

Greek datives: Dependent Case Theory, Late Insertion and Free Variation

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In this presentation, I discuss properties of Greek datives and I show that true datives can take three different forms (1): (a) *se*-PPs, (b) genitive DPs and (c) genitive clitics. I explore the functions and the distribution of these three forms and I show that they are in fact in free variation; the three forms of the dative argument can freely alternate with each other when the DP is animate (see also Michelioudakis 2012).

- (1) a. $\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron$ to vivlio **s-ton jani**
give.1s the book to-the John
- b. $\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron$ **tu jani** to vivlio
give.1s the John_{GEN} the book
- c. **tu** $\delta\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron$ to vivlio
him_{GEN} give.1 the book

I present an account of this pattern based on Dependent Case Theory (McFadden 2004, Baker 2015) and I show that dative in Greek is a hybrid case, involving both inherent (lexically-governed) case assignment, as well as unmarked case assignment (see also Kotopoulos 2023). I develop an account that can accommodate this type of case assignment within the DCT without violating the main principle of DCT that only one morphological case can be assigned to a DP.

I also provide an account of the free variation pattern attested in Greek datives, based on Late Insertion and the Subset Principle. I show that the Subset Principle (Halle 1997) can give rise to constrained free variation of the type exhibited in (1), as long as we minimally manipulate the number of features on the syntactic node, as well as on the lexical item to be inserted in such a node.