

ON CLITICS, PREPOSITIONS AND CASE LICENSING IN STANDARD AND MACEDONIAN GREEK

ALEXIS DIMITRIADIS
University of Pennsylvania
619 Williams Hall
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6305
alexis@ling.upenn.edu

1. Introduction

Doubling in Romance languages is subject to *Kayne's generalization*, which states that a doubled object must be introduced by a preposition.

- (1) Lo vimos *(a) Juan. (Spanish)
CL we-saw Juan

This behavior suggests that clitics absorb Case, requiring the presence of another Case assigner in order for doubling to be licit. But other languages systematically violate Kayne's generalization:

- (2) a. Ton idame to Giorgo. (Greek)
CL we-saw the George

Indirect objects in Greek can be expressed either in the genitive, or as a preposition plus an accusative NP. But only the non-prepositional alternative can be doubled by a clitic, which is precisely the opposite to that predicted by Kayne's generalization.

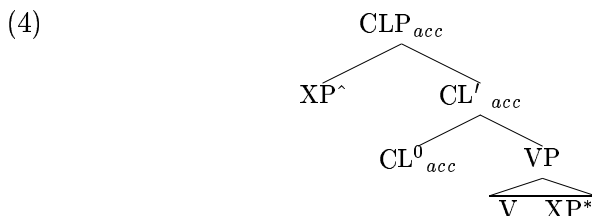
- (3) a. (Tou) egrapsa tou Giorgou.
CL/gen I-wrote the George/gen
b. (*Tou) egrapsa s-to Giorgo.
CL/gen I-wrote to-the George/acc

I am grateful to Sabine Iatridou, Michael Hegarty, Spyridoula Varlokosta, Elena Anagnostopoulou and Roumyana Izvorski for their considerable contributions to the conception and expression of the ideas presented in this paper. I also wish to thank an anonymous reviewer for a multitude of constructive suggestions. I remain solely responsible for all errors.

Bulgarian follows a mixed pattern; doubled indirect objects are preceded by a preposition, in accordance with Kayne’s generalization, but doubled direct objects are not. Such phenomena call into question not only the cross-linguistic validity of Kayne’s generalization, but also the explanation provided for it, namely, that doubled objects require a preposition in order to receive Case.

In this paper I argue that verbs hosting a clitic do assign Case to a doubled object, and that the doubling clitic can crucially participate in the assignment of Case. The argument is based on a number of constructions which *require* a clitic, sometimes allowing, but at others prohibiting a doubled NP. The existence of such constructions can be taken to demonstrate that clitics participate in Case assignment. In answer to the question of *why* the clitics are obligatory, I will argue that Greek verbs are defective Case assigners; in obligatory-clitic constructions, indirect object NPs must receive Case through the mediation of a clitic or a “light” preposition, with the result that genitive or accusative is assigned instead of dative.

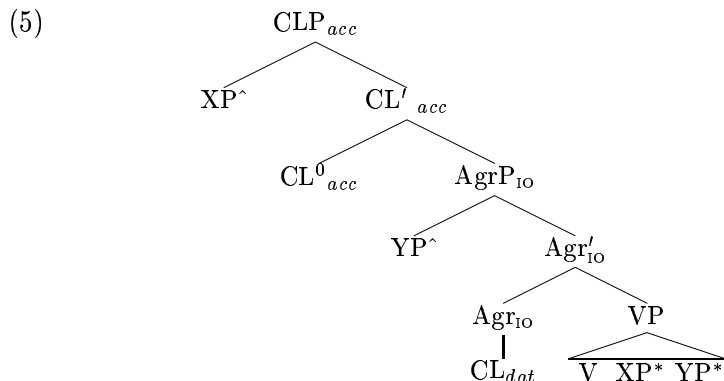
I will assume the analysis of clitics proposed by Sportiche (1992), and adopted for Greek by Anagnostopoulou (1993, 1994). Clitics are functional heads that head their own projection, and never appear as complements of the verb. The verb-complement position is occupied by a doubled XP*, overt or null, which must be licensed through specifier–head agreement by moving, overtly or covertly, to the specifier XP^ of the projection headed by the clitic. The structure relevant to direct object clitics is given below.



The *Doubly Filled Voice Filter* (Sportiche 1992:28) guarantees that when both CL⁰ and XP* are overt (that is, in clitic-doubling configurations), movement to XP^ can only occur at LF. When H is overt and XP* is null we have cliticization without doubling, while null H and overt XP*, which can involve overt movement to XP^, corresponds to certain scrambling constructions.

Sportiche’s analysis involves an important difference between direct and indirect object clitics. He provides syntactic evidence that movement to the specifier of the projection headed by direct object clitics is A’ movement, while movement to the specifier of dative clitics is A movement. Accordingly, he concludes that direct object clitics head a separate “Accusative Voice” projection (denoted by CLP_{acc} above), but indirect object clitics ap-

pear in the head of the dative equivalent of AgrO. The resulting structure is shown below.¹



Clitic doubling has semantic consequences that have been studied at some length (e.g., see Anagnostopoulou (1993), Uriagereka (1995)). One relevant aspect is the fact that doubling of direct objects has certain well-studied interpretational effects, involving specificity and status in discourse, which are absent when indirect objects are doubled. (cf. Suñer (1988) for Spanish). Here, however, I will focus exclusively on issues of Case.

2. Indirect objects in Greek

Modern Greek has lost the morphological dative case of Ancient Greek; formerly dative constructions are typically expressed with the preposition *se* ('at' or 'to') followed by an NP carrying morphological accusative. When followed by a determiner, *se* obligatorily incorporates into it and appears as the prefix *s-*.

- (6) a. Edosa ta vivlia s-to Giorgo.
I-gave the books to-the George/acc
b. Egrapsa s-ti Maria.
I-wrote to-the Mary/acc

Depending on the verb, a number of prepositions are used. Of these *se* is by far the most common, but *apo* 'from' and *me* 'with' are also seen with some frequency.

- (7) a. Zita apo to Giorgo ena potiri nero.
ask from the George/acc one glass water/acc
'Ask George for a glass of water.'

¹In Sportiche's (1992) account, clitic heads cliticize to higher functional categories, with the result that this structure does not necessarily make a prediction about their surface order; if left adjunction is assumed, we predict a surface order that is the reverse of the order of projections, namely $CL_{dat} CL_{acc}$, which is the usual order for Greek clitics.

I will refer to this construction as “periphrastic dative,” a term intended to be purely descriptive: I will leave open for now the question of whether *se* should be considered a Case assigner or, as suggested by the name I have chosen, a reflex of dative morphology.

Indirect objects are not always expressed in the periphrastic dative. In the standard dialect, spoken in Athens and most of southern Greece, (abbreviated SG), an indirect object may instead carry morphological genitive. This construction is slightly awkward with some verbs, clitic doubling being the preferred alternative, but is quite grammatical. Genitive and periphrastic dative constructions are synonymous, and the use of one or the other seems to be an optional stylistic matter.

- (8) a. Edosa tou Giorgou ta vivlia. (SG)
 I-gave the George/gen the books/acc
 ‘I gave George the books.’
 b. Egrapsa tis Marias.
 I-wrote the Maria/gen
 ‘I wrote to Mary.’

If the indirect object is a clitic pronoun, it invariably receives morphological genitive:

- (9) a. Tou edosa ta vivlia. (SG)
 CL/masc/gen I-gave the books/acc
 ‘I gave him the books.’
 b. Tis egrapsa.
 CL/fem/gen I-wrote
 ‘I wrote to her.’

In doubling constructions, clitic and overt NP must always receive the same Case; when a dative clitic is doubled, both the clitic and the overt object must appear in the genitive, that is, periphrastic dative is disallowed on the doubled NP:

- (10) a. Tou edosa ta vivlia tou Giorgou. (SG)
 CL/gen I-gave the books/acc the George/gen
 ‘I gave George the books.’
 b. * Tou edosa ta vivlia sto Giorgo.
 CL/gen I-gave the books/acc to-the George/acc
- (11) a. Tis egrapsa tis Marias.
 CL/gen I-wrote the Maria/gen
 ‘I wrote to Maria.’
 b. * Tis egrapsa sti Maria.
 CL/gen I-wrote to-the Maria/acc

This in effect makes Greek diametrically opposite to the pattern described by Kayne's generalization: far from being necessary to clitic doubling, prepositions are actually incompatible with it.

In the dialect spoken in most of northern Greece, especially rural areas of Macedonia, periphrastic dative is again universally available. But instead of using a genitive clitic to refer to an indirect object, the Macedonian dialect uses accusative clitics. Clitic doubling is readily available; as might be expected, the doubled object must also receive (bare) accusative.

- (12) a. Ton edosa ta vivlia (to Giorgio). (NG)
 CL/acc I-gave the books/acc (the George/acc)
 'I gave him (George) the books.'
- b. * Ton edosa ta vivlia sto Giorgio.
 him/acc I-gave the books/acc to-the George/acc
- (13) a. Tin egrapsa (ti Maria).
 CL/acc I-wrote (the Maria/acc)
 'I wrote to her (to Maria).'
- b. * Tin egrapsa sti Maria.
 CL/acc I-wrote to-the Maria/acc

So far Macedonian Greek is just like the southern version, with the substitution of accusative for genitive as the reflex of dative. But while a bare genitive object is grammatical in the southern dialect (SG), as in sentence (8), the Macedonian dialect typically does not allow a dative object to carry bare accusative in the absence of a clitic.² Thus sentences (14b) and (15b) are ungrammatical, unlike their SG counterparts in (8).

- (14) a. Edosa sto Giorgio ta vivlia.
 I-gave to-the George/acc the books/acc
- b. * Edosa to Giorgio ta vivlia.
 I-gave the George/acc the books/acc
- (15) a. Egrapsa sti Maria.
 I-wrote to-the Maria/acc
- b. * Egrapsa ti Maria.
 I-wrote the Maria/acc

Thus the presence of the clitic *adds* to the options for Case assignment, suggesting that clitics participate in the assignment of Case in doubled constructions.

To summarize the data: In both the standard and the Macedonian dialects, an indirect object can carry periphrastic dative. In addition, the

²Many speakers accept bare accusative with some verbs (usually very common ones). There is quite a bit of speaker variation on this point, although to my knowledge no speaker finds bare accusative universally acceptable as a way to express indirect objects.

Macedonian dialect allows an indirect object to be in the accusative, but only if it is doubled by an accusative clitic; the standard dialect allows genitive indirect objects, which can, but need not, be doubled by a genitive clitic. The following table lists the types of oblique objects allowed in the two dialects:

- (16) *Standard/Southern Greek (SG)*
- a. $se + NP_{acc}$ (“periphrastic dative”)
 - b. $CL_{gen} \dots (NP_{gen})$
 - c. * $CL_{gen} \dots se + NP_{acc}$
 - d. NP_{gen} (“bare” genitive)
- (17) *Macedonian/Northern Greek (NG)*
- a. $se + NP_{acc}$ (“periphrastic dative”)
 - b. $CL_{acc} \dots (NP_{acc})$
 - c. * $CL_{acc} \dots se + NP_{acc}$
 - d. * NP_{acc} (“bare” accusative)

In view of the structure in (5), there is a straightforward account of the role of the clitic in the Macedonian dialect. In order to receive Case in a specifier–head configuration, the indirect object must move to $\text{Spec}(\text{Agr}_{IO})$; the verb incorporates into Agr_{IO}^0 , which is already occupied by the indirect object clitic. This independently motivated process places the clitic in a position to participate in Case assignment. Suppose that the verb, in the absence of the clitic, is a defective Case assigner, unable to Case-mark an indirect object. This explains the ungrammaticality of (14b) and (15b). In the presence of the clitic, the clitic-verb complex assigns accusative Case, hence (12a) and (13a) are well-formed.

It remains to explain the incompatibility of the clitic with periphrastic dative, as in (12b) and (13b). We can appeal to reasons of Case, simply requiring that if YP^* appears in $\text{Spec}(\text{Agr}_{IO})$, it must receive the Case assigned by the verb-clitic complex. Sportiche’s account requires a doubled YP^* to check a certain [+F] feature at $\text{Spec}(\text{Agr}_{IO})$, hence this requirement effectively renders ungrammatical any configuration where YP^* cannot receive Case in this way.

If we accepted (which we should not, as I will argue below) that the preposition of periphrastic dative is an ordinary Case assigner, it would follow that periphrastic datives are prevented from appearing in $\text{Spec}(\text{Agr}_{IO})$, and hence cannot be doubled. This would explain the asymmetry between Spanish and Macedonian Greek, with respect to Kayne’s generalization, as a difference in the Case-assignment properties of the verb-clitic complex: in Spanish, which requires doubled NPs to be doubled by a preposition, the complex does not assign Case; in Greek, which prohibits this, it does. This would be consistent with the traditional explanation for why a preposition

is obligatory for doubled objects in Spanish, namely, that such objects do not receive Case from the verb.

However, things are a bit more complicated. The preceding analysis, which ties the need for a dative clitic in Greek to the need of the full NP object for Case, cannot account for the fact that indirect objects in Spanish must also be obligatorily doubled by a clitic. As Jaeggli (1986) reports, indirect objects in most dialects of Spanish are markedly degraded unless doubled by a dative clitic. (The clitic is in principle optional).

- (18) ??(Le_i) entregué el libro al profesor_i.
 CL I-gave the book to-the professor

We must abstract away from the fact that indirect objects in Greek have an alternate mode of realization (periphrastic dative), which is incompatible with clitic doubling. We can then say that in Spanish, as in Macedonian Greek, the presence of the clitic licenses the indirect object NP. In Macedonian Greek, the clitic licenses an object NP in the accusative, while in Spanish the clitic licenses the only available type of dative object, which happens to be introduced by a preposition.

In Spanish, then, the preposition is not in itself sufficient to license the indirect object; if the preposition was the sole source of Case for the indirect object, we would have to appeal to reasons other than Case for the obligatoriness of the dative clitic. Jaeggli (1986) concluded that verbs do assign Case to their indirect object; the preposition *a* is either a morphological reflex of dative case (hence not a true preposition at all), or else it serves to *transmit* Case to its complement. I will propose modifying our provisional assumption, that *se* is an ordinary Case-assigning preposition, and arguing instead that *se* transmits the Case assigned by the verb—or rather that it mediates, that is, participates along with the verb in the assignment of Case to its complement. A periphrastic dative phrase must receive defective Case; since a dative clitic in Macedonian Greek causes accusative Case to be assigned to its doubled complement, the latter cannot be in the periphrastic dative, just as a direct object, doubled or undoubled, could never be in the periphrastic dative. This analysis is defended in the following sections.

3. The Double Object Construction in Greek

A discussion of Case assignment to indirect objects must depend on the structure assumed for indirect objects in general, and double objects in particular. English ditransitive verbs can express their indirect object in two ways reminiscent of the alternation between genitive and the prepositionally introduced periphrastic dative of Greek:

- (19) a. I gave John the book. (double object)
 b. I gave the book to John. (oblique dative)

It is well known that these two constructions are structurally different; the problems posed by their properties were pointed out by Barss and Lasnik (1986), and received a widely accepted analysis by Larson (1988, 1990).

Given the obvious resemblance of the Greek ditransitive alternations to the English double object/oblique dative constructions, it is tempting to analyze the Greek periphrastic dative as the analogue of the English oblique dative, and genitive indirect objects as parallel to English double objects. Such an analysis was argued for by Catsimali (1990), and is apparently assumed by Campos (1991). However, on closer inspection such a parallel turns out to be untenable: the structural contrast that motivated Larson's analysis is systematically absent in Greek. In the absence of any evidence of a structural difference, we can conclude that genitive (or accusative) and periphrastic dative indirect objects occupy identical structural positions.

In the English *double object* constructions, the indirect object necessarily appears first, and can bind the direct object.

(Order: V IO DO)

- (20) a. I showed Mary herself (in the mirror). IO > DO
 b. * I showed herself Mary.

- (21) a. I gave every worker_i his_i paycheck.
 b. * I gave its_i owner every paycheck_i.

In *oblique dative* structures, both linear order and binding possibilities are reversed: the direct object precedes and can bind the indirect object.

(Order: V DO to IO)

- (22) a. * I showed herself to Mary. DO > IO
 b. I showed Mary to herself.

- (23) a. * I gave his_i paycheck to every worker_i.
 b. I gave every check_i to its_i owner.

In Greek, we fail to find a similar contrast: reflexive binding in sentences with (bare) genitive, periphrastic dative and doubled complements consistently patterns with the English double-object sentences, not the obliques. Sentence (24) shows that a periphrastic-dative indirect object binds a reflexive direct object, but not vice-versa. Sentence (25) shows that the same is true of bare-genitive and doubled indirect objects in the standard (SG) dialect; the Macedonian dialect behaves similarly.

(Order: V IO > DO)

- (24) a. Ediksa sti Meri ton eafto tis (ston kathrefti).
I-showed to-the Mary the self/acc her (in-the mirror)
'I showed Mary herself (in the mirror).'
- b. * Ediksa ston eafto tis ti Meri (ston kathrefti).
I-showed to-the self her the Mary/acc (in-the mirror)
* 'I showed herself Mary (in the mirror).'
- (25) a. (Tis_i) ediksa tis Meris_i ton eafto tis. (SG)
CL I-showed the Mary/gen the self/acc her
'I showed Mary herself.'
- b. * (Tou_i) ediksa tou eaftou_i tis ti Meri.
CL/gen I-showed the self/gen her the Mary/acc
* 'I showed herself Mary.'

Greek, which in general has relatively free word order, can realize the direct object before the indirect object without reversing their dominance relationship.³ (Since Greek nouns are clearly inflected for Case, none of these examples is ambiguous between the DO–IO and the IO–DO order).

(Order: V DO < IO)

- (26) a. Ediksa ton eafto tis sti Meri.
I-showed the self her to-the Mary
- b. * Ediksa ti Meri ston eafto tis.
I-showed the Mary to-the self her
- (27) a. (Tis_i) ediksa ton eafto tis tis Meris_i. (SG)
CL/gen I-showed the self her the Mary_i
- b. * (Tou_i) ediksa ti Meri tou eaftou_i tis.
CL/gen I-showed the Mary the self/gen her

In all the Greek examples shown so far, the indirect object can bind a reflexive direct object but not vice versa, regardless of linear order or the

³The alternative orders are not necessarily related to each other through scrambling. Alexiadou (*this volume*) shows that the binding relationship of a post-verbal subject to the direct object is dependent on their relative order.

- (i) a. * Se pion parousiase i mitera tou_i to kathe agori_i?
to whom presented the mother his the each boy
* 'To whom did his_i mother present each boy_i?'
b. Se pion parousiase to kathe agori_i i mitera tou_i?
to whom presented the each boy the mother his
'To whom did his_i mother present each boy_i?'

It should be noted that (i a) becomes grammatical if the object is doubled by a clitic:

- (ii) Se pion to_i parousiase i mitera tou_i to kathe agori_i?
to whom CL presented the mother his the each boy
'To whom did his_i mother present each boy_i?'

form of the indirect object. Surprisingly, a quantifier in the direct object can bind an indirect object appearing to its right. But again, there is no *contrast* between the different forms of indirect object: examples (28) and (29) show this for periphrastic datives and bare genitives, respectively.

- (28) a. Edosa tin kathe epitagi_i ston idioktiti tis_i.
 I-gave the each check to-the owner its
 ‘I gave each check to its owner.’
 b. * Edosa ston idioktiti tis_i tin kathe epitagi_i.
 I-gave to-the owner its the each check.
 * ‘I gave its owner each check.
- (29) a. Edosa tin kathe epitagi_i tou idioktiti tis_i. (SG)
 I-gave the each check the owner/gen its
 ‘I gave each check to its owner.’
 b. * Edosa tou idioktiti tis_i tin kathe epitagi_i.
 I-gave the owner/gen its the each check
 * ‘I gave to its owner each check.

The analysis of Greek ditransitives must remain beyond the scope of this paper. For my present purposes, what matters is the consistent *lack* of a structural contrast between genitive and periphrastic dative indirect objects. It is reasonable, then, to conclude that all types of oblique complement NP in Greek occupy the same structural position.⁴

The binding properties of the Greek and English objects are summarized in the following table.

(30) **English:**

Double objects:	IO > DO	NP _{dat} > NP _{acc}
Oblique datives:	DO > IO	NP _{acc} > to NP _{dat}

(31) **Greek (Reflexive binding):**

Periphrastic dative:	IO > DO	se NP _{acc}	> NP _{acc}
indirect object clitic:	IO > DO	CL _{gen}	> NP _{acc}
doubling clitic:	IO > DO	CL _{gen} NP _{gen}	> NP _{acc}
(bare) genitive object:	IO > DO	NP _{gen}	> NP _{acc}

(The Greek binding facts are insensitive to constituent order).

⁴After this paper was presented, Anagnostopoulou and Everaert (1995, 1996) proposed an analysis of the phenomena presented here, which retains the treatment of the two types of indirect object in Greek as corresponding to the two types present in English. The lack of a binding contrast is explained within the framework of reflexivity, by claiming an asymmetry between Greek, in which binding is said to be determined by *th-prominence*, and English, in which it is not. I will not address their analysis here; but if it is correct, it is clear that the present account of the Case licensing of periphrastic datives should be revised accordingly.

4. The Case of periphrastic datives

What is the source of the Case assigned to the NP appearing in periphrastic dative constructions? Given that the Case filter requires NPs to receive Case from *somewhere*, there are two logical possibilities.

- a. There is no extrinsic source of Case, i.e., the preposition heading the periphrastic dative phrase is the sole source of Case. Verbs do not assign Case to periphrastic dative objects.
- b. Case is assigned extrinsically (e.g., by the verb or AgrO).

In section 2 we considered one problem associated with option (a), namely, the fact that if we take the preposition to be the sole source of Case for its complement, we must look elsewhere for an explanation of the obligatoriness of dative clitics in Spanish. Even if we restrict our attention to Greek, there are problems with option (a), which can be summarized with the observation that periphrastic dative objects behave as if they occupy a Case-assigned, not a Case-less, position.

Indirect objects in Greek never raise to a non-thematic, Case-assigned position. For example, they cannot become the subjects of passives:

- (32) a. * O Nikos diavastike ta dikeomata tou
 the Nikos was-read the rights his
 * ‘Nikos was read his rights.’
 b. * O Nikos apandithike.
 the Nikos was-answered

If verbs in Macedonian Greek did not assign Case to their indirect object, we would expect these sentences to be grammatical.

Conversely, why can't Case-less direct objects ever be licensed by *se*? For example, why can't the underlying direct objects of unaccusatives and passives stay *in situ*?

- (33) a. * *pro* Irthe sto Niko.
 expl. came to-the Nikos/acc
 ‘Nikos came.’

It seems that periphrastic dative objects are assigned Case extrinsically by the verb, that is, that the preposition of periphrastic datives is not an independent Case assigner. This allows for the following two possibilities:

- a. The elements heading periphrastic dative phrases are not really prepositions; they are just bits of dative morphology, expressing the Case assigned directly by the verb or locative.
- b. Case is assigned extrinsically, but cannot be “realized” directly by the NP; *se* or another “light” preposition heads a Case-assigned PP and “mediates” the assignment of Case to its complement.

Since several different prepositions can head a periphrastic dative complement, and the choice between them is not free, they cannot be treated as morphological reflexes of Case unless we postulate a different “Case” for each one. It is preferable to assume that a single form of Case is assigned by the verb, and that it is *transmitted* to the NP by the preposition heading the periphrastic dative construction, along the lines suggested by Jaeggli (1986) for the preposition *a* in Spanish. A particular preposition can be used as long as its semantics are *compatible* with those of the relationship it expresses. Thus most obliques are compatible with a goal or benefactive interpretation and are introduced with *se* ‘at/to’; those expressing source are introduced by *apo* ‘from’; and some arguments, not being compatible with any of the available prepositions, cannot be expressed through periphrastic dative at all.

5. More Obligatory Clitics

In the preceding sections, I argued that clitics or “light” prepositions mediate in the assignment of Case to the indirect object NPs of verbs in obligatory-clitic constructions. But the indirect objects of Macedonian Greek and Spanish are not the only context in which a clitic argument is required or preferred. A variety of marked constructions in both Greek and Spanish also require clitics. While many of those employ genitive clitics in standard Greek and accusative clitics in the Macedonian dialect, others use genitive clitics in both dialects.

5.1. DATIVES OF POSSESSION

The so-called “datives of inalienable possession” (which does not actually need to be inalienable) must also be expressed with a clitic. Jaeggli (1986) proposes that the clitic augments the thematic grid of the verb it is used with. As the following example shows, datives of possession can be doubled.

- (34) a. Le_i examinaron los dientes al caballo $_i$.
 ‘They examined the horse’s teeth.’
 b. Le duele la cabeza a Juan.
 ‘John has a headache.’

Greek also have datives of possession; like indirect objects, they are expressed in the genitive in southern Greek, and in the accusative in Macedonian. As in Spanish, the clitic is obligatory (in *both* dialects).

- (35) a. Tou Giorgou tou ponai to kefali (tou). (SG)
 the George/gen CL/gen hurts the head (his/gen)
 ‘George has a headache.’

- b. Ton Giorgio ton ponai to kefali (tou). (NG)
 the George/acc CL/acc hurts the head (his/gen)
 ‘George has a headache.’

The preposed NP is not a scrambled possessor: note that the possessive clitic (which is optional) is in the genitive in both dialects, while the preposed NP *tou Giorgou/ton Giorgio* agrees in Case with the verbal clitic.

Datives of possession should not be confused with *ethical datives*, which both Greek and Spanish also have.

- (36) a. Juan me le_i arruinó la vida a esa chica $_i$.
 Juan eCL CL ruined the life to that girl
 ‘Juan ruined that girl’s life (and this affects me).’
 b. Mi mou stenachorite to pedi. (SG)
 not CL/gen/1sg upset the kid
 ‘Don’t upset the kid (which concerns me).’

In such constructions the referent of the clitic is not an argument of the verb, but is an entity somehow interested in the situation being described. An ethical dative clitic must be in the first or second person, and can never be doubled.⁵

5.2. VARIOUS OBLIQUE COMPLEMENTS

Both standard and Macedonian Greek have numerous verbs which require that an oblique complement be expressed as a clitic. Some allow a doubled NP, but others do not. Some, but not all, allow a full NP to be introduced by a preposition. The following examples, both in the standard dialect, allow a clitic or a clitic-doubled NP. Sentence (37c) shows that the argument of *epese* ‘fell’ cannot be introduced by the preposition *apo* ‘from’ (or any other); while as (38b) shows, the object of *andistathike* ‘resisted’ can be introduced by the preposition *se*. (As before, a clitic cannot double an NP introduced by a preposition).

- (37) a. *(Tis) epese to potiri tou papa (tis Marias).
 CL/gen fell the glass/nom the priest/gen the Maria/gen
 ‘She (Maria) dropped the priest’s glass.’
 b. * Epese tis Marias to potiri tou papa.
 fell the Maria/gen the glass/nom the priest/gen
 * ‘Maria dropped the priest’s glass.’

⁵Pace Warburton (1977), the clitic in (36b) cannot be replaced by the NP *gia mena* ‘for me’ without some change in meaning:

- (i) *Gia mena, mi to stenachorite to pedi.*
 ‘For my sake, don’t upset the kid.’

- c. * Epese apo ti Maria to potiri tou papa.
 fell from the Maria/acc the glass/nom the priest/gen
- (38) a. O Petros *(tis) andistathike (tis Marias).
 the Petros CL/gen resisted the Maria/gen
 ‘Petros resisted Maria.’
- b. O Petros (*tis) andistathike (s-ti Maria).
 the Petros CL/gen resisted to-the Maria/acc
 ‘Petros resisted Maria.’

In the Macedonian dialect, the genitive would be replaced by accusative, as before, and the judgments would be the same as above.

5.3. LOCATIVE PREPOSITIONS

Greek allows the complement of most complex locative prepositions (“near the house,” “with the children”) to be expressed with a genitive clitic.⁶ Such prepositions categorically prohibit bare genitive objects: full NP complements must be introduced by a “light” preposition, just like the indirect objects of verbs in Macedonian Greek. Several prepositions are possible in this context.

- (39) a. Brosta s-to spiti.
 in-front at-the house/acc
 ‘In front of the house.’
- b. Brosta tou.
 in-front CL/gen
- c. * Brosta tou spitiou.
 in-front the house/gen
- (40) a. Mazi me ti Maria.
 together with the Maria/acc
 ‘With Maria’.
- b. Mazi tis.
 with CL/gen
- c. * Mazi tis Marias.
 together the Maria/gen

Thus locative prepositions behave very similarly to the obligatory-clitic verbs: an argument must be expressed either as a genitive clitic (in all

⁶There is no clear pattern to which of these prepositions exceptionally prohibit clitics. For example *brosta* ‘in front of’ and *piso* ‘behind’ allow clitics, while *kato* ‘below’ disallows them and *pano* ‘on/above’ allows them only when it means ‘on’.

dialects) or as a periphrastic dative NP.⁷ Clitic doubling in these constructions is usually degraded, but seems to be at least sometimes possible:

- (41) Ta klidia tis Marias itan brosta tou_i tou Giorgou_i, alla
 the keys the Maria/gen were in-front CL/gen the George/gen but
 den ta evlepe.
 not them saw
 ‘Mary’s keys were in front of George, but he did not see them.’

These constructions carry genitive case, even in the Macedonian dialect. Thus Macedonian distinguishes between the indirect objects of verbs, which must be expressed as prepositional phrases or accusative clitics, and the complements of locative prepositions, which must be expressed as prepositional phrases or *genitive* clitics.

We see then the same alternation as with the indirect objects of Macedonian Greek: an argument can be expressed only as a clitic, possibly doubled, or as a prepositional phrase, never as an undoubled bare NP.

The clitic complements of locatives were studied by Terzi (1991), who proposed an analysis much along the lines of the account developed here. Terzi points out that locatives in Ancient Greek could license genitive complements directly, and argues that Modern Greek locatives have lost the ability to do so. Her analysis involves an empty functional head *below* the locative preposition, between the locative and the light preposition. This head is assigned genitive Case (through government) by the locative, thus discharging the latter’s Case feature. The NP complement is independently assigned accusative by the light preposition that governs it.

Since current views of Case require that it always be assigned in a specifier-head configuration, I will take Case assignment to proceed via an agreement projection appearing above, not below, the locative. I have

⁷A word may be necessary about the difference between prepositions that do not allow bare NP arguments (presumably because they do not assign Case to them) and prepositions that are introduced in order to assign Case to NPs. It may be simplest—though not necessarily correct—to think of the former as adverbs with arguments, not true prepositions. They have clear semantics (mostly locative), they can be used without arguments as (conventional) adverbs, and they are phonologically strong. Case-assigning prepositions, on the other hand, tend to be semantically vague, must always have a complement, and are phonologically weak.

The reader is referred to Theofanopoulou-Kondou (*this volume*, and refs. cited there), who studies this issue in detail. She adopts Starke’s (1993) distinction of *colorful* and *colorless* prepositions (the former basically comprising the complex, contentful prepositions), and argues that colorless prepositions may occupy a C⁰ head, while the colorful ones appear in P⁰.

Schneider-Zioga (1994) also treats both types as prepositions; she notes that locative prepositions cannot take a reflexive complement, and that conversely “lighter” prepositions, which do not accept clitics, allow reflexives.

At any rate it is clear that the two types of preposition differ systematically in fundamental ways.

argued that the light prepositions that introduce periphrastic dative objects are not independent Case assigners, but mediate in the assignment of Case to their complement. The PP complements of locatives can be taken to have the same status, with Case assigned by the light preposition in conjunction with the locative.

6. Conclusion

In the constructions presented in the previous sections, accusative or genitive oblique NPs are in complementary distribution with periphrastic datives: the former can co-occur with clitics but not with clitic-less verbs or locatives; while periphrastic datives co-occur with locative prepositions and with verbs without a clitic, but not with clitics.

I have argued that what is at issue is Case licensing: a “bare” NP cannot appear because it fails to be Case-licensed. Since the presence of a clitic licenses an NP object in most of these environments, we conclude that clitics contribute to the Case-licensing capacity of the verb or locative. By themselves, such verbs and locatives are *defective* Case assigners, which cannot directly assign Case to an NP complement.

It is possible to provide a concrete interpretation for the “defectiveness” of the Case assigned by these verbs. Recall that Modern Greek lacks the morphological dative of Ancient Greek. Suppose that Greek verbs assign (abstract) dative to their oblique complements; because Greek no longer has morphological dative case, NPs cannot directly receive dative, and Case assignment must be mediated by a clitic or “light” preposition. Perhaps by virtue of being closed-class items, clitics and light prepositions are capable of receiving dative Case from the verb, and in turn they assign genitive or accusative to their complement.

Unfortunately, this story cannot be straightforwardly extended to locative prepositions, since these assigned genitive, not dative, in Ancient Greek. Moreover, as noted in section 5.3, they contrast with verbs in Macedonian Greek, since periphrastic datives alternate with accusative clitics as the complements of verbs, but with genitive clitics as the complements of locative prepositions. We can only conclude that verbs and locatives have slightly different properties, which determine whether the “defective” Case they assign is realized by the host-clitic complex as genitive or accusative. But the identity of this defective Case must remain rather abstract in nature.

One more messy part remains to the story: Recall that the indirect objects of verbs in standard Greek can generally appear carrying “bare” genitive. We must assume that most verbs of standard Greek have the option of assigning genitive to their indirect object instead of dative, often

somewhat marginally. Similarly, but much less often, some verbs of Macedonian Greek may assign accusative to their indirect object.

The account developed here explains a characteristic of obligatory-clitic constructions that I have not dwelled on until now: although direct objects can be doubled in a number of languages, including Greek and some dialects of Spanish, no obligatory-clitic constructions involve direct objects.⁸ The reason can now be readily seen: NPs can realize accusative Case directly, so the mediation of a clitic or preposition is never needed for direct objects, which are assigned accusative. Recall also that according to Sportiche (1992), dative clitics occupy Agr_{IO}^0 while accusative clitics head their own “Clitic Voice” projection. Although it is in principle possible that Case features could be checked by specifier-head agreement at the Clitic Voice projection, it remains true that dative clitics are intimately involved with the locus of Case assignment.

This framework works for Spanish dative clitics as well: In Spanish, dative is always realized through an *a* phrase. The Case assigned by verbs to their indirect objects is slightly “defective,” hence clitic doubling is the preferred way to license dative objects. But Spanish, unlike Greek, has “real” dative clitics: Indirect object clitics in Spanish assign dative to their doubled NPs, which is once again realized prepositionally.

Kayne’s generalization draws a sharp line between Spanish, which obeys it, and Greek, which violates it. The analysis I presented here treats the difference between the two languages as a difference not in the presence or absence of Case, but in the *identity* of the Case assigned by indirect object clitics. This reduces Kayne’s generalization to an accident of morphology: Languages that obey it have clitics that assign Case that cannot be realized by bare NPs. Languages that violate it have clitics that assign better-behaved Case. The correctness of this viewpoint can be seen by examining the Bulgarian clitic system, which appears to partly obey and partly violate Kayne’s generalization.

Bulgarian has almost completely collapsed the dative and genitive cases (although the name “genitive” is traditionally used for possessives, and the name “dative” for oblique objects). Dative/genitive NPs (with the exception of prenominal genitives, which I will ignore) are expressed periphrastically, by prefixing the NP with the preposition *na*. Doubled dative/genitive NPs are expressed in exactly the same way.

⁸Certain NPs, for example the bare quantifier *ola* ‘all’, cannot be used as direct objects unless they are doubled by a clitic. In these cases the requirement for a clitic is conditioned on the identity of the *object* rather than that of the Case assigner. Since they differ so markedly from the phenomena presented in this paper, I will assume that they are indicative of a different phenomenon. See Anagnostopoulou (1993) for discussion of these examples.

- (42) a. prijatelkata (mu_i) na Ivan_i.
 the-girlfriend CL/gen of Ivan
 ‘Ivan’s girlfriend’
 b. Dadoh (mu_i) pismoto na Ivan_i.
 I-gave CL/dat the-letter to Ivan
 ‘I gave the letter to Ivan.’

Thus indirect objects and possessives appear to obey Kayne’s generalization. However, direct objects also appear in the same form whether or not they are doubling a clitic:

- (43) Vidjah (go) Ivan.
 I-saw CL/acc Ivan
 ‘I saw Ivan.’

In this case Bulgarian appears to violate Kayne’s generalization, since the doubled NP is not introduced by a preposition. It should be clear that there is no real inconsistency in the Bulgarian pattern. Bulgarian consistently puts doubled objects in the same form they take when they are undoubled; it so happens that Bulgarian expresses dative/genitive periphrastically, and accusative holophrastically. Clitic doubling is simply irrelevant to this pattern, i.e., clitics in Bulgarian do not modify the Case assigned by the verb.

References

- Anagnostopoulou, Elena (1993) “On the Representation of Clitic Doubling in Modern Greek,” ms., U. of Salzburg/U. of Tilburg.
 Anagnostopoulou, Eleni (1994) *Clitic Dependencies in Modern Greek*, Doctoral dissertation, Universität Salzburg.
 Anagnostopoulou, Elena, and Martin Everaert (1996) “Asymmetries in Binding: Configurational and Thematic Effects on Anaphora,” paper presented at the 19th GLOW Colloquium, Athens.
 Barss, Andrew, and Howard Lasnik (1986) “A Note on Anaphora and Double Objects,” *Linguistic Inquiry* 17:2, 347–354.
 Brugè, Laura, and Gerhard Brugger (1993) “On the Accusative ‘A’ in Spanish,” ms., Università di Venezia, October 1993.
 Campos, Héctor (1991) “Indirect Object Alternations in Modern Greek,” ms., Georgetown University, May 1991.
 Catsimali, Georgia (1990) *Case in Modern Greek: Implications for Clause Structure*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Reading.
 Izvorski, Roumyana (1993) “Genitive Clitics,” ms., University of Pennsylvania, December 1993.
 Jackendoff, Ray (1990) “On Larson’s Treatment of the Double Object Construction,” *Linguistic Inquiry* 21:3, 427–456.
 Jaeggli, Osvaldo (1986) “Three Issues in the Theory of Clitics: Case, Doubled NPs, and Extraction,” in Hagit Borer, ed., *The Syntax of Pronominal Clitics*, volume 19 of *Syntax and Semantics*, Academic Press, 15–42.
 Kayne, Richard S. (1994) *The Antisymmetry of Syntax*, Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 25, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass.
 Larson, Richard K. (1988) “On the Double Object Construction,” *Linguistic Inquiry*

- 19:3, 335–392.
- Larson, Richard K. (1990) “Double Objects Revisited: Reply to Jackendoff,” *Linguistic Inquiry* 21:4, 589–632.
- Schneider-Zioga, Patricia (1994) *The Syntax of Clitic Doubling in Modern Greek*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California.
- Sportiche, Dominique (1992) “Clitic Constructions,” ms., UCLA, September 1992.
- Suñer, Margarita (1988) “The Role of Agreement in Clitic-Doubled Constructions,” *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 6, 391–434.
- Terzi, Arhonto (1991) “Genitive Clitics of Prepositions,” ms., CUNY Graduate Center, November 1991.
- Uriagereka, Juan (1995) “Aspects of the Syntax of Clitic Placement in Western Romance,” *Linguistic Inquiry* 26:1, 79–123.
- Warburton, Irene P. (1977) “Modern Greek Clitic Pronouns and the ‘Surface Structure Constraints’ Hypothesis,” *Journal of Linguistics* 13, 259–281.