Chapter 11

Rethinking French dative clitics in light of frozen scope effects

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Frozen scope effects as found in double object constructions in English are shown to be found in French too. They arise when an indirect object is doubled with a dative clitic as in clitic left or right dislocation but not otherwise. This minimally suggests that dative clitics do not simply represent the counterpart of prepositional indirect objects, which do not exhibit frozen scope effects.

1 Introduction

English has both a prepositional dative construction (PDC) and a double object construction (DOC) with different properties.[1] One distinguishing property is the frozen scope effect only found in the DOC. First, this note documents that this effect is sometimes found in French too and concludes that French, like English, has a distinction between PDCs and DOCs, as suggested in Anagnostopoulou (2005). It next discusses the fact that this effect is only found in the presence of a dative clitic, suggesting that dative clitics are only available for IOs in DOC constructions and not in PDC constructions and discusses how DOCs surface in French and concludes they do not.

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[1]Some terminology: I will discuss pairs such as *Mary sent Bill flowers, Mary sent flowers to Bill*. I will call the latter the prepositional dative construction (PDC) and the former the double object construction (DOC). I will call indirect object (IO) the DP interpreted as the goal/recipient/ intended possessor/benefactives/malefactives, namely *Bill* here. I will call direct object (DO) the DP that interpreted as the theme/patient, here *flowers*.

2 CLLD

2.1 Basics

To illustrate the frozen scope effect in French, I will use CLitic Left Dislocation (CLLD). I could have equally well used CLitic Right Dislocation (CLRD) and will make scattered remarks about it. French CLLD is illustrated below and can affect any XP which can be associated with a clitic, a weak pronominal form (with a different distribution than its non pronominal counterparts):

(1)   a. **Jean**, **il**   est parti.
        John, he is   left

      b. **Jean**, on **le**   connait.
        John, we him know

      c. **A Paris**, on **y**   va souvent.
        To Paris, we there go often

      d. **Triste**, Albert pourrait **le** devenir.
        Sad,   Albert could   it become

Several properties distinguish the sometimes superficially similar CLLD from hanging topic left dislocation (HTLD), e.g. the following two (cf. Alexiadou 2017, or Krapova & Cinque 2008):

- HTLD can only be found in root contexts, CLLD appears in both root and non-root contexts.

- There can be more than one CLLD-ed XP in a clause, but no more than one HTLD-ed DP.

Accordingly, all the CLLD sentences to come should be considered subordinate clauses, or follow an independent Topic, making the relevant element the second of two consecutive Topics, even if this is not explicitly indicated.

2.2 CLLD is movement

We now show that CLLD is movement, without worrying about the kind of movement involved. A fuller discussion of the derivation properties is given in Angelopoulos & Sportiche (2017).

2.2.1 Scope reconstruction

A (further) difference between CLLD and HTLD is the presence vs. absence of connectivity effects. It can be observed if Case is differentially marked: hanging Topics do not exhibit Case connectivity with the resumptive element and consequently the Topic appears in the default case, unlike what happens with CLLD. Most telling among connectivity effects however is the fact that reconstruction effects are observed with CLLD, demonstrating that CLLD is, or can be, a movement dependency between a left peripheral and a clause internal position. Indeed, reconstruction of a high-XP to a low-XP position as in the adjacent tree arises if and only if low-XP is the trace of high-XP.

(2)
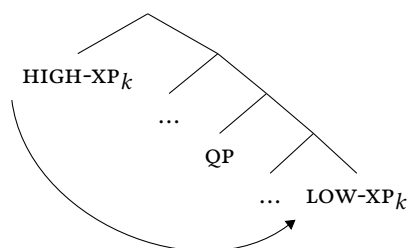
Here, it will suffice to show that (total) reconstruction is possible for pronominal binding. In the tree above, if the high-XP contains a pronoun bound by the QP, with the QP not outscoping it, total reconstruction of high-XP is required to within the scope of this QP to put the pronoun in the scope of QP. This thus diagnoses the presence of a trace in the c-command domain of the quantifier. Reconstruction is said to be total iff low-XP is interpreted and high-XP is not interpreted at all. This is standardly illustrated by:

(3) Quelle photo de lui   est-ce-que personne (ne) vend (photo   de
     [Which ~~picture of his$_k$~~]$_j$ did   **nobody$_k$** NEG sell   [picture of
     lui)?
     his$_k$]$_j$

Here *picture of his* (in fact possibly *which picture of his*) is totally reconstructed to its trace as *nobody* cannot outscope the clause initial position of the wh-phrase.

2.2.2 CLLD reconstruction

Reconstruction of CLLD-ed constituents for pronominal binding can be readily illustrated. First, a CLLD-ed DO or IO for example can totally reconstruct be-

low the subject of its clause.[2] Note that we typically (but not exclusively) use "negative" quantifiers to prevent the possibility of them outscoping the preposed CLLD-ed XP:

(4)   a. [La prof   de sa$_j$ fille]$_k$,   aucun parent$_j$ (ne) la$_k$ connait bien.
          the teacher of his daughter, no   parent NEG her knows well

      b. [À la prof   de sa$_j$ fille]$_k$,   aucun parent$_j$ lui$_k$ a   parlé.
          to the teacher of her daughter, no   parent to-her has spoken

This shows that the CLLD-ed XP has been moved from below the QP subject.

   This extends to long distance cases: pronominal binding, shown here with a CLLD-ed subject or object, is allowed from a quantifier in the source clause (that containing the clitic), or in a clause higher than the source clause.

(5)   a. [Les louanges pour son$_j$ dernier livre]$_k$, aucun auteur$_j$ ne   pense
           the praises for his last   book, no   author NEG thinks
          qu' elles$_k$ seront ignorées.
          that they   will be ignored

      b. [Les louanges pour son$_j$ dernier livre]$_k$, je pense qu' aucun auteur$_j$
           the praises for his last   book, I think that no   author
          ne   les$_k$ ignorait.
          NEG them ignored

2.3 CLLD reconstruction asymmetries

As shown above, a CLLD-ed XP can reconstruct, hence can have been moved. More specifically, these examples illustrate reconstruction under subjects: examples (4a) and (5) show that a DO can reconstruct under a subject; example (4b) shows that an IO can reconstruct under a subject; and example (5a) shows that a subject can reconstruct under a subject. Is it possible to show reconstruction under a non-subject? The answer is positive, but there is a surprising gap.

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[2]In all cases of pronominal binding, we choose embedded pronouns rather than high possessors. High possessors display ununderstood properties, cf.

(i)   a. ? His grades persuaded every boy to work harder
      b. ✓ The grades he got persuaded every boy to work harder

2.3.1 Background on French PDC

With DOs and IOs, French superficially shows only PDC constructions. Further-
more, in such PDCs without movement, IOs and DOs behave as c-commanding
each other: informally, they behave as if they were under each other.[3]

(6)   a. IO c-commands DO
        On a présenté l'habilleur de **son** partenaire à **chaque** / **aucune**
        We introduced the dresser of her partner   to each   no
        danseuse.
        dancer.F
   b. DO c-commands IO
        On a présenté **chaque** / **aucune** danseuse à **son** partenaire.
        We introduced each   no   dancer.F to her partner

Here the bold face pronoun can be bound by the bold faced quantifier.

   This remains true under some movement operation, e.g. wh-movement:

(7)   a. IO reconstructs under DO
        Quel   habilleur de **son** partenaire on a présenté à **chaque** /
        Which dresser   of her partner did we introduced to each
        aucune danseuse?
        no   dancer.F
   b. DO reconstruct under IO
        Auquel   de **ses** partenaires on a présenté **chaque** / **aucune**
        To which of her partners did we introduced each   no
        danseuse?
        dancer.F

2.3.2 Can CLLD-ed DOs and IOs totally reconstruct under each other?

We are now in a position to show that CLLD-ed DOs can totally reconstruct
under an IO. The observation is that a pronoun contained in a CLLD-ed DO can
be bound by a quantifier contained in the IO.

(8)   [La note de **son**$_j$ dernier devoir]$_k$, le professeur l$_k$' a rendue à
     the grade on his last   assignment the professor it gave   to
     chaque / **aucun** élève$_j$.
     each   no   student

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[3]This is independently interesting and telling about the derivational history of PDCs, and DOCs
for that matter. This is not discussed here but is in Sportiche (2017b).

Surprisingly, the symmetric situation does not hold: a pronoun contained in a CLLD-ed IO *cannot* be bound by a quantifier contained in the DO. This shows that CLLD-ed IOs cannot totally reconstruct. I will return below to the question of why. Note that the DO/IO reconstruction contrast also shows that total reconstruction is indeed involved in the DO case, rather than the QP somehow outscoping a higher position (namely XP_k^2 of the tree in Figure 11.1).

(9) * CLLD-ed IOs in the scope of an unmoved DO   Indirect object *lui*

    a. on a présenté **chaque** / **aucun** professeur$_j$ aux   parents de **son**$_j$
        we introduced each   no   professor to-the parents of his
        meilleur étudiant.
        best   student

    b. * [Aux   parents de **son**$_j$ meilleur étudiant]$_k$, on leur$_k$ a
          to-the parents of his   best   student,   we them$_{DAT}$ have
        présenté   **chaque** / **aucun** professeur$_j$.
        introduced each   no   professor

Superficially, IOs look like PPs, unlike DOs that do reconstruct. Their failure to reconstruct, however, is not due to this (potential) categorial difference with DOs (or subjects). Indeed, other CLLD-ed PPs clearly contrast with IOs, as illustrated below:

(10) CLLD-ed genitive PPs in the scope of an unmoved DO   Locative *en*

    a. On a   éloigné aucune fille$_j$ [de   sa$_j$ meilleure amie]$_k$.
        we have removed no   girl   from her best   friend

    b. ? [De   sa$_j$ meilleure amie]$_k$, on en$_k$ a   éloigné aucune fille$_j$.
          From her best   friend, we of-her have removed no   girl

(11) CLLD-ed genitive PPs in the scope of an unmoved IO   About *en*

    a. On a   parlé   à aucune fille$_j$ [de   sa$_j$ meilleure amie]$_k$.
        we have spoken to no   girl   about her best   friend

    b. ? [De   sa$_j$ meilleure amie]$_k$, on en$_k$ a   parlé   à aucune
          About her best   friend, we of-her have spoken to no
        fille$_j$.
        girl

(12) CLLD-ed locative PP   Locative *y*

    a. Ils   n' ont renvoyé aucune lettre$_m$ [à l'adresse   de son$_m$
        they NEG have sent back no   letter   to the address of its
        expéditeur].
        sender

b. ? [À l'adresse   de son$_m$ expéditeur]$_k$, ils   n'   y$_k$ ont
To the address of its   sender,   they NEG there have
renvoyé   aucune lettre$_m$.
sent back no   letter

While IOs contrast with PPs, the PP facts are a bit less clear than the DP cases: they are better than IOs, perhaps just good. The same point can be made clearly with CLitic Right Dislocation, CLRD, only briefly mentioned here, which shares all the relevant properties with CLLD (they differ in the surface position of the dislocated constituent):

(13)   * CLRD-ed IO in the scope of an unmoved DO   Indirect object *lui*

    a.   On a présenté **chaque** / **aucun** professeur$_j$ aux   parents de **son**$_j$
We introduced each   no   professor   to-the parents of his
meilleur étudiant.
best   student

    b.   * On leur$_k$ a   présenté   **chaque** / **aucun** professeur$_j$, [aux
We them$_{DAT}$ have introduced each   no   professor,   to-the
parents de **son**$_j$ meilleur étudiant]$_k$.
parents of his   best   student

(14)   ✓ CLRD-ed genitive PPs in the scope of an unmoved DO   Locative *en*

    a.   On a   éloigné   aucune fille$_j$ [de   sa$_j$ meilleure amie]$_k$.
We have removed no   girl   from her best   friend

    b.   On en$_k$ a   éloigné   aucune fille$_j$, [de   sa$_j$ meilleure amie]$_k$.
We of-her have removed no   girl   from her best   friend

Furthermore, reconstructability extends to other categories, e.g. to predicates as in (15) (in fact they *must* totally reconstruct as low as can be tested, as preposed predicates generally do).

(15)   [Fier   d' un étudiant]$_j$, Pierre l$_j$' a   [souvent [été   t]].
Proud of a   student   Peter it has often   been

(✓ souvent > un étudiant)
(✓ often   > a   student)

As shown, reconstruction to below the adverb *souvent/often* is possible.

3 Analyzing the CLLD reconstruction asymmetries

3.1 DOCs in French

We have established that CLLD-ed constituents can all totally reconstruct, except for CLLD-ed IOs which alone fail to totally reconstruct to the surface position they apparently occupy when not moved, namely the dative position of a PDC. Why do IOs behave differently? There are two analytical options as to why a constituent M would fail to reconstruct to some position P:

1. M has moved to a position disallowing reconstruction.

2. M has not moved from P.

3.1.1 Exploring option 1

Given that all CLLD-ed constituents can totally reconstruct to some position, it can't be that properties of the CLLD surface position itself prevent reconstruction. The difference between IOs and others XPs must thus come from somewhere else. One option is to attribute the IO/DO difference to different properties of the clitics themselves. Angelopoulos & Sportiche (2017) show that CLLD of DOs and IOs (e.g.) in a simple clause is at least a two-step operation proceeding roughly as shown in the tree Figure 11.1, where XP_k^2 is possibly in a spec/head relation with CL (as in Sportiche 1996).

In the context of this analysis, we can interpret the reconstruction possibilities as follows: if XP=DO, total reconstruction is possible from XP_k^1 either to XP_k^2 (lower than the subject) or to XP_k^3 (lower than an unmoved IO). If XP=IO, total reconstruction to XP_k^2 (lower than the surface subject) is possible, but not lower, hence not in the scope of a DO. A version of option 1 would attribute to dative clitics themselves the prevention of such total reconstruction. But while there is some plausibility to the existence of systematic differences between dative clitics and all others (e.g. datives must be animate, mostly, or personified, unlike other clitics), it is unclear why this should have the requisite interpretive effect (of blocking reconstruction). I therefore conclude against option 1 and in favor of option 2.

3.1.2 Exploring option 2

According to option 2, CLLD-ed IOs have not moved from a position in the scope of DO. Since IOs can reconstruct at least to XP_k^2 (cf. example 4b), they must have
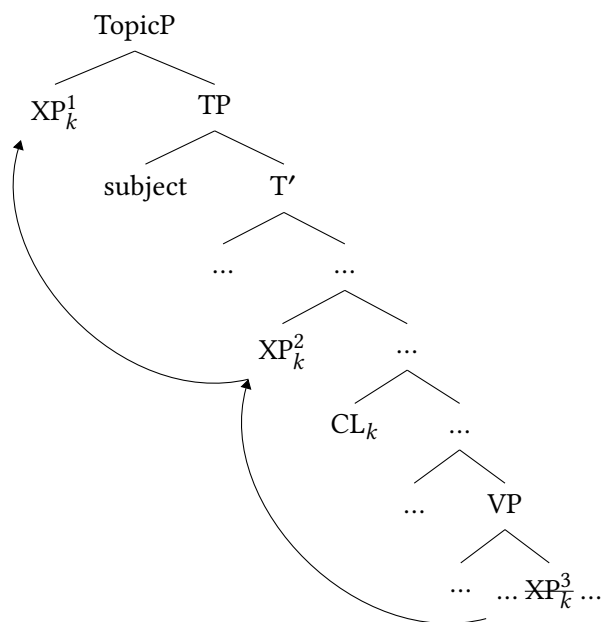
Figure 11.1: Clitic left dislocation of direct or indirect objects

been CLLD-ed from a position L intermediate between DOs and (surface) subjects. There is evidence that this position is relatively low. Indeed consider the derivational path of CLLD-ed elements as it is described in the tree (Figure 11.1). The example (4b) with *aucun* shows that L must be lower than the position in which an *aucun NP* subject must be interpreted. Such DPs are indefinites in the scope of negation which must totally reconstruct from their surface position to such a position so we can conclude that L is also in the scope of clausal negation (which excludes the surface subject position). L might well be the XP_k^2 position.[4,5]

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[4]By the same reasoning, L must be in the scope of e.g. a conditional modal: in the example (i) *Les secrets de ses*$_k$ *amis, [un homme loyal]*$_k$ *les garderait pour lui.* 'The secrets of his friends, a loyal man would keep them to himself.', the subject must reconstruct under the modal but can still bind the pronoun in the CLLD-ed phrase. This means this phrase can totally reconstruct below the subject hence below the modal.

[5]It is difficult to decide whether the lowest position L IOs can reconstruct to is higher or lower than the VP internal subject position. What we can conclude is that it is lower than negation or a modal but higher than the highest A-position a quantificational DO can occupy. If (case #1) such a position is lower than the VP internal subject position, L could be higher than both. If (case #2) such a position is higher than the VP internal subject position, L would have to be VP external. Under the assumption that both DOs and IOs can A-scramble to the same

With CLLD-ed IOs, we must then have an underlying structure with IO asymmetrically c-commanding DO, and necessarily outscoping DO. But this is nothing other than a DOC, and failure of reconstruction of the CLLD-ed IO simply illustrate the frozen scope effect familiar from English double object constructions (cf. e.g. Larson 1988)! This effect is illustrated below:[6]

(16) a. Marta owed a peasant a horse.

     b. Marta owed a peasant every horse.

In (16b), the DO cannot outscope the IO: the reading *every > a* is unavailable. This means that, despite the lack of surface evidence, French does have a DOC (with frozen scope) in addition to a PDC (without frozen scope): this corroborates a conclusion reached in Anagnostopoulou (2005) based on a study of Datives in Greek, French, Japanese and Spanish.

Anagnostopoulou (2005) concludes that all these languages have both DOCs and PDCs, with some variation as to the categorial realization of IOs in both DOCs and PDCs (PPs vs DPs). It takes the crucial property of DOCs to be the association of IOs with extra functional structure (i.e. light applicative heads) in DOCs but not in PDCs.[7]

"neighborhood", the behavior of DOs could help. DO QPs can't seem to A-scramble past the VP internal subject, as backwards binding (as *a friend of his$_k$ mother invited every child$_k$*) triggers a WCO effect. So we are in case #1.

[6]Frozen scope can also be illustrated with impossible pronominal binding as in *Marta owed a peasant who raised it every horse* where trying to bind *it* with *every horse* triggers much stronger deviance than a weak crossover effect.

[7]While the present article fundamentally agrees on the essentials of these conclusions, there may be some disagreement about details not affecting, in fact possibly further reinforcing, Anagnostopoulou's (2005) central conclusions.

Thus it is not entirely clear that IOs introduced by *à* always are DPs, rather than possibly ambiguous between DPs and PPs. This would agree both with Kayne (1975) and Vergnaud (1974) (and there may be variation among French speakers here). The debate hinges on the wellformedness of *à* introducing a bare DP conjunction. It seems to me that such coordinations oscillate between a mild intermediate status and fine cf. (i) *On a donné un livre à Jean et* $^?$/$^{\checkmark}$ *(à) Marie.* 'We gave a book to John and (to) Mary.'; (ii) $^?$*On a donné un livre à Marie et son frère.* 'we gave a book to Mary and her brother.'; (iii) $^{\checkmark}$*On donné un livre à l'homme et (à) la femme qui se sont vus hier.* 'We gave a book to the man and the woman who met yesterday'. In particular, the equivalent of (i) and (ii) with genitive introducing *de* are much worse, while the equivalent of (iii) with a relative clause is better. Finally, the repetition of *à* favors a distributive reading of the conjunction, and absence of it a group reading. This may play a role in Jaeggli's 1982 reported deviance of (iv) **Ils ont parlé à Marie et le directeur.* 'They talked to Mary and the director.' which I find overstated: its intermediate status improves substantially when it is read with the conjunction of DPs forming a single intonational phrase and a group reading is intended.

3.2 Consequences

3.2.1 Dative clitics

This conclusion is now informative about dative clitics. Indeed, if dative clitics could equally well stand for IOs in DOCs and PDCs, we would not expect scope freezing, since scope freezing is generally not found in PDCs, as (6b) illustrates for French, and English. I conclude that PDC IOs never cliticize as datives, only DOC IOs do.[8]

This corroborates a conjecture made in Charnavel & Mateu (2015) regarding antilogophoricity effects in clitic clusters. Charnavel & Mateu (2015) propose the following descriptive generalization:

(17)   Logophoric restriction (CLR): When a third person IO clitic and a DO clitic co-occur in a cluster, the DO clitic cannot corefer with a logophoric center.

To account for the deviance of examples such as (18b), where the accusative clitic is coreferential with *Anna*, a logophoric center (here an attitude holder):

(18)   a. Anne$_i$ croit qu' on la$_i$ recommandera au   patron.
          Anna$_i$ thinks that s.o. her.ACC will recommend to the boss
          'Anna$_i$ thinks that they will recommend her$_i$ to the boss.'

       b. Anne$_i$ croit qu' on la$_{*i/j}$ lui$_k$ recommandera, [au
          Anna$_i$ thinks that s.o. her.ACC 3.DAT will recommend   to the
          patron]$_k$.
          boss.
          'Anna$_i$ thinks that they will recommend her$_i$ to him, the boss.'

They propose to derive (17) by assuming that (i) there cannot be two perspective centers within the same minimal syntactic domain; (ii) in (18b), the accusative clitic is a perspective center by virtue of being coreferential with one (*Anna*) and (iii) the dative clitic is one inherently because the cliticized IO must correspond to the IO found in DOC.[9] Their point (iii) is exactly what we found independent evidence for.

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[8] This leaves open the question of how this generalizes to other cases not obviously involving DOCs or PDCs.

[9] That IOs in DOCs must be perspective/logophoric centers is independently justified by their being able to antecede logophors in Japanese, or in English for example.

3.2.2 Are French DOCs visible on the surface?

Although I did not not distinguish high (benefactives/malefactives) from low (goals, possessors) applicatives, unambiguous scope (scope freezing) effects are found with both in CLLD cases. Low applicatives have already been illustrated, cf. (9). Here is a case with a high applicative:

(19) a. DO c-commands IO in the order DO IO
     ?On a préparé **chaque** / **aucun** plat de viande épicé à la   cliente
     we prepared each   no   spicy meat dish   to the customer
     qui **l'** a commandé.
     who it asked for.

   b. DO cannot bind into IO in IO CLLD
     *À la   cliente   qui **l'** a commandé, on lui   a préparé **chaque** /
     to the customer who it asked for   we to-her prepared each
     aucun plat de viande épicé.
     no   spicy meat dish.

3.2.2.1 Low applicatives

Anagnostopoulou (2005) uses contrasts reported in Oehrle (1976) to detect PDCs:

(20) a.   The war years gave Mailer his first big success.
   b. * The war years gave his first big success to Mailer.

(21) a.   Katya taught Alex Russian.
   b.   Katya taught Russian to Alex.

(22) a.   This trip taught Alex patience.
   b. * This trip taught patience to Alex.

This illustrates that the PDC requires agentive subjects while the DOC does not (an intriguing observation, unexplained I believe). Anagnostopoulou (2005) conjectures that the order V IO DO in French exemplifies the DOC but Oehrle's contrasts are inconclusive in French as the translation of the above examples yields pairs that are equally fine:

(23) a. Les années de guerre ont donné à Mailer son premier gros succès.
   b. Les années de guerre ont donné son premier gros succès à Mailer.

(24) a. Katya a appris à Alex le russe.
   b. Katya a appris le russe à Alex.

(25) a. Ce voyage a appris à Alex la patience.
      b. Ce voyage a appris la patience à Alex.

Furthermore, if the order V IO DO exemplified a DOC construction, we would expect scope freezing. This is not observed as illustrated below:

(26) a. DO c-commands IO in the order DO IO
          On a présenté **chaque** / **aucune** danseuse de ce   nouveau ballet à
          We introduced each   no   dancer.F of this new   ballet to
          son futur   partenaire.
          her future partner
      b. DO c-commands IO in the order IO DO
          On a présenté à **son** futur   partenaire **chaque** / **aucune** danseuse de
          We introduced to her future partner   each   no   dancer.F of
          ce   nouveau ballet.
          this new   ballet

That the pronouns in the IO can be licitly bound by the quantified DO shows that the DO can outscope the IO. This can also be illustrated with two quantifiers:

(27) a. On a présenté **chaque** / **aucune** danseuse de ce   nouveau ballet à
          we introduced each   no   dancer.F of this new   ballet to
          un mentor de **son** futur   partenaire.
          a   mentor of her future partner.
      b. On a présenté à **un** mentor de **son** futur   partenaire **chaque** /
          we introduced to a   mentor of her future partner   each
          aucune danseuse de ce   nouveau ballet.
          no   dancer.F of this new   ballet.

Here, the universal quantifier *chaque* 'each' can outscope the existential *un/a* thereby licensing pronominal binding.

The contrast between French (27b) and English DOCs (27c) is striking:

(27) c. * We showed a mentor of her future partner each/no dancer.F of this
            new ballet.

Finally, the order IO DO is most natural if DO has sufficient weight, an observation suggesting that Extraposition or Heavy NP shift is involved in shifting the DO to derive this order.

3.2.2.2 High applicatives

We now turn to (some) high applicatives, e.g. bene/malefactives introduced higher in the structure. The preferred option is for benefactive to be introduced by *pour*/*for* but they can appear introduced by *à* with variable acceptability results.[10] Both orders again (IO DO and DO IO) are allowed but binding is fine in either:

(28)   a.   DO c-commands IO in the order DO IO
       On a enlevé **chaque** / **aucun** enfant maltraité à   **ses** parents.
       We took away each   no   child mistreated from its parents
     b.   DO c-commands IO in the order IO DO
       On a enlevé à   **ses** parents **chaque** / **aucun** enfant maltraité.
       We took away from its parents each   no   child mistreated

(29)   a.   DO c-commands IO in the order DO IO
       Elles ont joué [**chaque** / **aucun** morceau qu'on leur   a appris]$_k$
       They played   each   no   piece   we   to-them taught
       à   **son**$_k$ compositeur.
       taught to   its   composer
     b.   DO c-commands IO in the order IO DO
       Elles ont joué à **son**$_k$ compositeur [**chaque** / **aucun** morceau qu'on
       They played to its   composer   each   no   piece we
       leur   a appris]$_k$.
       to-them taught

From this, two conclusions are possible. Either the order V DO IO is ambiguous between a DOC structure and a PDC structure so that we cannot observe Oehrle's effects or scope freezing (since each tests one structure but the other structure is also available); and in fact this could also be true of the V IO DO order. Or DOCs in French cannot surface unless the IO is cliticized. In the case of low applicatives, the first option is reasonable as a PDC structure where the IO in fact instantiates a different thematic structure with the IO being e.g. a locative (cliticizing as *y*). In the case of high applicatives, however, it is hard to see what alternative thematic structure there could be. This suggests that the PDC realization of high applicatives is not ambiguous with a DOC and that, in turn, DOCs are not just applied objects. We are thus led to modify Anagnostopoulou's (2005) conclusion that the

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[10]Because benefactives can use *pour*, benefactives can be slightly degraded, hence it is preferable to use malefactives. These constructions (with *à*) seem by no means to be productive, and results also seem sensitive to the nature of the direct object in ways that remain obscure. Results, however, are uniformly good and productive if the applied object is a dative clitic.

crucial property of DOCs is the association of IOs with extra functional structure such as light applicative heads. Rather, such structures may be necessary but not sufficient: IOs in DOCs are applied objects with an additional property.[11] This would explain why, whereas (Standard American) English IOs in DOCs do not tolerate being wh-moved, high applicatives, even though they are applied objects, are not subject to such a prohibition:

(30) a. We gave Mary a book. / We baked John a cake.

   b. * Who did you give a book? / *Who did you bake a cake?

   c. On a fait   un sale coup à Jean. / À qui   on a fait   un sale
       we played a   dirty trick to Jean / To whom we played a   dirty
       coup.
       trick
       'We played a dirty trick on Jean. / Who did we play a dirty trick on?'

I tentatively conclude that PDCs do indeed realize high or low applicatives, but that they simply do not instantiate the in principle (surface) possible DOC realization (which, alone, would show a scope freezing effect).

   This would mean that in French, there is no clitic-less candidate for a DOC realization of applicatives. This would make French similar to Spanish, in which IOs in DOCs must be clitic doubled (cf. Anagnostopoulou 2005 and references therein). Given the derivation in Figure 11.1, the closest French correspondent to a DOC is the structure in which the IO has moved to the position XP^2_k in Figure 11.1, a movement requiring the presence of an associate clitic, but to a position where French does not allow an XP to surface. This would explain why, just like IOs in English DOCs, CLRD-ed Datives (or Accusatives[12]) have to be specific, see Sportiche (2017a), a requirement imposed in French by the mandatory presence of the clitic.

   This means that the closest equivalent to English DOCs in French is either CLRD (briefly mentioned earlier) where the IO is linearized to the right as in (31), or CLLD where the IO has moved to the left periphery of its clause:

(31) a. On a présenté Jean à Pierre.
           we introduced Jean to Peter

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[11]In the absence of this additional property, there may be Case differences between the two objects, but no deep c-command asymmetry in terms of binding or scope.

[12]Conversely, we should expect to find all the properties associated with DOC IOs in English to also be available with DOs. In general, this is not going to be easy to detect since DOs, unlike IOs in DOCs, do not have to move so high: a plausible place to look is of course DOs in verb-particle constructions in the order V DO Part.

b. On lui$_k$ a   présenté   Jean, [à Pierre]$_k$.
    we him$_{DAT}$ have introduced Jean,   to Pierre

But neither CLLD nor CLRD are exact equivalents of DOCs, even if they share with DOCs some properties characteristic of Topics (see Polinsky 1996). Indeed, CLLD-ed constituents are higher than subjects, and CLRD constituents must be understood as backgrounded Topics and thus can't be contrasted, unlike IOs in DOCs.

4 Conclusion

I have shown that French displays mandatory scope freezing effects in the presence of dative clitics in what superficially look like PDCs. I have attributed these effects to the presence of hidden DOCs in French, which alone allow an IO to cliticize as a Dative. I have further suggested that DOCs do not surface in French, but they constitute an intermediate derivational step involved in CLLD and CLRD.

Many questions, left unaddressed here, remain.

1. If the distribution of floated Qs off a DP reveals the presence of traces of this DP as in Sportiche (1988), the following type of data:

    (32) a. On leur   avait (à) tous montré le   film.
              we to-them had   to all   shown the movie.
              we had shown the movie to them all

          b. On leur   avait montré le   film   *(à) tous.
              we to-them had   shown the movie   to all
              we had shown the movie to them all

    suggests that the distribution of floated Qs off objects interacts with the derivational steps involved in DOCs (in a way reminiscent of what Sportiche 2017a, suggests for English).

2. The syntax of IO reflexives in some versions of French (or in Italian), where they trigger participle agreement, suggests that the derivational steps involved in IO reflexive cliticization display an A-movement syntax: a connection with French DOCs suggests itself that merits investigation.

3. If the conclusion above is correct, the distribution of French Dative Clitics only indirectly relates to PDCs; the connection is instead mediated by DOCs. One area on which this indirect connection should have a direct bearing is that of causative constructions.

Abbreviations

3	third person		F	feminine
ACC	accusative		IO	indirect object
CLLD	clitic left dislocation			
CLRD	clitic right dislocation		NEG	negation
DAT	dative		PDC	prepositional dative construction
DO	direct object			
DOC	double object construction		WCO	weak crossover

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