

CHAPTER ONE

THE SYNTAX OF GOALS AND BENEFICIARIES IN STANDARD MODERN GREEK

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*

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

1. *Genitive Construction*¹: V GEN²_{GOAL} ACC_{THEME}

- (1) O Orestis edhose tis Anastasias
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM gave.3SG the-GEN Anastasia.GEN
 to forema
 the.ACC dress.ACC
 “Orestis gave Anastasia the dress.”

2. *se-PP Construction*: V ACC_{THEME} *se*³-PP_{GOAL}

- (2) O Orestis edhose to forema
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM gave.3SG the.ACC dress.ACC
 s-tin Anastasia
 to-the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
 “Orestis gave the dress to Anastasia.”

3. *Double Accusative Construction*: V ACC_{GOAL} ACC_{THEME}

- (3) O Orestis dhidhaski tin Anastasia
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM teaches.3SG the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
 Aglika
 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 categorical status

¹ The word order is not fixed.

² SMG has lost the morphological distinction between genitive and dative case and has generalized the use of genitive.

³ *Se* obligatorily incorporates an immediately following definite article (e.g., *se + to > sto*). *Se* is also used as a locative (locational and directional preposition), e.g.,

(i) O Orestis pije s-ti Romi
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM went.3SG to-the.ACC Rome.ACC
 “Orestis went to Rome.”

(ii) O Orestis meni s-ti Romi
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM lives.3SG in-the.ACC Rome.ACC
 “Orestis lives in Rome.”

of the indirect object, i.e., whether it is a PP or a DP. *Dative argument*⁴ refers to indirect objects (goals, beneficiaries, experiencers, possessors etc.) regardless of case or categorical status.

It is claimed (Anagnostopoulou 2003, among others) that the alternation between a *se*-PP and a DP_{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 animate⁵, i.e., it must be a recipient, e.g.,

- (4) a. I Anastasia estile ena vivlio
 the.NOM Anastasia.NOM sent.3SG a.ACC book.ACC
 s-ti Nea Iorki
 to-the.ACC New.ACC York.ACC
 “Anastasia sent a book to New York.”
- b. * I Anastasia estile ena vivlio
 the.NOM Anastasia.NOM sent.3SG a.ACC book.ACC
 tis Neas Iorkis
 the.GEN New.GEN York.GEN

⁴ Verbs selecting for a single DP complement assign accusative case in SMG. Yet, there are certain verbs, such as *milao* “talk”, *aniko* “belong”, *fenome* “seem”, which assign genitive, but their complement can be either a DP or a PP, e.g.,

O Orestis milise [tis Anastasias /
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM talked.3SG the.GEN Anastasia.GEN /
 s-tin Anastasia]
 to-the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
 “Orestis talked to Anastasia.”

Moreover, some verbs take only genitive, which cannot be replaced by a PP (e.g., *epimelume* “take care of”, *iperischio* “prevail over”).

⁵ 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.

* “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.⁶ *Se*-PPs, on the other 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 ton Oresti s-tin Anastasia
referred.1SG the.ACC Orestis.ACC to-the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
“I referred Orestis to Anastasia.”
- b. * Parapempsa tis Anastasias ton Oresti
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-formed.

- (6) a. * I anatesi mias efkolis
the.NOM assignment.NOM an.GEN easy.GEN
askisis tu Oresti apo tin Anastasia
exercise.GEN the.GEN Orestis.GEN by the.ACC Anastasia
* “The assignment of an easy exercise of Orestis
(i.e., to Orestis) by Anastasia.”
- b. I anatesi mias efkolis
the.NOM assignment.NOM an.GEN easy.GEN
askisis s-ton Oresti apo tin
exercise.GEN to-the.ACC Orestis.ACC by the.ACC
Anastasia
Anastasia.ACC

⁶ However, citing Bresnan & Nikitina (2003), den Dikken (2005) points out that sensitivity to the semantic properties of the selecting verb does not appear to be a particularly stable property of English double object constructions.

“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 does not allow the so-called *direct* or *tertiary passives*⁷. In contrast to genitive goals, PP goals may freely occur in passive.

- (7) a. * To forema dhothike tis
 the.NOM dress.NOM was-given.3SG the.GEN
 Anastasias apo ton Oresti
 Anastasia.GEN by the.ACC Orestis.ACC
 “The dress was given Anastasia by Orestis.”
- b. To forema dhothike s-tin
 the.NOM dress.NOM was-given.3SG to-the.ACC
 Anastasia apo ton Oresti
 Anastasia.ACC by the.ACC Orestis.ACC
 “The dress was given to Anastasia by Orestis.”

Now, SMG differs from English in the following:

1. *Goal Passivization*. In SMG, unlike English, the indirect object in genitive cannot be nominativized in passive.

- (8) * I Anastasia dhothike to forema
 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.

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 posit any problems to our system. They can be accounted for in a straightforward way.

- (9) O Orestis tis edhose (tis
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM her.GEN gave.3SG the.GEN
 Anastasias) to forema
 Anastasia.GEN the.ACC dress.ACC
 “Orestis gave Anastasia the dress.”

When the goal is realized as a PP, clitic doubling is illicit⁸.

- (10) * O Orestis tis edhose
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM her.GEN gave.3SG
 s-tin Anastasia to forema
 to-the.ACC 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) To forema *(tis) dhothike (tis
 the.NOM dress.NOM her.GEN was-given.3SG the.GEN
 Anastasias)
 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 small class of verbs, such as *dhidhasko* “teach”, *serviro* “serve”, *plirono* “pay”, both the goal and the theme may be expressed with

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:

- a. With definite themes in active double accusatives when the goal is not implicit.
- b. With definite genitive DPs which are arguments of a restricted class of single-complement verbs (e.g., *epimelume* “take care of”).

morphological accusative case. These verbs also appear in the genitive and *se-PP* construction.

(12)

a. *Genitive Construction*

O Orestis dhidhaski tis Anastasias
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM teaches.3SG the.GEN Anastasia.GEN
 Aglika
 English.ACC
 “Orestis teaches Anastasia English.”

b. *se-PP Construction*

O Orestis dhidhaski Aglika
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM teaches.3SG English.ACC
 s-tin Anastasia
 to-the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
 “Orestis teaches English to Anastasia.”

c. *Double Accusative Construction*

O Orestis dhidhaski tin Anastasia
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM teaches.3SG the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
 Aglika
 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. O pliromenos [loghariasmos / ipalilos]
 the.NOM paid.NOM bill.NOM / employee.NOM
 “The paid bill / employee.”
 b. To nikiasmeno spiti / *o nikiasmenos
 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. I dhidhaskalia [ton Aglikon /
 the.NOM teaching.NOM the.GEN English.GEN /
 tu Oresti]
 the.GEN Orestis.GEN
 “The teaching of English / Orestis (i.e., to Orestis).”
 b. To nikiasma tu spitiu /
 the.NOM renting.NOM the.GEN house.GEN /
 *tu Oresti
 the.GEN Orestis.GEN
 “The renting of the house / *Orestis (i.e., to Orestis).”

Cliticization or clitic doubling of a definite theme⁹ is ungrammatical only in active double accusative constructions (Anagnostopoulou 2001), when the goal is not implicit¹⁰.

- (15) a. * O Orestis ton dhidhakse
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM him¹¹.ACC taught.3SG
 (ton kanona) tin Anastasia
 the.ACC rule.ACC the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
 “Orestis taught Anastasia the rule.”
 b. I Anastasia ton dhidhahtike (ton
 the.NOM Anastasia.NOM him.ACC was-taught.3SG the.ACC
 kanona) 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. Note that cliticization and clitic doubling do not rescue passivization of the theme.

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

O Orestis ti dhidhakse (tin Anastasia)
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM her.ACC taught.3SG the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
 ton kanona
 the.ACC rule.ACC
 “Orestis taught Anastasia the rule.”

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

O Orestis ton dhidhakse (ton kanona)
 the.NOM Orestis.NON him.ACC taught.3SG the.ACC rule.ACC
 “Orestis taught the rule.”

¹¹ The noun *kanonas* “rule” is masculine in SMG.

- (16) a. O Orestis dhidhaskete Aglika
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM is-taught.3SG English.ACC
 “Orestis is taught English.”
 b. * Aglika dhidhaskode ton Oresti
 English.NOM are-taught.3PL the.ACC Oresti.ACC
 “English is taught to Orestis.”
 c. * Aglika ton dhidhaskode (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_{BEN} ACC_{THEME}

- (17) O Orestis majirepse tis Anastasias
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM cooked.3SG the.GEN Anastasia.GEN
 rizoto
 risotto.ACC
 “Orestis cooked Anastasia risotto.”

2. *se-PP Construction*: V ACC_{THEME} se-PP_{BEN}

- (18) O Orestis majirepse rizoto
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM cooked.3SG risotto.ACC
 s-tin Anastasia
 to-the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
 “Orestis cooked risotto for Anastasia.”

3. *ja-PP Construction*: V ACC_{THEME} ja-PP_{BEN}

- (19) O Orestis majirepse rizoto
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM cooked.3SG risotto.ACC
 ja tin Anastasia
 for the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
 “Orestis cooked risotto for Anastasia.”

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 *ftiahno* “make”, *majirevo* “cook”, and verbs of obtaining, such as *kalo* “call”, *aghorazo* “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 *dhanizome* “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. O kafes ftiahtike ja ton Oresti
 the.NOM coffee.NOM was-made.3SG for the.ACC Orestis.ACC
 “The coffee was made for Orestis.”
- b. ?* O kafes ftiahtike
 the.NOM coffee.NOM was-made.3SG
 s-ton Oresti
 to-the.ACC Orestis.ACC
 “The coffee was made to Orestis.”
- c. * O kafes ftiahtike tu Oresti
 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_{GOAL} in double accusative constructions).

- (21) a. * O kafes tu ftiahtike tu
 the.NOM coffee.NOM him.GEN was-made.3SG the.GEN
 Oresti (apo tin Anastasia)
 Orestis.GEN by the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
 “The coffee was made Orestis (by Anastasia).”
- b. * O kafes tu ftiahtike
 the.NOM coffee.NOM him.GEN was-made.3SG
 (apo tin Anastasia)
 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. ? O Orestis eftiakse kafe
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM made.3SG coffee.ACC
 s-tin Anastasia ja ti mana tu¹²
 to-the.ACC Anastasia.ACC for the.ACC mother.ACC his
 “Orestis made coffee to Anastasia for his mother.”
- b. ? O Orestis tis eftiakse kafe
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM her.GEN made.3SG coffee.ACC
 ja ti mana tu
 for the.ACC mother.ACC his
 “Orestis made her coffee for his mother.”
- (23) * O Orestis tis eftiakse kafe
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM her.GEN made.3SG coffee.ACC
 s-tin Anastasia
 to-the.ACC Anastasia.ACC

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

- (24) I aghora tu aftokinitu ja tin
 the.NOM purchase.NOM the.GEN car.GEN for the.ACC
 Anastasia
 for the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
 “The purchase of the car for Anastasia.”
- (25) * I aghora tu aftokinitu tis
 the.NOM purchase.NOM the.GEN car.GEN the.GEN
 Anastasias
 Anastasia.GEN
- (26) * I aghora tu aftokinitu s-tin
 the.NOM purchase.NOM the.GEN car.GEN to-the.ACC
 Anastasia
 Anastasia.ACC

¹² Both (22a) and (22b) are better with *ja hari tis manas tu* “for his mother’s sake” instead of *ja ti mana τυ* “for his mother”.

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.¹³ She points out that the same difference is observed also in English.¹⁴ It is 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 and 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 2006), applying it to English ditransitive constructions. In section 3, we discuss previous accounts of the SMG data, and propose our analysis. In section 4, we summarize and conclude.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 Assumptions

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

¹³ Anagnostopoulou’s (2005) examples (27a) and (27b) repeated here as (i) and (ii) respectively.

(i) Aghorazi pehnidhia tu egonu tu egonu tu
 buy.3SG toys.ACC the.GEN grandchild.GEN the.GEN grandchild.GEN his
 (ii) Aghorazi pehnidhia ja ton egono tu egonu tu
 buy.3SG toys.ACC for the.ACC grandchild.ACC the.GEN grandchild.GEN his

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

¹⁴ Anagnostopoulou’s (2005) examples (28a) and (28b) repeated here as (i) and (ii) respectively.

(i) John bought his wife a kimono #but finally gave it to his mistress

(ii) John bought a kimono for his wife, but finally gave it to his mistress

In (i) the beneficiary DP is the recipient of the theme, while in (ii) the prepositional beneficiary is not.

2. There are three *primary* arguments Ag(en)t, 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) Agt < Ben < Goal < Th < Appl

4. Arguments required by a given root are determined by *a(argument)-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. There are only two probes available, one in T and one in Voi(ce), which assign structural NOM and structural ACC, respectively. A *probe* is a set of uninterpretable ϕ -features that are valued and deleted by establishing an Agree relation with a *goal* containing matching interpretable ϕ -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 ϕ -features.

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

(28) *Locality Condition (LC)*:

Suppose P is a probe and G is a 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* in (29).¹⁵

(29)

[_{TP} John	Past	[_{PrP} throw-Pr	[_{VoiP} the ball	<throw>-Voi	
NOM	ϕ	ACC	ϕ	ϕ	
[_{AppIP} to Mary	<throw>-Appl	[_{ThP} <the ball>	<throw>-Th		
		ϕ			

¹⁵ It is argued in Bowers (2006) that DPs actually move first to [Spec, Pr] to satisfy the EPP feature of Pr and only then to [Spec, T]. Such derivations avoid violations of a different condition (not discussed here) termed the “Relativized Phase Impenetrability Condition” and at the same time account for the position of Agents of transitive verbs in VSO languages (see also Bowers 2002, for independent arguments that Pr has an obligatory EPP feature.) Because this refinement is not directly relevant to our analysis of ditransitive verbs, we have simplified the exposition by assuming, as is standard, that DPs move directly to [Spec, T].

[_{AgtP} <John><throw> [_{Agt'} Agt throw]]]]]]
 ϕ

By the LC, the probe in Voi must establish an Agree relation with the Th-DP *the ball*, the nearest potential goal with matching ϕ -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).

(30) [_{TP} the ball Past [_{PrP} be-Pr [_{VoiP} <the ball> throw+EN [_{AppIP} to Mary
 NOM ϕ ϕ
 <throw>-Appl [_{ThP} <the ball> <throw>-Th [_{AgtP} [by John] <throw>-Agt
 ϕ
 <throw>]]]]]]

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 ϕ -features, since otherwise there will be an extra probe whose ϕ -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.

There is 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].

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 below:

- (31) [_{TP} John Past [_{PP} throw-Pr [_{VoiP} Mary <throw>-Voi [_{AppIP} <Mary>
 NOM ϕ ACC ϕ ϕ
 <throw>-Appl [_{ThP} the ball <throw>-Th [_{AgtP} <John> <throw>-Agt
 [0ACC] ϕ
 <throw>]]]]]]]

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 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 [_{PrP} be [_{VoiP} <Mary> throw+EN [_{AppIP} <Mary>
 NOM ϕ ϕ ϕ
 <throw-AppI> [_{ThP} the ball <throw-Th> [_{AgTP} by John] <throw-Agt>
 [0ACC]
 <throw>]]]]]]

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

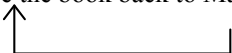
It also predicts nicely the position of Th-phrase and Appl-phrase between the copula and the passive participle in expletive sentences such as the following:

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

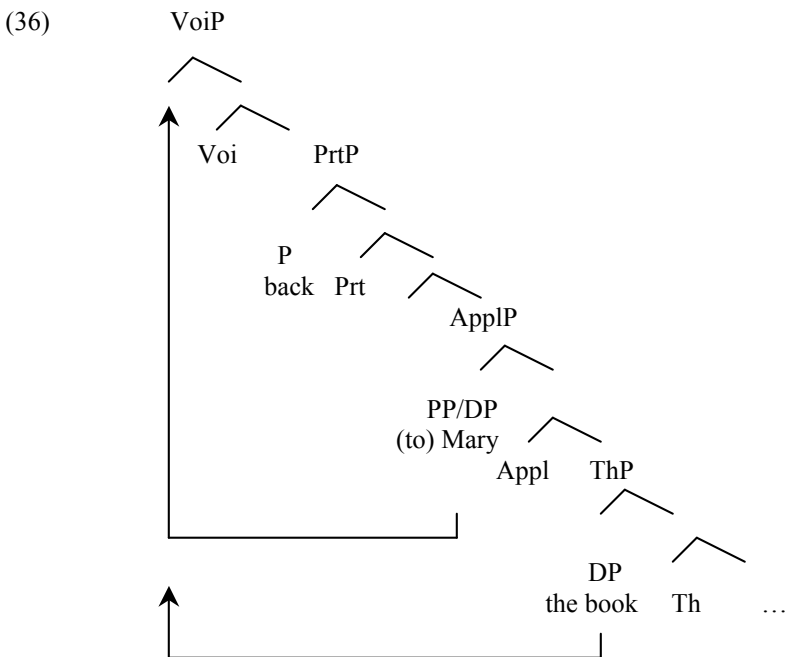
At the same time, it explains the apparent shift of particles from a position following the Th-phrase in the prepositional construction to a position preceding it in the double object construction:

- (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 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 (36).



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*).

Here is a quick summary of some basic arguments in support of distinguishing the Appl relation from the Goal relation:

1. Goal expressions cannot appear in the double object construction:

- (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. ApplP and GoalP can co-occur¹⁶:

- (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:

- (40) a. John sent Bill home/downtown/uptown.
 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. ^UI sent the package from Ithaca to NY.
 b. ^MI sent the package to NY from Ithaca.

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

- (42) a. ^UI sent the book to Mary from Ithaca.
 b. ^MI sent the book from Ithaca to Mary.

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

¹⁶ Some speakers find (38a-b) illicit. It is 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*.

“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 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 co-occur with *for*-Applicatives, it is obligatorily marked with the preposition *for*, and cannot be nominativized:

- (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 in SMG

3.1 Previous Accounts¹⁷: Anagnostopoulou (2001, 2005)

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 is incorrect to think of the “dative alternation” in terms of alternative categorical 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)¹⁸ [_{v1P} Subj [_{v1'} vTR [_{v2P} DP_{GEN}/*se*-PP_{BNF} [_{v2'} vAppl [_{VP} V DP_{ACC}]]]]]]

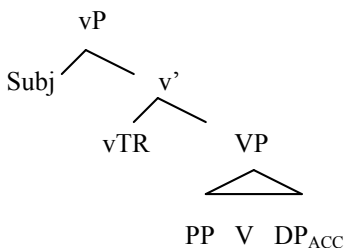
The extra functional structure is missing in prepositional ditransitives where indirect objects are introduced in the root level.¹⁹

¹⁷ See Chapter Two of this volume for another account of Greek goal ditransitive constructions.

¹⁸ 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 (Anagnostopoulou 2003).
- Based on evidence from binding (Anagnostopoulou 2005) *se*- and genitive beneficiaries asymmetrically c-command the theme.

(46)



- *Ja*-benefactive constructions present conflicting evidence for constituency. On the one hand, binding facts suggest 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*-beneficiaries can be added to any predicate, unlike genitive and *se*-beneficiaries. Anagnostopoulou (2005) does not 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.

(47) [_{vP} Subj [_{v'} v [_{VP} DP_{GOAL} [_{V'} V DP_{THEME}]]]]

¹⁹ 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).

3.2 Our Analysis

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

3.2.1 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 (UTAH²⁰) (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 location²¹, e.g.,

- (48) a. ?? O Orestis estile s-tin
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM shipped.3SG to-the.ACC
 Anastasia to paketo
 Anastasia.ACC the.ACC package.ACC
 s-to dhiamerisma tis s-ti Nea
 to-the.ACC apartment-ACC her in-the.ACC New.ACC
 Iorki
 York.ACC
 “Orestis shipped the package to Anastasia to her apartment in New
 York.”
- b.²² O Orestis tis estile to
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM her-GEN shipped.3SG the.ACC
 paketo s-to dhiamerisma tis s-ti
 parcel.ACC to-the.ACC apartment.ACC her to-the.ACC
 Nea Iorki
 New.ACC York.ACC
 “Orestis shipped her the package to her apartment in New York.

²⁰ UTAH: Identical thematic relationships between predicates and their arguments are represented syntactically by identical structural relationships when items are merged (Adger 2003).

²¹ Building on Marantz (1993), Miyagawa and Tsujioka (2003) account for a two-goal construction in Japanese. Their proposal could also be applied to SMG.

²² Most speakers prefer sentences such as (48b) with a genitive clitic rather than a DP_{GEN}. The reason why this is the case might be related to the fact that DP_{GEN} can also be a possessor. This ambiguity does not occur with the genitive clitic.

3.2.2 Our Proposal

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

A. The Structure of GEN-PP Goal & Benefactive Constructions

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.²³ The derivation in (49) accounts for *Orestis edhose to vivlio stin Anastasia* “Orestis gave the book to Anastasia” as follows. First, the category *Agt* merges with the verbal root *dhino* “give”. Then, adjunction of *dhino* “give” to *Agt*, checking off the *a*-selection feature [Agt] takes place. *Agt*’ merges with the DP *o Orestis* “Orestis”, satisfying the *c*-selection feature [D] of *Agt*. By the LC, the probe in *Voi* establishes an Agree relation with the DP_{THEME} *to vivlio* “the book”, the nearest potential goal with matching ϕ -features. The DP_{THEME} is valued ACC and it is 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} *o Orestis* “Orestis” is assigned NOM Case and moves to [Spec, *T*] to satisfy the EPP feature of *T*.

(49) [_{TP} *o Orestis* Past [_{PrP} *dhino-Pr* [_{VoiP} *to vivlio* <*dhino*>-*Voi*
 NOM ϕ ACC ϕ
 [_{AppIP} *stin Anastasia* <*dhino*>-*Appl* [_{ThP} <*to vivlio*> <*dhino*>-*Th*
 ϕ

²³ 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”).

[_{AgTP} <o Orestis> <dhino> [_{AgT} Agt <dhino>]]]]]]]]
 ϕ

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 *O Orestis estile to vivlio stin Anastasia sti Nea Iorki* ‘‘Orestis sent the book to Anastasia to New York’’ is derived.

(50) [_{TP} Orestis Past [_{VoiP} to vivlio stelno-Voi
 NOM ϕ ACC ϕ
 [_{AppIP} stin Anastasia <stelno>-Appl [_{ThP} <to vivlio> <stelno>-Th
 ϕ
 [_{GoalP} sti Nea Iorki <stelno>-Goal [_{AgTP} <Orestis> <stelno>-Agt
 ϕ
 <stelno>]]]]]]]]

Active: GEN > ACC

Based on Barss and Lasnik’s (1986) *each ... the other* test, we assume like Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005²⁴), that in SMG Appl asymmetrically c-commands 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).²⁵ To account for *O Orestis edhose tis Anastasias*

²⁴ Anagnostopoulou’s (2005) examples (14a-b) repeated here as (i) and (ii) respectively.

(i) Estila tis mias miteras to pedhi
 sent.1SG the.GEN one.GEN mother.GEN the.ACC child.ACC
 tis alis
 the.GEN other.GEN

‘‘I sent each mother the other’s child.’’

(ii) * Estila tis miteras tu alu
 sent.1SG the.GEN mother.GEN the.GEN other.GEN
 to ena pedhi
 the.ACC one.ACC child.ACC

* ‘‘I sent the other’s mother each child.’’

²⁵ Anagnostopoulou’s (2005) example (15):

* Estila to ena pedhi tis miteras
 sent.1SG the.ACC one.ACC child.ACC the.GEN mother.GEN

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.²⁶ 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} dhino-Voi [_{ApplP} Anastasia <dhino>-Appl
 NOM φ GEN
 [_{ThP} *to vivlio* <dhino>-Th [_{AgtP} <Orestis> <dhino>-Agt <dhino>]]]]]
 ACC φ

Passive: ACC > *se*-PP

To vivlio dhothike 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 *o Orestis* “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 will be an extra probe whose φ-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 *to vivlio* “the book”, it moves to [Spec, Voi] to satisfy the EPP feature of Voi.

Step 3: The Case feature of *to vivlio* “the book” is valued NOM by the probe on T and moves to [Spec, T]. Although the *se*-PP in [Spec, ApplP] intervenes when *to vivlio* “the book” moves from [Spec, ThP] to [Spec, VoiP], the derivation does not crash, because the PP does not bear any φ-features.

tu alu
the.GEN other.GEN

“I sent each child (to) the other’s mother.”

²⁶ The other possibility would be to assume that there is a VoiP, which lacks a probe.

(52) [_{TP} to vivlio Past [_{PrP} Pr [_{VoIP} <to vivlio> dhino+OME [_{AppIP} stin
 NOM ϕ ϕ
 Anastasia <dhino>-Appl [_{ThP} <to vivlio> <dhino>-Th [_{AgtP} [apo ton Oresti]
 ϕ
 <dhino>-Agt <dhino>]]]]]]]

Passive: GEN > ACC

In the case of genitive DPs in passive constructions (e.g., **To vivlio dhothike tis Anastasias apo ton Oresti* “The book was given Anastasia by Orestis”), the intervention of the DP_{GEN} when the probe in T looks for a matching goal causes the derivation to crash, because the DP_{GEN} bears ϕ -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 T²⁷.
- In the case of clitic doubling, the clitic “absorbs” the ϕ -features of the DP_{GEN} in [Spec, ApplP], thus permitting the probe in T to form an Agree relation with the DP_{THEME} and assign it NOM Case in spite of the intervening DP_{APPL}. By absorption of the ϕ -features, we mean that the agreement of the ϕ -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_{THEME} in [-Ben] ditransitives can have structural Case. An intervening PP in ApplP won’t block the Agree relation between the probe and DP_{THEME}, since it has no ϕ -features. However, an intervening inherent DP_{GEN} in ApplP will block Agree between the probe and the DP_{THEME} for the same reason it does in passive sentences, namely, because inherent DP_{GEN} has ϕ -features that are nearer to the probe than the ones in the DP_{THEME}. So the structural Case feature of the Th will never be able to get valued. Moreover, there is no rescue

²⁷ Note that the order of the clitics is predicted by our theory.

mechanism in nominals, as there is in passives, because nominalizations do not allow clitics. Unlike verbs, nominals cannot assign inherent Case.

- (53) a. * I anatesi tis askisis tu
 the.NOM assignment.NOM the.GEN exercise.GEN the.GEN
 Oresti
 Orestis.GEN
- b. I anatesi tis askisis
 the.NOM assignment.NOM the.GEN exercise.GEN
 s-ton Oresti
 to-the.ACC Orestis.ACC
- c. I anatesi tis askisis
 the.NOM assignment.NOM the.GEN exercise.GEN
- d. * I anatesi tu Oresti
 the.NOM assignment.NOM the.GEN Orestis.GEN

GEN-PP Benefactive Ditransitives

Active

To account for (54a) and (54b), we assume that both *se*-PP and DP_{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. O Orestis majirepse rizoto
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM cooked.3SG rizoto.ACC
 s-tin Anastasia
 to-the.ACC Anastasia.ACC
- b. O Orestis majirepse tis Anastasias
 the.NOM Orestis.NOM cooked.3SG the.GEN Anastasia.GEN
 rizoto
 risotto.ACC

Passive

How can one account for the fact that theme passivization in the presence of a DP_{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. * Rizoto majireftike tis Anastasias
 risotto.NOM was-cooked.3SG the.GEN Anastasia.GEN
 (apo ton Oresti)
 (by the.ACC Orestis.ACC)
- b. * Rizoto tis majireftike
 risotto.NOM her.GEN was-cooked.3SG
 (tis Anastasias)
 the.GEN Anastasia.GEN
- c. * Rizoto majireftike s-tin Anastasia
 risotto.NOM was-cooked.3SG to-the.ACC Anastasia.ACC

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. * To majirema tu rizoto tu
 the.NOM cooking.NOM the.GEN risotto.GEN the.GEN
 Oresti
 Orestis.GEN
- b. * To majirema tu rizoto s-ton
 the.NOM cooking.NOM the.GEN risotto.GEN to-the.ACC
 Oresti
 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 *O Orestis majirepse tis Anastasias rizoto ja to jo tis* ‘‘Orestis cooked Anastasia risotto for her son’’ is derived as follows:

(57) [_{TP} Orestis Past [_{VoiP} majirevo-Voi [_{AppIP} tis Anastasias
 NOM ϕ GEN
 <majirevo>-Appl [_{ThP} rizoto <majirevo>-Th [_{BenP} ja to jo tis
 ACC
 <majirevo>-Ben [_{AgtP} <Orestis> <majirevo>-Agt <majirevo>]]]]]]
 ϕ

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 nominativized 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 why clitic doubling and cliticization of the Th in active²⁸ are not licit.

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.

²⁸ 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.

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.

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