Crossing domains: topic marking and doubling in Romance[1]

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2nd draft, August 2021

Abstract

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 hypothesis.

I will present data from some Romance varieties, most notably Italo-Romance to show that this hypothesis 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 tackles 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. For a detailed examination of pronominal clitics in Romance see also Miller & Monachesi 2003). 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 in some Italo-Romance varieties; 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 either pronominal or 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 further evidence for CCD's claim. First, I show that Romance topicalization is a way to mark domain crossing. I show that this marking is indeed related to movement by comparing two phenomena that were not associated with each other before, as far as clitics are concerned, namely 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 in fact their asymmetric weight has to do with the fact that dislocated objects cross a phasal domain. Section 6 contains my conclusion.

Before turning to the rest of the article, a disclaimer is in order. In this paper, I use the basic notion of topicalization as described by Lambrecht (1994). A topic conveys old information. This paper will be mainly concerned with *aboutness* topics, following Reinhart's (1981) definition. Furthermore, I only consider left-dislocated topics.

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: object topicalization through dislocation requires resumption in most Romance languages, and in particular in the ones we consider here, i.e. Italo-Romance[2]. 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. As stated above, in this paper, we will concentrate on CLLD, i.e. in that topicalization process that requires left dislocation and clitic resumption[3].

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[2] Dislocation without resumption is possible in Portuguese (see Costa 2000, Vasco 2006) as well as in French with some verbs (Abeillé, Godard & Sabio 2008). An analysis of these dislocation strategies is beyond the scope of this paper, so it will be left to further research.

[3] Topic is intended here as "what the speaker wishes to talk about", following Reinhart's (1981) definition, as well as the tradition started by Weil (1844), Gabelentz (1869) and Paul (1880) and continued by Givón (1983). In other words, it follows the intuitive pragmatic definition of "theme" and "rheme" without any further specification. CLLD has been shown to correspond to other kinds of topics as well, like list reading or contrastive topics (Benincà & Poletto 2004). What matters for the present paper is the process of dislocating an element to the front of the sentence to make it into a topic. Other fronting phenomena, like focusing or wh- movement, involve a different set of features , and will not be therefore considered here.

CLLD has been the object of many different studies (Cinque 1977, 1990, Cecchetto 1999, Benincà 2001, Cardinaletti 2001, 2002, 2004, Brunetti 2009, Cruschina 2010 and many others). In this paper, 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 the preposition a[4]). An example of DOM is in (3) from Abruzzese:

(3)   Abruzzese

     A   viste   a   te
     has.3SG/PL   seen   DOM you
     'S-he/they has/have seen you'

We will not consider DOM *in situ* here, because it does not involve either movement[5] 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   that   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 (though to different degrees of acceptability):

(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'

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[4] Romanian uses *pe* as a DOM marker, while some central Italian varieties use *me/ma* and some Gallo-Italic southern Italian varieties use *da* (Ledgeway 2021).

[5] The classical analysis by Torrego (1998), as well as the one by López (2012), claim that DOM is obtained when the object moves to a position within the *v*P. In all of these cases no long-distance movement is involved. According to some scholars (like Ledgeway 2000), the DOM-object in situ moves to the outer specifier of the *v*P. Such an analysis might be problematic for a phase-based analysis.

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). Indeed, is not possible to have DOM on dislocated DPs without resumption. Observe once again that DOM *in* situ does not require any resumption in most Romance languages, with the exception of Romanian[6].

That DOM can be a topic-marking strategy is no news. Iemmolo (2009, 2010) as well as Pensado (1995), among others, argue extensively that this is the case. The hypothesis I wish to entertain here is that clitic resumption, in combination with prepositional marking in DOM constructions, 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

In old Italo-Romance, object clitics emerged first in contexts with highly referential dislocated topics (Ciconte 2018a,b, CCD 2018)[7]:

(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'

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

[7] In fact, Salvi (2004) shows that CLLD becomes increasingly more common in later Latin texts (e.g. from around the 4th Century). What we witness in Early Romance is a continuation of a pattern already established in Late Latin.

Dislocation is crucial for the presence of a clitic, since the clitic does not occur if the object is *in situ*. The presence of the clitic 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 they animate, definite, or not, never show any marking:

(11) 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

Turning now to DOM, we have seen that DOM and CLLD have in common the fact that they both 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.

3.2.1. DOM in Italian

Modern Standard Italian does not feature DOM: animate, highly referential or highly definite objects do not feature any marking:

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

However, if the object is a 1st or 2nd 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 (13) would be very marked or ungrammatical without the "a", (13), or without the resumptive clitic, (13):

(13) 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.

(14) Heritage Friulian in Argentina (Frasson, D'Alessandro & Van Osch 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 (see Iemmolo 2009, 2010 for Sicilian, and Ledgeway 2009 for Neapolitan), as well as Spanish (Pensado 1995). In the next section, we will show that clitic resumption is found when movement has taken place in CLLD and we will explain 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 objects are dislocated[8]. Cruschina (2010) lists a number of contexts in which resumption is obligatory in Italian. DP arguments are usually resumed by a clitic, while PPs, both arguments and adjuncts, do not usually require resumption. 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.

   As we mentioned repeatedly, CLLD obtains when the object is a topic: 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 neither marking nor resumption in the early stages of Italo-Romance.

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[8] Again, with the exception of Portuguese and French, see fn 2.

Cruschina (2010) observes that the presence of a resumptive clitic allows for long-distance extraction. In (15), the sentence would be ungrammatical without the resumptive clitic:

(15)   Frascarelli (2000:148, in Cruschina 2010:64)

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:

(16)   Frascarelli (2000:149, in Cruschina 2010:64)

    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 in Italian:

(17)   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 whenever the object is dislocated, no matter whether the extraction is a long distance one, as in (17) or not, as in (17). In right dislocation this is not the case, or rather, the absence of the clitic is less disruptive:

(18)   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'

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:

(19) 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'

(20) ? Luigi doman   de matina   (el)   ndarà   al   marcà
       Luigi tomorrow   of morning   SCL.3SG.NOM will.go.3SG to.the market
(21) 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 (20) and (21) are considered acceptable by some speakers but absolutely out by others. In any event, there is a clear degradation between (19) on the one hand, which requires a resumptive clitic, and (20)- (21) 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, Catalan and Romanian, 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 (as in (22). For the present paper we will concentrate only on direct objects.

An example of clitic doubling is in (22):

(22) 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/ a=l   muchacho   como candidato
          OCL.3SG.ACC proposed   TO   Emilio TO=the boy   as   candidate

        Argentinian Spanish, Navarro (2021:95)

     c. Lo   propuse   a   Emilio/   al   muchacho/
         OCL.3SG.ACC   proposed   TO   Emilio   TO=the   boy

a   él   como   candidato
       TO   him.3SG.ACC   as   candidate
            'He proposed Emilio/the boy/him 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 (22) have been shown to not be fully pronominal, but rather agreement markers (Suñer 1988), much like subject clitics in Italo-Romance, or determiners (Uriagereka, 1996, Torrego 1998).

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:

(23) 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[9]. 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 feature value retrieval at PF. In what follows, I present a sketchy analysis of marking in CLLD and DOM.

Consider the following Italian sentence, with a topicalized object:

(24) a. Luigi   lo   vedrò   domani
          Luigi   him.3SG.ACC   will.see.1SG.FUT   tomorrow
        'Luigi, I will see him tomorrow'

      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

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[9] While these data are extremely interesting, little information is available to me on the syntax of Old Romance for me to be able to attempt any meaningful analysis of these exceptions. I leave this therefore to further research.
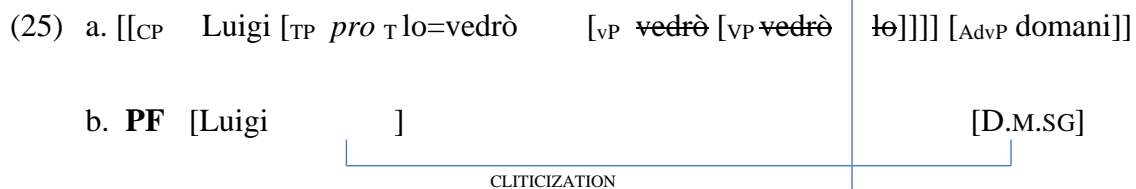
be spelled out in a different chunk with respect to its original position, which is where it has received case (and theta-role).

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 (24), 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 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[10]:

The mapping to PF of (24) is represented in **Error! Reference source not found.**

(25) 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 (25) 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 (26), with an extracted subject:

(26) 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 (26) is rather marked, but still grammatical:

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[10] Alternatively, we could think of a case feature stranded when the object is topicalized, and later realized as a clitic.

(27) 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 (19)-(21), here repeated as (28)-(30):

(28) 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'

(29) ? Luigi   doman   de matina   (el)   ndarà   al   marcà
       Luigi   tomorrow   of morning   SCL.3SG.NOM   will.go.3SG to.the market
(30) 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 (30), it is impossible to resume a subject *in situ* with an agreement-like clitic. (29) 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 (28), 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 that we suggest is 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

In this paper, I showed that they are actually a way to simplify computation, and in particular the 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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