

ON CLAUSAL ARCHITECTURE: EVIDENCE FROM COMPLEMENT CLITIC PLACEMENT IN ROMANCE^{*}

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1. Introduction

This paper expands on previous work (Benincà 1983; Benincà 2006; Benincà and Tortora 2009; Tortora 2002; Tortora 2010), in which we argue that certain patterns of complement clitic placement in Romance varieties reveal that clausal architecture provides at least three different domains of placement for complement clitics, what we have termed the C-domain, the I-domain, and the V-domain. Specifically, we have shown that some languages (such as Borgomanerese, a Piedmontese dialect) utilize only one domain (in this case, the V-domain), no matter what the nature of the clause (interrogative, declarative, or imperative; matrix or embedded; finite or non-finite), while other languages utilize more than one domain, depending on clause type. For example, Italian arguably utilizes the I-domain in finite clauses, but the V-domain in participial clauses (see Benincà & Tortora 2009 and Tortora 2010 for arguments for the latter).¹ This paper adds to the empirical base supporting this view of the clause and of clitic syntax by examining a previously unnoticed restriction on complement clitic placement in Paduan (a Veneto dialect), which depends on clause type; it is our hope that the more wide-ranging the empirical findings, the better a position we will be in to understand the nature of the restrictions on complement clitic placement; this in turn, we hope, will contribute to our understanding of the nature of clausal architecture, as well as to our understanding of the nature of clitic pronouns themselves (independent of the question of their placement in the clause).

Specifically, we look at the behavior of the verb *volerghe* ‘to be necessary’, which is composed of the verb *volere* ‘to want’ and the clitic *ghe*. As we will see, the behavior of this clitic, when used with this verb in simple tense and participial clauses, is variable, suggesting an analysis whereby the participial clause has a lower clitic placement site than the simple tense clause.

2. Paduan *volerghe*

In this section we examine the behavior of the complement clitic *ghe* in Paduan when it combines with the verb *volere* ‘to want’, yielding the verb *volerghe*, which means something like ‘to be needed/necessary’ (akin to the verb *volerci* in Italian).² Let’s begin by considering a simple present tense example with this verb:

- (1) ***Ghe vole do euro.***
ghe wants two euros
 ‘Two euros are necessary (for him).’

As can be seen by the gloss provided, this sentence is ambiguous between a non-benefactive reading (‘two euros are necessary’) and a benefactive reading (‘two euros are necessary for him’). We will discuss this fact in detail in section 2.2, as it is directly relevant to the issue of variable clitic placement that we are addressing in this paper. However, in order to discuss this fact, we must first look at another, namely, that the clitic *ghe* in Paduan has multiple uses, uses which are in fact so varied that in some cases they may appear to be completely unrelated to one another. Consider in this regard the examples in (2), which show that, in addition to appearing with the verb *volere* to form the verb *volerghe*, as in (1) above, the clitic *ghe* can be used as a deictic locative (2a), as the existential locative (2b), as a pro-form for an oblique argument (2c), as the 3rd person (singular and plural) dative (2d), and as a member of a cluster of clitics (*ghe ne*) which pronominalizes the partitive (2e).^{3,4}

- (2) a. ***Ghe meto i libri.***
ghe I-put the books.
 ‘I put the book **here/there**.’
 b. ***Ghe ze un tozo nela camara.***
ghe is a boy in the room
 ‘**There**’s a boy in the room.’

- c. ***Ghe penso spesso.***
ghe I-think often.
 “I think **about it** often.”
- d. ***Ghe dago un libro.***
ghe I-give a book
 “I give a book **to him**.”
- e. El ***ghe ne canta do.***
 SCL ***ghe ne*** sings two.
 “He sings two of them.”

Given the array of possibilities for *ghe* in (1) and (2), we think it would be useful to first discuss our general view of ambiguous clitics (such as *ghe*) in section 2.1, before we return to the question of the behavior of *ghe* as it occurs in the verb *volverghe*.

2.1 Accounting for polysemous clitics

It is well known that some morphemes in any given language can have many different, sometimes apparently unrelated, functions. Clitic pronouns in Romance are a prime example of this phenomenon; Italian, for example, exhibits this with the clitic *si*, which is used in impersonal and middle constructions, as a reflexive, and with some unaccusative verbs, just to name a few of its functions. Similarly, the Italian clitic *ci* can be used as a locative (akin to English *here/there*), as a 1st person plural (accusative and dative), as an apparent allomorph of *si*, and as a pro-form for certain oblique arguments. As we saw in the previous section, Paduan *ghe* is no different in its ability to serve multiple functions. Given this phenomenon, the question of course arises as to how to analyze such cases of polysemy. One obvious possibility is to simply assume for any given case that the lexicon contains multiple entries, one for each use (or function) of the clitic in question; for example, we could suppose that Paduan has (at least) six lexical items *ghe*, each unrelated to the other.

However, rather than assume the existence of any number of homophonous *ghe* morphemes (one for each use) in the Paduan lexicon, we would like to pursue an alternative hypothesis (one which would apply to any of the cases of polysemy discussed above), namely, that there is only one *ghe* in the Paduan lexicon. The multiple “meanings” (or functions) of *ghe* arise instead as a result of the nature of its lexical semantics, combined with (a) its ability to instantiate distinct functional heads in the clause (which themselves have their own semantics which contribute to the meaning that emerges in the presence of this clitic),

and/or (b) its ability to license other semantically contentful (but silent) morphemes present in the structure (along the lines of Kayne 2008).⁵

2.1.1 Meaning derived from syntactic position

To gain a more precise understanding of this view, let us break it down into the two components (a) and (b), considering first the idea that an element can get its meaning (in part) from the nature of the functional projection it occupies. In this regard, it could be useful to consider the example of post-verbal negative markers in Romance discussed by Zanuttini (1997). Although it might seem like the syntax and semantics of negative markers has little to do with a clitic like *ghe*, we would like to show that Zanuttini's observations and analysis can shed light on the nature of this clitic.

Zanuttini shows that in Piedmontese (another Northern Italian dialect) there are two different post-verbal negative markers, *pa* and *nen*:

- (3) *Maria a l' ha pa / nen mangià la carn.*
 Maria SCL SCL has **pa / nen** eaten the meat
 "Maria hasn't eaten the meat."

According to Zanuttini, there is a difference in meaning between *pa* and *nen*, such that the former is "presuppositional," while the latter is not. Without going into the details of the semantic differences (we refer the reader to the relevant work), it is important to note that this interpretive difference is tied to a syntactic difference: specifically, *pa* is syntactically higher than *nen*. Zanuttini concludes this based on the fact that *pa* must appear to the left of the adverb *gia* 'already' (4), while *nen* must appear to the right of this adverb (5):

- (4) *A l' ha pa gia ciamà.*
 SCL SCL has **pa** *already* called
 "He hasn't already called." (presuppositional)

- (5) *A l' avia gia nen vulu 'ntlura.*
 SCL SCL had *already* **nen** wanted then
 "Already at that time he had not wanted to." (non-presuppositional)

The data in (4) and (5) thus suggest that it is not only the properties of the lexical items themselves (*pa* and *nen*) that yield the negative markers' meanings; rather, the different meanings of these two negative morphemes

are also derived from the syntactic position each of these elements occupies.

This conclusion becomes more obvious when we consider dialects which, in contrast with Piedmontese, utilize the same morpheme for both the presuppositional and non-presuppositional meaning. Zanuttini discusses in this regard Valdotain, which utilizes the morpheme *pa* as both the presuppositional and the non-presuppositional negative marker; this can be seen in (6) and (7):

(6) *L' è pa dza parti?*

SCL is **pa** *already* left

'He hasn't already left, has he?'

(presuppositional)

(7) *L' a dza pa volu-lu adon.*

SCL has *already* **pa** wanted-it then

'Already then he didn't want it.'

(non-presuppositional)

What is noteworthy about the Valdotain examples in (6) and (7) is the following: when *pa* is used as a presuppositional negative marker (6), it must appear in the relatively high post-verbal position (i.e., to the left of the adverb *dza* 'already'), just like Piedmontese *pa* in (4). However, when Valdotain *pa* is used as a non-presuppositional negative marker (7), it must appear in the relatively low post-verbal position (i.e., to the right of the adverb *dza*), just like Piedmontese *nen* in (5). So in Valdotain, we clearly see that a morpheme's syntactic position (high or low) plays a role in determining its semantics (in this case, presuppositional or non-presuppositional).

So, Valdotain *pa* is a morpheme that has multiple functions, and depending on its syntactic position, it will yield a different meaning. Given the behavior of a morpheme like Valdotain *pa*, we can hypothesize that clitics which have multiple uses (such as Paduan *ghe*, or Italian *si* and *ci*) function this way as well. That is, the meaning of a clitic like Paduan *ghe* will derive from its own lexical semantics, combined with the semantics of the functional head it instantiates. As such, we would like to suggest that one possible source of the difference in meaning between, say, (2a) and (2d) above, could be that *ghe* in each structure occupies (or instantiates) a different functional head within the clause, which itself contributes its own semantics to the meaning of the structure.

The idea that *ghe* instantiates different syntactic positions (depending on its function), even when it is a proclitic (as in the examples in (2)), is supported by an observation made by Benincà (2007). Specifically,

Benincà notes that under certain syntactic conditions, the clitic *ghe* appears obligatorily with certain forms of the verb *avere* ‘have’ (both in its auxiliary and possessive use); this can be seen in (8):⁶

- (8) a. **Gh** ò cantà.
ghe I-have sung
 “I sang.”
 b. El **gh** à cantà.
 SCL **ghe** has sung
 “He sang.”

The proclitic placement of *ghe* in (8) might make this clitic appear to be in the same syntactic position that we find it, in its other functions, in the examples in (2). However, the following example (also from Benincà 2007) illustrates that when *ghe* occurs as a dative (combined with an accusative clitic), it appears to the left of the non-referential *ghe* that occurs with *avere* in (8):⁷

- (9) **Ghe lo gh** ò dâ.
ghe it **ghe** I-have given
 “I gave it to him.”

The example in (9) thus shows that dative *ghe* and the non-referential *ghe* that occurs with *avere* appear in two distinct syntactic positions. Of course, whether the distinct functional heads that these two instances of *ghe* occupy contribute in some way to their distinct meanings – or, whether it is solely the presence of a silent DATIVE clitic in (9) (à la Kayne 2008) which gives dative *ghe* its meaning – remains to be shown.

Before we turn to the question of the semantics of the clitic and its placement in the functional structure of the clause, we briefly review Kayne’s theory of silent clitics, which as we noted in section 2.1, is another possible morpho-syntactic means to account for the multiple functions of a single form.

2.1.2 Meaning derived from the nature of a co-occurring silent morpheme

The hypothesis reviewed immediately above (namely, that *ghe* occupies distinct syntactic positions) is not incompatible with another, put forth by Kayne (2008), which holds that a clitic morpheme (such as Paduan *ghe*) gets its meaning from the nature of the silent morpheme it licenses.

To understand Kayne's proposal, consider example (2d), where *ghe* seems to have the function of a 3rd person dative. In order to account for the possibility of this meaning, Kayne hypothesizes that it is not the clitic *ghe* itself which carries the meaning of "Dative," but rather it is a silent (i.e., phonologically null) DATIVE morpheme that appears in this structure, along with the clitic *ghe*. Under this view, the structure in (2a) would differ from the structure in (2d) in that the clitic *ghe* in the former licenses a silent PLACE morpheme, while the clitic *ghe* in the latter licenses a silent DATIVE morpheme:⁸

- (10) a. Ghe PLACE meto il libro.
 d. Ghe DAT dago il libro.

We would like to entertain the possibility that Kayne's hypothesis is not incompatible with the hypothesis we put forth in section 2.1.1 above, and that both factors (namely, syntactic position of the clitic and nature of the silent morpheme it licenses) can be at play simultaneously.⁹ That said, let us now return to the clitic *ghe* as it occurs in the verb *volverghe*.

2.2 The *ghe* of *volverghe*

In this section we return to the Paduan verb *volverghe* 'to be necessary', which, as we noted, consists of the verb *volere* 'want' and the clitic *ghe*. We repeat the example in (1) as (11) here:

- (11) ***Ghe vole do euro.***
 ghe wants two euros
 'Two euros are necessary (for him).'

Before we discuss the two possible readings in (11), we present our proposals regarding this verb, and how its meaning is derived.

First, we do not take this verb to be idiomatic; rather, we take its meaning to derive compositionally from the meaning of the verb *volere* 'want', combined with a relatively high (phonologically null, or "silent") modal head encoding deontic semantics. This modal head, which we label *Deon*⁰, is akin to the deontic modal head occupied by Italian *bisogna* (Benincà and Poletto 1994, Kayne 2007; see also Cinque 1999 for arguments that deontic modals are structurally high).¹⁰ We further hypothesize that *Deon*⁰ is licensed by the clitic *ghe* (along the lines of Kayne's 2008 hypothesis that DAT is licensed by *ghe* in (10d); see section 2.1.1 above). We will assume that *ghe* appears in a functional head

immediately to the left of Deon^0 , and therefore that it is also structurally high.¹¹ We will use the shorthand “ ghe_{deon} ” to refer to the clitic *ghe* when it is performing this function.¹² We illustrate this idea in the structure in (12):

- (12) [AgrsP ... [FP1 ... [FP2 ... *ghe* [RootModP Deon^0 [FP3 vuole]]]]]

2.2.1 The benefactive/non-benefactive ambiguity in tensed clauses, and the licensing of Deon^0

Now that we have presented the essentials of our assumptions, we can address the question raised earlier, namely, the source of the two readings (non-benefactive and benefactive) seen in the tensed example in (11). At this point the reader may have guessed that it has something to do with the fact that *ghe* can be used as a dative. While this is true, let us also consider another fact, namely, that ghe_{deon} is in complementary distribution with a benefactive clitic. This can be seen in the example in (13):

- (13) **Me ghe_{deon} vole do euro.*
 me **ghe_{deon}** want two euros
 “Two euros are necessary to me.”

In fact, the only way to express this with a (dative) clitic instantiating a benefactive argument is to eliminate ghe_{deon} altogether, as in (14):¹³

- (14) *Me vole do euro.*
me want two euros
 “Two euros are necessary to me.”

As can be seen, (14) is unambiguously benefactive. Also noteworthy is the fact that the core deontic semantics of *voleghe* are preserved in this sentence, despite the fact that the clitic *ghe* is no longer in the structure. How is this possible, if the presence of *ghe* is otherwise required to yield the desired semantics of this verb? Note that without *ghe* and without a benefactive clitic, the verb *volere* simply means ‘want’, and the resulting structure involves a referential (agentive) subject:¹⁴

- (15) *El vole do euro.*
 SCL wants two euros
 “He / She wants two euros.”

In order to understand the pattern exhibited in (11), (14), and (15), let us return to the proposal put forth above regarding necessary licensing of $Deon^0$. Specifically, we attributed the presence of ghe_{deon} (seen in the structure in (12)) to a licensing requirement, such that $Deon^0$ is not licit unless there is some clitic that licenses it. In the most basic of circumstances, this will be the clitic *ghe*. However, as can be seen in (14), a benefactive clitic such as (dative) *me* ‘to me’ (or dative *te* ‘to you’, *ne* ‘us’, or *ve* ‘to you pl’ for that matter) seems to be equally capable of licensing $Deon^0$; as such, when a benefactive clitic is present, ghe_{deon} is not required. In fact, ghe_{deon} is excluded in this case, precisely because its presence is only required to license $Deon^0$ (of course, (15) shows that either one or the other must be present in the structure in order to yield the desired deontic semantics).

The clarification on the licensing requirements of $Deon^0$ also allows for a clarification of the ambiguity seen in (11): the *ghe* in (11) could be either ghe_{deon} , or ghe_{dat} (since, as we saw, the dative (benefactive) clitic can also serve as a licenser of $Deon^0$). The following examples make explicit the structural ambiguity seen in (11):

- (16) **Ghe_{deon}** *vole do euro.*
 ghe_{deon} wants two euros
 “Two euros are necessary.”
- (17) **Ghe_{dat}** *vole do euro.*
him wants two euros
 “Two euros are necessary for him.”

The benefactive example in (17) (which represents one of the possible meanings in (11)) is akin to the benefactive example with me_{dat} in (14).

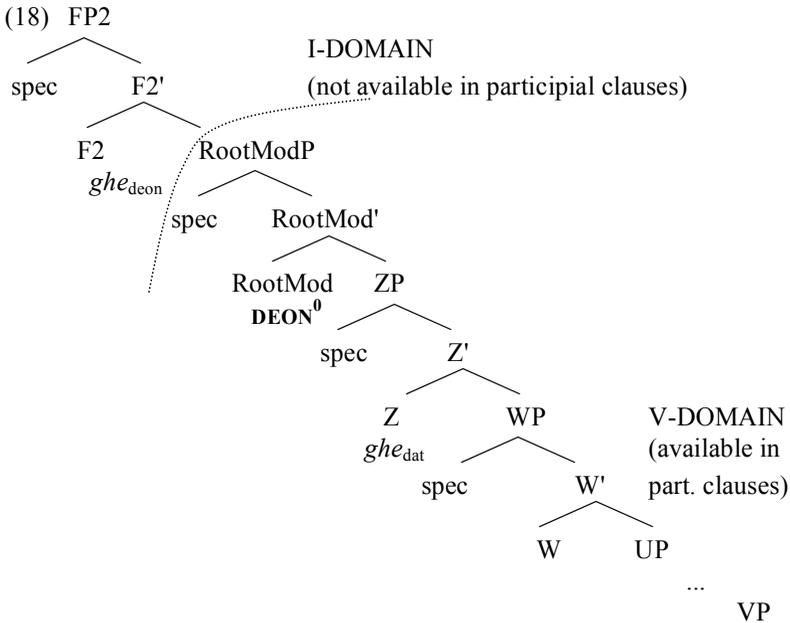
At this point we can raise the question of whether each of *ghe*’s many uses are necessarily associated with a distinct functional head, each of whose semantics are unique to that use, or, whether the number of functional heads that *ghe* can occupy in the clause is a subset of the number of possible meanings for *ghe* (and that the remainder of the array of meanings is cashed out by the silent elements that *ghe* can associate with). While we are not in a position at the moment to engage in an empirical investigation which would reveal whether each *ghe* occupies a unique functional head in the clause, we would like to show that at least in the case of the verb *volerghe*, not all functional heads available for the clitic *ghe* yield the semantics of ghe_{deon} . In this regard (and to make this claim more explicit), we turn to the behavior of this verb in participial

clauses. As we will see, the possibilities in comparison with its use in tensed clauses are limited, and we would like to argue that this is the result of the different possibilities for clitic placement in tensed vs. participial clauses.

2.2.2 The lack of ambiguity in participial clauses

In previous work (Benincà & Tortora 2009; Tortora 2010), we argued that although UG provides different clitic placement domains within the clause (the C-domain, the I-domain, and the V-domain), not all domains are available in every language; furthermore, even within a single language, different kinds of clauses (e.g., declarative, interrogative, imperative, tensed, non-finite, embedded, matrix) might have different domains available. Regarding participial clauses, we specifically argued that because they do not have an active Infl-domain, this domain is universally unavailable for clitic placement, such that languages which normally access the Infl-domain for certain clitics will only have the lower (V-) domain available in participial clauses. If this idea is on the right track, then we make a prediction regarding the verb *volerghe*.

Specifically, recall (section 2.2) that we had independent evidence to support the claim that ghe_{deon} in (1)/(11)/(12)/(16) occupies a relatively high functional head. Under the hypothesis that participial clauses only contain a lower clitic placement domain (i.e., the V-domain), we predict that ghe_{deon} will not be possible in such clauses. We illustrate this idea in (18), where the dotted-curved line represents the cut-off point for participial clauses (such that they do not contain any material above this line); note that the F2 head corresponds to the position sketched in example (12) (we assume more structure above FP2, but for space reasons do not include it here):¹⁵



Let us now consider some data indicating that this prediction is borne out. As can be seen by the example in (19), the verb *volerghe* without the benefactive reading is not licit in participial clauses; we include both a reduced relative (19a) and an absolute small clause (19b), noting that there is stronger marginality in the former:

- (19) a. **I schei [vossudi-ghe] i gera tanti.*
the money wanted-**ghe** SCL was much
“The money necessary was a lot.”
b. *?*Vossudi-ghe più schei...*
wanted-**ghe** more money...
“More money having been necessary...”

That is, in contrast with the tensed example in (1)/(11), *volerghe* in participial clauses is unambiguously benefactive (dative). We would like to suggest that the impossibility of a non-benefactive reading in this case is due to the missing functional head which in tensed clauses would house *ghe_{deon}*, that is, the *ghe* which licenses *Deon⁰* (seen in (12)/(16)). The data

thus support both the hypothesis that the higher clitic placement domain is unavailable in participial clauses, and the hypothesis that the functional head (i.e., F2) which houses this instance of *ghe* is itself responsible for the meaning (or function) of *ghe*_{deon}.

As already suggested, participial clauses do allow (unambiguously) for the benefactive reading of *ghe* (with only slight marginality); this can be seen in (20), again, with both a reduced relative and an absolute small clause (and again, with more marginality in the former, though the contrast between (19a) and (20a) is clear):

- (20) a. ??*I schei [vossudi-ghe] i gera tanti.*
 the money wanted-**ghe** SCL was much
 ‘‘The money necessary for him was a lot.’’
 b. ?*Vossudi-ghe più schei...*
 wanted-**ghe** more money...
 ‘‘More money having been necessary for him...’’

In section 3 below, we address the now mysterious fact that the sentences should have a deontic reading at all (i.e., given that the high licensing *ghe*_{deon} is missing, we would expect the deontic reading to disappear, contrary to fact). That the clitic *ghe* in (20) has a purely benefactive reading suggests a clitic placement site different from that seen in (12). Given the hypothesis that the higher functional field is missing in the participial clause, the only possibility left for clitic placement is the V-domain; let us label this low clitic placement head Z.¹⁶ The obligatory benefactive reading, however, suggests that this clitic placement site has semantic content, such that it is (at least in part) responsible for the obligatorily dative interpretation exhibited by *ghe* in this construction; crucially, this functional head does not have the same semantic properties as the high F2 functional head (otherwise, we would expect *volerghe* in these participial clauses to allow for a non-benefactive reading, much as we find in the tensed clause in (1)/(11)).

We have thus shown that a single language (such as Paduan) can have more than one clitic placement site, depending on the structure (in this case, tensed vs. participial), and we have also shown that the different functional heads that serve as clitic placement sites have their own semantics which contribute to the interpretation of the clitic. This in turn shows that the hypothesis that polysemous clitics (like *ghe*) derive their meaning in part from the nature of the functional head they occupy is on the right track.

We would like to close this paper by addressing a few open questions regarding our analysis of *volerghe*.

3. Questions and conclusions

One question which arises given the above analysis is how the deontic interpretation of *volerghe* is possible in these participial examples at all, if as we claimed, the functional head that licenses Deon^0 is missing in such structures. To address this question, we have to first recall the observation made in section 2.2.1, namely that benefactive clitics can do the job of licensing Deon^0 , and in fact, if they are present, preclude the presence of ghe_{deon} . Thus, as was the case with the tensed clauses we examined, the benefactive clitic (ghe_{dat}) in (20) can do the job of licensing Deon^0 . Of course, the question of the appropriate syntactic configuration for licensing (noted in footnote 11) is raised again, especially in light of the idea (suggested in footnote 11) that licensing obtains via a selectional (or immediate c-command) relationship between the licenser and the licensee. Clearly, the configuration in (18), with ghe_{dat} all the way down in Z, has this licenser neither c-commanding nor selecting Deon^0 . As such, the proposed relationship for licensing must be revised, and we leave that open for future work, when we have a more extensive empirical base from which to draw generalizations; nevertheless, we suggest here that another possibility for licensing could involve a probe-goal relationship between the elements in question.

Another question which arises is why does the participial clause get “cut off” precisely at the point just above RootModP (as hypothesized in (18))? It might be clear to the reader at this point that the cut-off point was motivated precisely by the facts, namely, that the *ghe* in the participial clause in (20) must get a dative interpretation (suggesting a head which is only compatible with dative semantics, and thus the absence of F2), yet at the same time, the deontic semantics of *volerghe* is still preserved in these structures (suggesting the preservation of Deon^0). We do not have any independent evidence that the higher functional field becomes inactive in the participial clause precisely at the point where we are claiming it does, and we thus see this as another line of inquiry for further research. We do nevertheless believe that the problem addressed in this paper does take us a step closer towards understanding a number of inter-related issues regarding clausal architecture, such as the precise nature of the various functional heads available for clitic placement and the nature of polysemy in clitics.

In this last regard, we believe that the Paduan facts suggest that the three different domains for clitic placement we have argued for in previous work are of entirely different natures. More precisely, the exclusively “dative” interpretation of *ghe* in the low (V-domain) position suggests that this functional field is only compatible with the verb’s event structure, and as such, the heads available in this field will only give argument-like content to the clitics that appear here. This in turn would suggest that, assuming that some clitics have their own lexical semantics which pre-determine what kind of morpheme they are, certain clitic forms may not be at all compatible with one field or the other. This situation is found in Borgomanerese (a Piedmontese dialect), for example, where the clitic which is interpreted as the equivalent of Italian impersonal *si* (21) has a different morphological form (i.e., *s*) from the clitic which is interpreted as the equivalent of Italian reflexive *si* (22) (i.e., *si*) (see also Parry 1998 for other Piedmontese varieties); note as well that these two forms appear in two different domains:

- (21) *As môngia bej chilonsé.* Impersonal *si*
si eats well here
 “One eats well here.”
- (22) *Al vônga-si.* Reflexive *si*
 SCL sees-**si**
 “He sees himself.”

That is, we can interpret the facts in (21) and (22) in the following way: Borgomanerese has two morphological forms, *s* and *si*, the former of which is only compatible with an impersonal interpretation, and the latter of which is only compatible with a reflexive interpretation.¹⁷ Furthermore, the fact that the former form only ever appears proclitically (while the latter form only ever appears enclitically) suggests that the former form is only compatible with a head in the higher functional field (while the latter form is only compatible with a head in the lower functional field). This is also seen in Romanian (O. Săvescu, p.c.), where all complement clitics must appear proclitically in the compound tenses (e.g., (23)), except for the 3rd person singular feminine accusative clitic *o*, which must be enclitic on the past participle (24) (examples taken from Myler 2008):

- (23) *Te am lăudat.*
you I-have praised
 “I have praised you.”

- (24) *Am lăudat-o.*
 I-have praised-**her**
 ‘‘I have praised her.’’

Again, here we can interpret this fact to mean that the Romanian clitic *o* has its own lexical properties, which are such that it is compatible with a head in the participle’s own functional field (and as such, it adjoins to that head, rather than moving further up in the structure). The other complement clitics of Romanian (such as *te*), however, are not compatible with this domain, and so must climb to the clitic adjunction site in the I-domain of the auxiliary verb.

One final issue which we would like to raise here (but which we leave open) is the following: it turns out that if agreement on the past participle in the absolute small clause is avoided, *voleghe* is possible with a non-benefactive reading:

- (25) *Vossudo-ghe massa schei, ...*
 wanted-**ghe** more money...
 ‘‘More money having been necessary...’’ (cf. (19b))

If we compare (25) with (19b), we see that the lack of agreement on the participle renders a pure reading of *voleghe* (without a benefactive interpretation). Although we do not offer an analysis for this difference here, we note that generally, it seems that two kinds of absolute small clause are possible in some Romance languages: one with agreement, and one without agreement.¹⁸ This can be seen for example in Italian:

- (26) a. *Conosciuta* Maria, ... [agreement]
 b. *Conosciuto* Maria, ... [no agreement]
 ‘‘Having met Maria, ...’’

We would like to suggest that the construction in (26b) (without agreement), which is rarely discussed in the literature, has different structural properties than that in (26a) (with agreement), with more functional architecture. If this is the case, then the Paduan example in (25) (without agreement) might involve a participial structure which has a functional head higher in the structure, namely, that in which *ghe*_{deon} resides (in contrast with what we see in (18)). The hypothesis that (26b) has a richer functional architecture than the structure in (26a) requires further research, however, something which we leave for the future.

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Notes

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¹¹ Along these lines, although it has not yet systematically been argued for, it appears that many northern Italian dialects (e.g., Paduan) place subject clitics in the C-domain in main interrogative clauses, while subject clitics and object clitics are placed in the I-domain in declaratives.

² For a detailed discussion of Italian *volerci*, see Russi (2006) and Benincà & Tortora (2009).

³ For extensive discussion of those dialects which require co-occurrence of *ghe* and *ne*, see Penello (2004).

⁴ The examples in (2) do not represent an exhaustive list of possibilities; see for example the discussion around (8) in section 2.1.1 below.

⁵ For analyses of homophony from the perspective of morphological theory, see, e.g., Calabrese (1994) and Pescarini (to appear) (and references cited therein).

⁶ We put aside the function that *ghe* has in this structure; however, we do note here that while it does not immediately seem to have any reference, we do not wish to conclude that it is a purely pleonastic element.

A fact worth noting regarding the examples in (8) is the following: as can be seen by comparing the example in (8a) with that in (i) here, when this clitic occurs with *avere* ‘have’, it must occur without the vowel [e]:

(i) **Ghe ò cantà*. (cf. (8a))

This contrasts with referential locative *ghe*, which must occur with the [e] when followed by a verb that begins in a vowel:

(ii) *El ghe òspita i so amissi*. / ***El gh ospita i so amissi*.

SCL **ghe** hosts the his friends.

“He hosts there his friends.”

On the other hand, when dative (iii) or locative (iv) *ghe* occur with the auxiliary, they occur without the vowel:

(iii) *El gh à dà.*

SCL **ghe** has given

‘He has given.’ or ‘He has given to him.’

(iv) *El gh à messo i fiori.*

SCL **ghe** has put the flowers

‘He has put the flowers.’ or ‘He has put the flowers there.’

As can be seen by the translations in (iii) and (iv), *ghe* in these cases is interpretable either as the *ghe* of *avere* ‘have’, or as a (referential) dative/locative.

⁷ We can be sure that the *ghe* on the left is dative *ghe* (and not the non-referential *ghe* that occurs with *avere* in (8)) because the latter always occurs to the right of the accusative clitic:

(i) *lo gh ò.*

it ghe I-have

‘I have it.’

⁸ Kayne (2008) is not explicit about where the overt clitic and the silent morpheme appear structurally in relation to one another. One possibility is that the clitic and the silent morpheme form a constituent within a larger DP; another possibility is that each occupies a distinct functional projection within the clause. As we will see below, for the case of *volerghe*, we assume that *ghe* and the silent element it licenses occur in two distinct functional heads within the clause.

⁹ In this regard, though, we leave open the question of whether, in addition to the presence of distinct silent elements (PLACE and DAT) in (10), the *ghe* in (10a) and the *ghe* in (10d) occupy distinct syntactic positions.

¹⁰ We say that this modal is “akin” to that occupied by Italian *bisogna*, as discussed in Benincà & Poletto (1994), but of course one notable difference is that *volere+ghe* has a richer thematic structure, allowing for instantiation of the entity for whom the “need” is relevant (as we will see below in the discussion of the benefactive reading); this contrasts with *bisogna*, which seems to have no thematic structure whatsoever (and so cannot take argumental clitics: *(*gli) bisogna comprare il pane* ‘(*to him) it is necessary to buy bread’).

¹¹ Two related questions arise here: one regards the definition of “licensing” (so, what does it mean for *ghe* to license *Deon*⁰), and the other regards the structural configuration of the licenser and licensee (so, what is the syntactic relation between the two). Let us assume for the present purposes that “X licenses Y” simply means that “Y is not licit without the presence of X.” Let us also assume (for the present purposes) that X licenses Y if X selects Y (so X is in an immediate c-command relationship with Y).

¹² From hereon in we use the subscript notation to distinguish the various uses of *ghe* (e.g., *ghe*_{dat}, *ghe*_{deon}, *ghe*_{have}, *ghe*_{place}, and so forth). It should be recalled, however, that this notation is intended as a shorthand for the more syntactically complex proposals discussed in the text. That is, each of these instances of *ghe* is taken to be the bare form *ghe* occupying a unique functional head (and/or licensing a distinct silent element), itself associated with the relevant semantics, which gives *ghe* its distinct meaning in each case.

¹³ This phenomenon in Paduan contrasts with that found with Italian *volerci*. As can be seen by the following example, the benefactive clitic does not preclude the deontic licenser (*ci*) in Italian:

- (i) *Mi ci_{deon} vogliono due euro.*
 me **ci_{deon}** want two euros
 “Two euros are necessary to me.”

The complementarity of the benefactive (dative) clitic and *ghe_{deon}* reflects a more general phenomenon in Paduan, whereby non-3rd person dative clitics are in complementary distribution with the form *ghe* in various contexts, and are able to license what would be licensed by *ghe* if the non-3rd person dative clitic were absent. This can be seen for example with the behavior of the partitive in Paduan, which as we saw in (2e) (repeated here as (ii)), is pronominalized with the cluster of clitics *ghe ne* (see Benincà 2007), in contrast with Italian, whose partitive clitic is simply *ne*:

- (ii) *El ghe ne canta do.* (Italian: *Ne canta due.*)
 SCL **ghe ne** sings two
 “He sings two of them (for him)”

Note that in the presence of a dative clitic (e.g., a benefactive), the *ghe* disappears:

- (iii) *El me ne canta do.*
 SCL **me ne** sings two
 “He sings two of them for me.”

Unsurprisingly, (ii) is ambiguous between ‘He sings two of them’ and ‘He sings two of them for him.’ See remainder of text discussion.

¹⁴ This in turn requires, for Paduan, that a subject clitic (or a lexical subject) be present (this does not hold for Italian, the equivalent of (15) of which is *Vuole due euro*).

¹⁵ We ask the reader to put aside for the moment the *ghe_{dat}* seen in the lower Z-head in (18); we will be in a better position to comment on this aspect of the hypothesis shortly.

¹⁶ See Tortora 2002; to appear for arguments that this is a low, VP-external functional head that is found among the functional projections hosting the lower aspectual adverbs.

¹⁷ We assume that the vowel *a* in *as* in (21) is an epenthetic vowel, given that the string becomes *sa* when the impersonal clitic precedes a verb beginning in an s-stop cluster, as in (i):

- (i) *Sa sta bej.*
si is well.
 “One is well.”

¹⁸ We thank an anonymous reviewer for noting that the version without agreement is not possible in Catalan, thus clarifying that the two options seen in (26) are not available for all Romance languages.