Rethinking French Dative Clitics*

in Light of Frozen Scope Effects†

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1 Introduction

English has both a prepositional dative constructions (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.

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 CL(itic) R(ight) D(islocation) (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

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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*.

    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 and 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 so 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 and 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 topic 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.

HIGH-XP$_k$ ...   QP   ....   LOW-XP$_k$
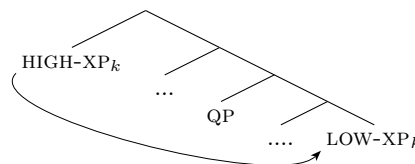
Here, it will suffice to show that (total) reconstruction is possible for pronominal binding. In the tree above, if the high-xp contains a pronoun bound by the qp, with the qp not outscoping it, total reconstruction of high-xp is required to within the scope of this qp to put the pronoun in the scope 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:

(2) Quelle photo de lui   est-ce-que personne (ne) vend (photo de lui)
     [Which ~~picture of his~~$_k$]$_j$ did   **nobody**$_k$ (neg) sell   [picture of 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 below 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:

(3) 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. [A 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.

(4) a. French

         [Les louanges pour son$_j$ dernier livre]$_k$, aucun auteur$_j$ ne   pense qu´
         the praises   for his last   book, no   author Neg thinks that
         elles$_k$ seront ignorées
         they   will be ignored

     b. [Les louanges pour son$_j$ dernier livre]$_k$, je pense qu´ aucun auteur$_j$ ne
         the praises   for his last   book, I think that no   author Neg
         les$_k$ ignorait
         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: example (3)a, and (4) show that a DO can reconstruct under a subject; example (3)b shows that an IO can reconstruct under a subject; and example (4)a shows that a subject can reconstruct under a subject. Is it possible to show reconstruction under 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.
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]

(5) a. **IO c-commands DO**

On a présenté   l´habilleur de **son** partenaire à **chaque/aucun**
We   introduced the dresser of her   partner   to each/no

danseuse
dancer.fem

   b. **DO c-commands IO**

On a présenté   **chaque/aucun** danseuse   à **son** partenaire
We   introduced each/no   dancer.fem 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:

(6) a. **IO reconstructs under DO**

Quel   habilleur de **son** partenaire on a présenté à **chaque/aucun**
Which dresser   of her partner did we   introduce to each/no

danseuse?
dancer.fem

   b. **DO reconstruct under IO**

Auquel   de **ses** partenaires on a présenté **chaque/aucun** danseuse?
To which of her partners did we   introduce each/no   dancer.fem

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.

(7) [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

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

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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.

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 (13) below).

(8) *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   présenté
        To-the parents of his   best   student,   we them$_{dat}$ have introduced
        chaque/aucun professeur$_j$
        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:[4]

(9) 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

(10) 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 spoke to no   girl about her best   friend

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

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[4]While IOs contrasts with PPs, the PPs 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):

i. *CLRD-ed IOs in the scope of an unmoved DO   Indirect object *lui*

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

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

ii. ✓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

(11)   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   renvoyé
        To the address of its   sender,   they Neg there have sent back
       aucune lettre$_m$
       no   letter

Furthermore, reconstructability extends to other categories, e.g. to predicates as in (12) (in fact they *must* totally reconstruct as low as can be tested, as preposed predicates generally do).

(12)   [Fier   d´ un étudiant]$_j$, Pierre l$_j$´ a   [souvent [été   t]] (✓souvent >un
      Proud of a student   Peter it has [often   [been t]] (✓often   >a
      étudiant)
      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.

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 and Sportiche (2017) show that CLLD of DOs and IOs (e.g.) in a simple clause is a two step (at least) operation proceeding roughly as shown in the tree (13), where XP^2_k is possibly in a spec/head relation with CL (as in Sportiche, 1996).

(13)

TopicP

XP^1_k TP

subject   T'

...   ...

XP^2_k ...

CL_k ...

...   VP

....~~XP^3_k~~...
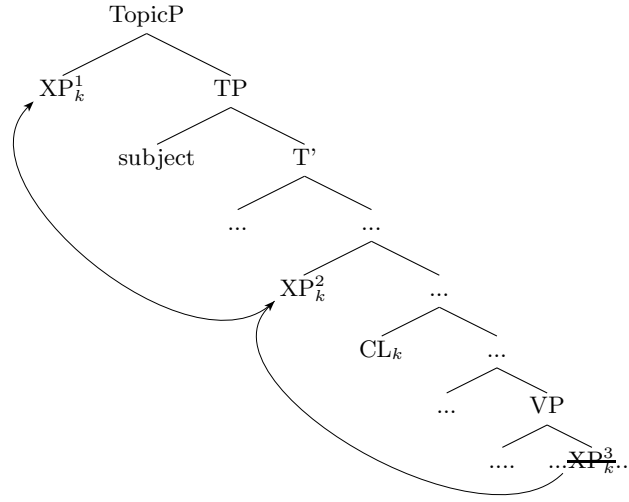
In the context of this analysis, we can interpret the reconstruction possibilities as follows: if XP=DO, total reconstruction is possible from XP^1_k either to XP^2_k (lower than the subject) or to XP^3_k (lower than an unmoved IO). If XP=IO, total reconstruction to XP^2_k (lower than the surface subject) 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.

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^2_k (cf. example (3)b), they must have 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 (13).The example (3)b 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^2_k position.[5,6]

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[5]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 CCLD-ed phrase. This means this phrase can totally reconstruct below the subject hence below the modal.

[6]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 #

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:[7]

(14)   a.   Marta owed a peasant a horse
       b.   Marta owed a peasant every horse

In (14)b, 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.[8]

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,

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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 "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.

[7]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.

[8]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 well formedness 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 are 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 a single intonational phrase and a group reading is intended.

since scope freezing is generally not found in PDCs, as (5)b illustrates for French, and English. I conclude that PDC IOs never cliticize as datives, only DOC IOs do.[9] This corroborates a conjecture made in Charnavel and Mateu (2015) regarding antilogophoricity effects in clitic clusters. Charnavel and Mateu (2015) proposes the following descriptive generalization:

(15)   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 (16)b, where the accusative clitic is coreferential with *Anna*, a logophoric center (here an attitude holder):

(16)   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   patron]$_k$.
            Anna$_i$ thinks that s.o. her:acc 3:dat will recommend to the boss.

            Anna$_i$ thinks that they will recommend her$_i$ to him, the boss.

They propose to derive (15) by assuming that (i) there cannot be two perspective centers within the same minimal syntactic domain; (ii) in (16)b, 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.[10] Their point (iii) is exactly what we found independent evidence for.

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. (8). Here is a case with a high applicative :

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

[10] 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.

(17) 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
> To the customer who it   asked for,   we to-her   prepared
> **chaque**/**aucun** plat de viande épicé
> each/no   spicy meat dish.

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

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

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

(20) 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:

(21) 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

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

(23) 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:

(24) a. **DO c-commands IO in the order DO IO**

> On a présenté **chaque/aucun** danseuse   de ce   nouveau ballet à
> We   introduced each/no   dancer.fem 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**/**aucun** danseuse   de
We   introduced to her future partner   each/no   dancer.fem 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.[11] 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.

High Applicatives: We now turn to (some) high applicatives, e.g. bene/male-factives 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.[12] Both orders again (IO DO and DO IO) are allowed but binding is fine in either:

(25) 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

(26) a. **DO c-commands IO in the order DO IO**

Elles ont joué [**chaque**/**aucun** morceau qu'on leur   a appris]$_k$ à
They   played each/no   piece   we   to-them taught   to
son$_k$ compositeur
its   composer

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[11]This can also be illustrated with two quantifiers:

a.   On a présenté   **chaque**/**aucun** danseuse   de ce   nouveau ballet à **un** mentor **son**
     We   introduced each/no   dancer.fem of this new   ballet to a   mentor of
     futur partenaire.
     her   future   partner.
b.   On a présenté   à **un** mentor **son** futur partenaire **chaque**/**aucun** danseuse de
     We   introduced to a   mentor of   her   future   partner   each/no danseuse
     ce nouveau ballet.
     of this   new   ballet.

Here, the universal quantifier *chaque/ each* can outscope the existential *un/a* thereby licensing pronominal binding. The contrast between French b with English DOCs (c below) is striking:

c.   *We showed a mentor of her future partner each/no dancer.fem of this new ballet

[12]Because benefactives can use *pour*, benefactives can be slightly degraded, it is preferable to use malefactives. These constructions (with *à*) seems 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.

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 crucial prop-
erty 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.[13] 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:

(27) 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 coup.
          we played a   dirty trick to Jean / To whom we played a   dirty trick
          'We played a dirty trick on Jean. / Who did we play a dirty trick on?'

I tentatively conclude that PDC do indeed realize high or low applicatives, but simply
do not instantiate the in principle (surface) possible DOC realization (which alone,
would show 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 (13), the closest French correspondent to a DOC is
the structure in which the IO has moved to the position XP_k^2 in (13), 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,

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

CLRD-ed Datives (or Accusatives[14]) 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 in footnote 4) where the IO is linearized to the right as in (28), or CLLD where the IO has moved to the left periphery of its clause:

(28)   a.   On a présenté   Jean à Pierre
            We   introduced Jean to Peter
       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:

   (29)   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 montr 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 interact 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.

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[14]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 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.

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

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