ON CLITIC DOUBLING AND PARASITIC GAPS IN ROMANIAN

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1. AIM OF THE PAPER

The paper examines a syntactic consequence of a typological property of Romanian: the Clitic Doubling construction (=CD), in order to derive a well-known generalization on CD languages: namely, the fact that CD does not license parasitic gaps (=PG). We propose that the (im)possibility of PG is related to the syntactic structure of the gap's antecedent and prove that the antecedent of a PG cannot be a clitic-headed DPs, therefore, the type of DP which underlies CD in our analysis.

The absence of PGs with CD illustrates a more general phenomenon: *DPs which are part of clitic chains do not license PG*. This is because clitic-licensed DPs cannot be accommodated inside the *v*P, but require the formation of a clitic chain, with the clitic in an Inflectional position and the lexical DP out of *v*P as well.

The ingredients of the analysis are the following:
a) the analysis of PG's presented in Nissenbaum (2000) (henceforwards, N); b) a stranding analysis of CD, as applied to Romanian, largely following Boeckx (2001).

2. PARASITIC GAPS UNDER NISSENBAUM'S ANALYSIS

N's analysis deserves credit for proposing a syntax which adequately handles the semantic interpretation of PGs. His account leads to a strengthening of the locality conditions on all A'-movements which license PGs. All constituents which A'-move target the *v*P/each *v*P, in addition to targeting a Spec in the C domain, as already known. If correct, N's analysis of HNPS provides strong evidence for a phasal model of locality (as in Chomsky 1999).

Since among A' movements, the one that has been analysed as involving movement to the edge of the *v*P is Heavy NP Shift (=HNPS), N claims that all A' movements go through a HNPS stage, since before moving to the C domain, any DP that A'-moves targets the Spec *v*P area first. It is this last claim that is

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problematic for Romanian, where there is an unexpected asymmetry between the A'- movement to the right (HNPS) of certain constituents, which licenses PGs, and (further) movement to the left of the *same types* of constituents, which *fail* to license PGs.

We propose a slight revision of N's analysis which allows: a) to predict which types of constituents license PGs; b) to shed light on the relevance of the structure of the antecedent in licensing PGs, explaining why certain types of antecedents, namely clitic-licensed ones, cannot be expected to license PGs. This theoretical will also explain a well-known generalizations about A' movement, namely the fact that Clitic Left Dislocation (=CLLD) does not license PGs.

2.1. On PGs in Romanian

A PG is an empty category (gap) inside a domain which is usually an island for extraction, namely an *adjunct*, made relatively acceptable by a gap outside the island (the licensing gap). The PG and the licensing gap appear to be bound by the same antecedent.

(1) *Ce a îndosariat Ion* [] *înainte de a citi* [] ?
what has filed Ion before to read
'What did John file before reading ?'

The most relevant property of PGs for the present discussion is that PGs depend on A' movement of a DP in the main clause, which creates the licensing gap. If the licensing gap is not present, serious violations arise, as shown by the sharp contrast between example (2a), where the Direct Object (=DO) is post verbal and PGs are not licensed and example (2b), where the DO underwent HNPS, licensing the PG.

(2) a. **Ion a pus pe masă un articol despre efectul de seră fără să citească* [].
Ion laid on table an article on the hot house effect without SA (subj)read.
'Ion laid on the table an article about the hothouse effect without reading it'
b. *Ion a pus* [] *pe masă fără să citească* [] *un articol despre efectul de seră.*
'Ion laid on table without SĂ(subj) read an article about the hot house effect'.

Some A'- movement rules which license PGs in Romanian, under still unclear conditions, are HNPS in (2), Topicalization in (3) and Question Formation, in (4):

(3) *Carne produceau* [ ] *numai ca să vândă în străinătate*.
Meat (they)-produced only that SĂ (subj) sell abroad.
'Meat they produced only in order to sell it abroad.'

(4) Cât a pus [] în buzunar fără să cântărească [] ?
How much he-has put in pocket without SĂ (subj) weighing ?
'How much did he put in his pocket without weighing ?'

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2.2. Nissenbaum's analysis: a tight syntax/semantics fit

Two kinds of theories have been proposed in the analysis of PGs. First, there are what N calls "Shared Antecedent" proposals (e.g., Chomsky 1982, Nunes 1995). On those views, the PG is simply an empty category, whose interpretation is fixed by the antecedent, as in (5a). Secondly, there are "Separate Antecedent" proposals (e.g., Chomsky, 1986). On these views, the empty category in the adjunct is bound by a null operator, as shown in (5b) and PGs belong in the class of null operator constructions.

(5) a. *Which article* did John file *t* [without reading *PG*]
b. *Which article* did John file t [Op_2 without reading t_2]

N opts for the second type of analysis, which, he claims, has major advantages: It eliminates the island problem. If the PG is bound by its own null operator, then PGs no longer represent an example of a gap inside an island. Also, the fact that PGs involve movement of an empty operator explains why the PG construction is sensitive to islands. Examples like (6), where the PG is contained in a relative clause, show that sensitivity to strong islands is noticeable in Romanian, too:

(6) *CNP islands*
**Ce a vizitat Petru* [] *fără să întrebe pe un coleg care vizitase* [] *înainte* ?
What visited Petru without asking a colleague who had visited previously ?
'What did Peter visit without asking a colleague who had visited previously?'

While solving these problems, the Separate Antecedent analysis raises other issues. It is not clear how an adjunct where null operator movement has applied composes semantically with the rest of the sentence, in other words, how the two gaps relate, if they are no longer bound by the same antecedent. It is also unclear why the licensing movement in the main clause is necessary. The strength of N's analysis is to propose a syntax which is transparent for semantic composition.

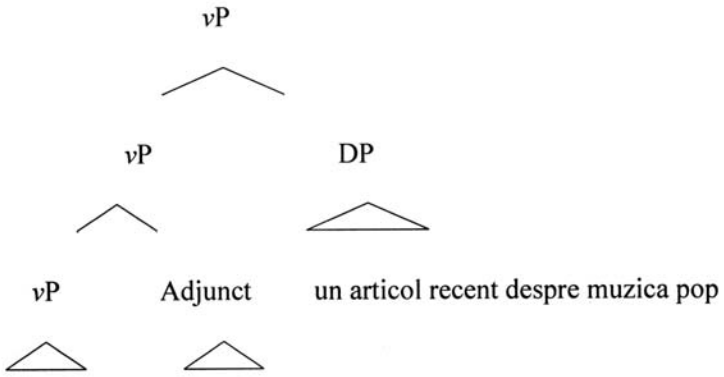
According to N, the syntax of the PG construction should indicate that its interpretation implies the *formation of a complex predicate*, which applies to the constituent that has A'-moved (= the antecedent). One member of this complex predicate is produced by null operator movement in the adjunct island, yielding a predicate whose open position will then apply to some local DP. The second member of the complex predicate is formed by A'-moving a DP out of the main *v*P, leaving behind a variable (the licensing gap). The adjunct predicate formed by null operator movement composes with this main *v*P predicate, by an interpretative rule of *predicate modification*, which conjoins their meanings. So, PGs *require* overt DP movement out of the *v*P in order to derive a *predicate,* which may combine with the adjunct predicate. The binder of this derived predicate should move to a sufficiently *local* c-commanding position, as specified in the definition of logical Binding:

(7) *Binding*: α binds β iff α is the *sister* of a λ-predicate whose operator binds β.

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If α binds β by (7), then α c-commands β in the given representation, since it is the sister of a node containing β. It follows that the A'-moved DP which functions as the binder (antecedent) of the complex predicate should be *the sister* of the complex predicate. The required configuration easily obtains in cases of HNPS, assuming that the HNPS-moved object DP targets the right edge of the *v*P, as shown in (8b), a representation of (8a), irelevant details aside.

(8) a. *Ion a pus pe masă fără să citească un articol recent despre muzica pop*.
Ion has put on table without SĂ(subj) read a recent article about music pop
'Ion put on the table without reading a recent article on pop music.'



t_{ION} a pus t_{DO} pe masă Op fără să citească t_{Op}

The object DP has undergone HNPS. In deriving (8a), N crucially uses a result established by Richards (1997), regarding the movement of constituents that target multiple specifiers of the same head, specifiers of v^0 in this case. Richards (1997) proves that if Attract Closest and Shortest Move are to be observed at each step, then, the second and third movement of some constituent to Spec positions of the same head do not extend the projection, but "tuck in". Coming back to the configuration in (8b), if the adjunct were Merged before HNPS occurred, the "tucking in" condition would block the configuration needed for licensing PGs, since the movement of the antecedent out of its θ-position, would be required to tuck in *below* the adjunct already in place, in a position where it could not c-command and thus bind the derived complex predicate.

Deriving 8

1. Movement [$_{vP}$ [$_{VP....}$pus t]..... un articol recent]
2. Adjoin *v*P modifier [vP [$_{VP}$....pus t] [fără Op să citească t_{Op}].....un articol recent]]

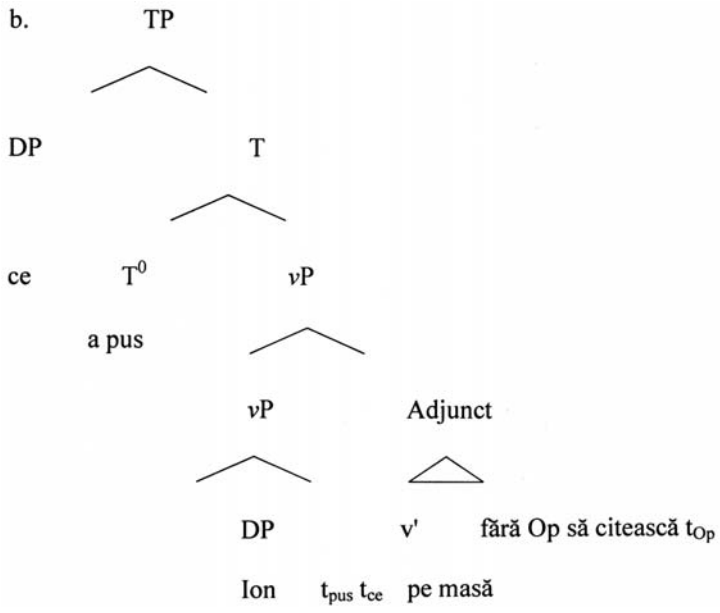
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Consequently, the PG configuration can only be produced in the reverse order, with movement of the DP, targeting the spec *v*P *before* insertion of the adjunct, as in (9). The second step is the insertion of the adjunct, tucking it in below the mover. We retain that the modifier must merge just below the landing site, so that it may composes semantically with the predicate derived by movement.

2.3. Generalizing the analysis to other types of A' movement

N generalizes this analysis to all types of A' movement, proposing that any A' moved operator which ends up in the CP domain successive-cyclically targets the *v*P edge, just as it targets the Spec CP position. All instances of A' movement thus go through a HNPS stage, *responsible for licensing PGs*. The reasons for this assumption follow from the condition imposed on PG licenising, that the binder should be a sister to the derived complex predicate. Consider a question which licenses PGs like (10), with its analysis (10b); (let's assume, provisionally, with Barbosa, 1998 that in Romanian the *wh*-feature is checked in the highest inflectional projection, say SpecT.)

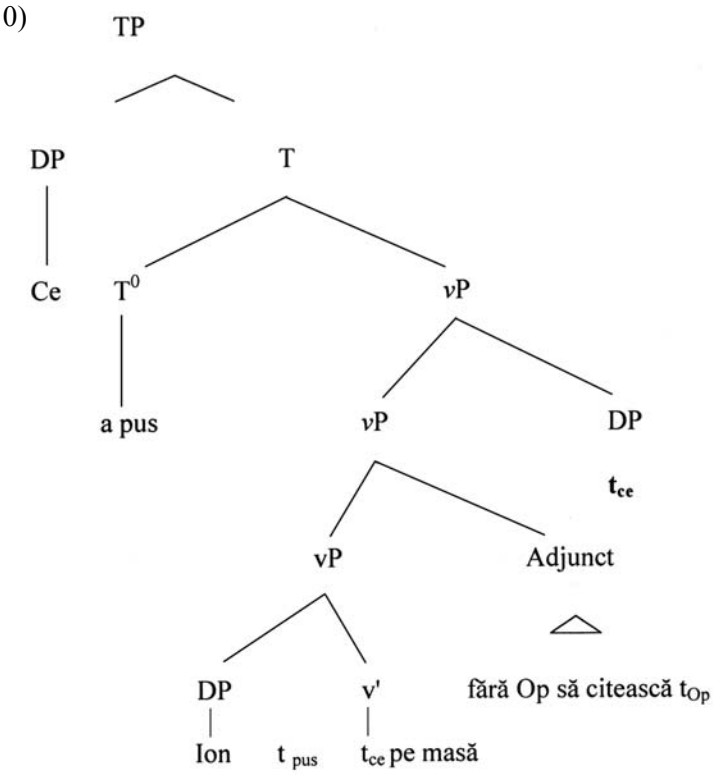
(9) a. *Ce a pus Ion pe masă fără să citească* ?
what has put Ion on table without SĂ(subj) read
'What did Ion Put on the table wihout reading (it) ?'



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In (9b), it is not clear how the open argument position of the PG adjunct is associated with the DP *Ce* 'what', which is "non-local", because it is *not a sister* to the predicate as required for Binding in (7). To solve this problem, N proposes that long-distance movement to the C area always leaves an intermediate trace in the structural position of HNPS yielding configurations like (10) below, for (9a):

(10)



Without the intermediate *v*P step, the antecedent *is not sufficiently local*. N concludes that whenever a PG appears in the environment of a long distance licensing movement, there is an intermediate trace of the movement, local to the PG adjunct, in the structural position of HNPS. More generally, cyclic A' movement targets a spec position of every *v*P along the way to the final landing site (in addition to every CP).

3. THE PROBLEM. STRONG DPs, CLITIC DOUBLING AND PGs

3.1. An asymmetry

Romanian *strong* DPs present a curious asymmetry in licensing PGs. With strong DPs, PGs are licensed by HNPS, but not by A' movements displacing DOs

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to the left, as seen in the contrast between (11a) and (11b-c). Under left A' movement, when the strong antecedent is CLLDed, the empty DP in the adjunct clause is clitic licensed as in (11b) and the PG is impossible (cf. 11c). The examples in (11) contain demonstratives, those in (12) contain the definite universal quantifier *toți* 'all'. The contrast between HNPS and CLLD is again sharp

(11) a. *Am citit t fără să înțeleg t prea bine aceste poeme filozofice*. (HNPS)
have(I) read without SĂ(subj) understand too well these poems philosophical.
'I read, without understanding too well, these philosophical poems.'
b. *Aceste poeme le-am citit fără să le înțeleg prea bine*. (CLLD)
these poems them-have(I) read without SĂ (subj) them-understand too well.
'These poems I translated without understanding them too well.'
c. **Aceste poeme le-am citit fără să înțeleg [t] prea bine*. (CLLD)
these poems them- I-have read without SĂ (subj) understand too well.

(12) a. *A îndosariat fără să citească toate scrisorile de la Londra*. (HNPS)
Has(he) filed without SĂ (subj) read all the letters from London.
'The secretary filed without reading all the letters from London.'
b. *Toate scrisorile de la Londra le-a îndosariat fără să le citească*. (CLLD)
All the letters from London them-filed(she) without SĂ (subj) them-read.
'All the letters from London she filed without reading (them).'
c. **Toate scrisorile de la Londra le-a îndosariat fără să citească* [t]. (CLLD)
All the letters from London he-them filed without SĂ (subj) read.

The data in (11), (12) are clearly problematic for N's analysis. In (11b-c), (12b, c) the antecedent has been CLLD-ed and is doubled by the clitic. The HNPS configuration in (11a), (12a) should be a step in the derivation of CLLD, in N's anlaysis. What's more, the HNPS step of the derivation should license the PG, so sentences (11c), (12c) should be grammatical. Instead, we find that the adjunct clause *must* contain a clitic, and *the PG is not licensed*. A revision of N's analysis is needed so as to explain the asymmetry between the behaviour of strong DP under HNPS, and their behaviour under other types of A' movement which take DPs to the C area.

3.2. Clitic Doubling(=CD) and PGs

Closer examination of the data reveals that not even HNPS can license PGs for *all* strong DPs. Romanian is a CD language, and certain types of DPs, such as proper names and, generally, definite pronouns *must* be clitic doubled in the Accusative. Romanian possesses a Prep(ositional) Acc(usative) construction with the Prep PE 'on' (see Cornilescu 2001); it is the Prep Acc which shows up in the CD construction. What matters for PG is that *clitic doubled DPs cannot license PGs, even when they are HNPS-ed, as seen in (13).*

(13) a. **L-am întâlnit fără a saluta însă pe Ion.*
him-have(I) met without to greet though PE Ion.

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'I met Ion without greeting him though.'
b. L-am întâlnit fără a-l saluta însă pe Ion
Him-have (I)met without to-him greet though pe Ion.

The impossibility of PGs with HNPS-ed *clitic doubled* DPs cannot be configurational. The antecedent *is* moved to a sufficiently local c-commanding position under HNPS. The ill-formedness of these examples must be due to the *nature* of the antecedent. The theory of PGs should exclude PGs with certain types of antecedents, explaining why CD-ed antecedent cannot license PGs. Once the incompatiblity of PGs with CD-ed antecedents is accounted for, the analysis can be extended to other constructions where the antecedent is resumed by a clitic pronoun, such as CLLD. In the next sections we present an account of CD in Romanian, necessary for understanding why CD-ed DPs do not license PGs even if the antecedent is sufficiently local.

4. THE SYNTAX OF CLITIC DOUBLING IN ROMANIAN

4.1. The clitic doubling parameter

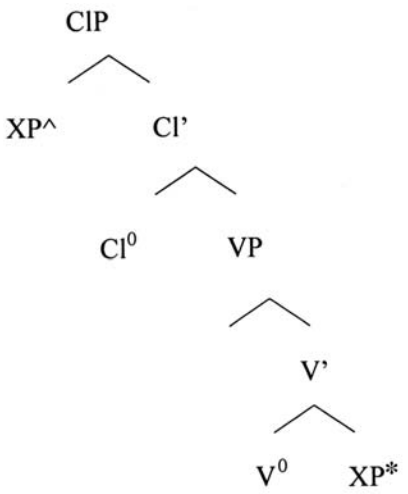
The clitic doubling parameter CD is a construction in which a clitic forms a chain with a phrase in *argument* position. CD thus differs from clitic right dislocation (CLRD), where a clitic forms a chain with a nominal phrase in *adjunct* position. It is generally agreed that CD has a *specific pragmatic role*: that of defocusing and D-linking the lexical argument. There is, however, less agreement on how to characterize the *syntactic CD parameter*.

An early influential proposal is the *Case Theoretic account* (Jaeggli 1982, 1986), which correlates the existence of CD and of a Prep Acc construction, stating *Kayne's generalization: An object NP may be doubled only if it is preceded by a special preposition.* CD is, in principle, ruled out as a Case Filter violation, since the clitic "absorbs" the Acc-feature of the verb, leaving the DO caseless. The CD structure is rescued, if a language disposes of a special Acc preposition: the verb assigns Case to the clitic, and the Prep case-marks the lexical double. According to Kayne's Generalization, only clitic languages that have a Prep Acc may also be CD languages. Since Romanian possesses a Prep Acc constructions it is expected to be a CD language, unlike, say, French.

Kayne's Generalization has serious difficulty with Balkan languages like Greek or Albanian, in which a bare Acc DP is systematically CD-ed. A majority of analysts insist that Balkan languages possess a genuine CD construction, as opposed to a CLRD one (cf. Anagnastopoulou 1994, 1999, 2005, Papangeli 2000, Kallulli 2000). An answer to the case-checking problem raised by Balkan languages is offered by Sportiche's (1998) *Clitic Criterion.* Clitics are *functional categories* of the (transitive) verb, heading a ClP.

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Clitics never appear in the verb's complement position. A regular XP* phrase (the DP/PP-double) fills the verb's complement position, and is θ-marked by the verb. This XP* is case-licensed by moving, overtly or covertly, to the specifier of the clitic-headed, to satisfy the Clitic Criterion. Sportiche's insight is that, since clitics are *functional* elements, they are not supposed to *deprive* the verb of its case-assigning abilities; on the contrary they play a part in licensing the DP or PP lexical double, which is the *real argument* of the verb. Such an analysis is defended by Kalluli (2000) for Albanian and Greek. Under this analysis, languages are parametrized in terms of the elements (clitics or doubles) which are overtly realized in (14). For instance, the system allows *both the clitic and its double to be overt*, a phenomenon attested in CD languages. It also allows the clitic to be overt while its double is null, a configuration which corresponds to Cliticization without doubling, as in Italian or French.

A novel perspective is proposed by Boeckx (2001), based on Kayne's analysis of French strong pronouns. Kayne (2001) claims that doubled strong pronouns like (15b) have *inert ϕ-features* and can't participate in the agreement operations in the clause (cf. 15a); the clitic is necessary as a means of valuing the ϕ -features of Tense.

(15) a **Moi aime la chimie*.
I love the chemistry
'I love chemistry.'

b. *Moi j'aime la chimie.*
I I-cl-love the chemistry

According to Boeckx (2001), what Kayne's analysis proves is that the double is *adjunct-like*. Whether it is a PP or DP its ϕ-features are "inactive", so that the double cannot be attracted to value the formal features of the verb. It is the clitic which moves to the functional domain of the verb, forming a chain with the inert

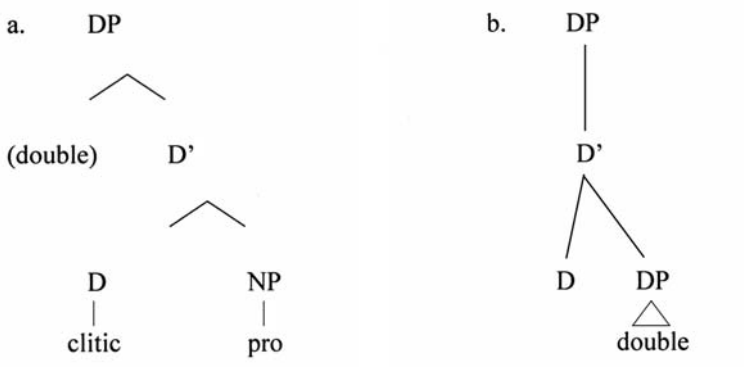
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adjunct-like double. The latter, on the other hand need not check (structural) Case. Franco (2000) shows however that the difference between an *adjunct-like double* and an *argumental double* is not a theory internal one, but is an empirical matter; there are tests that reliably differentiate between them. Correspondingly the status of the clitic also varies between that of a *θ-marked argument and that of an agreement marker*. The argument/adjunct status of the double becomes a parametrizable difference within *clitic constructions*: CD establishes a link between a clitic in the functional domain and a lexical phrase in *argument position*, while, in contrast, CLRD establishes a link between a clitic and a lexical phrase in *adjunct* position.

Yet another interpretation of the CD parameter is due to Uriagereka (1995: 81). He suggests that at least in Romance, the possibility of CD depends on *the properties of D(eterminer)s*. On the basis of their historical development, and present morphology, he analyses third person Romance clitics as *Ds,* and correlates the existence of CD with the "strength" of Ds. "Strong" Ds are those which license a null NP complement, corresponding to the English *one* in *the one who came* or *the one from France*. A *strong D* can license a *pro*-NP modified by a relative clause or by a PP. Weak Ds cannot license a null modified *pro* NP. They typically license *en/ne* clitciziation. In this description, French and Italian, which lack CD, also have weak Ds, given the ungrammaticality of French **le/la pro qui vient* and the existence of *en*-cliticization. Spanish, Galician, which are CD languages, also have strong Ds, as shown by the possibility of structures like *el/ la pro de Francia*, or *el /la pro que vino.*

Strong Ds may license a lexical double in their specifier, so the structure underlying CD constructions in Romance looks like in (25a) below (from Uriagereka 1995: 81); this structure has come to be known as the *big DP structure*. Uriagereka assumes that in cliticization cases, the D simply raises to the functional domain of the verb, while the double remains in the VP-internal θ-position ; this is the *stranding analysis*. (cf. detailed in Boeckx 2001, Papangeli 2000 for Greek).

(16)



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Papangeli (2000) gives a detailed argument that in the big DP structure, the double should be viewed as the *complement* of the D as in (25b), adopted for Romanian below as well.

Conclusion. Several parametrized properties of the CD construction have been identified in the literature. With respect to these properties, Romanian may be described in the following terms: a) Romanian observes Kayne's generalization. b) There is evidence that the lexical double is an *argument*, not an adjunct, so Romanian is a genuine CD language. c) Romanian has strong determiners (cf. Uriagereka 1995), and may project a big DP. Evidence for these properties will be presented below.

4.2. The properties of CD in Romanian

4.2.1. *Kayne's Generalization*

Since Romanian observes Kayne's Generalization, in Romanian only Prep Acc marked by *pe* 'on' may be CD-ed (17a vs. 17b). *Pe* is possible for [+Person] nouns and obligatory for pronouns. The undoubled Acc may or may not be Prep, even with the same [+Person] nouns.

(17) a. Am angajat secretarul.
Have(I) hired secretary.the.
b. *L-am angajat secretarul.
Him-have(I) hired secretary.the.
c. L-am angajat pe secretar.
Him-have(I) hired PE secretary.
d. ?Am angajat pe secretar.
Have hired PE secretary.
'I hired the secretary.'

There are clear syntactic differences between the Prep Acc. and the CD-construction, which suggest that, whereas the un-doubled Prep Acc may remain inside the VP, the doubled Acc leaves the VP, being analyzed *in an argument position outside the VP*. *Weak Cross Over* is a case in point. The Prep Acc *exhibits crossover effects*, the CD-ed Prep Acc does not. For instance, in sentences (18) the subject phrase includes a pronoun which should be bound by the object. Binding into the subject in SVO orders is possible only if the object is CD-ed, as in example (18b); compare examples (18a), where the subject cannot be bound from the object position occupied by a Prep Acc which is not CD-ed:[1]

(18) a. **Prietenii lor*$_i$ *ajută mulți*$_i$ *(copii).*
friends-the their help many (children)
'Their friends help many children.'
b. *Prietenii lor îi*$_i$ *ajută pe mulți*$_i$ *(copii).*
friends-the their them-help many (children)
'Their friends help many children.'

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The lack of WCO effects with CD follows if it is assumed that at some point in the derivation, the doubled object is *in a c-commanding position* with respect to the subject, the latter probably still in Spec, *v*P. In sum, non-CD-ed Prep Acc and non-Prep Acc remain inside the *vP*, while *doubled Prep Acc raise to a position outside vP.*

4.2.2. *Evidence that the double is an argument*

By definition, in genuine CD constructions, the double is an argument, even if, as just shown, it does not occupy the canonical θ-position. There is good evidence that the VP-external position occupied by the double still *counts as an A-position*, rather than an A' position. Franco (2000) proposes tests for diagnosing whether the double is a true argument or an adjunct:

a) Thus, with respect to BT, the double in (19) can serve as the antecedent of an anaphor. This indicates that it must be in an A position, since anaphors are bound from A-positions. From this point of view, doubled and undoubled objects behave alike, acting as antecedents for anaphors, as in (20).

(19) *Le* consider *pe studentele acestea prea încrezătoare în ele însele*.
them-consider(I) PE students.the these too confident in them themselves
'I consider these students too confident in themselves.'

(20) a. *Consider studentele acestea prea încrezătoare în ele însele*.
Consider(I) students.the these too confident in them themselves
b. *Consider pe studentele acestea prea încrezătoare în ele însele.*
Consider(I) PE students.the these too confident in them themselves
'I consider these students too confident in themselves.'

It is likely that the (Prep) Acc objects are arguments in all three cases.

b) There are transitive verbs which require that a strong reflexive pronoun should co-occur with the reflexive clitic in order to get the reflexive reading of the verb. The obligatory nature of the strong reflexive pronoun accompanying the clitic with these verbs shows that the strong reflexive cannot be an adjunct.

(21) a. *Ion se deplânge pe sine.*
Ion SE (refl) pities PE himself.
"Ion pities himself."
b. ??*Ion se deplânge*.
Ion SE pities.

c) Doubles may be subjects of small clauses in ECM constructions, as in (19), and subjects of small clauses occupy an A position. Properties a-c confirm the hypothesis that the double is in an argument position.

There is a significant correlation between the type of position occupied by the doubled DP and the nature of the clitic. Given that the double functions like a true syntactic argument in CD constructions, the clitic is expected to behave like an agreement marker. As shown in Franco (2000), Romance pronominal clitics are on the way to becoming agreement markers (object verbal inflection).[1] Agreement

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may be viewed as "the fulfilment of a number of properties in the matching of ϕ -features between two elements within a domain. The parametric account of agreement can be done with respect to how many agreement properties the two elements involved in the putative agreement relationship share" (Franco 2000: 171). The degree to which clitics count as agreement morphemes may be established by properties like the following, for which we have indicated the values for Romanian and French.

	R	F
1. Syntactic unit with host	1	1
2. Strict adjacency to aux/V	1	1
3. Fixed order	1	0
4. Co-occurrence with Acc arguments	1	0

Thus, both Romanian and French clitics form a syntactic unit with their host and are strictly adjacent to the verb[1]. For Romanian, the strict adjacency property needs to be qualified, because a clitic adverb may intervene between V and pronominal clitics (e.g., *Te mai văd* 'you-still-see(I)', 'I still see you'); this is possible precisely because the adverb is a clitic itself. Romanian clitics differ from French ones in that, they are strictly ordered among themselves, Dative clitics always preceding Accusative cltics, and they may co-occur with DPs bearing the same θ-role (forming CD chains):

(22) *Mi-l* *va da.*
Dat.cl.1stP-Acc cl.3dP will(he) give.
'He will give it to me.'

Rigidity in word order is typical for inflectional affixes, not for words. With respect to the few properties examined here, Romanian clitics come out more like agreement markers than French ones. CD is possible precisely because the clitic has lost (some of) its argumental status, gradually becoming an agreement morpheme on the verb.

We conclude that *the double occupies an A position and has active φ-and Case features, interacting with the functional categories of the verb.*

4.2.3. *The big DP hypothesis*

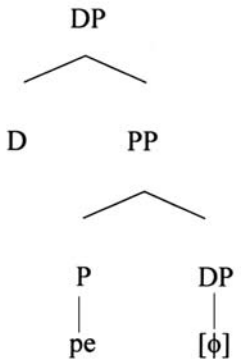
Romanian possesses strong determiners, in the interpretation of Uriagereka (1995). Certain Romanian definite determiners may license a modified NP *pro* as in the following examples:

(22) a *el /la pro que vino.* c. *el/ la pro de Francia*
b. *cel care vine* d. *cel din Franța*
the who comes the from France
'the one who comes' 'the one from France'

Moreover, there is no *en/ne* cliticization, this being a property of weak Ds. Given the properties of its Ds, Romanian is expected to be a CD language, if Uriagereka's hypothesis is correct. Let us assume that Romanian Ds do project a big DP structure as in (23), where the doubled PP is the complement of the clitic:

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(23)



The big DP conveniently shows that the clitic and the double represent the same ϕ-argument (at merge). Secondly, the head complement relation established in (23) between the clitic and the PP accounts for the selectional properties of the clitic. The ϕ-complete clitic requires that its complement should also be ϕ-complete. This is what excludes BQs from the CD construction, since BQ show default singular number and are unmarked for gender. Notice the contrast between the negative quantifier *nimeni*, 'nobody' unmarked for gender, and the negative determiner *niciun / nicio*, which is ϕ-complete. Only the former may appear in the CD construction (cf. 24b).

(24) a. **Nu l-am ajutat pe nimeni dintre ei.*
Not him-have(I) helped PE no one (Sg. Acc) of them.
b. *Nu l-am ajutat pe niciunul dintre ei*.
Not him-have(I) helped PE no one(M.Sg. Acc) of them.
'I didn't help any of them.' The stranding analysis of CD presentd here essentially claims that the clitic raises from inside the DP shown in (23) in order to adjoin to some functional verbal category, leaving the double behind (cf. Boeckx 2001).

4.2.5. *The stranding derivation*

Some basic assumptions largely derived from Chomsky (1998, 1999) will be required:

1. Case-Agreement is implemented as the valuing of uninterpretable [ϕ]-features of a functional head (T or v) through Agree; the process of valuing the uninterpretable ϕ-features of the verbal head, concurrently values the [K-] feature of a DP. T values the NOM feature of a DP, while *v* values the Acc one.

2. Clitics are standardly considered deficient pronouns, simply representing bundles of ϕ-features. According to Rouveret & Nash (2002), ϕ-feature bundles (=clitics) cannot be interpreted if they are not linked to some predicative (substantive) root category, such as T at the (LF) interface. Cliticization amounts to

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this movement from the lexical domain onto a functional head, of an argument whose content reduces to a set of ϕ- features and its subsequent spell-out by a clitic pronoun.

3. Clitics (ultimately) target functional categories of the verb *independently present* in the inflectional domain of the clause. In many Romance languages, Romanian included, pronominal clitics are attracted to the substantive category of Tense. Clitics check their Case feature and so become syntactically active only when they reach Tense. In Romanian, where the verb raises higher than Tense, the clitic raises with the verb, reaching the highest inflectional projection (the Finite Phrase).

4. *Cyclicity*. We will assume (cf. Boeckx 2001) that Move is initiated only when the head that drives it has merged, therefore only when the landing site is available. When the landing site is projected, Form Chain occurs, strictly observing Shortest Move and Attract Closest. In the particular case of Clitic Placement, this means that Movement of the clitic DP is initiated when T merges, but that the DP containing the clitic will first target the intermediate landing site Spec *v*P, a position involved in the checking of Acc case with lexical DPs.

5. *Romanian Clause structure*. Since Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), Romanian has been described as a VSO language; with the verb raising to a position below C, but above Spec,T, which will be referred to as Fin(ite) Phrase. The post-verbal subject may be in Spec *v*P, as well as in Spec T, the position where Nom is assigned, but nevertheless a postverbal (cf. Cornilescu 2000, Alboiu 2000 a.o.). The following clause structure is assumed for Romanian therefore:

(25) CP > FinP > TP > *v*P… > VP

As explained we assume that the object is projected as a big DP having the structure in (16b) above. The stranding analysis of CD (cf. Boeckx 2001) proposes that the clitic is attracted to T or higher, checking its Acc feature by Agree with the $[v\text{+T}]_T$, while the double is stranded below. The doubled object may precede the subject in a VOS order, or it may follow the subject in an SVO or VSO order:

(26) a Astăzi l-a întâlnit pe Ion Petru la cinema. (VOS)
Today him-has met PE Ion Petru at cinema.

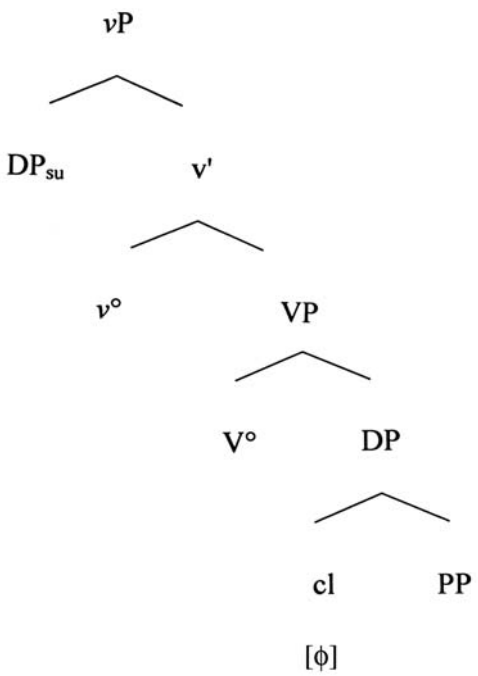
b. Astăzi l-a întâlnit Petru pe Ion la cinema. (VSO)
Today him-has met Petru PE Ion at cinema.

c. Astăzi Petru l-a întâlnit pe Ion la cinema. (SVO)
Today Petru him-has met PE Ion at cinema.
'Today Petru met Ion at the cinema.'

The weak cross-over evidence presented in section 4.2.1, shows that even in the SVO/VSO orders, the clitic doubled object c-commands (a copy of) the subject, since the doubled object must pied-pipe with the clitic to the edge of the *v*P, the outer Spec *v*P position. Under these assumptions a CD structure starts out as in (27):

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(27)



Movement of the Big DP is initiated when the T head merges. Light *v* is attracted to T to lexicalize Tense. Only at that point will the new T+*v* head attract the clitic. Clitic Placement occurs in two steps; the whole big DP moves as an XP to Spec *v*P, which is the closest potential landing site, since it is a position involved in Acc Case checking for regular DPs; it is also the edge of the lower *v*P phase. It is *this intermediate step that explains the difference between doubled Prep. Acc and undoubled ones*. It is movement to a position outside *v*P above the subject in Spec *v*P, though below Tense.

The clitic then moves as an X^0 to T, checking the case feature of *v*. Given the hypothesis on Romanian clause structure in (25), the $[\text{clitic+T+verb}]_T$ further raises to the Finite head, the highest position in the inflectional domain. The double remains stranded out of the *v*P, as shown in (28) above. The Prep Acc itself is ϕ-inert and does not have to move further up. The object of the preposition has been assigned (inherent) case by the preposition.

Intuitively, movement of the doubled object out of the *v*P corresponds to the fact that clitic doubled objects are de-focused and d-linked. This derivation corresponds to VOS sentences with CD. The subject may raise to its Nom position, Spec T, producing the VSO order with CD, and it may also raise to Spec Fin, in SVO sentences with CD.

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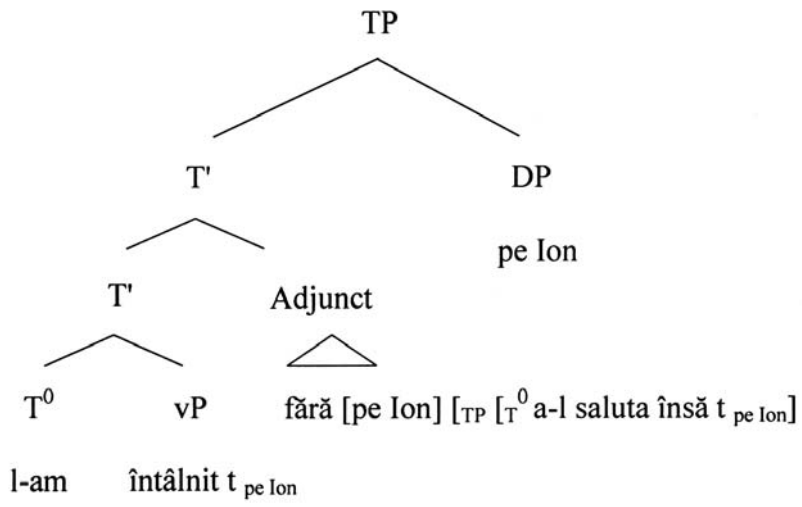
5. WHY CD IS INCOMAPTIBLE WITH PG

The paradigm in (11), (12) indicates that ability to license PGs is not only a configurational problem (movement of the DO to a position where it can bind the complex predicate), but it also obviously depends on the internal structure of this DO.

Proposal. To handle the data in (11), (12) we propose that *the operator in the PG Adjunct clause should be a copy of the antecedent, structurally identical with it*. If the antecedent is clitic licensed, therefore, if it is a big DP, the Op should also be a big DP, licensed by a clitic, as also proposed in Nunes (1995).

This proposal has an immediate consequence. Under N's analysis regarding complex predicate formation, the two predicates should have sufficient structure to accommodate the two structural elements that compose the big DP: the clitic, which necessarily reaches at least T^0 and the lexical double, and respectively, the null operator. The adjunct clause, will itself be at least a TP (if not a FinP), and will therefore be *adjoined to the main TP/FinP*, and the clitic will ncessarily be present in both main and adjunct clause. Sentence (29a), involving HNPS without licensing PGs is thus an example of TP/FinP-level complex predicate, contrasting with (8) where the complex predicate was formed at *v*P level.

(29) a. L-am întâlnit fără a-l saluta însă pe Ion.
Him-have(I) met without to-him greet though pe Ion.
'I met Ion without greeting him.'



The anlysis we proposed has the following important results:

a) It shows why CD constructions do not license PG. The CD construction should have sufficient structure to accomodate the clitic as well as the double. This

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means that a TP/FinP has to be derived in the main clause, as well as in the adjunct clause. Under the copying hypothesis, the adjunct contains a structurally similar clitic-licensed operator DP as shown above.

b) It also clear why, among A' movements only HNPS licenses PG with strong DPs. Very generally, in Romanian strong DPs cannot leave the *v*P unless they are clitic licensed. HNPS is the only A' Movement which targets a position *inside* vP.

5.1. Extending the analysis to other cases

A first prediction of the copying + complex predicate formation analysis of PG-licensing is that undoubled clitics, which are always in T or higher cannot function as antecedents for PG licensing, since they systematically move out of the *v*P and the antecedent of the PG should be in a *v*P specifier. This prediction is born out.

(30) a. **L-am întâlnit fără a saluta.*
Him-have(I) met without to greet.
'I met him without greeting him.'

b. *L-am întâlnit fără a-l saluta.*
Him-have(I) met without to-him greet.
'I met him without greeting him.'

Secondly, DPs which are part of clitic chains cannot serve as antecedents for PG for the same reason. We thus derive a major generalization of Romance: the clitic left dislocation structure does not license parasitic gaps, as illustrated below:

(31) a. **Pe Ion l-am întâlnit fără a saluta.*
PE Ion him-have(I) met without to greet.
'I met Ion without greeting him.'

b. *Pe Ion l-am întâlnit fără a-l saluta.*
PE Ion him-have(I) met without to-him greet.
'I met Ion without greeting him.'

This result does not depend on whether CLLD is an instance of adjunction (cf. Cinque 1991), or movement (cf. Cechetto 2000,Villalba 2001).

The prediction of the copying version of N's analysis is that only DPs/NPs which are not clitic licensed can be antecedents in PG constructions. Romanian bare QPs (in 32 below) and bare NPs in (33) below confirm this prediction, since both may antecede PGs under both right and left A'-movement.

(32) a. *E bine să examinezi înainte de a cumpăra ceva aşa scump*.
(it) is good SA (conj) examine before to buy something so expensive

b. *Ceva aşa scump e bine să examinezi înainte de a cumpăra.*
something so expensive (it) is good SA (conj) examine before to buy
'It is good to examine something expensive before buying it.'

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(33) a. *Am primit [] fără să plătesc[] carne de pasăre de la un prieten.*
Have(I) received without SĂ(subj) pay chicken meat from a friend.
'For years I have received without paying chicken meat from a friend.'
b. *Carne de pasăre am primit [] de la un prieten fără să plătesc* [].
Meat have(I) received from a friend without SĂ (subj) pay.
'Meat have(I) received from a friend for years without paying for I'.

4. CONCLUSIONS

1. The analysis of PGs above has confirmed N's view that PGs involve operator movement in the PG island, leading to the formation of a complex predicate. The analysis has also confirmed the relevance of the *v*P step in PG licensing. PG antecedents that move to the C' domain first target the *v*P edge, in a configuration where they are sister to the complex predicate formed out of the main *v*P and the PG adjunct.

2. A modification of the analysis of PGs was required: the operator should be a *copy of the antecedent, structurally identical with it*. In particular, if the antecedent is clitic licensed, the empty pronoun in the adjunct clause will also be clitic licensed. Therefore, two types of factors are relevant in the possibility of licensing PGs. One is configurational: the antecedent should be a sister to the complex predicate (logical binding). The second has to do with the properties of the antecedent. Clitic licensed antecedents are not compatible with PGs.

3. The proposed modification predicts that constructions involving clitic doubled DPs will not license PGs. Such is the case of CD in Romanian or Spanish and of CLLD wherever it has been attested.

4. Romanian strong DPs that leave the *v*P are clitic-licensed, so they may license PGs only under HNPS, the only A' movement that targets a position within *v*P.

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