (SMG)
   Caesar showed.3SG [the.GEN every/each governor.GEN] [the province.ACC his]
   (on the map)
   'Caesar showed every/each governor his province (on the map)
b. ?*O Kesaras eðikse [tu ðiikiti tis$_i$] [kathe eparxia]$_i$
   Caesar showed.3SG [the.GEN governor.GEN his] [every/each province.ACC]
   'Caesar showed its governor every/each province'
c. ??O Kesaras eðikse [kathe eparxia]$_i$ [tu ðiikiti tis$_i$]
   Caesar showed.3SG [every province.ACC] [the.GEN governor.GEN her]
   'Caesar showed every province its governor'

From (1) we conclude that IO>>DO is the underlying representation in DP_{IO}-DP_{DO} constructions (as well as in Benef-DP-Acc-DP constructions).

In the prepositional constructions however, the reverse pattern is found, as shown in (2):

(2) DP_{DO}>>PP_{IO}
a. O Kesaras eðikse [tin kathe eparxia]$_i$ [sto(n) ðiikiti tis$_i$] (SMG)
   Caesar showed [the every province.ACC] [to+the governor her]
   'Caesar showed every province its governor'
b. ?*O Kesaras eðikse [tin eparxia tu$_i$] [se kathe ðiikiti]$_i$
   Caesar showed.3SG [the province.ACC his] [to every governor.ACC]
   'Caesar showed his province to every governor'

PP_{IO}>>DP_{DO} may optionally appear in the promoted position (the one that asymmetrically c-commands the DO) in goal-ditransitives (3a) and obligatorily in benefactives (3b, 3b'):

(3) PP_{IO}>>DP_{DO}
a. O Kesaras eðikse [se kathe ðiikiti]$_i$ [tin eparxia tu$_i$] (SMG)
   Caesar showed.3SG [to every governor.ACC] [the province.ACC his]
   'Caesar showed to every governor his province'
b. O Kesaras sxeðiase [se kathe ðiikiti]$_i$ [ena sxeðiagrama tis eparxias tu$_i$]
   Caesar drew.3SG [to every governor.ACC] [a map/diagram.ACC the.GEN province.GEN
   his]
   'Caesar drew to every governor a map/diagram of his province'
b'. ?* O Kesaras sxeðiase [ena sxeðiagrama [kathe eparxias]$_i$] [ston ðiikiti tis$_i$]
   Caesar drew.3SG a diagram.ACC every province.GEN to+the governor.ACC his
   Caesar drew [a diagram of every province] [to its governor]

Tables 1 summarises the c-command relations of IO and DO found in SMG whereas Table 2 does the same for benefactives:

Table 1: *c-command relations in goal ditransitives (SMG)*

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

Table 2: *c-command relations in benefactives (SMG)*

	Benef>>DO	DO>>Benef
DPgen	✓	*
se 'to'-PP[3]	✓	*

3. Microvariation in Pontic dative constructions

The underlying order IO>>DO when both arguments are DPs does not hold across all Greek varieties, as will be discussed below. The standard pattern is (partially) replicated only in PG.

3.1. Recipients/Goals

In section 3.1.1 we discuss the Romeyka varieties (Of and Sürmene) whereas in 3.1.2 we discuss the PG variety.

3.1.1. Romeyka varieties of Pontus (Of and Sürmene)

- IO DPs are accusative and do not alternate with PPs:

(2) a. To peði eðotʃe fai ton aðelfo / *son aðelfo (RSür)
    the child gave-3SG food the brother.ACC / *to-the brother
    'The child gave food to the brother'
  b. To peði eðose fai ston aðelfo (SMG)
    the child gave-3SG food to+the brother
    'The child gave food to the brother'

- Both surface orders (IO-DO and DO-IO) are licit:

(3) a. To peði eðotʃe fai ton aðelfo / ton aðelfo fai (RSür)
     the kid gave.3S food the brother / the brother food
     'The kid gave food to the brother'
  b. Eɣo eðoka ton Mehmeti ena kitap / ena kitap ton Mehmeti (ROf)
     I gave.1S the Mehmet a letter (?) / a letter the Mehmet
     'I gave Mehmet a letter'

- PP-realisation is restricted to purely locative uses:

(4) Epije so kulin (ROf)
   went.3SG to-the school
   'He went to the school'

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

(i)   Weak Crossover Effects:

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[3] These benefactive PPs may optionally be introduced with the preposition *ja* 'for' in SMG. In this case the benefactive PPs seem to occupy an adjunct position c-commanding, but otherwise unable to bind the DO.

(5) a. Pion zon ekloses ton tʃopanonat? (RSür)
    which animal sent.2S the shepherd-its?
    'Which animal did you send to its shepherd?'

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

   (ii)   Superiority effects (Romeyka has multiple *wh*-fronting which always obeys superiority, cf. the subject-object asymmetry in (6)):

(6) a. Pion ospit tinan eðikses? (ROf)
    which house whom showed.2SG?
  b. *Tinan pion ospit eðikses? (ROf)
    Whom which house showed.2SG

(7) a. Pios tinan iðen? (ROf)
    who.NOM whom.ACC saw.3SG
    'Who saw whom ?'
  b. *Tinan pios iðen ? (ROf)
    whom.ACC who.NOM saw.3SG
    'Whom did who see ?'

   (iii)   Quantifier variable binding:

(8) ta ɣarðelæ xore xore eðiksa tʃi maɣlimis'atun (ROf)
   the children every every showed.1SG the teachers-their
   'I showed all the children, one by one, to their teachers (each child to its own teacher)'
   *'I showed every child his/her teacher'

Table 3 summarises the c-command relations of IO and DO found in Romeyka:

Table 3: *c-command relations in goal ditransitives (ROf, RSür)*

	IO>>DO	DO>>IO
DPacc	*	✓
se 'to'-PP	*	*

      This is quite an important finding, as it seems that underlying DO>>IO in the double DP construction is not non-existent or unique to German, for which the same diagnostics lead to the same conclusion (as in Müller 1995, 1999 and McGinnis 1999). In fact, the situation seems to be the same in some historical varieties of Greek, notably Medieval Cypriot Greek (for a discussion of Medieval Cypriot Greek double object constructions see Michelioudakis 2009). This constitutes a serious challenge for the validity of the cross-linguistic generalisation that IOs 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.

- Direct Passives: In passives, the theme Agrees with T and becomes nominative (and, possibly, moves to a subject-position), without the requirement that the dative argument cliticise (9a, 9b), contrary to SMG (9e) and PG (9c, 9d), which patterns with SMG in this respect. Therefore, the IO DP in these constructions does

not cause any minimality effect in the relation between T and the theme, either because (i) it is not an active goal, i.e. it does not have any uninterpretable (Case) feature, or (ii) because it simply does not intervene structurally, by being lower than DO, as we argued above, or actually because of both (i) and (ii), as we will argue in section 4.

(9) a. I para tin Aiʃe eðoste (RSür)
  the money.NOM the Ayshe.ACC was-given.3S
  'The money was given (to) Ayshe'
 b. To harti eɣrafte tin Aiʃe (RSür)
  the letter.NOM was-written the Ayshe.ACC
  'The letter was written for (/sent to) Ayshe'

 On the contrary, in varieties with hierarchically high IOs (which probably also carry an active Case feature, see section 4), direct passives are impossible unless the IO undergoes clitic-movement:

 c. *Para eðothen tin Anastan (PG)
  money.NOM was-given.3SG the Anasta.ACC
  'The money was given (to) Anasta'
 d. ??Tin Anastan eɣraften-aten to graman (PG)
  the Anasta.ACC was-written-Cl.ACC.3SG.FEM the letter.NOM
 e. ta lefta ?*(tis) epistrafikan tis Marias (SMG)
  the money.NOM her.GEN were-given the.GEN Maria.GEN
  'The money was returned to Maria'

- Clitic clusters: Prima facie, it looks like Romeyka may have clitic clusters (10a-c).

(10) a. Eðiksen aton(a) (ROf)
  showed.3SG him
  '(S)he showed him'
 b. I Aiʃe eðotʃen aton ena pita (ROf)
  the Ayshe gave.3SG him a pie
  'Ayshe gave him a pie'
 c. Eðiksane-me aton(a) (RSür)
  showed.3PL me him
  'They showed him to me'

 However, a closer inspection reveals that in Romeyka, unlike PG, the 3SG personal pronoun /ato(n)(a)/ does not have clitic-like properties (10d-g):

 d. Eðotʃen-eme o Mehmet ato(n) (ROf)
  gave.3SG Cl.1SG.ACC the Mehmet.NOM him/it.ACC
  'Mehmet gave me this/it'
 e. Eðiksane to Mehmet atona (RSür)
  showed.3PL the Mehmet him
  '(?)They showed Mehmet to him'
 f. O Mehmeyis adona etʃino fanerose (RSür)
  the Mehmet.NOM him.ACC this.ACC showed.3SG
  'Mehmet showed this to him'
 g. Eðotʃen eme o Mehmet aton (ROf)
  gave.3SG me the Mehmet.NOM him/it

'Mehmet gave him/it to me'

Also, interestingly, the corresponding clitic /æ/ cannot combine with any other clitic in any person (11):

(11) a. O Mehmetis emenan eðotʃen-æ (ROf)
        the Mehmet.NOM me.ACC gave.3SG-Cl.3SG.ACC
     'Mehmet gave it to me'
   b. *O Mehmetis eðotʃe-m(e)-æ (unattested in ROf, OK in PG)
        the Mehmet gave.3SG-Cl.1SG.ACC-Cl.3SG.ACC
     'Mehmet gave it to me'

- Person-Case effects (restrictions on the person specification of DO in the presence of a dative, see Bonet 1991):

(12) a. Eðiksane me/emenan atona (RSür)
        showed.3PL Cl.1SG.ACC/me.ACC him.ACC
   b. Eðiksan(e) æ /aton(a) emenan (RSur/ROf)
        showed.3PL Cl.3SG.ACC/him.ACC me.ACC
     'They showed him to me / *They showed me to him'

(13) a. Eðiksane-m' ese / *eðiksane-s' eme (RSür)
        showed.3PL-Cl.1SG.ACC you.ACC / showed.3PL-Cl.2SG me.ACC
   b. Atos esena emen eðikse (ROf)
        He you.ACC me.ACC showed.3SG

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 (12), are subject to the PCC, though a weaker version of it: the sequences of a 1st person clitic and a 2nd person pronoun (cf. 13) are acceptable for most of the speakers, and surprisingly the same pattern (as in 13a-13b) is attested in some Pontic varieties of Northern Greece (Chatzikyriakidis, 2010). Recall that SMG has the strong version of the PCC (13c). It is an open question if the examples in (13) (the grammatical ones) can mean both 'they showed you to me' and 'they showed me to you'.

   c. *Mu se eðiksan
        Cl.1SG.GEN Cl.2SG.ACC showed.3PL
     'They showed you to me'

It is worth noting that the equivalent of (12b) in SMG (12), with an IO-clitic and a strong pronominal 1st person DO, would be perfectly grammatical on the reading 'They showed *me* to him'; however, the use of the strong pronoun in this context is inherently emphatic (as e.g. in Italian, see Bianchi 2006), while in Romeyka this is the unmarked option (see Michelioudakis (to appear) for further details).

(14) Tu eðiksan *emena* (SMG)
     Cl.3SG.GEN.MASC showed.3PL me.ACC
     'They showed *me* to him'

3.1.2. Pontic varieties of Northern Greece (PG)
PG patterns with SMG with respect to the hierarchical/c-command relations between IO and DO (15-17) and the availability of direct passives (see 9c-9d above). Like Romeyka, PG employs morphological accusative DPs for indirect objects, but those also alternate

with PPs (16b, 17b) (*se*-PPs also appear in constructions with underlying IO>>DO, but when wh-fronted they can only be bare accusatives; it might be the case that *se* has become more of a Case marker, especially in the fusional determiner *son/sin/so* [*se+ ton/tin/to*]='to+the'. Also, PG arguably has clitic clusters, with an IO-DO order.

- To test for the hierarchical/c-command relations between IO and DO we employ Barss and Lasnik's (1986) diagnostics:

(i)   Superiority effects:

(15) a. Tinan pion ospit eðiksises? (PG)
       whom.ACC which house.ACC showed.2SG
   b. ?*Pion ospit tinan eðiksises?
      which house.ACC whom.ACC showed.2SG
      'Which house did you show to whom?'

(ii)   WCO:

(16) a. Tinan eðiksises t' ospitn-at? (PG)
       whom.ACC showed.2SG the house.ACC-his
       '(to) whom did you show his house?'
   b. Pion ospit eðiksises son kyrn-at / *ton kyrn-at?
      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:

(17) a. [Enan enan ta peðia]$_i$ eðiksan ton ðeskalon-at$_i$ (PG)
       one one the children.ACC showed.3PL the teacher.ACC-its
       'They showed every child (one by one) his/her teacher'
   b. [Enan enan ta peðia]$_i$ eðiksan-ato$_i$ son ðeskalon-at$_i$ / *ton ðeskalon-at$_i$
      one one the children showed.3PL-Cl.3S.ACC to-the teacher-its/the teacher-its
      'They showed every child to his/her teacher'

Table 4 summarises the c-command relations of IO and DO found in PG where we observe the same pattern as in SMG.

Table 4: *c-command relations in goal ditransitives (PG)*

	IO>>DO	DO>>IO
DPacc	✓	*
se 'to'-PP	✓	✓

3.2. Benefactives

As in the case of genuine (goal) ditransitives, both surface/linear orders (IO-DO and DO-IO) are attested in benefactives too in (almost) all varieties (18). Additionally, benefactives may alternate with PPs headed by *ðæ* 'for' (in ROf) or *ja* 'for' (RSür and PG), the use of which seems obligatory in direct passives (19). However, there is a dispreference for the DP$_{DO}$>DP$_{Benef}$ structure, especially when the beneficiary is not the potential/intended recipient –let us call them 'on behalf of/for someone's sake'-benefactives.

Although our data still do not give us conclusive indications, a first approximation about the c-command relations of benefactives would be to categorise them on the basis of two main factors: (i) The distinction mentioned above namely, between

'(potential/intended) recipient' benefactives and 'on behalf of'-benefactives. This distinction is relevant for ROf and PG, 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 they do not bind it), which is why the Quantifier Variable diagnostic is not applicable; 'recipient'-benefactives may either merge as adjuncts or in the low position (associated with goals/recipients) c-commanded by DO (20b, 20c), whereas 'on behalf of'-benefactives can only merge as adjuncts (21a); (ii) The availability of High Applicatives (Pylkkänen 2002): In RSür, all benefactives are being reanalyzed as high applicative arguments c-commanding DO and not vice-versa (20a, 21b). This may also entail some change in the character/content of its [Case] feature (see section 4), i.e. the emergence of a 'quirky' 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 (19b) as the impossibility of raising DO to T across the dative; direct passives are ruled out in ROf (19a) anyway, even when the dative is a genuine (low) IO, probably for independent reasons (there is a number of Greek varieties that avoid passivisation after all).
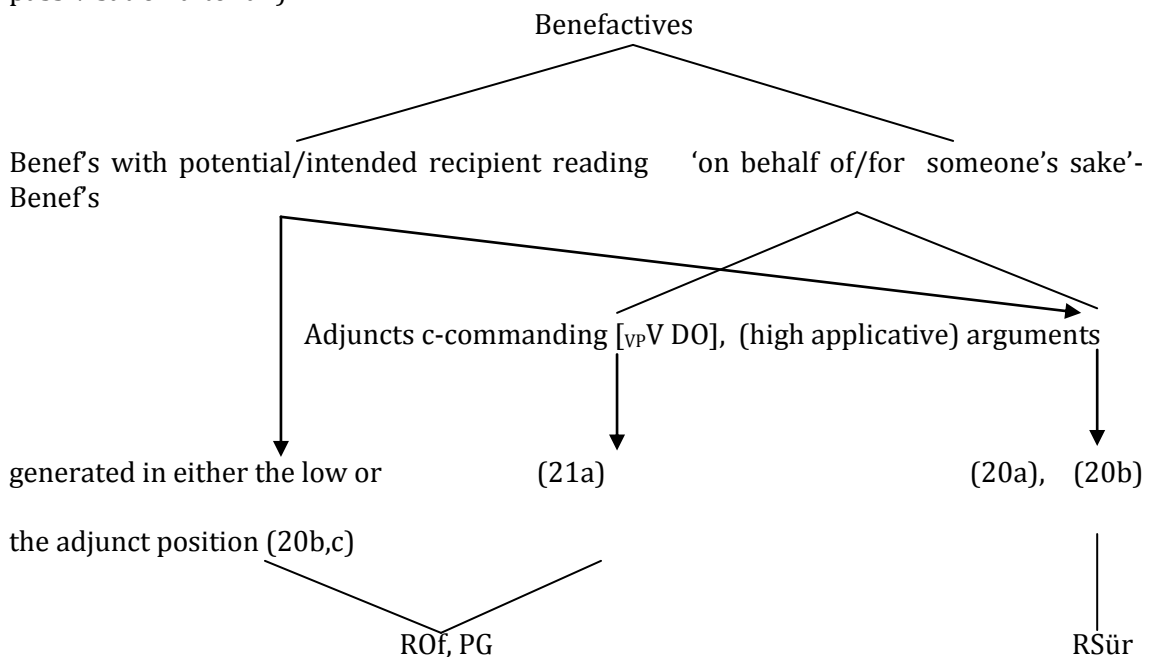
Benefactives

Benef's with potential/intended recipient reading   'on behalf of/for   someone's sake'-Benef's

Adjuncts c-commanding [_VP_V DO], (high applicative) arguments

generated in either the low or   (21a)   (20a),   (20b)

the adjunct position (20b,c)

ROf, PG   RSür

Figure 12: *Benefactives in different Pontic varieties*

(18) a. Ai∫e epit∫e to Mehmet pide / pide to Mehmet (RSür)
      Ayshe made.3SG the Mehmet.ACC pie.ACC / pie.ACC the Mehmet.ACC
      'Ayshe baked Mehmet a pie'
    b. I Ai∫e epit∫en aton enan pita / ?enan pita aton (ROf)
      the Ayshe.NOM made.3SG him.ACC a pie.ACC / a pie.ACC him.ACC
      'Ayshe baked him a pie'
    c. I Anasta epiken pitan ton Lefteri / ?ton Lefteri pitan (PG)
      The Anasta.NOM made.3S pie.ACC the Lefteris.ACC/the Lefteris.ACC pie.ACC
      'Anasta baked Lefteris a pie'
(19) a. i pita *(ðæ) ton mehmet epsethen (ROf)
       the pie.NOM for the Mehmet.ACC was-baked
       'the pie was baked for Mehmet'
     b. Avuto i pasta *(ja) to Mehmet epsethe. (RSür)
       this pie.NOM for the Mehmet.ACC was baked.3SG
       'This pie was baked for Mehmet'
     c. I pita emairefte son Lefteri (PG)

this pie.NOM was-cooked.3SG to-the Mehmet.ACC
'This pie was baked for Lefteris'

(20) a. (Ja) tinan d' epitʃe? / *Do tinan epitʃen? (RSür)
    whom.ACC what.ACC made.3SG / What.ACC whom.ACC made.3SG
  b. Tinan tohna epitʃen? / tohna tinan epitʃen? (ROf)
    whom.ACC what.ACC made.3SG / what.ACC. whom.ACC made.3SG
  c. Tinan ti epiken? / Ti tinan epiken? (PG)
    whom.ACC what.ACC made.3SG / What.ACC whom.ACC made.3SG
   'What did she make for whom?'
(21) a. Tinan tʃopan$_i$ efaises to zon-at$_i$? / ?Pion zon efaises ton tʃopanin-at? (PG/ROf)
    Which shepherd fed.2SG his animal/which animal fed.3SG his shepherd.ACC
  b. (Ja) tina tʃopano ta provatat efaises? / *Pio provat efaises ton tʃopan-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/their shepherd?'

(22) a. *O Mehmet etreksen / jelase tin Aiʃe (ROf, PG)
    the Mehmet ran.3SG / smiled.3SG the Ayshe.ACC
    'Mehmet ran for Ayshe / smiled for/at Ayshe'
  b. O Janis ?*(tis) etrekse / ?*(tis) hamojelase tis Marias (SMG)
    the John Cl.GEN.3SG.F ran.3SG/Cl.GEN.3SG.F smiled.3SG the Mary.GEN
    John ran for Mary / smiled for/at Mary
  c. O Mehmetis sin Aiʃe / *tin Aiʃe merea etrehse (RSür)
    the Mehmet.NOM to-the Ayshe.ACC / the Ayshe.ACC merea??? Ran.3SG
    'Mehmet ran to / *for Ayshe'
  d. O Mehmetis tin Aiʃe examojelase (RSür)
    the Mehmet.NOM the Ayshe.ACC smiled
    'Mehmet smiled for/at Ayshe'

Table 5 summarises the c-command relations of Beneneficiary and DO found in all varieties of Pontic:

Table 5: *c-command relations in benefactives (all varieties of Pontic)*

	Benef>>DO	DO>>Benef
DPacc	✓ (in all varieties, esp. with non-recipients)	* (RSur), ?/%✓ (ROf, PG)
se 'to'-PP	* (RSur, ROf), ✓ (PG)	* (RSur, Rof), no PG data
ja/ðæ 'for'-PP	✓ (RSur, ROf)	✓ (RSur, ROf, only with potential recipients)

3.3. Unaccusative with datives/experiencers

The use of Class III (*piacere*-type) psych-predicates is rather limited in Pontic, especially in the Romeyka varieties. To the extent that they are used, at least in PG and ROf, they most probably involve the same thematic hierarchy as their equivalents in SMG, Italian etc. (for instance, they allow for backward binding of the nominative theme by the dative experiencer (23)).

- Class III experiencers allow backward binding:

(23) O eaftonats ki ares sin Aiʃe (PG)
    The self-her.NOM not appeal to-the Ayshe

'Ayshe does not like herself'

However, in Romeyka, as the example (24) from ROf indicates, T-Agree with the theme across the experiencer DP is unproblematic, without any blocking effects or the requirement that the experiencer cliticise (as in SMG). Also, again unlike SMG, which allows PP- and DP-experiencers of such predicates to have subject-like behaviour, quirky experiencer subjects are clearly not possible in Romeyka (see 25 from ROf).

- Class III experiencers do not cause intervention effects (in theme raising) in Romeyka:

(24) a. I patshi to Hosni aresi (ROf)
       the girl the Hosni appeals-to.3S
       'The girl appeals to Hosni'
     b. I musiki ?*(tu) aresi tu Jani (SMG)
       the music Cl.GEN.3SG.MASC appeal.3SG the John.GEN
       'John likes music'

- 'Dative' experiencers do not exhibit subject-like behaviour in Romeyka, unlike SMG:

(25) O Abdulah$_i$ tin Aiʃen eghapenen (/*Ton Abdulah$_i$ i Aiʃe aresen), (ROf)
       ama pro$_i$ tin Eminen epiren The Abdulah.NOM the Ayshe.ACC loved.3SG /
       the Abdulah.ACC the Ayshe.NOM appealed-to.3SG, but pro the Emine.ACC married.3SG
     'Abdulah liked Ayshe, but he married Emine'

cf. SMG, in which dative experiencers can be co-ordinated with nominative null subjects (the diagnostic in (26) is copied from Anagnostopoulou (1999), and the ungrammaticality of the co-indexed *aftos* 'he', which is a demonstrative pronoun and causes a Principle C violation, suggests that the dative is in an A-position):

(26) O Janis$_i$ aghapuse tin Eleni (/Tu Jani$_i$ *(tu$_i$) arese i Eleni), ala pro$_i$ / (SMG)
      *aftos$_i$ pandreftike ti Maria
       the John.NOM loved.3SG the Helen.ACC (the John.GEN Cl.GEN.3SG.MASC appealed-
       to.3SG the Helen.NOM) but pro married the Mary.ACC
       'John loved/liked Helen, but he married Mary'

It is striking that PG is attrited by SMG to such an extent that it has lost morphologically accusative Class III experiencers (27); instead, it has genitive and PP 'dative' experiencers just like SMG does.

(27) Ti Abdulah aresen i Aiʃe ebron aso (/atos) na inekiz me tin Emine (PG)
       the.GEN Abdulah appealed.3SG the.NOM Ayshe.NOM before na married.3SG with
       the.ACC Emine
       'Abdulah liked Ayshe before he married Emine'

(28) Ti Mexhmet ke ti Aiʃes aresi o enas (s)ton alon (PG)
       the Mehmet.GEN and the Ayshe.GEN appeal-to.3PL the one (to-)the other
       'Mehmet and Ayshe like each other'

Interestingly, despite the morphological influence, unlike SMG, there is no blocking effect by the genitive experiencer and no need for cliticisation in the PG examples.

- Romeyka allows (morphologically accusative) goal DPs with motion unaccusative predicates, and again no intervention effects arise in T's Agree with the theme.

(29) To xarti to Meme epiğe (RSür)
   the paper.NOM the Mehmet.ACC went.3SG
   'The letter came/arrived/went (to) Mehmet'

3.4. A comparative table of the findings in all three varieties

Table 6 summarises all our findings so far including information about ethic datives and *wh*-fronting which although not treated here there seem to correlate with the properties discussed in this paper.

Table 6: *Comparative findings across Pontic*

Property		RSür	ROf	Of attrited (Turkish influence)	Of attrited (Greek influence)	PG
DO_acc-IO_acc (surface order)		Yes	yes	yes (V-final)	no *(PP)	%
IO_acc-DO_acc (surface order)		Yes	yes	yes (V-final)	no *(PP)	Yes
Locative PPs		Yes	yes	yes	Yes	Yes
Argumental PPs		No	no	no	Yes	Yes
Direct Passives		Yes	no	no	no (only benefactive PPs)	No
Indirect Passives		??	No	no	No	??
Benefactive PPs	*son*	No	no	no	Yes	yes
	Other (*ja, ðæ*)	Yes	yes	yes	No	??
Benefactive Acc		Yes	yes	yes	No	Yes
Benefactive_acc –DO		Yes	yes	yes (V-final)	Yes	(?*(P)DP)
DO-Benefactive_acc		Yes	no	no *(PP)	no *(PP)	no *(PP)
Ethical Dative		No	no	no	Yes	%
Barss & Lasnik's tests (suggesting DO>>IO_acc)		Yes	yes			only with PP-IOs
Barss & Lasnik's tests (suggesting IO_acc>>DO)		No	no			Yes
Barss & Lasnik's tests (suggesting DO>>Benef_acc)		No	yes			No
Barss & Lasnik's tests (suggesting IO>>Benef_acc)		Yes	yes			Yes
CD with DO		yes (limited)	no	no	No	yes (limited)
CD with IO		No	no	no	No	yes (limited)
Clitic clusters		No	no	no	No	yes(?)
multiple wh-fronting		Yes	yes	yes	Yes	Yes
PCC		weak	weak	no(?)	Weak	yes/weak

Experiencers (non-obl. Cl.)	?	acc	acc	?	Gen

4. Concluding remarks

The syntactic behaviour and distribution of IOs and experiencers in ROf and RSür (and also, surprisingly, experiencers in PG) point towards the hypothesis that abstract 'dative' in these cases is a completely interpretable (hence, inactive for Agree purposes) inherent Case feature. This leads us to postulating the typology in Table 7:

Table 7: *m-Case and the structural vs. inherent distinction (all varieties of Pontic)*

+/-Quirky mCase	Quirky	Non-quirky
mACC	PG	ROf, RSür
mGEN	SMG	? (MedCG)

Apart from the lack of any intervention effects, quirky subjects etc. with datives in these varieties, the assumption about a fully interpretable, non-quirky Case feature is also made necessary by the fact that only such a feature would survive in the low IO position in the [$_{v*P}$ EA v-V [$_{VP}$ DO <V> IO]] structure that we posit for ditransitives in Romeyka; otherwise, it could not Agree with a phi-probe and get deleted because of the intervention of the DO by virtue of being in a higher position.

In PG, as in SMG, ditransitives (and 'recipient' benefactives), which allow for dative shift, probably involve a more articulate structure (essentially in the spirit of Larson 1988), such as [$_{v*P}$ EA v* [$_{ApplP}$ IO Appl [$_{v2P}$ v$_2$ [DO V <IO>]]]], which includes 2 phi-probes, and which may be a necessary condition for clitic doubling. Dative arguments in such constructions probably involve a quirky inherent Case feature, partially unvalued/uninterpretable, which renders the 'dative' active for Agree/Move. This Case feature, by having an uninterpretable/'structural' part, forces them to occupy (by internal Merge) the edge of an applicative head, where they can Agree with some phi-probe, either v* (in ditransitives), or T when datives with the same feature appear in passives/unaccusatives (see SMG Class III experiencers, which cause intervention effects in T-Agree and have optional subject-like behaviour).

Moreover, pure inherent Case (iCase) causes no minimality effects (phi-probes look for [uCase] in constructions such as raising and unaccusatives), whilst (even partially) uninterpretable Case features (quirky Case) do not. Valuation of quirky Case takes place prior to T's (further) probing, so this is an instance of defective intervention (Chomsky 2001); (obligatory) dative clitic-movement (in SMG) obviates this defective intervention effect, since the new head of the dative's chain, i.e. the clitic, is outside T's Agree domain. An interesting case of micro-variation in this respect is that in SMG, as said above, Class III experiencers have quirky properties (e.g., intervention effects in T-Agree, optional subject-like behaviour), but these are entirely absent from PG, which may mean that quirky inherent Case in SMG spread from goal/benefactive arguments to experiencers, a change which may have not yet taken place in PG. 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.

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