**Crossing phasal domains**

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Resumptive strategies and topic marking have often been attributed to processing needs: you need an element to keep track of what you have dislocated. In this paper, I wish to entertain the hypothesis that doubling and marking are syntactic strategies that serve to mark domain crossing; more specifically, they mark spell-out domain crossing. Some data regarding an asymmetry between subject and object clitics will be considered and explained through this intuition.

I will present data from some Romance varieties, most notably Italo-Romance, to show that this intuition might be on the right track.

## 1. A curious asymmetry between subject and object clitics

Subject clitics (SCL) and object clitics (OCL) have a core position in Romance linguistic literature. Questions on their nature (Kayne 1975, Zwicky 1977, 1985; Jaeggli 1982, Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, Belletti 1999 and many others), on their first-merge position (or base-generation, in GB terms, Perlmutter 1971, Kayne 1975, Zwicky 1977, Aoun 1981, Borer 1984, Anderson 1992, Sportiche 1998, and more recently Ordoñez 2012 and many others) have amassed a great wealth of studies. This paper focuses on one of the asymmetries between the two kinds of clitics, namely the fact that SCL are usually "weaker" in Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999) terms, than OCL. To be precise, object clitics are usually fully pronominal, with the possible exception of those involved in clitic doubling constructions in Spanish (which we will discuss in §4.1). In general, OCL are pronominal, while SCL can be both pronominal and 'agreement-like', according to the definition given by Rizzi (1986). Casalicchio, Ciconte & D'Alessandro (2018, CCD henceforth) present a number of tests that show this asymmetry; for instance, while agreement-like SCL need to be repeated in coordination, OCL don't (CCD 2018):

(1)     Trentino (Casalicchio, Ciconte & D'Alessandro 2018)
        a. El              magna          e        *(el)          bef              (subject    clitic)
        he.SCL.3SG.M   eats-3SG       and      he.SCL.3SG.M  drinks-3SG
        'He eats and drinks'

        b. El              vardo          e        (el)                         studio  (object clitic)
        him.OCL.3SG.M  watch-1SG     and      him.OCL.3SG.M              observe-1SG
        'I watch and observe him'

The observation here is that SCL come in two fashions in Italo-Romance, while OCL only have a full pronominal form. In particular, for the case at issue, OCL that are used as resumptive pronouns in dislocation contexts are full DPs, while SCLs can be both pronominal and agreement-like.

CCD (2018) attribute this asymmetry to the fact that OCLs are used as resumptive elements for long-distance dependencies, and that in fact whenever the dislocation involves crossing a Transfer boundary (Chomsky 2001) the resumptive pronoun needs to be "heavier".

In this paper, I provide some evidence to show that CCD were on the right track. First, I show that domain crossing is marked in Romance topicalization. I show that this marking is indeed related to movement by comparing two phenomena that were not associated to each other before, as far as clitics are concerned, i.e. clitic left dislocation and DOM.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I show that a resumptive pronoun is used both in topicalization and in some cases of differential object marking (DOM), when the object is dislocated. Section 3 provides some evidence of the fact that the key ingredients for clitic resumption are topicalization and movement: the first piece of evidence is the emergence of clitic resumption in Old Italo-Romance; the second is DOM marking in heritage Italo-Romance.

In section 4, I briefly review the evidence that clitic left (and right) dislocation involves in fact a dislocation, and that resumption is obligatory when crossing a clause boundary. Section 5 discusses the idea that SCL and OCL can be both used to mark dislocation, but that their asymmetric weight has to do with the fact that dislocated objects cross a Transfer domain. Section 6 contains my conclusion.

## 2. Clitic left dislocation and DOM

Clitic left and right dislocation (CLLD and CLRD respectively, Cinque 1977, 1990) are the main strategies to mark topicalization in Romance: it is not possible to topicalize an object without clitic doubling. An illustration from modern Standard Italian is in (2):

(2)　　Standard Italian
　　　La macchina　　non　　l'=ho　　　　　　　　　comprata
　　　the car　　　　NEG　　it.OCL.3.ACC=have.1SG　　bought
　　　'As for the car, I didn't buy it'

CLLD and CLRD represent different information structure strategies. In this paper, we will concentrate on CLLD.

CLLD has been analyzed in many different ways (Cinque 1977, 1990, Cecchetto 1999, Benincà 2001, Cardinaletti 2001, 2002, 2004, Brunetti 2009, Cruschina 2010 and many others). However, here I would like to compare it with a different topic marking phenomenon to which it has not been compared yet (to my knowledge): prepositional accusative, or differential object marking (Diez 1874; Meyer-Lubke 1890, 1895, Moravcsik 1978, Bossong, 1985, 1991).

DOM is the phenomenon, largely present in Romance, whereby an object with specific features (usually animacy or definiteness) receives a marker (usually *a*, with the exception of Romanian that uses *pe*). An example of DOM is in (3) from Abruzzese:

(3)　　Abruzzese
　　　A　　　te　　nin　　t'=a　　　　　　viste
　　　TO　　you　NEG　　you.ACC=has.3　　seen
　　　'As for you, s/he hasn't seen you'

We will not consider this DOM *in situ* here, because it does not involve either movement or clitic resumption. However, DOM also appears in dislocation contexts, sometimes also in languages that do not feature it *in situ*. A language that requires DOM with dislocated objects is Catalan:

(4)　　Standard Catalan (Solà, 1994: cap. 9 in Escandell-Vidal 2009:840)
　　　a. A Núria,　　no　　crec　　que　　la　　　　　　pugues　　convencer
　　　　TO Nuria,　NEG　think.1SG t　hat　OCL.3SG.F.ACC can.2SG　　persuade
　　　'Nuria, I don't think you can persuade her'

b. Als funcionaris no els satisfà la proposta
TO.the civil servants NEG OCL.3PL.ACC satisfy.prs.3sg the proposal
'Civil servants are not satisfied by the proposal.'

DOM is also found in Romance languages that usually don't feature DOM *in situ*, like Italian. As noted by Benincà (1986), Renzi (1988) and Berretta (1989,1991), modern standard Italian also shows DOM with dislocated 1st and 2nd person pronouns:

(5)　Italian

A me non mi ha visto
TO me NEG OCL.1SG.ACC has seen
'As for me, he didn't see me'

Benincà and Berretta notice that topic marking with dislocated accusative objects is also possible with 3rd person DPs, especially with psych verbs:

(6)　Italian, Berretta (1989:214)
A Giorgio, questi argomenti non l'=hanno convinto
TO Giorgio these topics NEG OCL.3SG.ACC=have.3PL convinced
'As for Giorgio, he was not convinced by these arguments'

This DOM *ex situ* is rather interesting, because it requires clitic resumption. This behavior is easily captured by Kayne's generalization, according to which only DPs preceded by a case-assigning preposition can be doubled (Jaeggli 1982). In fact, is not possible to have DOM on dislocated DPs without resumption. Observe that DOM *in* situ does not require any resumption[1].

That DOM is a topic-marking strategy is no news. Iemmolo (2010) argues extensively that this is the case, among others. The hypothesis I wish to entertain here is that clitic resumption is an obligatory marker of domain crossing, where the domain is a Transfer domain (Chomsky 2000). According to Chomsky (2000: 108), a Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) is at work in syntax determining which elements are accessible for syntactic computation at a given stage of a derivation:

(7)　''In a phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operations outside α; only H and its edge are accessible to such operations.''

The PIC identifies a domain for which syntactic elements become invisible to syntactic computation after it is transferred to the interface. We will refer to this PIC-determined domain as Transfer domain. The Transfer domains are at least the complement of the phase heads *v* and C, according to standard assumptions. In what follows, I will present evidence of the fact that clitic resumption involves dislocation and it is not just a random doubling phenomenon. The first piece of evidence is diachronic in nature, the second comes from contact data. I will also show that when an argument moves out of a Transfer domain it will need resumption. Furthermore, I will address the previously overlooked asymmetry between subject and object clitics, showing how domain crossing plays a role in determining their nature.

## 3. Movement and resumption

## 3.1. The origin of CLLD and topic marking

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[1] For a full overview of the distribution of DOM in Romance see Ledgeway (2021).

In old Italo-Romance, object clitics emerged first in contexts with highly referential dislocated topics (Ciconte 2018a,b, CCD 2018):

(8)   *Il "Libro di Sidrac" salentino*, 316, 9-10, in Ciconte (2018a:125)
La bona femina        per nullo modo tu       non=**la**=devi              gelosare
the good wife.FSG      for no   way   you   NEG=OCL.3SG.F.ACC=must make jealous
'As for the good wife, by no means you should make her jealous'

(9)   Old Tuscan, *Il Milione* 130:203 in Ciconte (2018a:126)
Tutti     coloro de=la terra   ch'=erano      colpevoli     il      Grande Cane
all          those of=the earth who=were     guilty           the    Great  Khan

**li**                    fece          uccidere
them.OCL.3PL.ACC     made.3SG       kill
'All     those   on earth who were culprit the Great Khan had them killed'

Dislocation plays an important role in this marking, which does not occur if the object is *in situ*. Clitic doubling marks the fact that the object has moved out of its original merge position.
   Constructions like those in (8) and (9) co-existed, according to Ciconte (2020a,b), with others like the following one, where resumption was not required (the __ indicates the position where a resumptive clitic would appear in contemporary Italian):

(10)  Old Tuscan, *Il Milione* 119:188 in Ciconte (2018a:123)
Lo vino __ fanno        di riso. La moneta __ hanno   d'=oro
the wine     make.3PL   of rice  the coin          have.3PL of=gold
 'The wine, they make it with rice. The coin, they have it of gold.'

Ciconte observes that resumption was not necessary, at that stage, when the object was immediately adjacent to the verb. *In situ* or right-dislocated objects, be them animate, definite, or not, never show any marking:

(10)  Old Sicilian, Dialagu, I, 9, 2-3:23 in Ciconte 2018b:192)
Lu episcupu    misi    unu    guardianu     alla     vigna…
the bishop      put     a       guardian       to.the   vineyard
'The bishop put someone to guard the vineyard'

Notice that many languages have been described as presenting some form of doubling for the dislocated (or topicalized) object. This is the case for Hebrew (Borer 1984), Albanian (Kallulli 2000), Spanish (Jaeggli 1982, Suñer 1988), Romanian (Dobrovie-Sorin 1990), Greek (Anagnostoupoulou 1994, Kallulli 2000) and several others.

**3.2. The emergence of DOM marking**

*3.2.1. DOM in Italian*
Turning now to DOM, we have seen that DOM and CLLD have in common the fact that they require a resumptive clitic. On a closer look, though, that is not the only thing they share: they also usually apply when objects are dislocated. Here, we examine two cases of emergence of DOM marking, together with clitic resumption. The first one occurs in modern Italian, the other in heritage Italo-Romance.
   Modern Italian does not feature DOM: animate, highly referential or highly definite objects do not feature any marking:

(11) Ho                  visto   Maria
      have.1SG         seen   Mary
      'I saw Mary'

However, if the object is a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun, and thus an item at the highest position in Silverstein's (1976) hierarchy, and if it is dislocated, we see DOM emerging, as we saw above in (5) and (6).

    The DOM construction is considered highly marked and forbidden by prescriptive grammars of Standard Italian. However, there is no other way to dislocate the object in this case. Sentence (5), here repeated as (12) would be very marked or ungrammatical without the "a", (12), or without the resumptive clitic, (12):

(12) a. A     me    non    mi           ha        visto
        TO    me    NEG   OCL.1SG.ACC  has    seen
        'As for me, he didn't see me'
      b. ??Me, non mi ha visto
      c. *A me non ha visto

Clitic resumption is therefore necessary when highly definite/animate objects are dislocated. Together with that, we see a DOM marker on the moved object; this construction is in fact marked twice.

### 3.2.2 DOM in heritage Italo-Romance

A recent research into Italo-Romance varieties spoken in Argentina, Brazil, and Québec has highlighted an interesting phenomenon: the reinforcement, or increase of DOM (Sorgini 2020). As far as Romance is concerned, DOM is documented as being impoverished in heritage varieties (see for instance heritage Spanish, Montrul 2004; Luján & Parodi 1996; Montrul & Bowles 2009; Montrul & Sánchez-Walker 2013; Montrul, Bhatt & Girju 2015). There are several reasons why this happens, and we will not go into them here. It has been noticed, though, that in situations in which the heritage language is structurally very close to the contact language, i.e. in so-called microcontact (Sorgini 2020, D'Alessandro 2021), DOM can also be reinforced. For instance, the following data from Heritage Friulian show a gradual emergence of DOM. Observe that the Friulian variety spoken in Italy does not have DOM.

(13) Heritage Friulian in Argentina (AUTHOR 2021)
      A      une     cjantant,   îr,     la     ai      bussade.
      TO    a       singer  yesterday      her.SCL have  kissed
      'A singer, I kissed her yesterday.'

Topicality has been shown to play an important role also in the emergence of DOM in heritage Italo-Romance. Let us now turn to show that clitic resumption is found when movement has taken place in CLLD and what this means in terms of phases.

## 4. Clitic left and right dislocation and movement

### 4.1. Dislocation

Among the Romance languages, clitic resumption is usually obligatory when the dislocation of objects is at work. Cruschina (2010) lists a number of contexts in which resumption is obligatory in Italian. Arguments are usually doubled by a clitic, while PPs can vary. Interestingly, CLRD does not force the use of a resumptive clitic. This might be due to the

different kind of information that CLRD conveys; here, we leave CLRD aside as we are interested in comparing forms of dislocation to the *v* phase edge, in particular CLLD and DOM.

One of the most common uses of CLLD is when the object is a topic[2]: the dislocated element is doubled by a resumptive clitic. The idea that I'd like to explore here is that resumption through a pronoun is necessary when a Transfer domain boundary is crossed. This is not easy to prove directly. There are however some signals of the fact that structural distance plays a role in resumption. Regarding CLLD, it has been shown that it is sensitive to islands (and therefore it involves movement) and that structural adjacency requires no marking nor resumption.

Cruschina (2010) observes that the presence of a resumptive clitic allows for long-distance extraction. In (14), the sentence would be ungrammatical without the resumptive clitic:

(14)  Frascarelli (2000: 148)

a. A Luigi [IP credo [CP che tutti sappiano [CP che *(gli) parlerò
to Luigi believe.1SG that all know that him.3SG.DAT will.talk.1SG.FUT

domani]]]
tomorrow
'I think that everyone knows that I will talk to Luigi tomorrow'

Resumption allows for long-distance extraction. If extraction is more local, it can be dropped:

(15)  A Luigi [IP credo [CP che ?(gli) parlerò domani]]
to Luigi believe.1SG that him.3SG.DAT will.talk tomorrow
'I think that I will talk to Luigi tomorrow'

Notice that these examples have to do with dative extraction, not with subject or object extraction. The same asymmetry is however not found in object or subject dislocation. Regarding object dislocation, compare the following sentences:

(16)  a. Luigi credo che tutti sappiano che *(lo) vedrò Luigi
believe.1SG that all know that OCL.3.ACC will.see.1SG

domani

tomorrow

'As for Luigi, I believe everyone knows I'll see him tomorrow

b. Luigi credo che *(lo) vedrò domani
Luigi believe.1SG that OCL.3.ACC will.see.1SG tomorrow
'As for Luigi, I believe that I'll seem him tomorrow'

Resumption is necessary the moment that the object is dislocated. In right dislocation the same asymmetry is not found, or rather, the absence of the clitic is less disruptive:

(17)  Credo che (lo) vedrò DOMANI Luigi, non oggi
believe.1SG that OCL.3.ACC will see tomorrow Luigi NEG today
'I believe I will see Luigi tomorrow, not today'

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[2] In this paper we don't take a stance on the exact position of topics, nor on their analysis. All that matters is that they are located in the so-called left periphery, and therefore they appear in the complement domain of the C head, not around the vP.

For those varieties that exhibit agreement-like clitics, like Trentino, objects cannot be resumed by them: a full pronoun is necessary (cfr. CCD 2018):

(18) Trentino, CCD (2018)

    a. El            vardo         e      (el)                 studio
    OCL.3SG.M    watch-1SG    and    him.OCL.3SG.M    observe-1SG
    'I watch and observe him'

    b. (*El)          vedo         el Paolo
      OCL.3SG.M    see.1SG      the Paolo

Object resumption is therefore obligatory when the object is clitic-left dislocated, but not when it is right-dislocated. Object resumption involves a full pronoun in those varieties that have agreement-like clitics, as well as in those that do not.

Regarding subjects, most Romance languages do not mark their topicalization in any way; those varieties that have subject clitics require them with a dislocated/topicalized subject. however, a full pronoun is ungrammatical in this case:

(18)  Venetan (Alberto Frasson, p.c.)

    Luigi, go      idea    che    doman      de matina *(el)          ndarà
    Luigi  have.1SG idea    that    tomorrow    of morning SCL.3SG.NOM    will.go.3SG

al marcà
to.the market
'I think that Luigi will go to the market tomorrow morning'

(19)  ? Luigi  doman      de matina    (el)            ndarà        al      marcà
    Luigi    tomorrow    of morning    SCL.3SG.NOM  will.go.3SG    to.the  market
(20)  Doman         de matina    Luigi (*el)      ndarà        al      marcà
    tomorrow    of morning    Luigi SCL.3SG.NOM    will.go.3SG    to.the  market
    'Luigi will go to the market tomorrow morning'

Sentences (19) and (20) are considered acceptable by some speakers but absolutely out by others. In any event, there is a clear degradation between (18) on the one hand, which requires a resumptive clitic, and (19)- (20) on the other.

These data suggest that dislocation needs to be marked. What they also suggest is that the more phase boundaries the DP crosses, the heavier the resumptive clitic must be.

## 4.2. Clitic doubling

Before we proceed with the discussion some remarks are in order. So far, we have been mainly discussing clitics in Italo-Romance, where clitic doubling is not found. Clitic doubling (CLD) is a phenomenon which is found mainly in Spanish and Catalan and consists in the doubling of the pronominal object or of the indirect object without the requirement for it to have any special information status. In Peninsular Spanish, CLD is obligatory with pronominal objects and indirect objects; it is optional with indirect full DP objects and ungrammatical with direct full DP objects. Argentinian Spanish also allows CLD with full DP objects. For the present paper we will concentrate only on direct objects.

An example of clitic doubling is in **Error! Reference source not found.**:

(21)  Spanish, Navarro (2021:95)

    a. Lo           propuse        a      él             como  candidato

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| OCL.3SG.ACC | proposed | TO | him.3SG.ACC | as | candidate |

b. * Lo propuse a Emilio/ al muchacho como candidato
OCL.3SG.ACC proposed TO Emilio/him.3SG.ACC as candidate

c. Lo propuse a Emilio/ al muchacho como candidato
OCL.3SG.ACC proposed TO him.3SG.ACC TO.the boy as candidate
'He proposed him/Emilio/the boy as a candidate'

Clitic doubling constitutes an apparent counterexample to the idea that object clitics must be heavier than subject clitics because they mark a longer-distance dependency. Doubling clitics of the sort of those that are exemplified in (21) have been shown to not be fully pronominal, but rather agreement markers (Suñer 1988), much like subject clitics in Italo-Romance, or determiners.

While this paper is focused on Italo-Romance and CLD is a different construction than CLLD (see Cruschina 2010), a couple of observations are in order. As shown extensively by Fischer & Rinke (2013), clitic doubling in Catalan and Portuguese was not linked to movement originally:

(22) Old Portuguese, Fischer & Rinke (2013:463)
Vi=a a ella
saw=OCL.3SG.F.ACC TO her.3SG.ACC
'I saw her'

Furthermore, CLD is found with objects *in-situ*, as the previous examples show: it does not signal the fact that the object has moved, or has been topicalized. It is rather a pure doubling marker on the verb, which moves together with the verb, as argued by Gallego (2011).

In general, it is not the case that clitics had a common pan-Romance development. For an extensive overview of the grammaticalization paths of clitics in Romance see Fontana (1993), Fischer & Rinke (2013), Ledgeway (2021), and Navarro (2021).

## 5. Crossing domains/ resumption

We have looked at two cases of dislocation markers: DOM and CLLD. DOM in dislocation features two markers: the first one is the DOM marker (which we glossed as TO), the second one is the accusative clitic. CLLD also requires a resumptive pronoun: if what moves is the object it will be a full pronoun; if what moves is the subject an agreement-like clitic will suffice.

The proposal I wish to make here is that this marking strategy regards transfer domain-boundaries; more specifically, if the DP crosses a PIC-induced domain, the marker will be necessary for information retrieval at PF. In what follows, I present a sketchy analysis of marking in CLLD and DOM.

Consider the following sentence, with a topicalized object:

(23) a. Luigi lo vedrò domani

b. [[CP Luigi [TP *pro* T lo=vedrò [vP v̶e̶d̶r̶ò̶ [vP v̶e̶d̶r̶ò̶ l̶o̶]]]] [AdvP domani]]

When *Luigi* moves to the left periphery it crosses a Transfer domain boundary. In other words, it moves to the edge of the vP phase. Assuming direct syntax-PF mapping as proposed by D'Alessandro & Scheer (2013, 2015, Modular PIC), we can see that at Transfer the object will
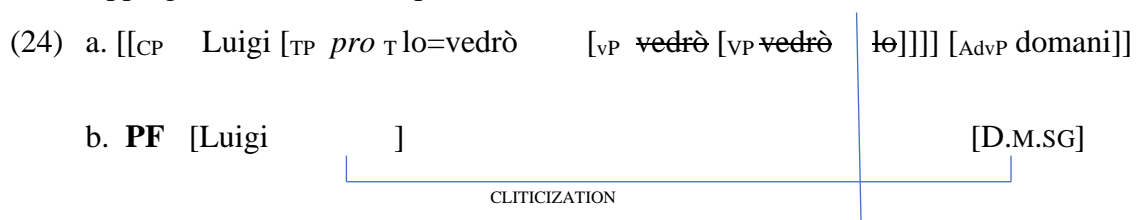
be spelled out in a different chunk with respect to its original position, which is where it has received case (and theta-role).

Following Chomsky (2000), I assume that Case is dependent on the position in which valuation takes place, or rather on the head with which the argument Agrees. In the case of (23), accusative is linked to the internal argument position.

After Transfer, at the stage of post-syntactic lexical insertion, it will be impossible to retrieve the information about case, given that the string will be linearized and the object clitic will appear as dislocated. Assuming furthermore that cliticization takes place at PF, the feature bundle that will be realized as the clitic will occupy the position of the moved object as a place holder. Given that the DP object and the pronoun are Transferred separately, the clitic will indicate that originally a DP was in the VP. In particular, the resumptive element will have to carry a D feature for case (see Ledgeway 2021 for a long discussion on case and the D feature on resumptive pronouns in DOM constructions).

The bundle of features "left behind" as a place holder will contain at least a D, which means that it will be pronominal:

The mapping to PF of (23) is represented in **Error! Reference source not found.**

(24) a. [[_CP_ Luigi [_TP_ *pro* _T_ lo=vedrò [_vP_ ~~vedrò~~ [_VP_ ~~vedrò~~ ~~lo~~]]]] [_AdvP_ domani]]

     b. **PF** [Luigi     ]                                                    [D.M.SG]

CLITICIZATION

When *Luigi* is topicalized, a bundle of features together with a D head are inserted as a place holder, to mark the locus of case assignment. After Transfer, lexical material will be inserted at PF in the form of a pronoun, which will then cliticize onto the verb. When lexical insertion takes place, case will be assigned to the masculine singular clitic in the case of (24) because of the original position in which it was first merged; the resumptive pronoun will then cliticize on the verb, phonologically.

In the case of subject topicalization, the insertion of a full pronoun does not seem necessary, given that the subject originates from spec,vP and there it receives nominative case. Topicalization takes place within the same Transfer domain. It will not be difficult to retrieve the information regarding the subject, nor will it be necessary to have a D head as a marker for case, since nominative is assigned in the T-v field and that's where the subject starts from and ends up. This accounts for the subject-object clitic asymmetry.

If this analysis is on the right track, the prediction is that an embedded subject extracted to a root clause will be resumed by a full pronominal, as it will cross the higher Transfer domain (CP boundary). This prediction is partially borne out, considering the fact that Italo-Romance has a further ingredient in the subject inventory, namely *pro*.

Let's consider the sentence in (25), with an extracted subject:

(25) Giovanna     credo     che    domani     andrà a scuola
     Giovanna     I.think.1SG    that    tomorrow     will.go to school
     'As for Giovanna, I think that she will go to school tomorrow'

In Italian, an overt pronoun doubling the extracted subject in (25) is rather marked, but still grammatical:

(26) Giovanna,     credo     che    lei     domani     andrà a scuola
     Giovanna     I.think.1SG    that    she.3SG.F    tomorrow     will.go to school
     'As for Giovanna, I think that she will go to school tomorrow'

The best option is to resume the subject with a *pro*, which has been analyzed by several linguists, most notably Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), as a weak pronoun but not just a feature bundle. This increase in definiteness is more evident in languages with subject clitics. Consider again the sentences in (18)-(20), here repeated as (27)-(29):

(27) Venetan (Alberto Frasson, p.c.)
    Luigi, go       idea    che    doman      de matina *(el)            ndarà
    Luigi  have.1SG idea    that   tomorrow   of morning SCL.3SG.NOM    will.go.3SG

al marcà
to.the market
'I think that Luigi will go to the market tomorrow morning'

(28) ? Luigi  doman         de matina      (el)           ndarà       al     marcà
     Luigi    tomorrow      of morning     SCL.3SG.NOM   will.go.3SG  to.the market
(29) Doman          de matina      Luigi (*el)           ndarà       al     marcà
     tomorrow       of morning     Luigi SCL.3SG.NOM    will.go.3SG  to.the market
     'Luigi will go to the market tomorrow morning'


In (29), it is impossible to resume a subject *in situ* with an agreement-like clitic. (28) shows that if the subject is topicalized the clitic is optional. In the case in which the subject is extracted, the clitic is obligatory. This is so because the subject has crossed a Transfer domain, in (27), and therefore it needs an obligatory clitic.

The picture is not as perfect as we would like it to be: in the case of Venetan we have in fact a "light" pronoun resuming the subject, and not a full pronoun as predicted. However, it seems clear that the further away, i.e. the more PIC borders the DP crosses the heavier the doubler must be. In the case of objects, the typology is more or less the following:


   (32)
OBJECTS

| No crossing of PIC-border - | agreement-like pronoun | Spanish CLD (not found in Italo-Romance) |
| Crossing of PIC border  - | pronominal clitic | CLLD and DOM |

SUBJECTS

| No crossing of PIC border – | *pro* | Italian |
| | *pro* | Northern Italo-Romance |
| Crossing Transfer domain - | *pro* or full pronoun | Italian |
| | agreement-like clitic | Northern Italo-Romance |

## 6. Conclusions

Topic marking and DOM phenomena are sometimes believed to be redundant. In this paper, I showed that they are actually a way to simplify computation, and in particular retrieval of information for lexical insertion when a Transfer domain is crossed. I showed that the insertion of a resumptive pronoun happens when movement takes place; I presented data from old Italian as well as heritage Italo-Romance to show that both topicalization and DOM have movement at their origin; resumption is a strategy to mark the fact that an argument has crossed a domain. This analysis explains also an asymmetry that is found within Romance: that between subject and object clitics, the latter being consistently structurally more complex than the former.

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