THE SYNTAX OF GOALS AND BENEFICIARIES IN STANDARD MODERN GREEK

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1 Introduction

In this paper, we investigate the syntax of Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and English goal and benefactive ditransitive constructions. SMG poses an interesting challenge to the view that there is a fixed universal structure underlying all ditransitive constructions. We show that English and SMG share the same underlying system of categories and hierarchical relations.

1.1 Goals and Beneficiaries in SMG

SMG possesses a variety of ditransitive constructions, in which indirect objects are realized as PPs or DPs with morphological accusative or genitive case. Following, we describe the SMG goal and benefactive ditransitive constructions.

1.1.1 Goal Ditransitives

A. Distribution of Goals

Tzartzanos (1989), Holton et al. (1997) among others distinguish three variants of the goal ditransitive construction in SMG:

1. Genitive Construction: V GEN1_GOAL ACC THEME

(1) ç çrEstis E çsE çrEma
tç          fçrEma
‘Orestis gave Anastasia the dress’

2. Se-PP Construction: V ACC THEME se²-PP_GOAL

(2) ç çrEstis E çsE çrEma
tç          fçrEma
The.NOM Orestis.NOM gave.3SG the.ACC dress.ACC
in to-the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
‘Orestis gave the dress to Anastasia’

1 SMG has lost the morphological distinction between genitive and dative case and has generalized the use of genitive.
2 se obligatorily incorporates an immediately following definite article (e.g. se + to > stø). se is also used as a locative (locational and directional preposition), e.g.
(a) ç çrEstis pijE sti rømi
The.NOM Orestis.NOM went.3SG to-the.ACC Rome.ACC
‘Orestis went to Rome’
(b) ç çrEstis meni sti rømi
The.NOM Orestis.NOM lives.3SG in-the.ACC Rome.ACC
‘Orestis lives in Rome’
3. **Double Accusative Construction**: V ACCGOAL ACCTHEME

(3) ο ερέστις διδάσκει τιν άναστασία αγλίκα
The.NOM Orestis.NOM teaches.3SG the.ACC Anastasia.ACC English.ACC
‘Orestis teaches Anastasia English’

**B. Properties of Genitive Goals and the Dative Alternation**

The term *dative alternation* is used in the literature for English and other languages to express the alternation with respect to the categorial status of the indirect object, i.e. whether it is a PP or a DP. *Dative argument* refers to indirect objects (goals, beneficiaries, experiencers, possessors etc.) regardless of case or categorial status.

It is claimed (Anagnostopoulou 2003 among others) that the alternation between a *se*-PP and a DP\textsubscript{GEN} in SMG is similar to the *dative shift* alternation in English. The similarities between English and SMG as presented in the literature are summarized below.

1. **Sensitivity to animacy.** The goal argument must be animate\(^4\), i.e. it must be a recipient, e.g.

(4) a. i anastasia εστίλε ενα νιβλίο στι
The.NOM Anastasia.NOM sent.3SG a.ACC book.ACC to-the.ACC
nea τοrci
New.ACC York.ACC
‘Anastasia sent a book to New York’

b. *i anastasia εστίλε ενα νιβλίο τις
The.NOM Anastasia.NOM sent.3SG a.ACC book.ACC the.GEN
nea τοrcis
New.GEN York.GEN
*‘Anastasia sent New York a book’

2. **Sensitivity to the semantic properties of the selecting predicates.** In particular, the central meaning is argued to involve transfer of possession between a volitional agent and a willing recipient (Den Dikken 1995, Goldberg 1995 among others). There are verb classes in SMG that do not permit the double object construction, similarly to English\(^5\). *se*-PPs, on the other

\(^3\) Verbs selecting for a single DP complement assign accusative case in SMG. Yet, there are certain verbs, such as *milaç* ‘talk’, *aniks* ‘belong’, *finome* ‘seem’, which assign genitive, but their complement can be either a DP or a PP; e.g. 

(3) ο ερέστις μιλίσε [τις αναστασίας / στιν αναστασία]
The.NOM Orestis.NOM talked.3SG the.GEN Anastasia.ACC / to-the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
‘Orestis talked to Anastasia’

Moreover, some verbs take only genitive, which cannot be replaced by a PP (e.g. *epimēlume* ‘take care of’, *iperiśtis* ‘prevail over’).

\(^4\) Den Dikken (1995) shows that in English double-object constructions do not necessarily demand animate goals. To support his claim, he quotes the following examples from Tremblay (1991):

(i) The revolution gave Romania a new government.
(ii) The revolution gave Mary a new status.
(iii) *The revolution gave Mary a new government.*

Example (iii) is deviant, because there can be no relationship of possession between Mary and a new government. However, the revolution gave a new government to Mary is deviant too. The reason why (i) is fine is that Romania is a personified indirect object. Moreover, example (iii) is fine, if Mary is replaced for instance by the people, or if we imagine a context where Mary represents the people of Romania. It’s worth noticing that (i) cannot be reproduced in SMG. It seems that SMG is more stringent than English with respect to animacy.

\(^5\) However, citing Bresnan & Nikitina (2003), den Dikken (2005) points out that sensitivity to the semantic properties of the selecting verb doesn’t appear to be a particularly stable property of English double object constructions.
hand, are less restricted, similarly to to-PPs in English (see Anagnostopoulou (2003) for a discussion on predicate restrictions in English and SMG).

(5) Verbs of ‘communication of propositions’
   a. parapempsa tōn oreste stin anastasia
      Referred.1sg the.ACC Orestis.ACC to-the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
      ‘I referred Orestis to Anastasia’
   b. *parapempsa tis anastasias tōn oreste
      Referred.1SG the.GEN Anastasias.GEN the.ACC Orestis.ACC

3. Nominalizations with the genitive construction are ruled out (see example 6a), while nominalizations with goal PPs are licit (see example 6b) (Alexiadou 2001, Anagnostopoulou 2003). As discussed in Pesetsky (1995), and Marantz (1997) among others, a similar contrast is observed in English, i.e. nominalizations with a dative goal are infelicitous, while nominalizations with a to-PP goal are well-formed6.

(6) a. *i anaθesi mias efkɔlis ascisis
   The.NOM assignment.NOM an.GEN easy.GEN exercise.GEN
tō oreste apo tīn anastasia
   the.GEN Oresti.GEN by the.ACC Anastasia
   *The assignment of an easy exercise of Orestis (i.e. to Orestis) by Anastasia'
   b. i anaθesi mias efkɔlis ascisis
   The.NOM assignment.NOM an.GEN easy.GEN exercise.GEN
tōn oreste apo tīn anastasia
to-the.ACC Oresti.ACC by the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
   ‘The assignment of an easy exercise to Orestis by Anastasia’

4. Passivization of ditransitive predicates with a genitive goal is ungrammatical in SMG (Markantonatou, 1994). Similarly, English doesn’t allow the so-called direct or tertiary passives7. In contrast to genitive goals, PP goals may freely occur in passive.

(7) a. *tō fɔrema δoθice tīs anastasias apo
   The.NOM dress.NOM was-given.3SG the.GEN Anastasia.GEN by
tōn oreste
   the.ACC Oresti.ACC
   *‘The dress was given Anastasia by Orestis’
   b. tō fɔrema δoθice stīn anastasia apo
   The.NOM dress.NOM was-given.3SG to-the.ACC Anastasia.ACC by
tōn oreste
   the.ACC Oresti.ACC
   ‘The dress was given to Anastasia by Orestis’

Now, SMG differs from English in the following:

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6 Anagnostopoulou (2003) notes that English nominalizations are transitive, while the SMG ones seem to be passive nominalizations. Alexiadou (2001) argues that SMG lacks transitive nominalizations.

7 Direct passives are commonly cited in traditional descriptions of British English. Although there is clear evidence that direct passives exist in American English, and were analyzed in Fillmore (1965) among others, Postal (2004) points out that many linguistic works of the last twenty years deny the existence of American English direct passives. In this paper, we provide an explanation for the ungrammaticality of direct passive sentences. However, direct passives do not pose any problems to our system. They can be accounted for in a straight-forward way.
1. **Goal Passivization.** In SMG, unlike English, the indirect object in genitive cannot be nominativized in passive.

(8) *ι anastasia δοθείε το φόρεμα
The.NOM Anastasia.NOM was-given.3SG the.ACC dress.ACC
‘Anastasia was given the dress’

2. **Cliticization & Clitic Doubling.** SMG has clitic doubling of indirect (and direct) object DPs, and in this respect it differs from English. In particular, when the goal is expressed as a definite genitive DP, it can be doubled by a pronominal clitic. The clitic and the DP match in features. When the genitive construction is allowed, simple cliticization is possible too.

(9) ο ορέστις τις εδόσε (tis anastasias)
The.NOM Orestis.NOM her.ACC gave.3SG the.GEN Anastasia.GEN to φορέμα
the.ACC dress.ACC
‘Orestis gave Anastasia the dress’

When the goal is realized as a PP, clitic doubling is illicit.

(10) * ο ορέστις τις εδόσε στιν
The.NOM Orestis.NOM her.GEN gave.3SG to the.ACC anastasia to φορέμα
Anastasia.ACC the.ACC dress.ACC
‘Orestis gave the dress to Anastasia’

A complication that arises is that unlike genitive DPs, clitic-doubled and cliticized genitives are freely licensed in passives (Markantonatou, 1994), e.g.

(11) το φόρεμα *(tis) δοθείε (tis anastasias)
The.NOM dress.NOM her.GEN was-given.3SG the.GEN Anastasia.GEN

So, in contexts in which genitive DPs are licit (i.e. when the goal is animate and the verbal predicate indicates change of possession), cliticization and clitic doubling are optional. In contexts in which full genitive DPs are not allowed (passive), cliticization or clitic doubling is obligatory.

**C. Properties of Accusative Goals**

With a specific class of verbs, such as διδάσκω ‘teach’, σερβίρω ‘serve’, πληρώω ‘pay’, both the goal and the theme may be expressed with morphological accusative case. These verbs also appear in the genitive and se-PP construction.

(12)

a. **Genitive Construction**

ο ορέστις διδασκι τις anastasias αγλίκα
The.NOM Orestis.NOM teaches.3SG the.GEN Anastasia.GEN English.ACC

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8 In SMG, clitic doubled prepositional objects are not allowed. According to Anagnostopoulou (2001, 2003), other cases, where clitic doubling is not allowed are the following:
1. With definite themes in active double accusatives when the goal is not implicit.
2. With definite genitive DPs which are arguments of a restricted class of single-complement verbs (e.g. *epimeλume* ‘take care of’).
‘Orestis teaches Anastasia English’

b. se-PP Construction

Orestis δίδασκει την Αναστασία Αγλικά
The.NOM Orestis.NOM teaches.3SG the.ACC Anastasia.ACC English.ACC
‘Orestis teaches English to Anastasia’

c. Double Accusative Construction

Orestis δίδασκει την Αναστασία Αγλικά
The.NOM Orestis.NOM teaches.3SG the.ACC Anastasia.ACC English.ACC
‘Orestis teaches Anastasia English’

Adjectival passives with goal externalization are possible for verbs, which take the double accusative construction (Anagnostopoulou, 2001). However, this is not the case with the rest of goal ditransitive verbs.

(13) a. πληρώνεις [σπάττα / ιπαλίλας]

The.NOM paid.NOM bill.NOM / employee.NOM
‘The paid bill / employee’

b. το νικάσμενο σπίτι / *το νικάσμενο

The.NOM rented.NOM house.NOM / the.NOM rented.NOM Orestis
Orestis.NOM
‘The rented house / *Orestis’

Unlike the majority of goal ditransitive verbs, which nominalize only themes, double accusative verbs are allowed to nominalize either the goal or the theme.

(14) a. διδάσκαλια [τον Αγλικόν / τον]

The.NOM teaching.NOM the.GEN English.GEN / the.GEN Orestis
Orestis.GEN
‘The teaching of English / Orestis (i.e. to Orestis)’

b. το νικάσμα το σπίτι / *το

The.NOM renting.NOM the.GEN house.GEN / the.GEN Orestis
Orestis.GEN
‘The renting of the house / *Orestis (i.e. to Orestis)

Cliticization or clitic doubling of a definite theme\textsuperscript{9} is ungrammatical only in active double accusative constructions (Anagnostopoulou 2001), when the goal is not implicit\textsuperscript{10}.

(15) a. *ο Οrestis τον δίδακε (τον)

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\textsuperscript{9} Cliticization and clitic doubling of the goal in the double accusative construction is fine, e.g.

Orestis την δίδακε (την Αναστασία) τον κανόνα
The.NOM Orestis.NOM her.ACC taught.3SG the.ACC Anastasia.ACC the.ACC rule.ACC
‘Orestis taught Anastasia the rule’

\textsuperscript{10} When the goal is implicit, cliticization and clitic doubling of the theme are grammatical, e.g.

Orestis τον δίδακε (τον κανόνα)
The.NOM Orestis.NOM him.ACC taught.3SG the.ACC rule.ACC
‘Orestis taught the rule’
The NOM Orestis NOM him\textsuperscript{11} ACC taught 3SG the ACC kanon\textsuperscript{a} ta\textasciitilde n anastasia rule ACC the ACC Anastasia ACC ‘Orestis taught Anastasia the rule’
b. i anastasia ton didaxtice ton
The NOM Anastasia NOM him ACC was taught 3SG the ACC kanon\textsuperscript{a} apo ton oresti rule ACC by the ACC Orestis ACC ‘Anastasia was taught the rule by Orestis’

Passivization of the goal is possible in double accusative constructions, while passivization of the theme is not (cliticization and clitic doubling do not rescue passivization of the theme).

(16) a. o orestis didascte aglika
The NOM Orestis NOM is taught 3SG English ACC ‘Orestis is taught English’
b. * aglika didaskode ton oresti
English NOM are taught 3PL the ACC Orestis ACC ‘English is taught to Orestis’
c. * aglika ton didaskode (ton oresti)
English NOM him ACC are taught 3PL the ACC Orestis ACC

1.1.2 Benefactive Ditransitives

Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) distinguishes three variants of the benefactive construction in SMG, two prepositional ones and a non-prepositional.

1. Genitive Construction: V GEN\textsubscript{BEN} ACC THEME

(17) o orestis majirepse tis anastasias
The NOM Orestis NOM cooked 3SG the GEN Anastasia GEN rizotto ACC
‘Orestis cooked Anastasia risotto’

2. se-PP Construction: V ACC THEME se-PP\textsubscript{BEN}

(18) o orestis majirepse rizotto stin
The NOM Orestis NOM cooked 3SG risotto ACC to-the ACC anastasia Anastasia ACC
‘Orestis cooked risotto for Anastasia’

3. ja-PP Construction: V ACC THEME ja-PP\textsubscript{BEN}

(19) o orestis majirepse rizotto ja tin
The NOM Orestis NOM cooked 3SG risotto ACC for the ACC anastasia Anastasia ACC
‘Orestis cooked risotto for Anastasia’

\textsuperscript{11} The noun kanonas ‘rule’ is masculine in SMG.
The benefactive alternation resembles the dative alternation and is often subsumed under it. The benefactive alternation (double object frame, se-PP frame and ja-PP frame) is found in SMG mostly with verbs of creation, such as ftjaxtE ‘make’, majiře ‘cook’, and verbs of obtaining, such as kalo ‘call’, aγrazo ‘buy’. Similar predicate restrictions are observed in English (Levin, 1993 among others). Yet, there are predicates, which allow only the ja-PP frame, such as dαnizome ‘borrow’. According to Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005), the preposition ja ‘for’ can add a benefactive argument to all kinds of different predicates, while se-PP constructions and genitive constructions have a restricted distribution.

Moreover, Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) claims that ja-PPs are licit in passive constructions, while genitive DPs are ungrammatical and se-PPs are ill-formed.

(20) a. ç kafE s ftjaxtE c ja ton òresti
   The.NOM coffee.NOM was-made.3SG for the.ACC Orestis.ACC
   ‘The coffee was made for Orestis’

   b. ?*ç kafE s ftjaxtE c ston
       The.NOM coffee.NOM was-made.3SG to-the.ACC
       Orestis.ACC
       ‘The coffee was made to Orestis’

   c. *ç kafE s ftjaxtE c tu òresti
       The.NOM coffee.Nom was-made.3SG the.GEN Orestis.GEN
       ‘The coffee was made Orestis’

In contrast to theme passivization in goal ditransitives, Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) observes that theme passivization in the presence of a genitive DP is not rescued by clitic doubling or cliticization in the case of benefactive ditransitives (compare to theme passivization in the presence of an accusative DP_\text{GOAL} in double accusative constructions).

(21) a. *ç kafE s tu ftjaxtE c tu
       The.NOM coffee.NOM him.GEN was-made.3SG the.GEN
       Orestis.GEN by the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
       ‘The coffee was made Nikos (by Anastasia)’

   b. *ç kafE s tu ftjaxtE c (apç	in	anastasia)
       The.NOM coffee.NOM him.GEN was-made.3SG by
       the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
       ‘The coffee was made him (by Anastasia)’

If a beneficiary and a recipient appear in the same sentence, only the recipient can get cliticized.

(22) a. çò òrestis eftjaksE kafe stin
       The.NOM Orestis.NOM made.3SG coffee.ACC to-the.ACC
       Anastasia.ACC ja ti mana tu
       Anastasia.ACC for the.ACC mother.ACC his
       ‘Orestis made coffee to Anastasia for Peter’

   b. ?ç òrestis tis eftjaksE kafe ja
       The.NOM Orestis.NOM her.GEN made.3SG coffee.ACC for
       ti mana tu
       the.ACC mother.ACC his

\footnote{12 Both (22a) and (22b) are better with ja xari tis manas tu ‘for his mother sake’ instead of ja ti mana tu.}
‘Orestis made her coffee for Peter’

(23) *ο ὀρέστις τὴν ἀναστασίαν ἐφτάσκε φαφε
The.NOM Orestis.NOM her.GEN made.3SG coffee.ACC

Nominalizations with ja-beneficiaries are licit, while nominalizations with se- and genitive
beneficiaries are ungrammatical.

(24) η αγορά τη ρατσίτου ἁ την
The.NOM purchase.NOM the.GEN car.GEN for the.ACC

Anastasia.ACC
‘The purchase of the car for Anastasia’

(25) *η αγορά τη ρατσίτου την
The.NOM purchase.NOM the.GEN car.GEN the.GEN

Anastasia.GEN

(26) *η αγορά τη ρατσίτου την
The.NOM purchase.NOM the.GEN car.GEN to-the.ACC

Anastasia.ACC

Based on Kayne (1975), Anagnostopoulou (2005) claims that there is an interpretation
difference between se-PPs and genitive DPs on the one hand and ja-PPs on the other hand.
Genitive DPs and se-PPs can only be understood as intended recipients, while ja-PPs are
interpreted similarly to English for-PPs. She points out that the same difference is observed also
in English. It’s worth noticing, though, that not all native speakers of SMG and English agree
with these facts.

Lastly, the genitive DP and the se-PP can only be understood as the intended recipient, while
the ja-PP has a wider range of roles (it can also mean ‘instead of’). Fellbaum (2004), and Beck &
Johnson (2004) make the same observation for English.

1.1.3 Outlook

The following sections outline our analysis of the syntax of goal and ditransitive constructions in
SMG and English. Section 2 introduces the theoretical framework (Bowers, 2005), applying it to
English ditransitive constructions. In section 3, we discuss previous accounts of the SMG data
ditransitives, and propose our analysis. In section 4, we summarize and conclude.

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13 Anagnostopoulou’s (2005) examples (27a) and (27b) repeated here as (a) and (b) respectively.
(a) αγοράζει την κούκλα τον γιατί τον γιατί
Buy.3SG toys.ACC the.GEN grandchild.GEN the.GEN grandchild.GEN his
(b) αγοράζει την κούκλα τον γιατί τον γιατί
Buy.3SG toys.ACC for the.GEN grandchild.ACC the.GEN grandchild.GEN his

According to Anagnostopoulou (2005), (a) is appropriate only when there is a direct connection between the
subject and the beneficiary, while for (b) there is no such restriction.

14 Anagnostopoulou’s (2005) examples (28a) and (28b) repeated here as (a) and (b) respectively.
(a) Τζοήν αγοράζει την κούκλα τον γιατί τον γιατί και τελικά τον γιατί τον γιατί τον γιατί
John bought his wife a kimono #but finally gave it to his mistress
(b) Τζοήν αγοράζει την κούκλα τον γιατί τον γιατί και τελικά τον γιατί τον γιατί τον γιατί
John bought a kimono for his wife, but finally gave it to his mistress

In (a) the beneficiary DP is the recipient of the theme, while in (b) the prepositional beneficiary is not.
2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Assumptions

1. All arguments are introduced in Spec of functional categories.

2. There are three primary arguments Ag(ent), Th(eme), Appl(icative) and a number of secondary arguments, two of which, Goal and Ben(efactive), will be relevant here.

3. Arguments merge with a predicate (verb, noun, etc.) or with the output of previous merge operations in an order determined by the Universal Order of Merge (UOM):

   \[(27) \quad \text{Agt} < \text{Ben} < \text{Goal} < \text{Th} < \text{Appl}\]

4. Arguments required by a given root are determined by \(a(rgument)-selection\) features (e.g. [Agt], [Th], etc.), which are checked and deleted when the root raises and adjoins to the head of the selected category. Functional categories and roots also have \(c\)-selection features of the standard sort, which are satisfied by merging a phrase of the required category in Spec of the a-selected category. A functional head may often have more than one \(c\)-selection feature. Agt, for example, may \(c\)-select either D (with structural Case) or the Preposition by.

5. Subject and object relations arise solely through the operation of Agree. Only two probes available in T and Voi(ce), which assign structural NOM and structural ACC, respectively. A probe is a set of uninterpretable \(\phi\)-features that are valued and deleted by establishing an Agree relation with a goal containing matching interpretable \(\phi\)-features and an uninterpretable structural Case feature, which is also valued and deleted by the Agree operation. In English, Voi and T also contain an uninterpretable \(c\)-selection feature (the so-called EPP or OCC feature), which can only be satisfied by merging an occurrence of some previously formed constituent in the specifier position. Following Chomsky (2000, 2001), Move = Agree + OCC is a composite operation in the sense that its OCC feature must be satisfied as soon as the Agree relation is established. However, we follow Collins (1997), Bowers (2002a), and others, in assuming that an OCC feature associated with Agree does not necessarily have to be satisfied by moving to its specifier the same constituent with which the probe establishes the Agree relation. Rather, the OCC feature of a head \(H\) is satisfied either by moving the closest constituent of the required category in the domain of \(H\) or by merging an expletive with \(H\).

6. A DP with an unvalued Case-feature is said to be “active”, while one whose structural Case-feature has been valued and deleted is “inactive.” An inactive DP is frozen in place and cannot enter into another Agree relation of the same type (Chomsky 2000). Nothing, however, prevents an inactive DP from entering into another type of agreement relation such as wh-Agree. Crucially, an inactive DP is no longer visible to another probe searching for a goal with matching \(\phi\)-features.

7. Agree is constrained by the standard locality condition (28) (Chomsky 2000):

   \[(28) \quad \text{Locality Condition (LC)}: \]
   
   Suppose \(P\) is a probe and \(G\) is goal. Then Agree holds between \(P\) and \(G\) just in case \(G\) is the closest set of features in the domain \(D(P)\) of \(P\) that match those of \(P\). The domain \(D(P)\) of \(P\) is the sister of \(D\), and \(G\) is closest to \(P\) if there is no \(G'\) matching \(P\) such that \(G\) is in \(D(G')\).

8. Generalizing the analysis of transitivity proposed in Bowers (2002a), we assume a universal category Voi(ce) with one of two values: active ([+act]) or passive ([−act]). In English, when Voi has the value [+act], it contains a probe that assigns structural accusative Case. When
Voi has the value [-act], it has no probe, though it does retain an OCC feature (Bowers 2002b).

2.2. Derivation of Actives and Passives in English

We illustrate the theory by deriving the active sentence *John threw the ball to Mary*.

(29)

By the LC, the probe in Voi must establish an Agree relation with the Th-DP *the ball*, the nearest potential goal with matching $\phi$-features. The Case feature of the Th-DP is valued ACC and it is immediately moved to [Spec, Voi] to satisfy the OCC feature of Voi. Since the Th-DP is now inactive, hence no longer a potential goal, nothing prevents the next probe in T from entering into an Agree relation with the nearest potential goal, the Agt-DP *John*. It is then assigned NOM Case and moves to [Spec, T] to satisfy the OCC feature of T. At the same time, of course, each time a new head is merged, the verb adjoins to it, ending up in Pr in English, but continuing on to T in SMG. In contrast, the passive sentence *the ball was thrown to Mary by John* is derived as shown in (30).

As was mentioned earlier, the category Agt in English may select either a DP with structural Case or a PP headed by *by* (in which case the Agt-DP *John* is assigned inherent Case by the preposition). If the latter option is chosen, then the derivation will necessarily crash unless there exists a possible continuation in which Voi contains no $\phi$-features, since otherwise there will be an extra probe whose $\phi$-features will have no way of getting valued. In English, such a continuation can be ensured by selecting the value [-act] for Voi. The latter is lexically realized in English by the past participial morpheme –*EN* and has no probe associated with it. Another language-specific property of English requires that if Voi has the value [-act], then Pr must be lexically realized as *be*. (This requirement does not hold in SMG. Hence the verb, after picking up the passive morpheme in Voi, moves to Pr and from there to T.)

Since the only active DP is the Th-phrase *the ball*, it moves to [Spec, Voi] to satisfy the OCC feature of Voi. At this point the Case feature of *the ball* can be valued NOM by the probe in T and
moved to [Spec,T]. Note that if the value [-act] was chosen for Voi and a DP with structural Case was generated in [Spec, Agt], then the derivation would crash, because there would be no probe to value the Case feature of the Agt-DP. Similarly, if the AgtP were realized as a PP in the previous derivation (29), the derivation would also crash, since there would be an extra probe unable to have its uninterpretable φ-features valued and deleted.

No need for either “Case absorption” or “θ-role transfer” in this theory. The former is explained by the fact that Voi in English lacks φ-features when it has the value [-act]. θ-role transfer is also unnecessary, because the subject of an active sentence and the by-phrase of a passive sentence derive from the same structural position, namely, [Spec, Agt].

(30)

2.3. Applicatives: the Dative Alternation

The dative argument in both prepositional-dative constructions and “double object” constructions originates in ApplP. Appl-phrases are similar to Agt-phrases in English in that they can be realized either as a PP (headed by to or for, depending on the particular verb) or as an active DP with structural Case. The derivation in (29) already shows what happens in an active sentence when ApplP is realized as PP: Th-DP must have structural Case, which is assigned ACC Case by Voi, and subsequently moves to [Spec, Voi].

What happens if ApplP selects DP with structural Case? Assume that Th-phrase in English can take either structural Case or null inherent accusative Case, which we notate [0ACC]. (NB: [0ACC] is also inherently inactive, hence is not visible to probes in Voi and T.) The “double object” sentence John threw Mary the ball is immediately derived as shown in (31):

(31) [TP John Past [PP throw-Pr [VoiP Mary-<throw>]-Voi [ApplP <Mary>]
NOM φ ACC φ φ
<throw>-Appl [Th the ball <throw>-Th [AgtP <John> <throw>-Agt
[0ACC] φ]
Note that if the ApplP is realized as DP with structural Case, then the Th-phrase *the ball must* be assigned null inherent accusative Case, as indicated. Otherwise, there would be three active DPs, one of which would be unable to have its Case feature valued, causing the derivation to crash. The probe in Voi then forms an Agree relation with the DP *Mary*, assigning it ACC Case and moving it to [Spec, Voi]. The remainder of the derivation is the same as the derivation of the prepositional dative construction (29).

Suppose Appl-phrase has structural Case but Agt-phrase is realized as a PP headed by *by*: Appl-DP *Mary* is raised successively to [Spec, Voi] and [Spec, T], instead of the “basic object” *the ball*, resulting in passive form *Mary was thrown the ball by John*:

(32) [TP Mary Past [IP be [Voi <Mary> throw+EN [Appl <Mary> <throw-Appl> 
NOM φ
[TP the ball <throw-Th> [AgtP by John] <throw-Agt> <throw>]]]]

[0[ACC]]

This analysis of dative constructions explains immediately why c-command asymmetry between Th-phrase and Appl-phrase in prepositional dative constructions is reversed in the double-object construction (Barss & Lasnik, 1986).

It also predicts nicely the position of Th-phrase and Appl-phrase between the copula and the passive participle in expletive sentences such as the following:

(33) a. There was someone given a book (by John).
   b. There was a book given to Mary (by John).

It also explains the apparent shift of particles from a position following the Th-phrase in the prepositional dative construction to a position preceding it in the double object construction:

(34) a. John gave the book back to Mary (*back). 
   b. John gave Mary back the book (*back).

This data is particularly puzzling for any analysis that attempts to derive the double object construction from an underlying prepositional dative structure by movement of the dative to the left of the Th-phrase:

(35) John gave the book back to Mary

Assume instead that so-called “particles” in English are prepositions generated in the specifier of a category *Prt*, which is required by the UOM to be merged after Th but before Voi. Depending on whether the Case of the Th-phrase or the Appl-phrase is valued by the probe in Voi and moved to [Spec, Voi], the particle will either appear after or before the Th-phrase.

### 2.4. ApplP vs. GoalP

It is crucial to our analysis that the primary argument Appl be distinguished from the secondary argument Goal. The latter is obligatorily marked by the preposition *to*, but is merged earlier in the UOM than Appl (SMG is like English in that both Appl-PP and Goal-PP require the same preposition *se*).
1. Goal cannot appear in double object constructions:

(37) a. I sent the package to NY.
    b. *I sent NY the package.
    c. I sent the package to Mary.
    d. I sent Mary the package.

2. Appl and Goal can co-occur:

(38) a. I shipped Mary the package to her apartment in NY.
    b. I shipped the package to Mary to her apartment in NY.

3. Goal patterns with other locative prepositions such as in, down, on, into, onto, etc., whereas Appl patterns only with benefactive for:

(39) a. I threw the rock to the fence/into the next field/onto the table/down the hill etc.
    b. I got the book to/for Mary.

4. Exceptions to requirement that a GoalP be marked with to behave completely differently from Appl-DPs:

    b. *John sent home/downtown/uptown Bill.
    c. *Home/uptown/downtown was sent Bill by John.
    d. Bill was sent home/downtown/uptown by John.

5. Unmarked order of Source and Goal phrases is Source > Goal:

(41) a. I sent the package from Ithaca to NY.
    b. I sent the package to NY from Ithaca.

But unmarked order of Appl and Source phrases is Appl > Source:

\[15\text{ Some speakers find (38a-b) illicit. It’s worth noticing that for those speakers, who find these sentences fine, there is a contrast between I shipped Mary the package to her apartment in NY and *I shipped Mary the package to NY. The same contrast holds for I shipped the package to Mary to her apartment in NY and I shipped the package to Mary to NY.} \]
These two observations are contradictory if there is no distinction between Appl and Goal, but follow automatically from the UOM.

6. ‘High goal’ vs. ‘low goal’ in Japanese: Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2003) show that Japanese has two distinct argument positions, both marked with the ‘dative’ case-marker –ni. Their ‘high goal’ is our Appl; their ‘low goal’ is our Goal. Though English and Japanese have identical underlying structures, Japanese differs from English in that there is no probe in Voi that assigns structural ACC Case. Hence the base order Appl-Theme is fixed (unless Scrambling applies), whereas in English the base order is preserved in the double object construction but inverted in the prepositional dative construction. As we will see shortly, one reason that the facts are so complicated in SMG is that SMG behaves in certain respects like English but in other respects like Japanese.

2.5. For-Applicatives vs. Benefactives

Some verbs require that Appl-phrase be marked with for instead of to:

(43) a. I bought a book for/*to Mary.
    b. I bought Mary a book.

We distinguish these two types of ApplP by means of a feature [+/-Ben]: give a-selects [+Appl, -Ben], buy a-selects [+Appl, +Ben].

But there is also a completely different secondary argument ‘Ben(efactive)’, obligatorily marked with the same preposition for, which is merged earlier than Appl. Supported by the fact that Ben can cooccur with for-Applicatives, is obligatorily marked with the preposition for, and can’t be passivized:

(44) a. I bought Mary a book for Sue.
    b. *I bought Sue Mary a book.
    c. I bought a book for Mary for Sue.
    d. *I bought Sue a book for Mary.
    e. I gave (*Sue) Mary a book for Sue.
    f. I gave (*Sue) a book to Mary for Sue.
    g. I went to the store for Sue.
    h. *I went Sue to the store.
    i. *Sue was gone to the store.
    j. *Sue was given Mary a book.
    k. *Sue was given a book to Mary.

NB: SMG differs from English in that [+Ben] Appl-PP requires the preposition se, whereas the Ben-PP requires a different preposition ja.

3. The Syntax of Goal and Benefactive Ditransitives


Anagnostopoulou (2005) investigates the syntax of indirect objects in SMG focusing on indirect objects introduced by the preposition se in genitive goal and benefactive ditransitives. Double accusative constructions are extensively discussed in Anagnostopoulou (2001). Anagnostopoulou’s main claims are summarized below.
Dative arguments introduced by *se* occur in double object benefactive and goal constructions and in prepositional goal ditransitives, unlike *to* in English, which is limited to prepositional goal constructions. Anagnostopoulou links this difference to the contrasting semantic properties of *se* and *to* with respect to the feature DIRECTION/PATH and the (possibly related) function of resultativity.

Based on evidence from French, SMG, and other languages, it is argued that it’s incorrect to think of the ‘dative alternation’ in terms of alternative categorial realizations of indirect object arguments. The crucial property is the association of indirect objects with extra functional structure, i.e. light applicative heads, in the double object construction.

\[(45)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{v1P} \\
| \text{Subj} \quad \text{v1'} \\
| \quad \text{vTR} \quad \text{v2P} \\
| \quad \text{DP}_{\text{GEN}} / s_{\text{BNF}} \quad \text{v'} \\
| \quad \text{vAPPL} \quad \text{VP} \\
| \quad \text{V} \quad \text{DP}_{\text{ACC}} \\
\end{array}
\]

The extra functional structure is missing in prepositional ditransitives where indirect objects are introduced in the root level.

\[(46)\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{vP} \\
| \text{Subj} \quad \text{v'} \\
| \quad \text{vTR} \quad \text{VP} \\
| \quad \text{PP} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{DP}_{\text{ACC}} \\
\end{array}
\]

*ja*-benefactive constructions present conflicting evidence for constituency. On the one hand, binding suggests that they are attached low, which leads to analyzing them as arguments. On the other hand, ellipsis suggests that they are adjuncts attached above the verbal constituent that contains the theme. The adjunct analysis is further supported by the observation that *ja-

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16 According to Anagnostopoulou (2005), structure (28) accounts for the following facts:
- In the genitive goal construction, the goal asymmetrically c-commands the theme (on the basis of Barss & Lasnik’s 1986 each … the other test). The ACC < GEN permutation, which is allowed in SMG unlike English, results from A’ movement / scrambling (see Anagnostopoulou 2003).
- Based on evidence from binding (see Anagnostopoulou 2005) *se* and genitive beneficiaries asymmetrically c-command the theme.

17 SMG permits both the DP > PP and PP > DP permutations. In each order the first object asymmetrically binds into the second (evidence from the each … the other test). Anagnostopoulou (2005) suggests three analyses to account for the word order and binding facts:
- The DP > PP order is basic
- The PP > DP order is basic
- Free base-generation analysis according to which no linking principle forces one argument to be higher than the other.

Anagnostopoulou (2003) argues that there is no strong empirical evidence favoring one of the three aforementioned analyses. For simplicity reasons, she prefers the third one in Anagnostopoulou (2005) (see structure 46).
beneficiaries can be added to any predicate, unlike genitive and se-beneficiaries. Anagnostopoulou (2005) doesn’t resolve this issue.

- Anagnostopoulou (2001) claims that the double accusative construction does not include a light head vAPPL, unlike the genitive construction. There is only one EPP/Case-checking head for both the goal and the theme, namely vCAUS. When vAPPL is absent, there is no source for dative case, therefore, the goal surfaces as accusative.

\begin{equation}
\begin{align*}
\text{(47)} & \quad \text{vP} \\
& \quad \text{Subj} \quad \text{v} \quad \text{VP} \\
& \quad \text{DP}_{\text{GOAL}} \quad \text{V'} \\
& \quad \text{V} \quad \text{DP}_{\text{THEME}}
\end{align*}
\end{equation}

3.2 Our Analysis

Following we summarize the main drawbacks in Anagnostopoulou’s (2005) account, and we present our proposal.

A. Main drawbacks in Anagnostopoulou’s (2005) model

Anagnostopoulou suggests two independent structures to account for the difference between double object and prepositional ditransitives. In other words, the so-called Uniformity of θ-Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH\textsuperscript{18}) (Baker 1988, 1996) is undermined. Moreover, Anagnostopoulou fails to distinguish Appl from Goal, and therefore cannot account for a sentence with both a se-PP Appl or a genitive Appl and a se-PP Goal, which expresses a location, e.g.

\begin{align*}
\text{(48) a. ??} & \quad \text{Orestis} \quad \text{estile} \quad \text{stin} \quad \text{anastasia} \quad \text{to} \\
& \quad \text{the.NOM} \quad \text{orestis.NOM} \quad \text{shipped.3SG} \quad \text{to-the.ACC} \quad \text{Anastasia.ACC} \quad \text{the.ACC} \\
& \quad \text{paket} \quad \text{sto} \quad \text{diامرizma} \quad \text{tis} \quad \text{sti} \quad \text{nea} \quad \text{iοrci} \quad \text{package.ACC} \quad \text{to-the.ACC} \quad \text{apartment.ACC} \quad \text{her in-the.ACC} \quad \text{New.ACC} \text{York.ACC} \\
& \quad \text{‘Orestis shipped the package to Anastasia to her apartment in New York’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{(48) b. ??} & \quad \text{Orestis} \quad \text{tis} \quad \text{estile} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{paket} \\
& \quad \text{the.NOM} \quad \text{orestis.NOM} \quad \text{her-GEN} \quad \text{shipped.3SG} \quad \text{the.ACC} \quad \text{parcel.ACC} \\
& \quad \text{sto} \quad \text{diامرizma} \quad \text{tis} \quad \text{sti} \quad \text{nea} \quad \text{iοrci} \quad \text{to-the.ACC} \quad \text{apartment.ACC} \quad \text{her to-the.ACC} \quad \text{New.ACC} \text{York.ACC} \\
& \quad \text{‘Orestis shipped her the package to her apartment in New York’}
\end{align*}

B. Our Proposal

In this section, we present our analysis of goal and benefactive constructions, as well as double accusative constructions.

\textsuperscript{18} UTAH: Identical thematic relationships between predicates and their arguments are represented syntactically by identical structural relationships when items are merged (Adger, 2003).

\textsuperscript{19} Most speakers prefer sentences such as 48b with a genitive clitic rather than a DP\textsubscript{GEN}. The reason why this is the case might be related to the fact that DP\textsubscript{GEN} can also be possessors. This ambiguity doesn’t occur with the genitive clitic.
The Structure of GEN-PP Goal & Benefactive Constructions

I. GEN-PP Goal Ditransitives

Active: ACC > Applicative se-PP

Contra Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005), we claim that both se-PP goals and DP_{GEN} goals are base generated at the same position, i.e. [Spec, ApplP]. There is no need to suggest two different syntactic structures, since both se-PPs and genitive DPs bear the same thematic role. Based on the criterion of passivizability, we assume that in SMG the applicative DP bears inherent genitive case\textsuperscript{20}. The derivation in (49) accounts for Ὀρεστής ἐδόσε τῷ θείῳ στίν Αναστασίᾳ Ὀρεστισ gavethe book to Anastasia’ as follows. First, the category Agt merges with the verbal root δίνω ‘give’. Then, adjunction of δίνω to Agt, checking off the a-selection feature [Agt] takes place. The phrase Agt’ merges with the DP Ὀρεστής, satisfying the c-selection feature [D] of Agt. By the LC, the probe in Voi establishes an Agree relation with the DP_{THEME} τῷ θείῳ ‘the book’, the nearest potential goal with matching ϕ-features. The DP_{THEME} is valued ACC and it is immediately moved to [Spec, Voi] to satisfy the EPP feature of Voi, accounting for the fact that the ThP c-commands an [-Ben] ApplP marked with se. The probe in T enters an Agree relation with the nearest potential goal. The DP_{AGT} Ὀρεστής is assigned NOM Case and moves to [Spec, T] to satisfy the EPP feature of T.

\begin{equation}
\text{(49)}
\end{equation}

\begin{itemize}
\item[\text{TP}]\text{setStateis T VoiP}\phi
\item[\text{VoiP}]\text{to vivlio ACC Voi ApplP}\phi
\item[\text{ThP}]\text{stìn anastasia Appl}\phi
\item[\text{AgtP}]\text{<to vivlio> Gp}\phi
\item[\text{Agt}]\text{ício AgtP}\phi
\item[\text{Agt}]\text{[Agt]}\phi
\item[\text{[Th]}\phi
\item[\text{[Appl]}\phi
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{20} Anagnostopoulou (2003) argues that genitive goals/experiencers in SMG have undetermined case-theoretic status. According to the criterion of passivizability, they bear inherent case (unlike Japanese datives). According to the criterion of clitic doubling, they are assigned structural case, unlike the inherent genitive in a very restricted class of single-complement verbs (e.g. epimelume ‘take care of’).
Active: ACC > se-PP Goal

In our analysis, se-PP goals with inanimate DPs are base generated in [Spec, GoalP], like in English. (50) illustrates how the sentence *Orestis estile to vivlio stin anastasia sti nea iorci ‘Orestis sent the book to Anastasia to New York’ is derived.

(50) [TP *Orestis Past [VoiP to vivlio send-Voi
NOM φ ACC φ
[ApplP stin anastasia <stelnoc>-Appl [TPP <to vivlio> <stelnoc>-Th
φ
[GoalP sti nea iorci <stelnoc>-Goal [AgtP <*Orestis> <stelnoc>-Agt <stelnoc>]]]]]]

Active: GEN > ACC

Based on Barss & Lasnik’s (1986) each ... the other test, we assume like Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) that in SMG Appl asymmetrically c-commands the Th in the genitive construction. SMG also allows the ACC > GEN permutation, which results from A’ movement/scrambling of the Th across the Appl, because the Th is not allowed to bind into the Appl (Anagnostopoulou, 2003). To account for *Orestis edose tis anastasiastas to vivlio ‘Orestis gave Anastasia the book’, let us suppose that [-Ben] Appl-phrases can be realized either as a se-PP or as a DP with inherent genitive Case in SMG. In the latter case there is no VoiP, hence no probe to assign structural ACC Case. So, ApplP and ThP stay in situ. The Case assigned to ThP must be [0ACC]. The result is the ‘double object’ sentence in (51):

(51) [TP *Orestis Past [VoiP δinoc-Voi [ApplP anastasia <δinoc>-Appl
NOM φ GEN
[TPP to vivlio <δinoc>-Th [AgtP <*Orestis> <δinoc>-Agt <δinoc>]]]
ACC φ

Passive: ACC > se-PP

to vivlio δοθίσε stin anastasia apo ton *Oresti ‘The book was given to Anastasia by Orestis’ is derived as follows:

Step 1: An Agt-phrase in SMG can be realized either as a DP with structural Case or as a PP headed by apo ‘by’ (in which case the Agt-DP *Orestis is assigned inherent Case by the preposition). If the latter option is chosen, then the derivation will necessarily crash unless there exists a possible continuation in which Voi contains no φ-features, since otherwise there

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21 Anagnostopoulou’s (2005) examples 14a-b repeated here as (a) and (b) respectively.
(a) estila tis mias miteras to peði tis alis
sent.1SG the.GEN one.GEN mother.GEN the.ACC child.ACC the.GEN other.GEN
‘I sent each mother the other’s child’
(b) * estila tis miteras tis alu to ena peði
sent.1SG the.GEN mother.GEN the.GEN other.GEN the.ACC one.ACC child.ACC
* ‘I sent the other’s mother each child’

22 Anagnostopoulou’s (2005) example (15):
* estila to ena peði tis miteras tis alu
sent.1SG the.ACC one.ACC child.ACC the.GEN mother.GEN the.GEN other.GEN
‘I sent each child (to) the other’s mother’

23 The other possibility would be to assume that there is a VoiP, which lacks a probe.
will be an extra probe whose \( \phi \)-features will have no way of getting valued. In SMG, such a continuation can be ensured by selecting the value [-act] for Voi.

Step 2: Since the only active DP is the Th-phrase \textit{to vivliç}, it moves to [Spec, Voi] to satisfy the EPP feature of Voi.

Step 3: The Case feature of \textit{to vivliç} is valued NOM by the probe on T and moves to [Spec, T]. Although the se-PP in [Spec, ApplP] intervenes when \textit{to vivliç} moves from [Spec, ThP] to [Spec, VoiP], the derivation doesn’t crash, because the PP doesn’t bear any \( \phi \)-features.

\[ (52) \]

\[ \text{TP} \]
\[ \text{to vivliç} \]
\[ \text{NOM} \]
\[ \text{T} \]
\[ \text{VoiP} \]
\[ \phi \]
\[ \text{[stin anastasia]} \]
\[ \text{ApplP} \]
\[ \phi \]
\[ \text{Voi} \]
\[ \text{ThP} \]
\[ \phi \]
\[ \text{AgtP} \]
\[ \text{[apo ton oresti]} \]
\[ \text{Agt} \]
\[ \delta inò \]
\[ \text{[Agt]} \]
\[ \text{[Th]} \]
\[ \text{[Appl]} \]

\textbf{Passive: GEN > ACC}

In the case of genitive DPs in passive constructions (e.g. \textit{*to vivliç ãótheta tis anastasias apo ton oresti} ‘The book was given Anastasia by Orestis’), the intervention of the DP\textsubscript{GEN} when the probe in T looks for a matching goal causes the derivation to crash, because the DP\textsubscript{GEN} bears \( \phi \)-features, unlike se-PPs, which do not. As noted earlier, Th in this case has inherent ACC Case. The restriction on genitive goals can be canceled when the goal is realized as a clitic or is clitic doubled. Our assumptions are the following:

- The clitic is base generated at the head of ApplP where it is picked up by the verb as it moves in head-to-head fashion to T\textsuperscript{24}.

- In the case of clitic doubling, the clitic “absorbs” the \( \phi \)-features of the DP\textsubscript{GEN} in [Spec, ApplP], thus permitting the probe in T to form an Agree relation with the DP\textsubscript{THEME} and assign it NOM Case in spite of the intervening DP\textsubscript{APPL}. By absorption of the \( \phi \)-features, we

\[ \textsuperscript{24} \text{Note that the order of the clitics is predicted by our theory.} \]
mean that the agreement of the \( \phi \)-features in the Spec and the clitic renders the features of the DP inactive.

**Nominalizations**

To account for (53a-d), we assume that there is a probe in D that assigns structural GEN. We know that the DP\(_{\text{THEME}}\) in [-Ben] ditransitives can have structural Case. An intervening PP in ApplP won't block the Agree relation between the probe and DP\(_{\text{THEME}}\), since it has no \( \phi \)-features. However, an intervening inherent DP\(_{\text{GEN}}\) in ApplP will block Agree between the probe and the DP\(_{\text{THEME}}\) for the same reason it does in passive sentences, namely, because inherent DP\(_{\text{GEN}}\) has \( \phi \)-features that are nearer to the probe than the ones in the DP\(_{\text{THEME}}\). So the structural Case feature of the Th will never be able to get valued. Moreover, there is no rescue mechanism in nominals, as there is in passives, because nominalizations do not allow clitics. Unlike verbs, nominals cannot assign inherent Case.

(53) a. *i ana\( \theta \)esìi tis ascisis tu
   The.NOM assignment.NOM the.GEN exercise.GEN the.GEN Orestis.GEN
   b. i ana\( \theta \)esìi tis ascisis stòn
   The.NOM assignment.NOM the.GEN exercise.GEN to-the.ACC Orestis.ACC
   c. i ana\( \theta \)esìi tis ascisis
   The.NOM assignment.NOM the.GEN exercise.GEN
   d. *i ana\( \theta \)esìi tu Orestis.GEN

II. **GEN-PP Benefactive Ditransitives**

**Active**

To account for (54a) and (54b), we assume that both se-PP and DP\(_{\text{GEN}}\) benefactives are base generated at the [Spec, ApplP] and bear the features [+Appl, +Ben]. The mechanism we described above for active [+Appl, -Ben] ditransitives applies also for [+Ben] ditransitives.

(54) a. ç orestis majirepsë rizòto stìn
   The.NOM Orestis.NOM cooked.3SG risotto.ACC to-the.ACC anastasia
   Anastasia.ACC
   b. ç orestis majirepsë tis anastasias rizòto
   The.NOM Orestis.NOM cooked.3SG the.GEN Anastasia.GEN risotto.ACC

**Passive**

How can one account for the fact that theme passivization in the presence of a DP\(_{\text{GEN}}\) or se-PP beneficiary is beyond repair (see 55a-c)? Both ThP and ApplP in benefactive constructions never take structural Case. Since the ThP in benefactive constructions never takes structural Case, such a repair strategy is unavailable.

(55) a. *rizòtà majireftìce tis anastasìas (apò tòn
   Risotto.NOM was-cooked.3SG the.GEN Anastasia.GEN (by the.ACC

20
Nominalizations

To account for (56a-b), we assume that in [+Ben] ditransitives, unlike [-Ben] ditransitives, the DP THEME can never bear structural Case. Therefore the probe in D will never be able to form an Agree relation. Hence the derivation will crash regardless of whether the ApplP is GEN or PP.

(56) a. *tɔₐ majirema tu rizɔtɔ tu ɔresti
   The.NOM cooking.NOM the.GEN risotto.GEN the.GEN Orestis.GEN
b. *tɔₐ majirema tu rizɔtɔ stɔn ɔresti
   The.NOM cooking.NOM the.GEN risotto.GEN to-the.ACC Orestis.ACC

The Structure of ja-PP Benefactives

We account for ja-PP benefactives the same way we account for for-Benefactives in English (see 2.5). We assume that there is a secondary argument obligatorily marked with the preposition ja, which is merged earlier than Appl and Th in [Spec, Ben] (note that the distinction between [+Ben] ApplP and BenP is parallel to [-Ben] ApplP and GoalP). The sentence 'Orestis majirepse tis anastasias rizɔtɔ ja tɔ jɔ tis ‘Orestis cooked Anastasia risotto for her son’ is derived as follows:

(57) [TP ɔrestis Past [VoiP majireνo-Voi [AppP tis anastasias <majireνo>-Appl
   NOM φ GEN
   [ThP rizɔtɔ <majireνo>-Th [BenP ja tɔ jɔ tis <majireνo>-Ben [AgtP <ɔrestis>
   ACC φ <majireνo>-Agt <majireνo>]]]]]]]

The Structure of Double Accusatives

There is only a small number of verbs, which allow the ‘double accusative construction’ in addition to the genitive and the se-PP construction. To account for the differences between the double accusative and the genitive construction, we assume the following:

- Either the applicative or the theme has the possibility to get structural Case in double accusatives. This explains why Appl can get nominalized and passivized in the double accusative construction, but not in the genitive construction.
- We speculate that ACC has to be lexically specified in order to be able to account for the fact why clitic doubling and cliticization of the Th in active are not licit.

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As already mentioned in footnote 8, cliticization and clitic doubling are also not allowed with definite genitive DPs, which are arguments of a restricted class of single-complement verbs (e.g. *epimelume ‘take care of’). We suspect that GEN is another instance of lexically specified Case. However, we do not have an explanation for the cases where cliticization and clitic doubling of the Th are allowed when the goal is passivized or implicit in active sentences. We leave this to future research.
4. Conclusions

A wide variety of verbs of different types contain an Appl argument in SMG and English. The specific way that the Appl-phrase is realized for any given verb is a function of its particular lexical properties, interacting with the universal principles governing derivations and the UOM. We proposed a single underlying system of categories and hierarchical relations to account for ditransitive constructions in SMG and English. Languages such as English are quite promiscuous in allowing both goal and benefactive ApplP to be marked either with structural case or with a preposition, while ThP can be marked either with structural Case or with null inherent ACC case. The result is a system in which the surface order of elements in active sentences may or may not reflect the underlying universal hierarchy of arguments and in which there is a variety of different passive forms. Other languages, such as SMG, are not nearly so liberal, resulting in a system in which surface order is most often a direct reflection of the underlying universal hierarchy, though SMG also has vestiges of an English-type system under certain restricted conditions. Both languages share, however, the same underlying system of categories and hierarchical relations.

References


