ON THE SYNTAX OF ROMANIAN CLITIC DOUBLING CONSTRUCTIONS[*]

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This paper explores the hypothesis that Clitic Doubling (CD) sequences are not just mere cases of 'doubling' i.e., a mere enrichment process of a simple cliticisation construction by an additional DP which seems to compete for the same argument position as the clitic (as CD has been traditionally viewed). On the contrary, its aim is show that they are totally different instances wherein the dependence of the full DP on the clitic signals the existence of a special relation set up by the clitic and which takes the full DP as a member. More specifically, CD structures are argued to be semantically and syntactically related to integrals (Hornstein et al. (1995)), Uriagereka (2001, 2002, 2005). The pronominal clitic licenses the integral relation to which the associate DP is a participant and is analysed as a determiner taking as its restriction a complex argument enclosing the integral predication in guise of a Small Clause. The associate DP is argued to have argumental status. Further tests show that both the clitic and its associate move out of their merge position: the former is attracted to the Person field so as to valuate its interpretable person feature, whereas the second moves to SpecvP so as to remain accessible for case valuation.

Keywords: Clitic Doubling, Differential Object Marking, integrals

1. INTRODUCTION

One of the topics discussed in relation to CD is the relative optionality of the pronominal clitic. Avram & Coene (2009:233) point out, for instance, that a Romanian accusative object DP does not necessarily require a clitic unless it is a definite pronoun.

(1)   a.   (L-)am   văzut pe copil.
           (Him-) have.I seen pe child.
           'I have seen the child.'
    b. * (L-)am   văzut pe el/pe acesta.
            (Him-) have.I seen pe him/pe this.
            'I have seen him/ this person.'

Similarly, Cornilescu (ms.) shows that CD is optional in monotransitive dative structures (2a) as well as with ditransitives (2b) and that the only case when a dative clitic is obligatory is that of unaccusative datives (2c,d).

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(2)   a.   Sfaturile   mamei   (îi)   ajută Mariei.
             Advice   mother.DAT (to her) help Mary.DAT
             'Mother's advice helps Mary.'
       b.   (I-)am   dat   Mariei   o carte.
             (Her.cl-)have.I given   Mary.DAT a book.
             'I have given a book to Mary.'
       c.   Lui Matia *(i-)a   revenit   cheful de joacă.
             To Matia *(him-)has come back mood.the of play.
             'Matia is in the mood for playing again.'
       d.   Lui Matia *(îi)   e foame.
             To Matia *(him) is hunger.
             'Matia is hungry.'

     Other Romance languages provide further data concerning CD structures where the clitic
is obligatory. Kayne (2000) shows that CD is possible in French only if the associate DP is a
definite pronoun (3, 4). The clitic is obligatory in the case of pronominal direct objects (3a).

(3)   a.   Jean *(la)   connaît elle.
             John *(her) knows her.
             'John knows her.'
       b. * Jean la connaît Marie.
          * John her knows Mary.
             'John knows her.'   Kayne (2000: 191, ex. 12, 13)
(4)   a.   Jean lui   parle à elle.
             John to-her speaks to her.
             'John speaks to her.'
       b. * Jean lui   parle   à Marie.
             John to-her speaks to Mary.
             'John speaks to Mary.'   Kayne (2000: 191, ex. 10, 11)

     He assimilates these cases with the behaviour of French subject pronouns which also
require the presence of a pronominal clitic (5a). Lexical subjects on the other hand do not need
to be accompanied by a subject clitic (5b).

(5)   a.   Moi, *(je) vois Marie.
             Me, *(I) see   Mary
             'I see Mary.'   Kayne (2000: 195, ex. 29, 30)
       b.   Jean voit Marie.
             John sees Mary
             'John sees Mary.'   Kayne (2000: 195, ex. 28)

     The cases presented above all point to a dependence of the full DP on the presence of the
clitic: an overt associate DP requires an overt clitic for well-formedness. Several questions arise
in relation to these facts:
(a) How can this unilateral dependence be explained?
(b) Is the nature of the associate DP responsible for the obligatoriness of a pronominal clitic?
(c) Is this dependence relevant in any way for those cases where CD seems to be optional?
     In answering question (b) one has to consider the relevant differences holding between
those associate DPs which require CD and those which do not: from this perspective, the use
of a *pronominal* argument seems to be crucial for doubling in both Romanian and French.
Indeed, Kayne (2000) extends this observation to a general principle according to which
Pronominal arguments that are structurally case-marked in French must be doubled by a clitic

(Kayne 2000:192/14). Nevertheless, this approach would leave out the case of Romanian unaccusative datives, where an obligatory clitic may also double non-pronominal associates (2c,b)[1].

A possible way out, which might also provide an answer to question (c), would be to consider that all cases of CD are instances where the clitic is obligatory and which are in fact syntactically and semantically different from their non-doubled counterparts: the apparent optionality of the clitic would actually hide two different configurations: one in which there is a clitic and an associate and another one in which there is only a full DP but no clitic. Such an approach would extend the unilateral dependence of the full DP on the clitic (apparent in the examples discussed above) to all CD instances and consider it at the core of the semantic and syntactic differences holding between the two types of constructions.

The account we propose for Romanian CD favours this line of analysis by considering CD structures a special kind of construction in which the clitic is needed to license the full DP (Kayne (2000)), and whose properties relate them syntactically and semantically to those of constructions of inalienable posession (Uriagereka (2001), (2005)). The fact that the clitic is a licenser for the full DP accounts for the dependence of the latter on the former, which provides an answer to question (a).

In view of these questions, the paper will be organized as follows: section 2 explores the semantics of CD and argues for an account according to which these constructions function as integrals (Hornstein et al (1995), Uriagereka (2001), (2002), (2005)). This section also brings into discussion the status of the clitic as a strong referential determiner. Section 3 discusses the syntactic status of the associate DP and argues in favour of it functioning as a genuine argument of the verb. Moreover, several pieces of evidence are provided showing that both the clitic and the associate DP leave their merge position. Finally a derivation is proposed. Section 4 represents the conclusions of this paper.

2. WHAT MAKES CD STRUCTURES SPECIAL

In the previous section we discussed several cases of CD where the associate DP is dependent on the presence of a pronominal clitic. This dependence counts as a strong argument in favour of the view that the clitic licenses the associate as proposed by Sportiche (1996). This dependence was further hypothesized for all CD cases. In turn, those cases where the pronominal clitic appears to be optional were reinterpreted as instantiating two different structures: one configuration where an obligatory clitic always doubles a full DP and another one, without a clitic. The two constructions were hypothesized to differ semantically and syntactically.

The purpose of this section is thus to explore the hypothesis that CD sequences are not just mere cases of 'doubling' i.e., a mere enrichment process of a simple cliticisation construction by an additional DP which seems to compete for the same argument position as the clitic (as CD has been traditionally viewed). On the contrary, the aim would be to show that they are totally different instances wherein the dependence of the full DP on the clitic signals the existence of a special relation set up by the clitic and which takes the full DP as a member. More specifically, in line with Uriagereka (2001), (2002), (2005), CD structures will be argued to be semantically and syntactically related to integrals (Hornstein et al. (1995)) in that the pronominal clitic licenses the integral relation to which the associate DP is a participant.

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[1] The importance of pronominal arguments in relation to CD and cliticisation will not be overlooked, however, and a discussion of their relevance for positing a Person field within the sentence structure in line with Bianchi (2005) and Săvescu (2009) will follow in section 3.

2.1. Exploring the semantics of CD

Focusing on examples such as (6), Uriagereka (2001), (2005) notices that the dative clitic in (a) only allows for a reading according to which the cord is inalienably possessed by her, while (b) remains ambiguous between this reading and one according to which she owns the chord, alienably e.g., for a science experiment.

(6)　a.　Le　vi　el cordón a ella.
　　　　　her saw.I the cord　to her
　　　　　'I saw her cord'.
　　　b.　Vi　el cordón a ella.
　　　　　saw.I the cord　to her
　　　　　'I saw her cord'.　　　　　　　　　　　　Uriagereka (2005: 344 (1a, b))

It is further observed that the presence of the clitic does not itself code 'inalienably possessive' syntax as there are other ways to encode this interpretation without resorting to clitic placement, as in (7):

(7)　　*　Vi　su　cordón de ella.
　　　　　saw.I her cord　of her
　　　　　'I saw her (own) cord.'　　　　　　　　　Uriagereka (2005: 344 (1a, b))

The inalienable interpretation which obtains in (6a) actually comes as an effect of the contextual specification that the clitic contributes to the event of *seeing:* since at the event of *seeing* there has to be an inalienably possessed cord as a participant, and since quantification over this event is restricted to contexts 'of her' (through the contribution of the clitic), the sentence will come out as true only if the respective cord is 'at her' (inalienable possession) (cf. Uriagereka 2005:345). The clitic thus provides a contextual cue for the event, grounding it and facilitating a particular integral part-whole relation between the two event participants *su cordón* and *ella*.

Cornilescu (ms.) shows that the same holds with Romanian unaccusative datives, which require a dative pronominal clitic, and where the implication of possession is possible (8b). On the other hand in the cliticless version (8a) there is no such implication that the parcel belongs to the speaker.

(8)　a.　Coletul　a venit la mine abia ieri.
　　　　　Package.the has come to me　only yesterday
　　　　　'The package only reached me yesterday.'
　　　b.　Coletul　mi-a　venit abia ieri.
　　　　　Package.the to me-has come only yesterday
　　　　　'The package only reached me yesterday.'　　　Cornilescu (ms: 20 ex. 46)

The same holds for the psych interpretation of these constructions, another case where the clitic is obligatory and where the integral part-whole relation is obvious: the dative DP represents the mental space of which the idea is a part.

(9)　　*　Ideea　*(mi)-a　venit abia ieri.
　　　　　Idea.the *(to me-)has come only yesterday.
　　　　　'The idea only came to me yesterday.'　　　Cornilescu (ms: 20 ex. 47)

If all CD structures are to be analysed on a par as professed in the previous section, then clitic doubled accusative objects are expected to enter the same kind of integral part-whole relation set up by the accusative clitic, which would perfom the same role of grounding the event by confining the range of event quantification to some context, as its dative counterpart. Indeed, Uriagereka (2001), (2005) argues that (accusative) CD is another integral expression where a part-whole relation holds between the associate DP and a null classifier. In other words, an example such as (10) has the semantic import of 'I saw her persona of Mary'.

(10)   Am   văzut-o   pe Maria.
          Have.I   seen-her.cl *pe* Mary
          'I have seen Mary.'

The integral relation is captured at a conceptual level by means of a small clause like predication whereby *Mary* is a subject and the null classifier is an (integral) predicate:

(11)   SC
         _____
        SPACE   PRESENTATION[2]
        Mary   persona

The null classifier is contributed by the *pro*-form associated with the clitic which functions as a strong determiner in accounts adopting the BigDP hypothesis (Uriagereka (1988), (1995)) as in (12).
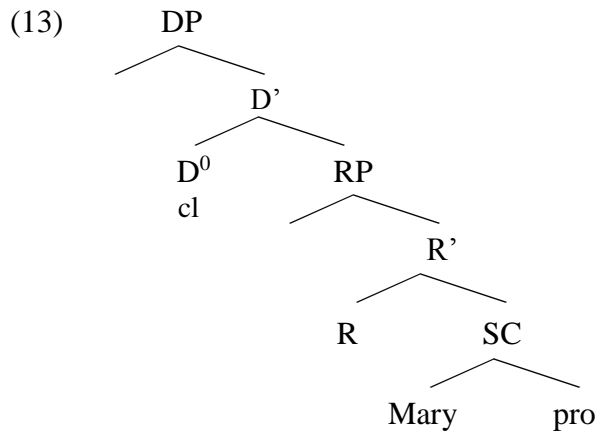
(12)   DP
        _____
      DP$_{ass}$ D'
      Mary   _____
                  D^0 NP
                  cl   *pro*   (Uriagereka 1995: 81: 2(a))

At a lexical-conceptual level, the clitic sets up an integral relation holding between its NP complement (contributing the null clasifier) and the associate DP. The SC codes this lexical conceptual relation: the DP$_{assoc}$ *Mary* and *pro* start their derivational life as involved within a kind of possession, similar to the relation holding between *su cordón* and *ella* in (6).

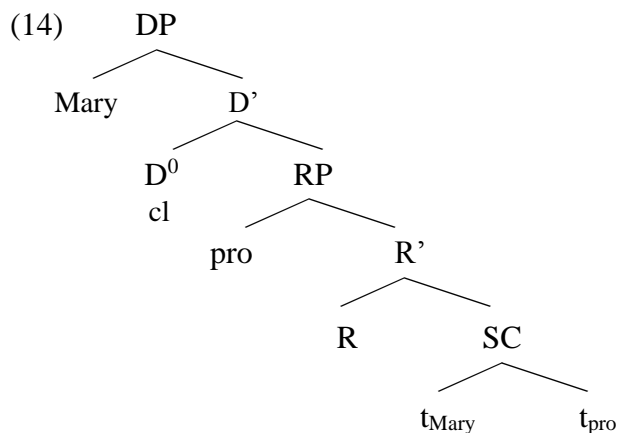Above the conceptual layer, Uriagereka (2002), (2005) posits two functional categories (in line with Kayne (1994), Szabolcsi (1983)): a referential phrase (RP) and a DP:

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[2] The Small Clause (SC) configuration is designed to capture various types of integral predications where the *whole* is taken to represent a sort of mental space, while the *part* presents the *whole* in a certain way (Uriagereka (2005:347)).

(13)

```
            DP
            |
            D'
          /    \
        D⁰      RP
        cl       |
                R'
              /    \
            R       SC
                  /    \
               Mary    pro
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The existence of a referential projection captures the view that reference comes as a consequence of a syntactic transformation involving movement to the R domain: *pro,* the null instantiation of the personal classifier, moves to SpecR an by so doing forces the referential character of the DP headed by the clitic: the phrase in (14) comes out referring to a given *persona.* Thus, the entire structure in (14) functions as a valid reference to a given *persona* while capturing the inalienable relation holding between *Mary* and *persona* at the same time.

The clitic is hosted by the quantificational D head taking RP as its complement and the DP$_{ass}$ moves to the specifier of the complex DP.

(14)

```
            DP
          /    \
       Mary     D'
              /    \
            D⁰      RP
            cl    /    \
                pro     R'
                      /    \
                    R       SC
                          /    \
                      t_Mary   t_pro
```

Note that as it stands, the structure in (14) boils down to the one proposed in Uriagereka (1995) wherein *pro* is the null complement of the clitic, while the DP$_{assoc}$ is its specificier. The new structure, however, also captures the integral relation which holds between the associate DP and the null complement of the clitic and which accounts for the difference in interpretation between CD sequences and non-doubled ones.

In view of the adopted hypothesis that all CD structures differ semantically from their non-doubled counterparts in that they function as integral expressions, we take the clitic to act as a determiner taking as its restriction a complex argument enclosing the integral predication in guise of a SC. Further movement of the *pro* form to RP and of the DP$_{ass}$ to the specifier of the complex DP is also adopted in line with Uriagereka (2001), (2002), (2005). In the following section arguments are provided supporting the idea that the clitic is a strong determiner and that Romanian is one of those languages that allow for strong determiners. Moreover, a discussion concerning the referential character of the Romanian clitic-headed DP will come as further support for *pro's* movement to RP.

2.2. The clitic as a determiner

Uriagereka (1995) proposes that in CD configurations the clitic and the associate DP start out as one event participant[3], merged within a complex DP, with the clitic occupying the determiner head position and selecting a null complement. The clitic is taken to be a strong determiner in the sense that it may select a *pro* complement on a par with other strong determiners in sequences such as *el/la pro que vino (the pro from France).* A correlation thus ensues between languages which allow strong determiners and the possibility for CD. Finally, the associate DP is merged in the specifier of the complex DP (as in (7))[4].

This section is devoted to exploring the nature of the pronominal clitic in Romanian and provides a number of arguments in favour of its determiner like status and behaviour. It will also be shown that Romanian supports the correlation between the existence of strong determiners and CD in that it allows for strong determiners (e.g. the definite article *cel*).

2.2.1. *Diachronic development:*

As pointed out by Uriagereka (1995) p. 79 following Wanner (1987), 3rd person pronominal clitics have evolved from the Latin accusative demonstratives *illum, illam, illud* as weaker elements behaving like phonological clitics. Their evolution as well as the existing phonological similarities prompts Uriagereka into also assuming similar synchronic behaviour.

This observation is also confirmed for Romanian by numerous linguists (Coteanu (1956), Graur (1967), Rosetti (1968) a.o.). Thus, Rosetti (1968:136) presents the following paradigm for the third person, pronouns:

Strong forms

Modern Romanian form	Features	Latin source
el	Masculine, singular, Nominative/Accusative	*illum; însul < ipsus ille, ipseius*
lui	Masculine, singular, Genitive/Dative	*illui*
ei	Masculine, plural, Nominative/Accusative	*illi*
lor	Masculine, Plural, Genitive/Dative	*illorum*
ea	Femininene, singular, Nominative/Accusative	*illa; însa< ipsa, illa*
ei	feminine, singular, Genitive/Dative	*illaei*
ele	feminine, plural, Nominative/Accusative	*illae*
lor	feminine, Plural, Genitive/Dative	*illorum*

Weak forms

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[3] This proposal ensues as a result of discussions concerning the syntactic status of the clitic and of the associate DP in the context of the CD structures to which Jaeggli (1982) draws attention: within the generative literature, Kayne (1975) proposes a first analysis of clitics as pronominal DPs which saturate an argument position of the verb, from where they later move as to attach to the verb. The discussion of Clitic Doubling (CD) instances in Jaeggli (1982) raises a question as to the status of the pronominal clitic, since it seems that two DPs are competing for the same argument position. One possible solution to this problem, adopted in Aoun (1981) or Hutardo (1984) a.o., is to maintain the view of the clitic as an argument of the verb and analyze the associate DP as an adjunct. Another possibility is to allow argument status of the associate DP, while analyzing the clitic as an inflectional element, akin to agreement markers (Borer (1984), Suñer (1988), a.o).

[4] Other linguists argue for it occupying the complement position (Boeckx (2001), Cornilescu (2002), Papangeli (2000) a.o.).

Modern Romanian form	Features	Latin source
l	Masculine, singular, Nominative/Accusative	*illum*
i	Masculine, singular, Genitive/Dative	*illi*
i	Masculine, plural, Nominative/Accusative	*illi*
le	Masculine, Plural, Genitive/Dative	*illis*
o	Feminine, singular, Nominative/Accusative	*illam*
i	feminine, singular, Genitive/Dative	*illi*
le	feminine, plural, Nominative/Accusative	*illae*
le	feminine, Plural, Genitive/Dative	*illis*

The paradigm concerning the definite article mirrors Rosetti (1968: 134) and shows a common source of development with the pronoun i.e., the demonstrative pronoun *ille*:

Modern Romanian form	Features	Latin source
-l	Masculine, singular, Nominative/Accusative	*illum*
-lui	Masculine, singular, Genitive/Dative	*illui, illeius*
-i	Masculine, plural, Nominative/Accusative	*illi*
-lor	Masculine, Plural, Genitive/Dative	*illorum*
-a	Feminine, singular, Nominative/Accusative	*illa*
-ei	feminine, singular, Genitive/Dative	*illaei*
-le	feminine, plural, Nominative/Accusative	*illae*
-lor	feminine, Plural, Genitive/Dative	*illorum*

2.2.2. *Similar synchronic behavior:*

2.2.2.1. Galician provides a strong argument in favour of the synchronic relatedness of clitics and definite determiners in that it is possible for the latter to cliticize onto a host other than the expected nominal: In (15) the definite determiner *lo* of a DP [D, NP] construct leaves the DP and adjoins to a Case-cheking head:

(15) a.   Vimo-lo   neno.
           saw.we-the child.   Uriagereka (1995: 81 (ft. 5 (i))
     b.   Dixo   que nosoutros nunca comimo-lo caldo.
           said.he that   we   never ate.we-the soup
           'He said that we never ate the soup.'
     c.   Po-lo traeres,   heiche   dar   un   garrido.
           for-it bring-you will.I-to.you   give a present.
           'Because of your bringing it, I'll give you a present.'

                                                    (Uriagereka 1995: 98 (14a, b))

Note that the examples in (15) are not instances of Clitic Doubling, where a pronominal clitic doubles a full DP, but cases containing a determinerless nominal expression whose determiner has cliticized onto the verb. Galician thus provides evidence as to the relatedness between definite determiners and clitics in that both expressions seem to be undergoing raising[5].

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[5] Uriagereka (1988) argues that determiners undergo movement both when used a clitics, in which case they head an NP *pro* and when they take a regular NP complement.

2.2.2.2. Romanian provides further evidence that pronominal clitics behave as determiners. Analysing CD with indefinite DPs in the accusative, Tigău (ms.) shows that clitics behave semantically as non-neutral, anti-variation determiners[6] (Farkas (1997), (2002) a, b, c and Brașoveanu and Farkas (2013) by restricting the values of the discourse referent introduced by the associate DP to a unique one, leading to its stability of reference (Farkas & von Heusinger (2003)).

Clitic doubled indefinites are shown to always be interpreted as specific and to resist contexts which normally disambiguate the reading of the direct object DP towards a non-specific one. Take for instance the case of the distributive determiner *câte,* which has been shown in Farkas (2001) to induce a dependent, non-specific interpretation, as in (16a) where the only possible reading for the indefinite is the non-specific one i.e., the candidates co-vary with the voters. On the other hand, (16b) is ungrammatical, if the *pe* indefinite is also clitic doubled.

(16) a.   La alegeri   orice alegător votează pe câte un candidat de pe listă.
          At elections any   voter   votes PE *câte* a   candidate from list.
          'On the occasion of elections, any voter votes a candidate on the list'
     b.   La alegeri   orice alegător (?îl)   votează pe câte un candidat de pe listă.
          At elections any voter   (?him.cl) votes   *pe câte* a candidate from list.
          'On the occasion of elections, any voter votes a candidate on the list'

Undoubled indefinites differ from their doubled counterparts with respect to their specificity in the presence of *câte*: while the former give up on their (otherwise possible interpretation in the absence of *câte*) specific reading when *câte* is present, the latter resist such change in interpretation and stay specific. The *specific* reading of clitic doubled indefinites is shown in Tigău (ms.) to be an effect of the semantic constraints imposed by the clitic on the variation in values assigned to the discourse referent introduced by the associate DP.

By posing restrictions on the assignment functions valuating this discourse referent, the clitic seems to behave like a determiner. Indeed, the effect CD has on the indefinite it marks reminds one of the special, non-neutral, anti-variation determiners discussed in Farkas ((1997), (2002) a,b,c) and in Brașoveanu and Farkas (2013), which trigger different shades of specificity by imposing various constraints on the discourse referent the NP introduces.

2.3. Strong determiners and CD

The BigDP configuration proposed by Uriagereka (1995) rests on the hypothesis that the option for CD depends on the features of determiners in the sense that only languages with strong determiners i.e., determiners which may license a *pro-NP* modified by a relative clause or a PP, may have CD. This generalization would explain why languages such as Spanish or Galician have CD in view of the fact that sequences such as *el/la pro de Francia (the pro from France)* or *el/la pro que vino (the one who came)* are permissible, as opposed to Italian or French whose determiners are weak and allow *ne/en* cliticisation but resist CD.

2.3.1. *Greek determiners*

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[6] Farkas & Brașoveanu (2013) call determiners which do more than merely introduce a discourse referent (whose domain will be provided by the semantic value of the NP which they select) *non-neutral* determiners, as they impose further constraints on the discourse referent, constraints which may either affect the domain of that referent or the set of assignment functions that the referent updates. Non-neutral determiners are further divided into *pro-variation* ones i.e., those that impose constraints as to relative variability of reference, and *anti-variation* determiners which impose constraints triggering relative stability of reference.

Greek provides further evidence in favour of the BigDP hypothesis as it allows unsplit sequences of strong pronouns selecting a DP complement: in (17) below taken from Papangeli (2000:483, ft. 4 and 485 (21b)) a demonstrative pronoun *afton/aftus* selects a definite description *ton andra/thus anthropus* (the construct has deictic interpretation).

(17) a.   O Janis *ton*   idhe   *afton*   *ton andra   me ta makria malia*
           The Janis him.CL saw.he him/this the man.ACC with the long hair.ACC
           na   perni tis karameles.
           subj. take.3sg the sweets
           'Janis saw the man with the long hair taking the sweets.'
     b.   O   Janis idhe (xthes)   *aftus*   *tus anthropus* (xthes)
           The Janis saw (yesterday) them/these the men   (yesterday)
           na   trexun pros   ti   thalassa.
           subj. run.3pl towards the sea.ACC
           'Janis saw these men running towards the sea yesterday.'

2.3.2. *Romanian determiners*

Romanian seems to pose a problem for this generalization as the suffixal definite articles *–l (the.sg.m), -i (the.pl.m), -a (the.pl.f), -le (the.pl.f)* are weak and do not allow sequences of the type * *–l care a venit (the who has come)*.

Nevertheless, Romanian also has a free definite article *cel* which has been argued by Cornilescu (1992) to be a quantificational article as it may be followed by lexical quantifiers e.g., *cei mulți* (*the many*), *cei puțini* (*the few*) or by a quantificational focus projection e.g., *cartea cea roșie (book.the the red, 'the red book')*. *Cel* seems to behave as a strong determiner in Romanian in that it enters sequences such as *cel pro din Franța (the pro of France)* or *cel care a venit (the one who has come)*.[7]

One hypothesis we could entertain at this point might be that clitics should rather be paired with *cel* than with the suffix *–l*. Indeed, there seem to be several aspects that draw the two together:

a) Just like in the case of the definite article *–l,* there are phonological similarities between *cel* and clitics:

	The low definite article *-l*	The qunatificational article *cel*	3rd.p. clitics
m.sg.	-l	ce**l**	-l, îl
f.sg.	-a	ce**a**	-o
m.pl.	-i	ce**i**	i-
f.pl.	-le	ce**le**	le-

b) as opposed to the lower article which has a constant position as it always appears on the *first* noun or adjective in the DP (Cornilescu & Nicolae (2012)), clitics and *cel* are not as consistent when it comes to their position nor are they as strict with respect to the type of syntactic constituent they select: in (19) the clitic has attached to an auxiliary (a), to the main verb (b) or to the negation operator *not* in (c) and it may either precede or follow its host. The definite article *cel* is a free morpheme which has been shown to select quantificational phrases: ordinal quantifiers (20a), cardinals (20b) or lexical quantifiers (20c)[8]. *Cel* may also introduce modifying prepositional phrases (21a), bare quantifiers (21b), or relative clauses

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[7] *Cel* may license ellipsis with almost any type of remnants e.g., *cel fără sprijin* (*the pro without support, 'the one without support'*) with the exception of partitive constructions as pointed out in Cornilescu & Nicolae (2012) e.g., **cei dintre prietenii mei* (*the.pl pro of friends my 'the ones of my friends'*).
[8] For a detailed analysis of the syntax of *cel* see Cornilescu & Nicolae (2011).

(21c). In the case of *cel* we may thus notice that a wider range of selection possibilities than with the definite article *-ul*.

(18) a.   frumosul   oraş
            beautiful.the city

      b.   oraşul   frumos
            city.the beautiful
            'The beautiful city.'

(19) a.   l-am   văzut
            him-have.I seen
            'I have seen him.'

      b.   am   văzut-o
            have.I seen-her.cl
            'I have seen her.'

      c.   n-o   ştiu
            not-her know.I
            'I don't know her.'

(20) a.   Cel de-al   treilea articol
            cel DE AL third   article
            'the third article'

      b.   Cei   şapte   pitici
            cel.pl.m. seven dwarfs
            'the seven dwarfs'

      c.   Cele   câteva colege
            cele.pl.f. some colleagues
            'the several colleagues'

(21) a.   Cei   din Franţa
            cel.pl of France
            'those from France'

      b.   cei   flămânzi
            cel.pl hungry
            'the hungry'

      c.   cel care a   sosit
            cel who has arrived
            'the one who arrived'

Coordination may also serve as a test showing a higher degree of relatedness between clitics and *cel* than between clitics and *–l:* while *–l* obligatorily attaches to all conjuncts in a coordination, it is not so with clitics or with *cel*.

(22) a.   Frumosul   şi   marele oraş
            Beautiful.the and big.the city
            'the beautiful and big city.'

      b. * Frumosul şi mare oraş
            Beautiful.the and big city
            'the beautiful and big city.'

(23)   * L-am   văzut şi   (l-am)   salutat pe Ion.
             Him.cl-have.I seen and (him.cl-have.I) greeted *pe* Ion.
             'I have seen and greeted John.'

(24)   * Cei tineri şi   neliniştiţi
             the young and restless

Even though this tentative venture into the Romanian complex realm of determiners is not sufficient when it comes to clarifying the exact relation between clitics and the two definite articles, the fact that Romanian does seem to have a strong determiner which goes along the lines of the Spanish *el/la* in allowing sequences such as *el/la pro de Francia* provides one further piece of evidence in support of Uriagereka's hypothesis that CD is permissible in languages with strong determiners. The fact that *cel* may legitimate an empty NP complement shows that Romanian allows for the existence of strong determiners. On account of some similarities between clitics and *cel* we proposed that one should actually pair the two together rather than establishing such a close connection between clitics and the definite article –*l*.

The discussion above provided a number of arguments in favour of analysing the pronominal clitic as a definite determiner in line with Uriagereka (1995). The BigDP hypothesis takes the clitic and its associate DP as the components of the same constituent at merge. Furthermore, the clitic is argued to be the head of this complex DP. The next section will focus on the referential character of the clitic.

2.4. The referential charater of clitics

Romanian sentences where the pronominal clitic is obligatory all involve the existence of an overt D-linked antecedent as noticed in Avram & Coene (2009: 235). In (24) and (25) this antecedent is a left dislocated DP, while (26) shows that direct object relative clauses introduced by the relative pronoun *care (who, which)* also require a pronominal clitic.

(25) *   Pe Mihai (*l-)am   întâlnit la şcoală.
            Pe Mihai him.cl-have.I   met   at school.
            'I met Michael at school.'

(26) *   Geanta   am   găsit-o   sub scaun.
            Bag.the   have.I found-it.CL under chair.
            'I found the bag under the chair.'

(27) *   Cartea   pe care   am   primit -(*o)   este   foarte interesantă.
            Book.the *pe* which have.I received-it.cl is   very interesting
            'The book I received is very interesting.'

The clitic is also obligatory when the antecedent appears in a preceding sentence:

(28) *A: Ce   mai face Matei?
            What more does Matthew?
            'How's Mathew these days?'

   B: Nu ştiu,   nu (*l)-am   mai văzut de o lună.
       not know.I not him.CL-have.I more seen for a month
       'I haven't seen him for a month.'

Note also that the antecedent that the clitic obligatorily resumes need not be D-linked. In (28) the clitic resumes the DP *câine (dog)* which functions as information focus.

(29) A: Ce mai ştii de Ion?
          'Have you heard anything of John lately?'

      B: Ştiu ca şi-a vândut pisica şi a cumpărat un câine.
          'I know that he has sold his cat and that he has bought a dog'

      A: De unde   l-a   cumpărat?
          Wherefrom it.cl-has.he bought.
          'Where did he buy it from?'

Apparently, in all the above instances where the clitic is obligatory, what requires its presence is the existence of an antecedent to which the clitic refers. This line of reasoning is further confirmed by the fact that a simple clitic construction (i.e., with no overt DP double) may not be used as an answer to a question inquiring about the clitic's referent. Instead, clitic doubling is necessary (29a-b).

(30) A: Pe cine   ai   vazut?
          whom   have.2s seen
          'Who did you see? '

      B: L-am   văzut *(pe el)/(*pe Matia)
          him.CL-have.1s seen   *pe* him/ pe Matia
          'I have seen him/Matia.'

The DP double is necessary in such cases and bears information focus. As expected, in an answer to questions where the referent is given, like (30Q), only structures containing the clitic with no double are acceptable (30A₁). Adding a pronoun renders the answer infelicitous. And any addition of a pronoun can only be used for contrast (30A₂).

(31) Q: Ai   vazut pe fiul Mariei?
         have.2s seen   *pe* son Mary.DAT
         'Have you seen Mary's son?'

    A₁: **L-**am   văzut.
         him.CL-have.1s   seen
         'I have seen him.'

    A₂: L-am   văzut pe   el *(dar nu pe fiul Mariei).
         him.CL-have.1s   seen *pe* him but not *pe* M.
         'I have seen Mary's son, but not Mary.'

The examples discussed above point to the fact that the pronominal clitic is a referential element which needs to be anchored to a referentially stable antecedent. The clitic in A₁ refers back to Mary's son. Similarly, if A₁ were to be considered in isolation, it would never mean that I have seen somebody or other: the clitic does not have quantificational import as *somebody* has but is interpreted referentially i.e., it has a 'no choice' reference (Avram & Coene (2009)).

We assume that the clitic remains referential and D-linked in CD structures. Furthermore, the clitic may serve as an anchor for new information in the discourse – the associate DP may function as information focus: examples (29A) mai only be felicitous if the associate DP *pe el*

(him)/ pe Matia is interpreted as information focus. Thus, the topic, D-linked status of the clitic does not entail a similar status for its associate, which may easily function as information focus (29A) or as contrastive focus (30A$_2$).

The arguments presented in this section justify an analysis of Romanian CD structures which starts out from a complex DP where a determiner clitic takes as its restriction a complex argument enclosing an integral predication in line with Uriagereka (2001, 2002, 2005). The complex DP captures the fact that the clitic and its associate start out as one event participant, which represents a desirable result providing a solution to a situation where two elements would otherwise seem to compete for the same argument slot (see ft. 3). It furthermore accounts for the referential character of the $_{DP}$[cl, *pro*] construct through *pro's* movement to the referential projection RP, as well as for the special relation holding between the associate DP and the null complement of the clitic at the lexical-conceptual level. This last aspect allows for a unified analysis of all types of CD structures (accusative CD and possessive CD).

Having established the starting point of the derivation, we will now proceed with the next steps of the derivation, meant to account for the position of the clitic after Spell-Out.

3. FURTHER STEPS TOWARDS A DERIVATION

In view of the arguments put forth above and following Uiragereka (1995, 2001, 2002, 2005), Kayne (2000), Cornilescu (2002, ms.) a.o., we assume that the clitic and its double start out as a single complex constituent merge as the object argument of the verb. The clitic and the associate DP thus function as one event participant and get assigned a θ role by the verb. The order in (31) will be obtained through subsequent movement.

(32) *   Matia *o* cunoaşte   *pe Denisa.*
          Matia her.clknows *pe* Denisa.
          'Matia knows Denisa.'

Before embarking upon a discussion on movement, landing site(s) and what triggers it, a discussion about the status of the associate DP is necessary. This is so because one first assumption that gets made when adopting a BigDP analysis for CD is that the associate DP has argumental status. This assumption needs justifying, however, in view of the fact that sequences which seem CD instances at first sight may turn out as cases of Clitic Right Dislocation as argued for instance by Androulakis (2001) for Greek. In fact, the same proposal has been made by Avram & Coene (2009) with respect to Romanian CD.

3.1. The argumental status of the associate DP

Contrary to Avram & Coene (2009), we will defend the view that Romanian, provides evidence that the associate DP functions as a genuine argument of the verb and not as an adjunct as it may be the case for Greek (but see Anagnostopolou (1994), (1999 b) for a different view).

A first argument in this direction concerns the unilateral dependence of CD on Differential Object Marking in that CD is only possible with direct object DPs that have been differentially object marked. Clitic Right Dislocation instances allow all types of accusative DPs:

(33) a.   Mihai l-a   ajutat   pe copil/*copilul (CD)
           Mihai him.cl-has helped *pe* child/clid.the
           'Mihai helped the child.'
    b.   Mihai l-a   ajutat, #pe copil/copilul (CLRD)
           Mihai him.cl-has helped   *pe* child/clid.the

'Mihai helped the child.'

A second argument in favour of the argumental status of the associate DP has to do with the fact that the associate DP may act as a controller in obligatory control structures. Given that control may be possible only from argument positions (Landau (1999)), the fact that the associate DP may function as a controller counts as an argument in favour of their argumental status[9]. Consider:

(34) a.   L-am   pregătit   pe copil.
          him.cl-have.I prepared *pe* child
          'I have prepared the child.'
     b.   L-am   pregătit, copilul/pe copil
          him.cl-have.I prepared, child.the/*pe* child
          'I have prepared the child.'

(35) a.   L-am   pregatit   pe copil [pentru PRO a trece examenul fără   probleme].
          him.cl-have.I prepared *pe* child [for   PRO to pass exam.the without problems]
          'I have prepared the child to pass the exam without any problems.'
     b. * L-am   pregatit, copilul   [pentru PRO a trece examenul fără   probleme].
          him.cl-have.I prepared child.the [for PRO to pass exam.the   without problems]
          'I have prepared the child to pass the exam without any problems.'

(33a) presents us with a case of CD, while (33b) captures a situation where the double DP has been Clitic Right Dislocated (CLRD). Note that in CLRD both a *pe* marked DP and a DP bearing a definite article are allowed. On the contrary, in the clitic doubled situation, only the *pe* marked variant is allowed. Note that in (34) control is only possible with the clitic doubled DP (21a), but not with the right dislocated one in (34b).

Thirdly, a clitic doubled DP may serve as the antecedent of an anaphor and anaphors must be bound from A-positions according to Principle C.

(36) * *Îi*   ştiam   *pe copiii* supăraţi *pe ei   înşişi*   pentru că pierduseră
        Them.cl. knew.I PE children upset   PE them themselves because had lost.they
        meciul.
        game.the.
        'I knew that the children were upset on themselves because they had lost the game.'

In this respect, the clitic doubled DP behaves like the undoubled (argument) DP which can also serve as antecedent for an anaphor.

(37) * La concursul de matematică am   văzut *copii*   mulţumiţi
        At contest   of Mathematics have.I seen children satisfied
de   ei   înşişi,   dar şi copii   supăraţi de performanţa lor.
 with them themselves but also children upset   of performance their.
'At the contest on Mathematics I saw children that were pleased with themselves and children that were upset about what they had done.'

Finally, small clauses provide a further piece of evidence in favour of the argument status of the DP double: the DP double may function as the subject of a small clause and these subject DPs are known to occupy argument positions.

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[9] See also Cornilescu (ms. p. 16ff) on the argumental status of dative associate DPs.

(38) *   *O*   consider [$_{SC}$ *pe Maria* fată deşteaptă].
            Her.cl. consider.I   PE Mary   girl smart.
            'I consider Mary a smart girl.'

The arguments presented above justify an analysis of associate DPs in CD structures as genuine arguments of the verb[10] to which we proceed in the next sections.

3.2. Movement

3.2.1. Evidence from Binding

Romanian clitic doubled DPs have been argued to occupy a different syntactic position than their unmarked counterparts, by being forced to move out of their merge position within the VP (Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), Cornilescu (2002), Tigău (2011)). This assumption explains why, unlike their unmarked counterparts, clitic doubled DPs may bind into the subject.

(39) a. *   Colegii   lui$_i$ au   ajutat pe Mihai$_i$
            Coleagues.the his$_i$ have.they helped *pe* Mihai$_i$.
            'His$_i$ colleagues helped Mihai.'
      b.   Colegii   lui$_i$ l-au   ajutat   pe Mihai$_i$
            Coleagues.the his$_i$ him.cl.-have.they helped *pe* Mihai$_i$
            'His$_i$ colleagues helped Mihai.'

In (38a) the direct object DP *pe Mihai* may not bind the subject *colegii lui (his colleagues),* while its clitic doubled variant may felicitously do that in (38b). This difference in behavior shows that at some point during the derivation the clitic doubled direct object finds itself in a c-commanding position with respect to the subject. This is possible only if the direct object DP moves out of its merge position within the VP and reaches a landing site above the merge position of the subject DP.

Notice, however, that the phenomenon of inverse binding may also find an explanation if the clitic (and not necessarily the associate DP) moves out of the VP to a position wherefrom it c-commands the subject in its merge position. Thus, an argument which was initially thought to support movement of the associate DP may be used to account for the movement of the clitic.

There are two further tests showing that the pronominal clitic leaves its merge position inside the VP: one comes from the realm of Parasitic Gaps while the other, from that of the supine clauses.

3.2.2 Parasitic gaps

As pointed out by Cornilescu (2002), Heavy NP Shift (HNPS) of undoubled object DPs (both unmarked and *pe* marked) may license parasitic gaps (PG)[11] (39a, b), as opposed to their doubled counterparts which do not (40 a, 41a). The derivations in (40a) and (41a) are saved if a clitic is inserted in the PG adjunct (40b, 41b).

(40) a.   Am   examinat t fără   a întrerupe t fiecare concurent   separat.

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[10] For further discussion on the status of the associate DP see Cornilescu (2002, 2006, ms.) and Avram & Coene (2009) for a discussion in favour of the adjunct status of these DPs.

[11] A parasitic gap is an empty category inside an island for extraction (an adjunct), which is rendered acceptable by another gap outside this island. The latter gap is known as the *licensing gap*. Both gaps are bound by the same constituent labelled as *the antecedent*. In (8a), the binder is *fiecare concurent separat (each competitor separately)* which has undergone HNPS, an A' movement by means of which the licensing gap is created.

Have.I examined t without interrupting t each   competitor   separately

'I examined without interrupting each candidate separately.'

b.   Am   examinat t f ără   a întrerupe t pe fiecare concurent   separat.

Have.I   examined t without interrupting t *pe* each   competitor separately

'I examined without interrupting PE each candidate separately.'

(41) a. *   L-am   întîlnit fără   a saluta însă   pe Ion

him.cl-have.I met   without to greet though *pe* Ion.

'I met Ion without greeting him though.'

b.   L-am   întîlnit fără   a-l   saluta însă   pe Ion

Him.cl-have.I   met   without to-him.cl greet though *pe* Ion.

(42) a. *   *L-* am   examinat t fără   a întrerupe t pe fiecare concurent separat.

Him.cl-have.I examined t without interrupting t *pe* each   candidate separately

b.   *L-* am   examinat t fără   a-*l*   intrerupe t pe fiecare

Him.cl-have.I examined t without to-him.cl interrupt t *pe* each

concurent separat.

candidate separately.   Cornilescu

(2002: 6)

In order to understand why PGs are relevant as to the movement of the clitic outside the VP consider first that HNPS is an A' movement which targets a position inside vP: a DP inside the v' is A' moved leaving behind a gap which licenses the parasitic gap. Adopting a *Separate Antecedent*[12] proposal in line with Chomsky (1986), Nissembaum (2000), according to which the gap in the adjunct is bound by a null operator, Cornilescu (2006) draws attention to that fact that this operator should be a copy of the antecedent in the sense that it is structurally identical with it. It follows that only DPs which are not clitic licensed may be antecedents in a PG construction as they remain inside the vP.

If the antecedent is clitic licensed, the operator in the PG should also be licensed by a clitic. But the clitic moves out of the vP to T(ense) presumably hence the adjunct clause should be itself a TP, adjoined to the main TP, and should also contain a clitic (as the operator should be a copy of the antecedent). Indeed, HNPS is possible with CD-ed object DPs but these DPs may not license PGs.

(43)   * I-am   auzit   fără   a-i   vedea însă   pe hoți.

Them.cl-have.I heard   without to-them see though pe burglars.

'I hear without seeing, the burglars.'

(42) is grammatical because the adjunct clause (a TP itself) is adjoined to the main TP as opposed to examples (8) above where the complex predicate is formed at vP level. Notice that in (42) the clitic is present in both the main and the adjunct clause. However, this example is an instance of a TP level predicate, in direct contrast in examples such as (39) above, where the complex predicate gets formed at the *vP* level.

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[12] Two types of theories have been proposed for the analysis of parasitic gaps. The *Shared Antecedent* hypothesis adopted in Chomsky (1982), Nunes (1995) posits that the interpretation of the PG is fixed by the antecedent (the A' moved constituent) (i)a, while the *Shared Antecedent* supporters argue that the PG is actually bound by a null operator (i)b:

(i) a. What did Ann buy *t* [witout paying for PG]?

   b. What did Ann buy *t* [Op witout paying for *t*]?

The fact that CD do not allow PGs thus counts as an argument in favour of the movement of the clitic outside its merge position in the vP.

3.2.3 Supine clauses

Evidence from supine clauses further supports the hypothesis that the pronominal clitic moves out of vP. Cornilescu & Cosma (2014) notice that the verb may take a *pe* DP but not a cl+*pe* DP in prepositional supine clauses (43). Notice that the indefinite pronoun ranging over humans is necessarily marked by *pe* and never clitic doubled. This is why, it is a perfect candidate for the verbal supine.

(44)   *   Nu pot   să vin   la tine azi,   am   de vizitat *(pe) cineva.
            Not can.I *să* come to you today, have.I *de* visited *(*pe*) somebody
            'I cannot pass by today, I have to visit someone.'

The prepositional supine does not allow personal pronouns as they are obligatorily clitic doubled and the supine clause does not have enough structure so as to accommodate a clitic: (44a) shows that a sentence with a pronominal DP associate becomes ungrammatical unless it is clitic doubled; (44b) shows how the impossiblity of accommodating the clitic within the supine clause structure leads to ungrammaticality when a full pronominal DP is used.

(45)   a. *   (I-) am   ajutat pe ei   să reuşească.
                (Them.cl-) have.I helped *pe* them *să* succeed.
                'I have helped them succeed.'
        b. *   E uşor de ajutat   pe ei.
                Is easy *de* helped *pe* them
                'They are easy to help.'

Thus, the prepositional supine in (b) seems to reject internal arguments that are necessarily clitic doubled and to only accept DPs which do not require a double or which disallow it. As pointed by Cornilescu & Cosma (2014) this is so because the prepositional supine is a reduced clause lacking Agreement. If the clitic were to remain inside the vP it would then have no problem in being licensed inside a prepositional supine.

3.2.4. Focus projection

Gierling (1997) provides an importat argument in favour of a movement analysis for the clitic doubled associate DPs. Apparently, these DPs do not behave as arguments of the verb from the point of view of Focus Projection (Selkirk 1995: 555)[13] but like adjuncts in not allowing the projection of focus onto the verb. Thus, (6b) may be used as an answer to both questions in (45a), while the (46b) may only be a felicitous answer to a question inquiring about the argument i.e., *Who are you looking for?* but may not answer to a broad focus question *What are you doing?*.

(46)   a.   Ce cauţi? Ce faci?
                'What are you looking for? What are you doing?'

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[13] Selkirk (1995:555) Focus Projection:
(i) Focus marking of the head of a phrase licenses the F-marking of the phrase
(ii) F-marking of an internal argument of a head licenses the F-marking of the head.
This licensing mechanism correctly ensures that F-projection is not possible from an accented adjunct. For a VP to be focused in this case, an accent on the verb is needed as well.

    b.   Caut   o CARTE
            Look.I for a BOOK.
            'I am looking for a book.'

(47) a.   Pe cine cauți?/*Ce faci?
            'Who are you looking for?/* What are you doing?'

    b.   Îl caut   pe ION.
            Him.cl. look.I for *pe* JOHN.
            'I am looking for JOHN.'

In order for (46b) to be a felicitous answer to this question, the answer must contain an additional stress on the verb. This is due to the impossibility for focus to project from a DP which is doubled by a clitic to a higher constituent (like the VP).

(48) a. * Pe cine cauți?/Ce faci?
            'Who are you looking for?/* What are you doing?'

    b.   [$_F$ Îl   CAUT   pe ION].
            Him.cl.   LOOK.I for *pe* JOHN.
            'I am LOOKING FOR JOHN.'

But why should the focus feature instantiated by the accent on an argument not be able to license the F-marking of the verb and thus of the VP? That the argument in (7b) behaves like an adjunct is quite unexpected. Apparently, with CDed DPs focus cannot project from the DP. The sanswer lies in the fact that the doubled DP has left the VP.

This section provided a number of arguments supporting both the movement of the pronominal clitic as well as that of the DP associate from their respective merge positions. A question that would naturally follow would have to do on the one hand with what triggers movement and with the respective landing sites on the other. These are issues we address in the subsequent sections.

3.3. Movement Triggers

The traditional *Movement Hypothesis* (Kayne (1975)) holds that the clitic, which is a pronominal argument of the verb merging VP internally and which by so doing gets assigned a θ- role and case from the verb, moves out of the VP on account of its deficient structure and moves either within the inflectional domain of the clause or within the left periphery. The former are the so-called T-clitics, while the latter are the C-clitics.

    Kayne's account however, focuses on French data where the clitic and the full DP are in complementary distribution. The discussion of CD data from Spanish (Jaeggli (1982)) posed a problem for the movement hypothesis as it presented a case where a pronominal clitic could co-occur with a full DP, the associate. One way out of this problem was to posit adjunct status for the associate DP, while allowing the clitic to continue as the true argument of the verb (see ft. 3). In view of the evidence discussed so far, Romanian data do not fit within this pattern, but rather suggest an analysis of the associate DP as a genuine argument of the verb. This in turn favours an account of the pronominal clitics as functional elements (determiners).

    In line with this account, Boeckx (2001) and Cornilescu (2002) a.o. argue that the clitic is attracted to Tense, checking the Acc feature of the verb while passing through a SpecvP position. Given that clitics are deficient pronominal arguments that lack an articulated internal structure they may not be interpreted as arguments if they are not linked to some substantive

root (T(ense)) at the LF interface (Rouveret & Nash (2002)). Thus, the clitic (which is merely a bundle of φ features) will have to move from the lexical domain onto a functional head so as to become interpretable: clitics are interpretable and syntactically active only when they reach Tense.

However, the clitic will not move directly to T, but will first land together with its double (as an XP), into the closest potential landing site SpecvP, an intermediate position where Acc case checking takes place. The clitic further moves to T as an X^0 leaving the double behind. The double does not have to move further up as it is φ-inert. Furthermore, it has been granted case by the preposition.

The clitic thus moves in two steps, first as an XP to Spec vP and then as an X^0 to T, and its movement is primarily motivated by the need to reach the functional head T in order to become interpretable. A similar line of analysis is adopted by Săvescu (2009), who argues that clitics need to pass through structural case positions after leaving vP.

More recent approaches to CD and cliticisation in general have noticed the relevance of a Person projection inside the functional structure of the clause. Bianchi (2006) notices a very interesting phenomenon in Italian where it seems that pronominal objects must be cliticised unless they are focused. Her observation is in line with Cardinalletti & Starke (1999) for Italian and Kayne (2000) for French and may carry over to Romanian:

(49) a.   L-am   invitat la serbare.
             Him.cl-have.I invited to festivity.
             'I have invited him to the festivity.'
      b.   L-am   invitat pe el   la serbare.
             Him.cl-have.I invited *pe* him to festivity.
             'I have invited him to the festivity.'
      c. *   Am invitat pe el   la serbare.
             have.I invited *pe* him to festivity.
             'I have invited him to the festivity.'
      d. ?   Am   invitat PE EL   la serbare   (nu pe ea).
             have.I invited *PE* HIM to festivity (not *pe* her).
             'I have invited HIM to the festivity, not her.'

      e.   L-am   invitat   pe diriginte   la serbare.
             Him.cl-have.I invited   *pe* headmaster to festivity.
             'I have invited the headmaster to the festivity.'

      d.   Am   invitat pe Ion   la serbare.
             have.I invited *pe* John to festivity.
             'I have invited him to the festivity.'

(48a) shows the case in which the pronominal direct object has been cliticised and strongly contrasts with (48c) where cliticization of the direct object has not taken place and which is ungrammatical for that matter. (48d) shows that a pronominal direct object may not cliticize if contrastively focused, though this instance was not considered as felicitous by all our informants. In (48b) a full pronominal DP has been clitic doubled. What is interesting about this instance is that the only way in which the associate DP may be interpreted is as information focus. This brings it in opposition with (48e) where a clitic doubled definite description may be interpreted both as infomation focus and as topic. The last option is impossible with pronominal DPs. Similarly, a non-pronominal DP may not cliticise.
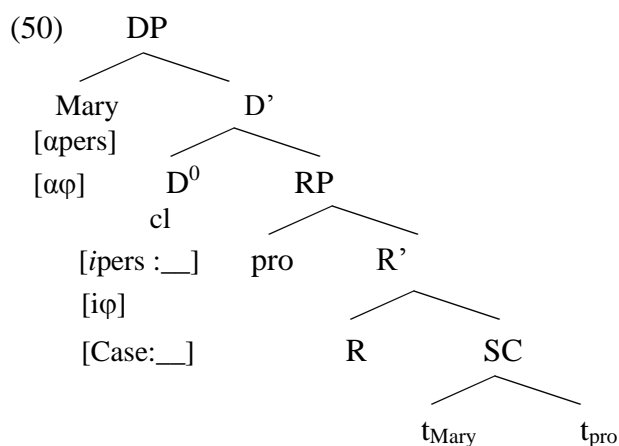
These data point that pronominal DPs form a special class when considered from within the context of cliticisation in that cliticisation seems to be necessary when they are not focused. Bianchi (2006) argues that these facts find an explanation if one adopts the hypothesis that all

pronominal arguments are intrinsically endowed with person features[14], while this does not hold for non-pronominal DPs. The consequence of this is that pronominal arguments need to license this person feature in the functional structure of the clause (PersonP). Cliticization is thus a way by means of which the person features of an argument are brought into a proper licensing condition.

On the force of this evidence, we will also consider that the trigger for the movement of the clitic is its need to valuate an interpretable Person feature against the appropriate Person head. The following section proposes the derivation.
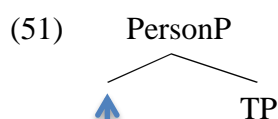
3.4. Deriving Clitic Doubling Structures

As already discussed, the clitic and its associate start out as one event participant within a complex DP in line with Uriagereka (1988, 1995, 2001, 2002, 2005) as in (49).
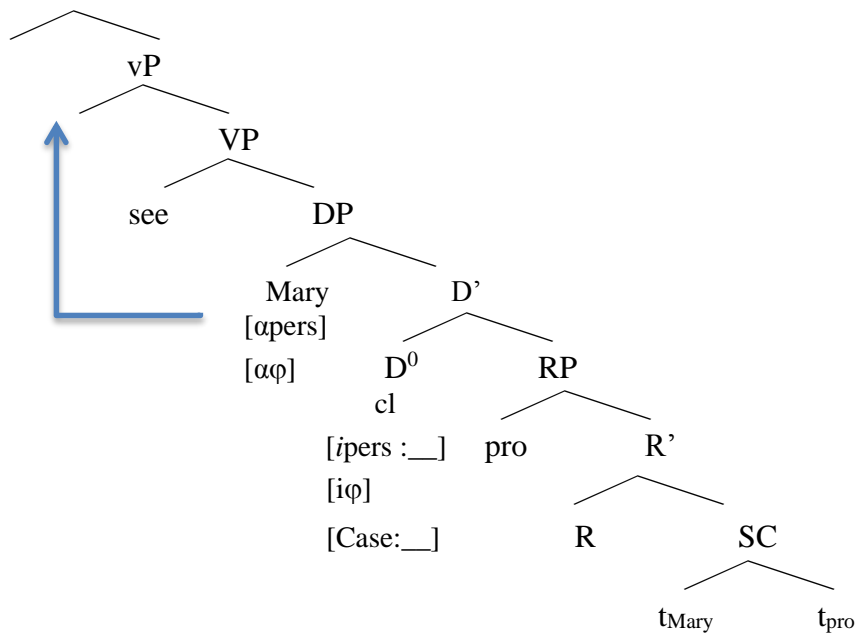
(50)

```
              DP
          ╱        ╲
      Mary           D'
     [αpers]      ╱      ╲
      [αφ]     D⁰          RP
               cl       ╱      ╲
          [ipers :__]  pro      R'
            [iφ]              ╱     ╲
          [Case:__]         R        SC
                                  ╱      ╲
                              t_Mary     t_pro
```

At merge, the clitic has *iφ*, *iPerson,* and *uCase.* The clitic is case-licensed by the *v* head and then moves to PersonP where it valuates its interpretable person feature. The associate DP has inert φ features in line with Kayne (2000), Boeckx (2001), Cornilescu & Dobrovie-Sorin (2008), which justifies its adjunct like properties as well as the need for a clitic which may value the φ features of Tense. The associate also has unvalued Case features which the clitic will have to valuate and by so doing to integrate this DP into the clause structure. Valuation takes place through agreement between the clitic and the associate after the clitic has valued all its features, therefore after the clitic has reached its landing site inside the Person projection.

However, agreement is possible only if the two elements stand in a sufficiently local configuration which would allow for the formation of a chain between the two i.e., within the same phase. As known, vP transitive configurations are phasal due to the fact that their specifier is filled at merge. Thus, the associate DP will have to move out of the vP into a vP edge position in order for it to remain accessible for computation after the spell out of the vP. Were it to remain in its merge position, the associate DP would no longer have its case feature valuated by the clitic as the vP would spell out before the clitic has valuated all its features. Movement of the associate DP is in line with the evidence provided by Gierling (1997) and discussed in section 3.2.4.

(51)

```
        PersonP
       ╱      ╲
      ↑        TP
```

---

[14] Bianchi (2009) argues that third person pronouns have a person specification, contra Benveniste (1966), Kayne (2000) a.o., in the sense that they are restricted so as to refer to an individual that is not *sufficiently salient* in the context of utterance i.e., they are only specified as [*context-determined*]*,* while first and second pronominal forms are specified both as [*context-determined*] and as [*participant*].

```
                vP
              /    \
                    VP
                  /    \
               see      DP
                      /     \
                  Mary        D'
                 [αpers]     /   \
                  [αφ]     D⁰      RP
                           cl    /    \
                    [ipers :__] pro    R'
                       [iφ]          /    \
                     [Case:__]      R      SC
                                         /    \
                                    t_Mary    t_pro
```

Note that this account no loger posits movement of the clitic through a Case projection (à la Săvescu (2009)): the clitic is assigned accusative case by the *v* head and then it valuates the case feature of its associate. The latter will have to move to the edge vP in order to remain accessible for case valuation after the spell out of the transitive phasal vP. Another advantage of this approach is to do away with the undesirable two step movement according to which the clitic together with its double first travels as an XP into SpecvP, moving by itself as an X^0 afterwards. Finally, this approach proposes a unification of CD structures (possessive CD and accusative CD) through their common semantics involving the existence of an integral predication (cf. Hornstein et al. (1995)). This perspective also enables a reinterpretation of the apparent optionality CD: CD represents a special kind of construction and not a mere enrichment process of a simple cliticisation construction by an additional DP, therefore cases of optionality actually hide two different structures. It is the speaker's choice if he/she wants to use a CD configuration and by so doing to express an integral relation holding between two event participants, or a structure with no doubling where no such predication is at stake.

4. CONCLUSIONS

This paper started out by exploring some CD sequences where the clitic is considered obligatory in the sense that a full DP is not felicitous unless clitic doubled. In line with Kayne (2000), Cornilescu (ms.), these structures were taken to show that the clitic acts as a licenser for the double. This behaviour was then extended to those CD cases where the clitic seemed optional in the sense that a full DP could be used by itself without being necessary for it to be doubled.

The analysis of possessive CD configurations uncovered the fact that these constructions have the semantics of integrals in the sense that a part-whole relation gets established between the possessor and the possessed element. This relation is clearly set up by the clitic since cliticless counterparts of possessive structures no longer function as integral expressions. In view of a unified account of all CD structures and in line with Uriagereka (2001, 2002, 2005), accusative CD sequences were analysed as integrals on a par with their possessive CD counterparts. In this way CD configurations stand out from non-doubled ones as constructions in their own right, with their own semantics and syntax. Under this account the clitic is always obligatory as it sets up the integral predication by grounding a sub-event in the event structure of the clause. This is a desirable result which unifies the 'obligatory' CD cases with the 'optional' ones.

Having discussed the relations which get established at a lexical conceptual level, the focus was then directed to the syntactic status of the clitic and of its associate. It was first shown that the pronominal clitic functions as a strong determiner and that Romanian allows for such determiners, which seems to support Uriagereka (1995)'s correlation between the existence of strong determiners and the possibility for CD across languages. Furthermore, the associate DP was argued to have argumental status. The results concerning the status of the clitic and of its associate was thus shown to justify a BigDP analysis (Uriagereka (1995)) according to which the two are merged as one event participant in the internal argument position of the verb.

Further tests showed that both the clitic and its associate move out of their merge position: the former is attracted to the Person field so as to valuate its interpretable Person feature, whereas the second moves to SpecvP so as to remain accessible for case valuation.

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