

Syntactic architecture and its consequences III

Inside syntax

Edited by

András Bárány

Theresa Biberauer

Jamie Douglas

Sten Vikner

Open Generative Syntax 11



Open Generative Syntax

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András Bárány, Theresa Biberauer, Jamie Douglas & Sten Vikner (eds.). 2021.
Syntactic architecture and its consequences III: Inside syntax (Open Generative
Syntax 11). Berlin: Language Science Press.

This title can be downloaded at:

<http://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/277>

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ISBN: 978-3-96110-308-9 (Digital)

978-3-98554-004-4 (Hardcover)

ISSN: 2568-7336

DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.4680264

Source code available from www.github.com/langsci/277

Collaborative reading: paperhive.org/documents/remote?type=langsci&id=277

Cover and concept of design: Ulrike Harbort

Typesetting: András Bárány, Jamie Douglas, Felix Kopecky

Proofreading: Amir Ghorbanpour, Amy Lam, Ana Afonso, Ezekiel Bolaji,
Francineide Davies dos Santos, Geoffrey R. Sampson, George Walkden, Jean
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Mihoc

Fonts: Libertinus, Arimo, DejaVu Sans Mono

Typesetting software: Xe_{La}T_EX

Language Science Press

xHain

Grünberger Str. 16

10243 Berlin, Germany

langsci-press.org

Storage and cataloguing done by FU Berlin

Freie Universität  Berlin

You say you want a revolution
Well you know
We all want to change the world
You tell me that it's evolution
Well you know
We all want to change the world
Don't you know it's gonna be alright

— The Beatles, *Revolution 1*

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Part I

Case and agreement

Chapter 11

Rethinking French dative clitics in light of frozen scope effects

Dominique Sportiche

University of California, Los Angeles

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.

¹Some 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** connaît.
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.

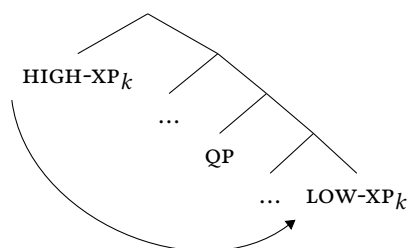
2.2 CLLD is movement

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 be 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 connaît 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.

²In 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. Furthermore, 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

³This 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

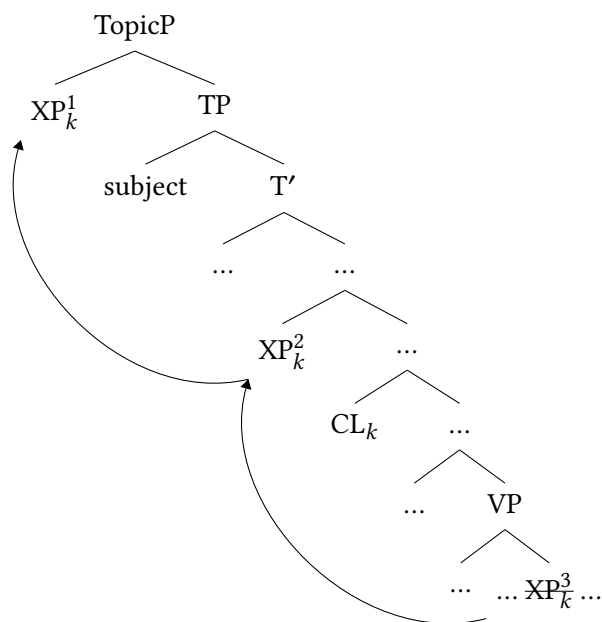


Figure 11.1: Clitic left dislocation of direct or indirect objects

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}

⁴By 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.

⁵It 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 illustrates 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.

⁶Frozen 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.

⁷While 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 ?/ (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) *' 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 3rd 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.

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

⁹That 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/malefactive 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
 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

¹⁰Because benefactives can use *pour*, benefactives can be slightly degraded, hence it is preferable to use malefactive. 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_k^2 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 Accusatives¹²) 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

¹¹In 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.

¹²Conversely, 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	NEG	negation
CLRD	clitic right dislocation	PDC	prepositional dative construction
DAT	dative	WCO	weak crossover
DO	direct object		
DOC	double object construction		

Acknowledgements

À Ian, who once crossed the Irish sea with his gang for a talk and a pint. Or vice versa.

Thanks to Danny Fox, Elena Anagnostopoulou, Nikos Angelopoulos, and the participants in my 2017 UCLA proseminar on Scrambling. This work is supported in part by the NSF under grants 1424054 and 1424336 and by the ANR under grant 12CORP-0014-01.

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ISBN 978-3-96110-308-9



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