A higher applicative: Evidence from French

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1. Introduction

When considering dative DPs, two classes emerge: those related to the verb's semantics, which are core arguments of ditransitive verbs such as *give, send, present* and those that are added in a much freer fashion – non-core datives. Semantically, they are affected participants in the event and, depending on the language, can be interpreted in various ways (e.g. bene- / malefactees).

Recent research tackled the question of how these non-core datives are made part of the structure. The analysis which has gained the most grounds is the applicative analysis: non-core datives are introduced into VP by special applicative heads. Applicatives are functional heads that introduce a DP, which is structurally and semantically related to a constituent c-commanded by it. Following Marantz's (1993) and Pylkkänen's (2002/2008) work, applicative heads are divided into two different types: *high*, which denote a relation between an event and an individual, syntactically attaching above the VP, and *low*, denoting a relation between two individuals, syntactically attaching below VP.

In this paper, we will claim that in French, non-core datives do not have a low source.[1] Rather, they are introduced as affected non-core arguments above VP, by an applicative head. Our main concern will be to show that French instantiates more than one type of high applicative head. Specifically, we will show that the superficially similar constructions in (1), involving non-core dative clitics, are syntactically and interpretatively distinct.

(1)   a. Elle **s'**   achète   une nouvelle voiture.
         She   3.SE buys   a new car
         'She buys herself a new car.'

      b. Elle **se**   fume   un cigare.
         She   3.SE smokes   a cigar
         'She smokes her a cigar.'

While (1a) conveys that the purchaser is also the beneficiary of the event of buying, (1b) cannot be so interpreted, as it does not involve a third distinct participant, which happens to be co-referential with the subject DP.[2] The analysis of this novel data will enable us to provide additional motivation for the view that applicative heads establish a relation between an individual and the event, and that applicative heads are a grammatical means to introduce affectedness into the structure.

The paper is structured as follows. In section 2 we present the received applicative analysis dividing applicatives into high and low and list some of the challenges to it. In section 3 we

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[1] This is not to say that a preposition may not relate two individuals: **core** goal arguments are licensed in this manner, as shown by Larson (1988), Hale & Keyser (1993), (2002), Pesetsky (1995), Folli & Harley (2006), a.o.
[2] Similar constructions were noted to exist in Appalachian English (Conroy 2007); in this case, the constructions display a morphological distinction:
(i) a. She buys **herself** a new car.   *Appalachian English*
     b. She smoked **her** a cigar.
Throughout the paper, we will use these pronouns in the translation of the French examples into English.
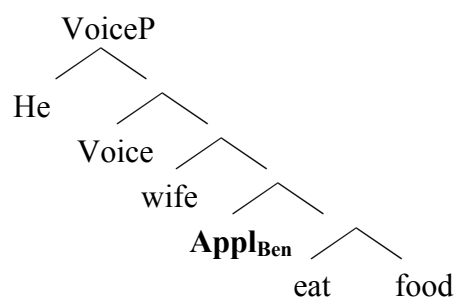
present the French non-core dative constructions. The aim in section 4 is to show that there are no low applicatives, which lead us to propose in section 5 that French features at least two types of high applicatives. In section 6 we present the syntactic motivation for analyzing French non-core datives as instantiated at two different positions above VP. Section 7 is the conclusion.
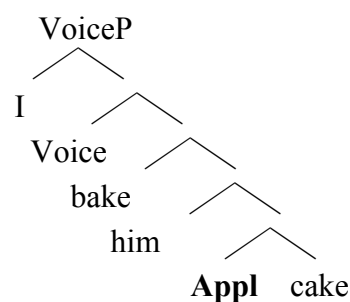

2. High and low applicatives

2.1 Background

The distinction between *high* and *low* applicatives (2) was established by Pylkkänen (2002/2008), following Marantz (1993), on the basis of a contrast between English and Chaga double object constructions featuring an applied, benefactive argument.

(2) a. *High applicative* (Chaga)   b. *Low applicative* (English)

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        VoiceP                                    VoiceP
        /\                                        /\
  He   /  \                              I      /  \
      Voice /\                                 Voice /\
      /    \                                  /    \
   wife    /\                              bake    /\
          /  \                                    /  \
     Appl_Ben /\                               him    /\
             /  \                                    /  \
          eat   food                            Appl   cake
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A low applicative directly relates two arguments and has directional semantics; its interpretation is akin to that of prepositions TO or FROM. Its presence in the structure necessarily implies transfer. This is why a stative verb is expected to be ungrammatical in English, in such a configuration:

(3)   *Mary held John the bag.

A high applicative relates an argument to an event, and does not necessarily involve transfer. Thus in Chaga (and similarly in Venda, Luganda and Albanian), but not in English, a benefactive participant can be added to an unergative verb (4)-(5).

(4)   English

    a. I baked a cake.   b.   I baked **him** a cake.
    c. I ran.   d. *I ran **him**. (i.e. I ran for him)

(5)   Chaga

    a. N-ǎ-í-lyì-í-à   **m̀-kà**   k-élyá
       FOC-1s-PR-eat-APPL-FV **1-wife** 7-food
       'He is eating food for his **wife**.'

    b. N-ǎ-i-zrìc-í- à   **mbùyà.**
       FOC-1s-PR-eat-APPL-FV **9 friend**
       'He is running for a friend.'   (From Bresnan & Moshi 1993: 49-50)

   Pylkkänen takes these properties as diagnostics for indentifying whether a language instantiates high or low applicatives:

i.   Only high applicative heads can combine with stative verbs;

ii.   Only high applicative heads combine with unergatives.

Although this analysis gained non-negligible popularity (e.g. McGinnis 2002, Legate 2002, Cuervo 2003 a.o) it has been challenged in two ways: with respect to the validity of the diagnostics and on theoretical grounds, where the viability of assuming a low applicative is criticized.

2.2 Challenges to the received applicative analysis

Contrary to the clear distinction between English on the one hand and Chaga, Venda, Albanian on the other drawn by Pylkkänen, it can easily be shown that the behaviour of non-core datives in many languages is conform with *one* of Pylkkänen's diagnostics, but not with *the other*. There are languages (e.g. Modern Hebrew, Russian, German) where non-core datives can occur with stative and causatives verbs, that do not imply transfer, but are illicit with unergative verbs.

(6) a. ruti hexzika le-dana 'et ha-tik   *M. Hebrew*
         Ruti hedl   to-Dana ACC the-bag
         'Ruti held Dana's bag (affecting her).'

     b. ruti ra'ata   le-dana 'et ha-pupik
         Ruti saw   to-Dana ACC the-belly button
         'Ruti saw Dana's belly button (affecting her).'   (Landau 1999, fn. 14 (i))

(7) a. rina patxa   le-ruti   'et ha-delet
         Rina opened to-Ruti   ACC the-door
         'Rina opened the door to Ruti.'

     b. *Mary opened John the door.

Examples (6a-b) illustrate that non-core datives in Modern Hebrew are fine with stative VPs, which do not involve any transfer; similarly, (7a) shows, contrary to English (7b), that non-core datives may also occur with causative verbs and do not imply any notion of transfer. This property classifies Hebrew as a high applicative language. Yet, at the same time, Modern Hebrew disallows non-core datives with unergative verbs (8a-b).

(8) a. *ruti raca   le-dana
          Ruti ran   to-Dana
          Intended: Ruti ran and it affected Dana

     b. *rina 'avda   le-dina   be-misrad ha-xuc
          Rina worked   to-Dina   in-office the-external
          'Rina worked in the ministry of foreign affairs (affecting Dina).'

According to Pylkkänen's typology this state of affairs is mysterious, yet Hebrew is not unique in this respect. A similar pattern is reported to exist in Russian, German and Italian (cf. Grashchenkov & Markman 2008, Lee-Schoenfeld 2005, Folli & Harley 2006, respectively).

More crucially, the idea that an applicative head can relate two DPs is not a trivial one, and attempts have been made to dismiss it on theoretical and empirical grounds by e.g. Nash (2006), Georgala *et al.* (2008). These authors propose that applicative heads may only relate an individual to a VP. First, Pylkkänen's motivation to posit low applicatives on the basis of transfer entailment captures some of the English data (9a-b), but is not adequate to account for all cases. In (9c), a benefactive reading is clear and does not necessarily depend on any transfer.

(9)   a. Mary sent John a letter.

   b. Mary baked John a cake.

   c. Mary baked him a cake for her birthday.

Second, challenges to an approach that distinguishes high and low applicatives come from languages that overtly mark applicative heads. Georgala *et al.* (2008), following Baker (1996), point to the fact that there is no morphological evidence for a low applicative. Applicatives affixed onto the verbal stem are high applicatives, whereas "low" applicatives always look like preposition incorporation. The following examples from Abaza cited by Georgala *et al.* (2008) illustrate this point:

(10)   a. d-a-[ðə-**dzqa**]-yə-r-gəl-t'.
          A3SG.H-DIR[P1-beside]-C3SG.M-CSE-stand-DYN
          'He caused him/her to stand next to us.'   (O'Herin 2001: 481)

   b. [PP a-ʒʲəra **dzqa**]
          the-smithy 3SG.N-beside
          'beside the smithy'   (O'Herin 2001: 486)

Third, Georgala *et al.* (2008) provide evidence that an adverbial modifier can intervene between the recipient and the theme in DO constructions, both in Mandarin and in English.

(11)   a. I gave/threw the boys **each/both** a towel.

   b. ??I gave/threw the towels **each/both** to a boy.

(12)   a. Wǒ   mài-gěi-le tāmen **jǐ cì**   shǒubiǎo.   *Mandarin*
          1S   sell-GEI-ASP them   several times   watch
          'I have sold them many times a watch.'

   b. *Wǒ mài-le   shǒubiǎo   **jǐ cì**   [PP gěi tāmen].
          1S   sell-ASP watch   several times   for them
          'I have sold a watch many times to them.'   (Georgala *et al.* 2008, exx. 29, 31)

Under the assumption that adverbial modifiers attach to VP, this is a problem to an analysis that views them as part of the same minimal constituent, namely a low ApplP.

To sum up, Pylkkänen establishes the existence of low applicatives mainly on the basis of English facts. The data and arguments presented here against positing a low applicative head raise the question of why English patterns the way it does. We suggest, relying on Baker (1988), Larson (1988), Pesetsky (1995), Hale & Keyser (2002) that datives that appear in English double object constructions fall into two classes: core and non-core datives. In other words, English, unlike German, Hebrew, Russian, does not have non-core datives introduced by applicative heads. In the next section we present data from French that lends further support to abandoning the received division into high and low applicatives.

3. French non-core datives

French non-core datives, best exemplified by clitics, can be introduced with a great variety of transitive agentive verbs and with some unergative and unaccusative verbs. These are benefactive datives (13), coreferential datives, known also as personal datives (Horn 2008), where the reflexive clitic adds a pragmatic nuance of the agent's pleasure (14), and ethical datives where the clitic refers to a hypothetical or a real listener (15).

(13) a. Jeanne **lui**   a vomi   *(sur le tapis).
          Jeanne   3S.DAT   vomited   on the carpet
          'Jeanne vomited on her/his carpet (affecting her/him).'

     b. Jeanne **lui**   a marché   *(sur les pieds).
          Jeanne   3S.DAT   walked   on the feet
          'Jeanne stepped on her/his feet (affecting her/him).'

     c. La tête   **lui**   tourne.
          The head   3S.DAT   turns
          'His head spins (on her/him).'

     d. Les joues **lui**   pendent jusqu'aux genous.
          The cheeks 3S.DAT   hang   till   knees
          'His cheeks are hanging up to his knees (on her/him).'

     e. Jeanne **lui**   a garé   sa voiture.
          Jeanne   3S.DAT   park   3.POSS car
          'Jeanne parked her/his car for her/him.'

     f. Jeanne **lui**   a mangé son goûter.
          Jeanne   3S.DAT   ate   3.POSS snack
          'Jeanne ate her/his snack.'

(14) i. Jeanne   **s'**   est couru *(trente km).
          Jeanne   3.SE   ran   thirty km
          'Jeanne ran her thirty km.'

     j. Jeanne   **s'**   est fumé *(un cigare).
          Jeanne   3.SE   smoked   a cigar
          'Jeanne smoked her a cigar.'

(15) g. Au Mont St. Michel, la mer **te**   monte *(à une de ces vitesses).
          At Mont St. Michel   the sea 2S.DAT   rises   at one of these speeds
          'You won't believe how quickly the sea rises at Mont St. Michel!'

     h. Je **te**   lui   ai donné un de ces gifles!
          I 2S.DAT   3S.DAT   gave   one of these smacks
          '(I'm telling you) I smacked him good!'

The division of the examples into different groups relies on a received classification in the literature. Our aim in what follows is to show that the constructions in (13) and (14), and possibly also those in (15), can be distinguished according to the place of attachment of the applicative in the clausal skeleton. At the same time, we will claim that there is no syntactic or semantic evidence for assuming a low applicative head in French. We contend that a low source can be attributed solely to core goals in French (cf. Folli & Harley 2006). Non-core datives are introduced higher, by an applicative head that attaches at different levels of the extended VP-TP skeleton. Indeed, French instantiates a clear structural difference between core goal datives and non-core benefactive datives in terms of the c-command relations holding between theme and dative argument.

(16) a. La maîtresse   a rendu   son cartable   à chaque élève.   CORE DATIVES
          The teacher   gave-back   his schoolbag   to every pupil

     b. La maîtresse   a rendu   chaque cartable   à son propriétaire.
          The teacher   gave-back   every schoolbag   to its owner

(17) a. Marie   a peint   sa maison   à chaque habitant du village.   NON-CORE DATIVES
          Mary   painted   his house   to every inhabitant of the village

     b. *Marie   a peint   chaque maison   à son locataire.
          Mary   painted   every house   to its tenant

The contrast in (17a-b) shows that the non-core argument asymmetrically c-commands the theme only in benefactive constructions, whereas the core dative and the theme in (16) are not hierarchically ordered.

Next we show that there is no syntactic or semantic evidence for assuming a low applicative in French, and that there are two plausible attachment sites for a high applicative, above V and above *v*. Benefactive non-core arguments are merged above V, and coreferential datives, which do not spell out an added argument, are merged above *v*. In the appendix we speculate that ethical datives are merged even higher, above T.

4. No evidence for a low applicative

The first thing to note is that in all the examples in (13-15), the presence of a VP internal argument is necessary (cf. Leclère 1976, Morin 1981, Rooryck 1988, Herslund 1988, Authier & Reed 1992, Lamiroy & Delbeque 1998, Roberge & Troberg 2007, Juitteau & Rezac 2007). That is, constructions featuring non-core datives are obligatorily "transitive". This might suggest that the non-core dative is introduced by a low applicative head, obligatorily relating two arguments. Yet, contrary to Pylkkanën's prediction, this constraint is not coupled with the semantic requirement that the non-core dative be understood as a recipient or a source of the theme (see examples 13-15 above). The availability of non-core datives with stative predicates comes then as no surprise.

(18) Je lui   tiens les cartables   de ses enfants,
       I   3S.DAT hold   the schoolbags of her children

      pendant qu'elle fait   les courses.
      while   that she does the shopping

      *'I hold her the schoolbags of her children while she shops.'

Furthermore, Cuervo (2003) considers that entailed possession is a determining factor in analyzing applicatives as low. This is never fully attested in French: the possessive reading of the non-core dative depends solely on the nature of the theme argument.

(19) a. Jeanne   lui   a peint   **les sourcils**   en orange.
          Jeanne   3S.DAT   painted   the eyebrows   orange
          'Jeanne painted her/his eyebrows orange (on/for her/him).'

     b. Jeanne   lui   a peint   **le portail**   en orange.
          Jeanne   3S.DAT   painted   the gate   orange
          'Jeanne painted her/his gate orange (on/for her/him).'

When the theme may be understood in a part-whole relation with the applied argument, a possessive reading seems the most salient reading (19a). However, when no part-whole relation exists between the dative and the accusative arguments, any reading – possessive, benefactive, malefactive – is available depending on the context, (19b). It seems then that the possessive reading is always secondary to a benefactive reading. This state of affairs does not suggest anything about the syntactic positioning of the applicative head introducing the non-core dative. However, if possession is a proper subclass of benefactive dative constructions

and not the other way around, this undermines the view that the non-core datives at hand are merged in a low position, as Pylkkänen (2002/2008) and Cuervo (2003) would have it.

An additional argument for showing that the possessive reading is not structurally determined, i.e. that it does not result from a strictly local relation between the theme and non-core dative, comes from cases where the two DPs are related across a PP:

(20) a. Marie   lui   a mis la main   **sur** l'épaule (*de son frère).
Marie   3S.DAT   put   the hand on the-shoulder (of 3.POSS brother)
'Marie put a hand on her/his shoulder (affecting her/him).'

b. Jeanne   lui   a vomi   **sur** le tapis (*de sa voisine)
Jeanne   3S.DAT   vomited on the carpet (of 3.POSS neighbor)
'Jeanne vomited on her/his carpet (affecting her/him).'

In these examples there is a strict possessive reading between the argument embedded in a PP and the non-core dative, supported by the impossibility to add a possessor in the DPs headed by *l'épaule* 'the shoulder' and *le tapis* 'the carpet'. This state of affairs is problematic for a low-applicative analysis *à la* Pylkkänen, since the possessor and the possessee cannot be said to be syntactically local in this configuration. It has been suggested in the literature that these cases involve possessor raising out of the DP headed by the possessee (cf. Landau 1999, Lee-Schoenfeld 2005). Here we will not consider the soundness or benefit of such an analysis, we wish merely to suggest that assuming a high applicative head instead circumvents the problem.

5. Types of non-core datives

In the previous section we have argued that there is no reason to distinguish between possessive and benefactive non-core dative constructions, since the distinction is not reflected syntactically, but is based rather on the properties of the theme argument. We also tried to show that non-core datives of the sort do not relate to the theme locally. In the present section we suggest that non-core datives are nevertheless not a *homogenous* class and at least two types should be syntactically and interpretatively distinguished. We start by describing Coreferential Dative Constructions of the type exemplified in (14) above, and then we show that these are to be kept distinct from benefactive datives.

5.1   Coreferential Dative Constructions

In Coreferential Dative Constructions (CDCs) the dative clitic refers to the grammatical subject.

(21) a. Jeanne   **s'**   est fumé un narguilé.
Jeanne   3.SE   smoked a narghile
'Jeanne smoked her a narghile.'

b. Jeanne   **s'**   est couru   trente km.
Jeanne   3.SE   ran   thirty km
'Jeanne ran her thirty km.'

c. Je **me**   suis maté   un film   avec ma copine.
I   1.SE   watched   a movie with my girlfriend
'I watched me a movie with my girlfriend.'

CDCs are equivalent in their truth conditions to the sentences in (22), without the reflexive SE:

(22) a. Jeanne   a fumé   un narguilé.
        Jeanne   smoked   a narghile
        'Jeanne smoked a narghile.'

    b. Jeanne   a couru   trente km.
        Jeanne   ran   thirty km
        'Jeanne ran thirty km.'

    c. J' ai maté   un film   avec ma copine.
        I   watched a movie   with my girlfriend
        'I watched a movie with my girlfriend.'

The interpretative difference between sentences in (21) and in (22) is pragmatic. CDCs express how the subject, primarily agentive, experiences the event in question, implicating that the subject experiences enjoyment and easy-goingness. This effect depends on the *volitional* involvement of the agent in the event. The following examples contrast on the basis of whether a volitional action was carried out by the agent:

(23) a. Je me   suis cassé   quelques   bagnoles   de riches   (quel kif!)
        I   1.SE broke   a few   cars   of rich people (what fun)
        'I went and smashed me some rich folks' cars (that was fun!)'

    b. #Je   me   suis cassé   quelques   verres,   sans le faire exprès…(quel kif!)
        I   1.SE broke   a few   glasses, unintentionally   (what fun)
        '#I went and smashed me some glasses, unintentionally (that was fun!)'

(23a) is appropriate if uttered by a vandal, acting volitionally, contrary to (23b) where the CD is inappropriate if the breaking is carried out unwillingly. The latter sentence is felicitous if the non-core dative is understood as a malefactive, which has nothing to do with whether the underlying event was carried out volitionally or not. Additionally, CDCs are not appropriate if they describe eventualities viewed negatively by the agent.

(24) a. Zut alors! #Je   me   suis fumé   une cigarette.
        Darn it   I   1.SE smoked   a cigarette
        'Darn it! I smoked me a cigarette.'

    b. Zut alors! #Je   me   suis lu   des journaux pipole   toute la matinée.
        Darn it   I   1.SE read   journals celebs   all the morning
        'Darn it! I read me celebs journals all morning long.'

The inappropriateness of (24), where the agent is the speaker, is due to an incompatibility of the CD with the negative exclamation *zut alors!* 'darn it!'. It seems that what is at stake here is again volitionality. It is less likely that one would act volitionally bringing about a detrimental situation upon oneself.

CDCs with similar pragmatic effects are reported to exist also in spoken varieties of English (Horn 2008 and references therein), Modern Hebrew (Berman 1982, Borer & Grodzinsky 1986, a.o.), Dialectal Arabic (Al-Zahre & Boneh *to appear*), and Russian.

(25) a. I love **me** some him.   (Horn 2008, p. 176)

    b. I've married **me** a pretty little wife.   (Horn 2008, p. 169)

(26) a. rakadti **li** kol ha-layla 'im baxur maksim *M. Hebrew*
   danced.1S to.1S all the-night with guy charming
   'I danced me all night long with a charming guy.'

   b. ha-masa'it mitgalgelet **la** le'ita
   the-truck rolls to.3SF lowly
   'The truck rolls its way slowly (it's a minor issue).'

(27) a. salma raʔṣet-**l-a** šway *Syrian Arabic*
   Salma dance.PAST.3SF-to.3SF a little
   'Salma (just) danced a little (it's a minor issue).'

   b. mši-təl-**li** šway
   take.walks.PAST-1S-to.1S a little
   'I took some walks (it's a minor issue).'

(28) a. Maša guljala sebje po gorodu *Russian*
   Masha stroll-IMP REFL-DAT around town
   'Masha was strolling around the town.'

   b. Maša kurila sebje cigaretu
   Masha smoke-IMP REFL-DAT cigarette
   'Masha was smoking her a cigarette.'

The common feature shared by all these constructions is that the addition of the coreferential pronoun does not seem to alter the truth conditions of the basic proposition, and that the pragmatic effect, although not identical across languages, shares a common feature: that of "relating to the satisfaction of the actual or perceived intention, goal, or preference of the subject" (Horn 2008, p. 188).

Interestingly, superficially identical forms in Spanish have radically different properties. The Spanish reflexive clitic is obligatory and is compatible with telic non-punctual VPs (Fernández Lagunilla & de Miguel 2000).

(29) a. Juan **se** comió la manzana / *manzanas.
   Juan 3.SE ate the apple / apples
   'Juan ate up the apple.'

   b. Juan comió *la manzana / manzanas.
   Juan ate the apple / apples
   'Juan ate the apple.'

In French, the presence or absence of the reflexive clitic does not affect grammaticality, and although there is a slight preference for indefinite objects, there are no constraints on the type of material in the VP.

(30) a. Jeanne **s'** est mangé ?la pomme / des pommes / une pomme.
   Jeanne 3.SE ate the apple / apples / an apple
   'Jeanne ate the apple / apples / an apple.'

   b. Jeanne a mangé la pomme / des pommes / une pomme.
   Jeanne ate the apple / apples / an apple
   'Jeanne ate the apple / apples / an apple.'

Beyond expressing completion of the underlying event, the Spanish constructions also differ from the French ones in the pragmatic effect they give rise to, which is expressing that the

underlying event happened somewhat counter to the expectation of the speaker (Strauss 2003).

5.2 Coreferential datives vs. benefactive datives

The description of CDCs in the previous section does not specify whether and how they differ from benefactive dative constructions, BDCs. Let us again consider example (1) presented at the outset and repeated in (31).

(31) a. Elle **s'** achète une nouvelle voiture
       She 3.SE buys a new car
       'She buys herself a new car.'

    b. Elle **se** fume un cigare.
       She 3.SE smokes a cigar
       'She smokes her a cigar.'

CDCs and constructions containing benefactive reflexive datives are homophonous in French. We will show now that in spite of the superficial similarity, CDCs differ from benefactive reflexives in important ways.

First, the reflexive dative clitic in (31a) can alternate with a non-reflexive clitic as shown in (32a) and is interpreted as the beneficiary. However, the reflexive SE in (31b) cannot alternate in the same fashion, as shown in (32b).

(32) a. Elle s' / m' / lui achète une nouvelle voiture.
       She 3.SE / 1S.DAT / 3S.DAT buys a new car
       'She bought herself a new car.'

    b. Elle se / *me / *lui fume un cigare.
       She 3.SE /1S.DAT / 3S.DAT smokes a cigar
       'She smokes/is smoking her a cigar.'

This shows that BDs and CDs differ distributionally. All agentive verbs can be "enriched" by the CD given the right context. But only a subclass of these verbs can be combined with a non-core benefactive dative clitic. The subclass of verbs that may occur in CDCs but not with benefactive arguments include verbs of ingestion and unergative verbs which may optionally take a (cognate) direct object.

(33) a. Je me / *lui bois une petite bière.
       I 1.SE / 3S.DAT drink a small beer
       'I drink me a beer.'

    b. Je me / *lui avale trois livres par semaine.
       I 1.SE / 3S.DAT gobble three books per week
       'I gobble me three books a week.'

    c. Jeanne se / *lui court trente km.
       Jeanne 3.SE / 3S.DAT runs thirty km
       'Jeanne runs her thirty km.'

    d. Les enfants se sont / *leur ont maté un DVD.
       The children 3.SE BE.AUX / 3P.DAT HAVE.AUX watched a DVD
       'The children watched them a DVD.'

Second, adding a CD to a simple clause does not induce truth-condition modificaitons. Thus, *Jean s'est fumé un narguilé* and *Jean a fumé un narguilé* 'Jean smoked (him) a narghile'

are semantically identical. This fact already suggests that the SE clitic does not introduce another participant in the smoking event. On the other hand, benefactive reflexives *do* change the meaning of the sentence. (34) has three event participants: (i) some shirts, (ii) a beneficiary (*me*) and (iii) the agent (*je*). Two of the participants happen to be coreferential in the sentence. This coreference is by no means obligatory, as shown in (35) where the three participants are referentially disjoint.

(34) Ce matin,   je me   suis repassé quelques chemises.
     This morning, I 1S.DAT ironed   some shirts
     'This morning, I ironed some shirts for myself.'

(35) Ce matin, Paul m'a repassé quelques chemises
     'This morning, Paul ironed me some shirts.'

In fact, the sentence (34) is ambiguous. In addition to the reading just discussed, it has the CD reading and can be interpreted as follows: *I just ironed some shorts, not necessarily for my benefit*:

(36) Ce matin,   je me   suis repassé quelques chemises (pour me calmer).
     This morning, I 1.SE ironed   some shirts   (to me calm-down)
     'This morning, I ironed some shirts (just to calm down).'

Here is an additional example:

(37) Je me   peins le portail.
     I 1S.DAT/1.SE paint the gate
     'I painted my gate.'
     'I painted the gate.'

Under the benefactive reading, the subject (*I*) is the beneficiary, whereas under the CD reading, there is no specified beneficiary, the activity is carried out with a pragmatic implication having to do with the grammatical subject's/speaker's attitude towards the described event.

Because CDs and benefactives are different, they can co-occur in the same sentence. However, the benefactive argument cannot appear as a clitic in such cases, due to the general ban against double dative clitics in French. When a sentence contains both a referentially disjoint PP benefactee and SE, the latter can only be interpreted as CD.

(38) Ce matin,   j' ai   juste à **me**   repasser quelques chemises **à ma femme**.
     This morning, I have only to 1.SE iron   several shirts for my wife
     'This morning, I only have to iron some shirts for my wife.'

In this example, the reflexive dative clitic cannot be interpreted as the beneficiary, since it is already expressed by a PP. The possibility to cumulate both CD and beneficiary further indicates that reflexive dative clitics as in (1)/(31) are morphologically identical but syntactically distinct.

Related evidence that CDs and BDs are not to be collapsed into one category comes from the possibility to add an emphatic benefactive PP:

(39) a. Elle s'   achète   une belle voiture, à elle-même.
       She 3.SE buys   a beautiful car   to herself
       'She buys herself a beautiful car (not for Paul).'

     b. *Elle se   fume   une cigarette, à elle-même.
       She 3.SE smokes a cigarette   to herself

(39) further confirms that CDs do not have full PP/DP counterparts, whereas BDs do. It may be concluded then that the two clitics instantiate two separate entities: CDs are not a subclass of BDs, nor vice versa.

A morphological distinction between reflexive benefactives and CDs is reported to exist in Appalachian English (Conroy 2007), the former are realized as reflexive pronouns and the latter as non-reflexive pronouns.

(40)   a. I only need to sell **me** a dozen more toothbrushes.

   b. I only need to sell **myself** a dozen more toothbrushes.

As in French, CDs cannot be interpreted as event participants, i.e. VP arguments. In (40a), the speaker cannot be interpreted as a purchaser, there is no transfer of possession to the direct object, whereas in (40b), the speaker *is* the purchaser. The following attested example from French parallels (40a):

(41)   Salut, j'ai besoin d'argent,   du coup je **me**   vends   quelques trucs. (Google)
       Hi   I have need of money   so   I   1.SE   sell   some stuff
       'Hi, I am in need of money, so I sell me some stuff.'

Additionally, just like in the French example above (38), only a CD can co-occur with a prepositional benefactive in Appalachian English.

(42)   a. He$_i$ went to the store to buy **him$_i$** a present **for his friend**.

   b. #He went to the store to buy **himself** a present **for his friend**.

(42b) is infelicitous since the sentence stipulates two beneficiary *arguments* – one coreferential with the grammatical subject, and the other introduced as the full PP. In (42a) on the other hand, only one beneficiary is expressed, via the prepositional phrase. The coreferential pronoun makes its contribution at the pragmatic level only.

Note that while the reflexive pronoun *himself* in these examples abides Principle A, the presence of a coreferring pronoun *him* in (42a) does not constitute a violation of Principle B. This is so, according to Horn (2008), since the pronoun is non-argumental.

6. Syntactic analysis

In this section, we propose to account for the differences between CDs and BDs described in the previous chapter in syntactic terms. The general idea we will try to defend is that CDs and BDs are hierarchically distinct: the former attach above *v*P while the latter are attached below, between VP and *v*P.

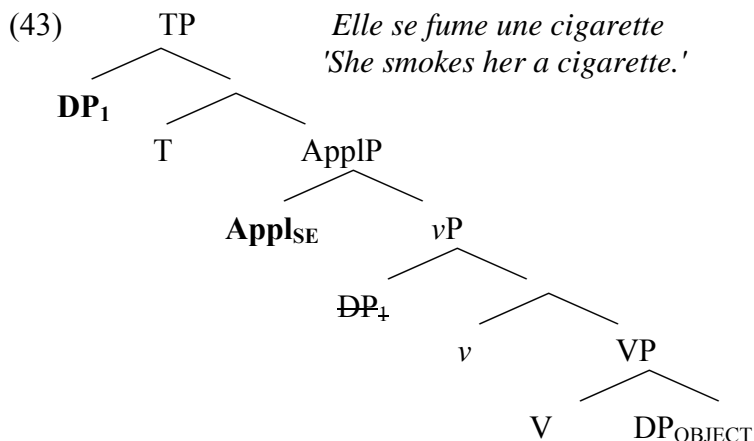### 6.1   The syntactic difference between BDs and CDs

The phenomenon of adding an optional benefactive/possessive/recipient argument to core arguments in VP is a fairly well-studied one. Categorially, these non-core arguments can be either PPs headed by a benefactive/locative preposition or DPs bearing the dative (or abstract object) case. We adopt a widely acknowledged approach to argument structuring according to which the latter – benefactive DP arguments – are introduced into an extended VP domain by special heads, Appl. An interesting difference has been often reported concerning this class: non-core arguments introduced via Appl, unlike synonymous PPs, are interpreted as affected. It has always been a challenge to understand where this 'affectedness' flavour came from and

whether there could be a possible link between the presence of this feature and the properties of Appl.

We suggest that such a link exists. Affectedness is the intrinsic interpretable feature of Appl. Its other, more obvious property of argument-introduction, is structurally constrained, in our view. Namely, Appl introduces an argument only when it is projected *within* vP-VP, traditionally known as the thematic domain of the predicate – this happens in benefactive dative constructions. The novelty of our analysis consists in projecting ApplP even higher, *above* vP, in CDCs. In this non-thematic domain, Appl may not introduce a new argument and its function is restricted to assigning the interpretable feature [affectedness] to the most local argument in SpecvP, the Agent. This is the structural mechanism underlying the phenomenon of pragmatic enrichment of the agent that we have observed in CDCs. In sum, CDCs constitute a syntactic environment where affectedness can be teased apart from argument introduction. We saw that CDCs are necessarily SE configurations, while BDCs can contain either SE-marked predicates or referentially disjoint dative clitics. The following question needs to be addressed: What is the interpretative contribution of the SE head in CDCs and in BDCs?
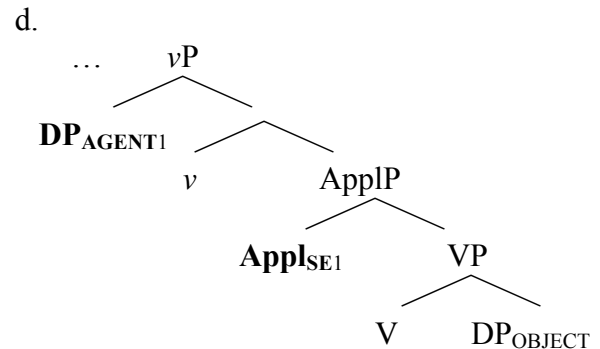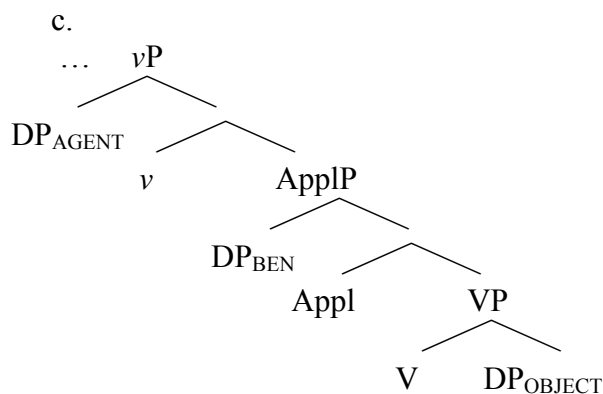
We view the clitic SE as a defective realization of an argument-introducing head (Labelle 2008, Embick 2004). An argument-introducing head *v* or Appl is spelled out as SE when it lacks the specifier occupied by a referential argument.[3] Put differently, referentially independent arguments cannot be introduced by a head spelled out as SE. It is therefore natural that Appl *above* vP may only be realized as SE: the non-thematic environment in which Appl finds itself prohibits adding new event arguments. APPL$_{SE}$ in CDCs marks the agent in SpecvP as an "affected" agent.

Compare the structure in (43) to benefactive constructions in (44), where Appl is attached between *v* and V. When Appl is merged within the thematic domain vP, an extra event argument is added to the thematic information carried by the verb semantics. If Appl is realized as SE the introduced argument must be interpreted as anaphoric (i.e. lacking independent reference) and as affected. The highest argument DP$_{AGENT}$ is co-indexed with it and the missing argument is interpreted as an affected benefactee, coreferent with the agent.

(43)   TP   *Elle se fume une cigarette*
                    'She smokes her a cigarette.'

    DP$_1$

        T   ApplP

       Appl$_{SE}$ *v*P

          ~~DP$_1$~~

               v   VP

                  V   DP$_{OBJECT}$

---

[3] Labelle (2008) presents an analysis of SE according to which an argument introducing head (in her terms, Voice) is spelled as S when it *selects* a VP complement with an unsaturated (non-projected) argument. In her account, Voice$_{SE}$ itself *does* project a referential argument in its specifier which is coindexed with the open slot in VP.

(44) a. Elle **m'**achète une nouvelle voiture.　　b. Elle **s'**achète une nouvelle voiture.
　　　She 1S.DAT buys a new car　　　　　　　　　She 3.SE buys a new car
　　　'She buys me a new car.'　　　　　　　　　　'She buys herself a new car.'

c.

```
        …    vP
           /    \
   DP_AGENT      \
            v     ApplP
                 /    \
          DP_BEN       \
                 Appl    VP
                        /  \
                       V    DP_OBJECT
```

d.

```
        …    vP
           /    \
  DP_AGENT1      \
            v     ApplP
                 /    \
        Appl_SE1       VP
                      /   \
                     V     DP_OBJECT
```

6.2 Support: embedding under causative *faire*

A major piece of evidence for distinguishing the syntactic source of benefactive reflexive constructions and CDCs comes from the following contrasts in embeddability under causative *faire*. (45a) is the example of embedding a BDC under the causative verb *faire*, while (45b) is the example of embedding a CDC. The embedded agent (the causee), which surfaces as the dative PP *à Paul*, can be co-referential with a benefactive SE, (45a). However, the same causee in (45b) cannot be corefential with with an affected SE. This contrast suggests that in causative constructions, Appl_SE is licit in embedded BDCs, but not in embedded CDCs. (46a) and (46b) provide the parallel constructions without SE.

(45)　a.　Elle　a fait　**s'**　acheter　une voiture　**à Paul**.
　　　　　She　made 3.SE　buy　　a car　　　to Paul
　　　　　'She made Paul buy himself a car.'

　　　b.　*Elle a fait　**se**　fumer　un cigare　**à Paul**.
　　　　　She made 3.SE　smoke　a cigar　　to Paul
　　　　　intended: 'she made Paul smoke a cigar.'

(46)　a.　Elle　a fait acheter　une voiture　à Paul.
　　　　　She　made buy　　a car　　　to Paul
　　　　　'She made Paul buy a car.'

　　　b.　Elle　a fait fumer　un cigare　à Paul.
　　　　　She　made smoke　a cigar　　to Paul
　　　　　'She made Paul smoke a cigar.'

Interestingly, (45b) can be 'saved' if the embedded agent is realized not as a full DP, but rather as a clitic or a dislocated *wh*-phrase.[4] In both cases, it is positioned higher than its base position, to the left of *faire*:

---

[4] Many speakers of colloquial French keep the *wh*-phrase *in situ*:

　　i.　Elle　a fait　**se**　fumer　un cigare　**à qui**?
　　　　She　made　3.SE　smoke　a cigar　to who?
　　　　'Who did she make smoke a cigar?'

14

(47) a. Elle **lui**   a fait   **se**   fumer   un cigare.
        She   3.SG.DAT made   3.SE smoke   a cigar
        'She made him smoke a cigar.'

   b. **A qui**   elle   a fait   **se**   fumer un cigare?
      To who   she   made   3.SE smoke a cigar?
      'Who did she make smoke a cigar?'

In (48-49), we present another pair of *faire* constructions manifesting the contrast in question. (48b) shows that the embedded agent (causee) in BDCs can surface as a dative PP but may not do so in embedded CDCs, (49b). (49c) illustrates that the displaced embedded agent – here in the guise of the clitic *leur* – becomes licit in CDCs embedded under *faire*.

(48) a. Elle   a fait   repasser   sa chemise à Paul.
        She   made   iron   3.POSS shirt to Paul
        'She made Paul iron his shirt.'

   b. Elle   a fait **se**   repasser   sa chemise   **à Paul**.
      She   made 3.SE   iron   3.POSS shirt   to Paul
      'She made Paul iron his shirt for himself.'

(49) a. Ça   a fait mater   des films débiles   à mes voisins.
        This made watch   movies dumb   to my neighbours
        'This made my neighbors watch dumb movies.'

   b. *Ça   a fait **se**   mater   des films débiles   **à mes voisins**.
      This   made 3.SE   watch   movies dumb   to my neighbours
      intended: 'This made my neighbours watch dumb movies.'

   c. Ça   **leur** a fait   **se**   mater   des films débiles.
      This them made   3.SE watch   movies dumb
      'This made them watch dumb movies.'

   We propose the following explanation to this hitherto unnoticed contrast. It is a well-known fact that in *faire-à* constructions the causative *faire* and the embedded verb form a tight syntactic unit and internal arguments of the embedded verb must precede the embedded agent, marked with dative case:

(50) Isa   a fait fumer   une cigarette   à Béa.
     Isa   made smoke   a cigarette   to Béa
     'Isa made Béa smoke a cigarette.'

(51) *Isa   a fait fumer (à) Béa   une cigarette.
      Isa   made smoke   Béa   a cigarette

Two types of solutions have been proposed to account for this. The first solution involves positioning the embedded agent in some right hand specifier of the embedded clause (Landau 2009, Folli & Harley 2007). Depending on analyses, this right-hand specifier is either the locus of the base-generated embedded agent in VP, or is projected by a functional head selecting the embedded VP where the agent (causee) raises. It is in the right-hand specifier position that the embedded agent is marked with dative case. Besides positioning and case-licensing of the embedded agent in the righthand specifier, the derivation of *faire à*-constructions also involves incorporation of the embedded verb into *faire*.

   The second solution involves VP-preposing (Burzio 1986, Kayne 2004). The embedded agent stays *in situ*, in the left-hand Spec*v*P position. Moving VP (the verb and its internal arguments) to the left of *v*P is a necessary step for the subsequent *faire*-VP reanalysis. The *v*P

layer is stranded behind, with the embedded agent in its specifier. It is in this base position that the embedded agent gets its dative case from the reanalyzed *faire*-VP complex. Notice that the case of the embedded agent is conditioned by the nature of the embedded predicate: agents of embedded intransitive verbs are assigned accusative case, agents of embedded transitive verbs are marked with dative case. This case choice clearly depends on the global number of arguments present in the sentence as the result of *faire*-VP reanalysis. We adhere to the second approach to *faire*-constructions. There are two reasons which are not captured by an analysis that proposes to leave the object of the embedded clause in its base-generated position, lower than the embedded agent, and raise and incorporate the embedded verb into *faire* by head-movement.

Firstly, the grammaticality of (52) is not predicted by the type of analyses where the embedded agent alone is found in a high right-hand specifier. If this were indeed the case, the pronominal *son* in *à son auteur* could not have been bound by the quantified embedded object, contrary to fact. The fact that the embedded object can bind into the embedded agent suggests that the former is hierarchically higher, or at least at the same level, as the latter.

(52) Marie   a fait décrire   chaque livre   à son auteur.
   Marie   made describe every book   to its author

Secondly, an incorporation analysis would fail to explain the possibility for an adverb to intervene between *faire* and the embedded verb, as illustrated in the following examples attested in French:

(53)   a. faire souvent venir
           'make often come'

       b. faire rarement travailler
           'make rarely work'

       c. faire de nouveau réparer
           'make again repair'   (from Google, inspired by Ippolito 2000)

In this light, let us consider again (45a) and its structure in (54). First, the VP is preposed to the left of *v*P, then the clitic SE cliticizes (moves by head-movement) to the preposed V. This derivation yields a configuration in which SE is hierarchically higher than the DP$_{AGENT}$. Yet, the structure is licit since the c-command relation AGENT-BENEFACTIVE has been established prior to movement and can be therefore reconstructed.
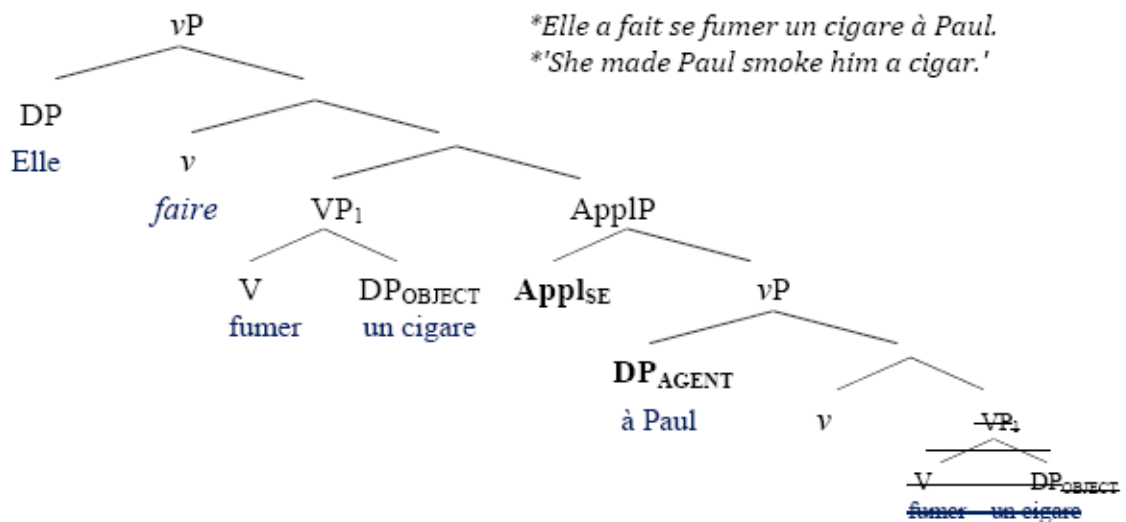
(54)

Elle a fait s'acheter une voiture à Paul.
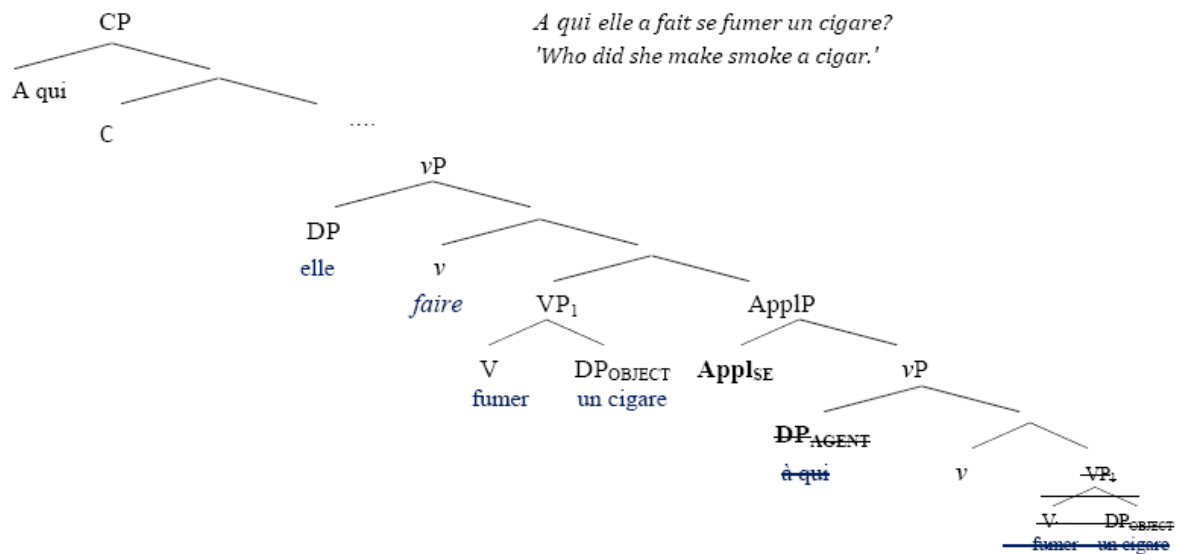'She made Paul buy himself a new car.'
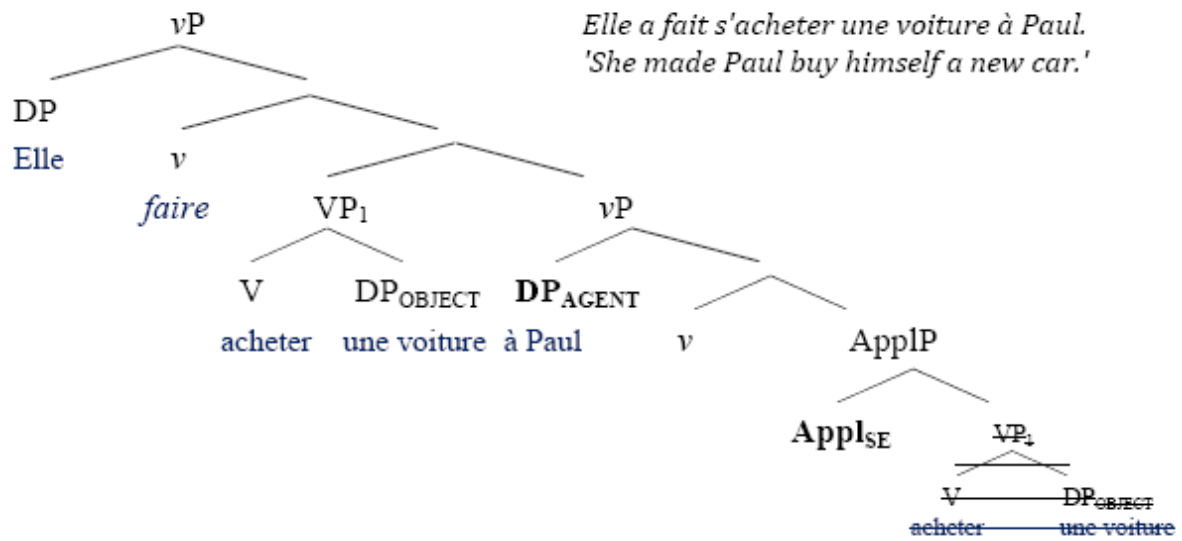
In CDCs, the embedded VP moves to the left of ApplP (to be linearly adjacent to *faire*) and the head of Appl SE cliticizes to the fronted VP. If the embedded DP$_{AGENT}$ stays *in situ* as in (55), the right c-command relation between SE and the embedded agent cannot be established at any level of representation. This situation can be salvaged if the embedded agent moves to the higher clause headed by *faire* either as a clitic *lui* or as a *wh*-constituent. This derivation is illustrated by the tree in (56), resulting in constructions (47), where the embedded agent comes to c-command SE subsequent to movement.

(55)

*Elle a fait se fumer un cigare à Paul.
*'She made Paul smoke him a cigar.'

17

(56)

A qui elle a fait se fumer un cigare?
'Who did she make smoke a cigar.'

7 Conclusion

In this paper we proposed an approach to the syntax of applicative heads, eliminating the distinction between high and low applicatives, and suggesting that non-core dative arguments are to be analyzed as introduced by an applicative head merged above VP. On the basis of French data, we also proposed that non-core datives can be divided into at least two subclasses, and have shown that syntactically this is manifested by the place of attachment of the applicative head: above VP and above *v*P. We further suggested that the main property of the applicative head is to endow a DP with affectedness, and that the choice of the DP is structurally constrained. This suggestion is based on novel data concerning Coreferential Dative Constructions which enabled us to isolate a syntactic environment where affectedness can be teased apart from argument introduction. If on the right track, such an analysis challenges the view that pragmatics operates at the level of complete utterances (*pace* Chierchia, Fox & Spector *to appear*, Martí 2009).

Appendix: Ethical Datives

Ethical Datives (EDs), as the ones exemplified in (15) above, can be readily distinguished from the other constructions featuring non-core datives. First they allow only first and second person singular clitics:

(57) a. Au Mont St. Michel,   la mer   **te** /***lui**   monte   à une de ces vitesses.
          At Mont St. Michel   the sea   2S.DAT /3S.DAT rises   at one of these speeds
          'You won't believe how quickly the sea rises at Mont St. Michel!'

   b. Paul   **te/me/*lui**   bois   dix pastis   en trois minutes!
          Paul   2S.DAT/1S.DAT /3S.DAT   drinks   ten *Pastis*   in three minutes
          'Paul drinks 10 *Pastis* in three minutes! (it's unbelievable)'   (Leclère 1976, p. 86)

Second, contrary to other datives, EDs may co-occur with other dative clitics (Leclère 1976, Juitteau & Rezac 2007):

(58) a. Paul   **te/me**   lui   a donné une de ces gifles!
          Paul   2S.DAT/1S.DAT 3S.DAT   gave   one of these smacks
          'Paul smacked him good!'   (Leclère 1976: p. 93)

b.*Paul **nous** leur a donné trop de sucreries (aux enfants).
Paul 3PL.DAT 3P.DAT gave too.many sweets (to.the children)
Intended: Paul gave them too many sweets (affecting us).

c.*Je **me** lui donne un bonbon.
I 1.SE 3S.DAT give a candy
Intended: I gave me a candy to her/him.

(59) a. Paul **te/me** lui fabrique une table en vingt minutes!
Paul 2S.DAT/1S.DAT 3S.DAT make a table in twenty minutes
'Paul makes a table in twenty minutes!' (Leclère 1976: p. 85)

b.*Paul **nous** lui fabrique une table en vingt minutes.
Paul 1P.DAT 3S.DAT make a table in twenty minutes
Intended: Paul bought her/him a car for/on us.

c.*Je **me** lui fabrique une table en vingt minutes.
I 1.SE 3S.DAT make a table in twenty minutes
Intended: I make me a table for her/him in twenty minutes.

In (58a) an ED co-occurs with a core goal dative, contrary to (58b-c) where BD and CD clitics are excluded from co-occurring with a core dative. Similarly, an ED can co-occur with a BD non-core dative, (59a), but the other non-core clitics cannot be so cumulated. The ungrammaticality of (59b-c) is due to cumulating a BD and a CD, respectively, on top of another BD. Note that while the b-c examples may look like a Person-Case-Constraint (PCC) violation, it is not clear why this restriction does not apply in the case of EDs.

In this paper we will not develop an analysis of EDs, we would like however to make a preliminary suggestion that will need to be motivated as to the syntactic position of these non-core dative clitics. EDs are applicative heads introducing discourse participants which merge even higher in the clausal skeleton than the previous two discussed here – possibly above T. If this analysis can receive motivation we have a three-way typology of applicative heads – *all high* – which may attach at various points along the derivation. An applicative attaching immediately above VP, still in the lexical domain, introduces a non-core argument and endows it with affectedness. An applicative merged above *v*P, on the other hand, does not introduce a full argument, it may only endow the highest available argument, presumably the agent, with its affectedness feature. Finally, an applicative head that attaches above TP, after nominative case has been checked, may only introduce discourse participants, endowing them with affectedness. This analysis assumes, as already stated in the body of the article, that the prime function of applicative heads is introducing affectedness into the derivation, not necessarily new arguments.

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