

Appendix

Clitic pronouns in Romanian

There are two series of clitic pronouns in Romanian: non-syllabic and syllabic. Both series cover direct and indirect object pronouns and undergo morphological marking for accusative and dative case. There is no pronominal clitic paradigm for subjects. Table 1 below lists the pronouns in standard Romanian (see Hill & Alboiu, 2016 a.o.).

Table 1

Romanian clitic pronouns.

Person	Syllabic		Non-syllabic		Strong pronouns	
	Accusative	Dative	Accusative	Dative	Accusative	Dative
1	mă	îmi	m	mi	mine	mie
2	te	îți	-	Ț(i)	tine	ție
3	îl (M.) o (F.)	îi	l (M.) o (F.)	i	el (M.) ea (F.)	lui (M.) ei (F.)
4	ne	ne	-	-	noi	nouă
5	vă	vă	v	v	voi	vouă
6	îi (M.) le (F.)	le	i (M.) -	-	ei (M.) ele (F.)	lor

Table 1 needs the following clarifications:

- **Reflexive pronouns** are not included in the Table. They are identical to the personal pronouns for the first and second persons, singular and plural, for accusative and dative cases. The only different form is for the third person, which is the syllabic *se* in accusative (masculine and feminine, singular and plural). The corresponding non-syllabic form is *s*. For third person dative, the syllabic form is *își* (masculine and feminine, singular and plural) and the non-syllabic form is *și*.
- The reflexive *se* is also used for the arbitrary, non-referential clitic.
- Third person clitics stand not only for masculine and feminine natural genders but also for **inanimate** nouns (e.g., the equivalent of Engl. *it*), in line with their grammatical gender.

Syllabic and non-syllabic pronominal clitics always show strict adjacency to the verb or to the auxiliary, in both proclisis and enclisis. Proclisis with syllabic clitics is shown in (1a), and enclisis, mostly with imperative and gerunds, is shown in (1b). Syllabic clitics obligatorily target the verb or the auxiliary, but never other constituents.

- (1) a. *Mihai le ajută.*
Mihai them.F helps
‘Mihai helps them.’

- b. *Ajută-le* *te* rog.
 help.IMP.2SG-them.F you.2SG.ACC pray.1SG
 ‘Help them, please.’

Non-syllabic clitics, on the other hand, can phonologically lean on other constituents but their strict adjacency to the verbal head in T indicates that, syntactically, these also always target the verbal head. They occur as proclitics on auxiliaries or lexical verbs that begin with a vowel, as in (2a) and (2b), respectively. If the verbal element begins with a consonant, the non-syllabic clitic may occur in proclisis by leaning on the constituent to the left (the verb is still adjacent on the right), as in (2c). The 3rd person feminine singular occurs post-verbally in complex forms (2d).

- (2) a. *Mihai* *l-a ajutat.*
 Mihai him.3SG.M.ACC-has-blessed
 ‘Mihai has helped him.’
 b. *Mihai* *v-ajută.*
 Mihai you.2PL.ACC-helps
 ‘Mihai helps you.’
 c. *și-l* *voi expune*
 and-it will.1SG-display
 ‘and I’ll display it.’
 d. *Mihai* *a* *ajutat-o.*
 Mihai has helped-her.3SG.F.ACC
 ‘Mihai has helped her.’

Clitic pronouns may cluster together in proclisis or enclisis. In either position, the order of clitics is rigid, with the dative preceding the accusative. The clusters lean only on the verbal element, and never on constituents to the left, even when they only consist of non-syllabic clitics.

- (3) a. *Maria* *i l-a* *prezentat*
 Maria her/him.3SG.DAT-him.3SG.M.ACC-has introduced
 ‘Maria introduced him to him/her.’
 b. *prezentându-i-l*
 introducing- her/him.3SG.DAT-him.3SG.M.ACC
 ‘introducing him to him/her’

Notably, the auxiliaries ‘have’ and ‘will’ are also clitics and are included in the clitic cluster with the pronoun. Formal studies agree in associating these clitic clusters with T versus C (e.g., Hill & Alboiu, 2016; Săvescu, 2009).