

# Towards a Finer-Grained Theory of Italian Participial Clausal Architecture

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## 1 Introduction

Much of the recent literature on clitic placement in the Romance languages is converging on the idea that the clause contains three different domains for complement clitic placement. Benincà (2006), for example, provides arguments based on Medieval Romance for a complement clitic placement site in the C-domain (see also Benincà, 1983 and Uriagereka, 1995); Kayne (1989, 1991) gives arguments based on French and Italian for complement clitic placement in the I-domain (see also Martins, 1994 for Portuguese); and, more recently, Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004), Cardinaletti (2008), Ledgeway and Lombardi (2004), and Tortora (2000, 2002, to appear) provide evidence for a relatively low clitic placement site, immediately outside the VP (the V-domain). The question of whether all three domains (C, I, and V) could be available for complement clitics in a single language, or whether languages only make available one or the other domain, is an empirical question which needs to be examined on a language by language basis. A related theoretical question (but one which we do not address in this paper) is why some languages utilize one domain and not the others.

There is a separate question, however, regarding whether or not non-finite clauses are like finite clauses in terms of complement clitic placement. That is, could a non-finite clause in principle have any one of these three domains available (depending on the language)? Or, in contrast with finite clauses, is there a universal lack of availability of the C- and I-domains for complement clitic placement in non-finite clauses? In this paper, we focus on participial clauses, and discuss evidence from clitic placement in Italian that these clauses are missing the higher Inflectional Field, and are thus missing the high clitic placement site found in finite clauses; as such, only the low, V-domain is available for complement clitic placement in such clauses. Our findings thus contradict the claim made in Shlonsky (2004:332), namely, that clitics in non-finite clauses adjoin to the same head to which they adjoin in finite clauses. In a sense, then, one of our aims in this paper is to show that certain clitic phenomena allow us to work towards a better understanding of which portion of the structure is available in participial clauses (thus contributing to our understanding of the structure of participial clauses). In other words, we wish to use the behavior of clitics in participial vs. finite clauses as a probe to understanding clausal architecture.

The paper is organized as follows: in section 2.1, we present evidence from the behavior of Impersonal *si* for low clitic placement in Italian participial clauses. In section 2.2, we support the conclusion drawn in section 2.1 by examining the behavior of the clitic *ci* as it is used with the Italian verb *volerci* ‘to be necessary.’ We show that the behavior and interpretation of this verb in participial clauses (which is more restricted than that found in finite clauses) is best understood if we take participial clauses to have no access to the higher inflectional field. Section 3 concludes.

## 2 Evidence for a Low Clitic Placement Site in Italian Participial Clauses

Based on various phenomena exhibited by finite and participial clauses in Borgomanerese (a Piedmontese dialect), Tortora (to appear) concludes that non-finite clauses in Romance in general must have a relatively low clitic placement site. This work does not, however, provide direct evidence for this claim from any specific language (other than Borgomanerese itself, and Romanian, the discussion the latter of which is inspired by Săvescu, 2007). In this paper, we begin the task of providing direct evidence for this claim for Italian. Specifically, we discuss two apparently unrelated clitic phenomena which independently indicate that only the lower domain for clitic placement is available in Italian and Paduan participial clauses. The claim is that the I-domain is simply

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not available in participial clauses, because participial verbs do not project the “higher” functional structure, which is associated with tense and person agreement. If this claim is on the right track, then we predict certain clitics—those which can only be associated with the higher functional field—to be unavailable in participial clauses. As we shall see, this prediction is borne out independently in two different constructions. We begin with impersonal *si* in section 2.1.

## 2.1 Impersonal *si*

Burzio (1986) identifies four different uses of the morphological form *si* in Italian, which he calls Reflexive *si*, Ergative *si*, Inherent *si*, and Impersonal *si*, and which are exemplified in (1):

- |  |                      |
|--|----------------------|
| (1) a. Maria <b>si</b> vede.<br>Maria si sees<br>‘Maria sees herself.’           | Reflexive <i>si</i>  |
| b. Il vetro <b>si</b> rompe.<br>the glass si breaks<br>‘The glass breaks.’       | Ergative <i>si</i>   |
| c. Maria <b>si</b> sbaglia.<br>Maria si mistakes<br>‘Maria is making a mistake.’ | Inherent <i>si</i>   |
| d. <b>Si</b> mangia bene qui.<br>si eats well here<br>‘One eats well here.’      | Impersonal <i>si</i> |

The morpheme *si* thus has various functions in Italian; for our purposes, it is also necessary to point out that the different functions can correlate with a different syntax. For example, Impersonal *si* (henceforth *si<sub>imp</sub>*), in contrast with the other *si* forms, has a different placement with respect to object clitics. As can be seen by the examples in (2), while Reflexive *si* (henceforth *si<sub>refl</sub>*) occurs to the left of the object clitic *lo* (2a), *si<sub>imp</sub>* must occur to the right of *lo* (2b):<sup>1</sup>

- |   |                      |
|---|----------------------|
| (2) a. <b>Se</b> lo manda domani.<br>si it sends tomorrow<br>‘He’ll send it to himself tomorrow.’ | Reflexive <i>si</i>  |
| b. Lo <b>si</b> dice volentieri.<br>it si says with pleasure<br>‘One says it with pleasure.’      | Impersonal <i>si</i> |

Given the different syntactic positions of *si* exemplified in (2), the question arises as to what the syntactic position of *si<sub>imp</sub>* is, in contrast with that of *si<sub>refl</sub>*. In this regard, there is indirect evidence from Borgomanerese that *si<sub>imp</sub>* has a relatively high position, in contrast with object clitics. Very briefly: Borgomanerese is what Tortora (2002) calls a “generalized enclisis” language; that is, all object clitics occur “enclitically” (either to the right of the verb, or to the right of certain adverbs). This holds true for Borgomanerese *si<sub>refl</sub>* as well, as can be seen by the Borgomanerese example in (3a) (where *si<sub>refl</sub>* is enclitic on the verb *vônga* ‘sees’).<sup>2</sup> However, if we look at the example in (3b), we see that *si<sub>imp</sub>* syntactically behaves like no other object clitic in Borgomanerese; rather, like all subject clitics, it appears to the left of the verb.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Note that when *si* precedes *lo*, it surfaces as the form *se*. We do not discuss this phenomenon further.

<sup>2</sup>SCL = subject clitic

<sup>3</sup>A careful examination of the examples reveals that the reflexive and impersonal forms are different in Borgomanerese, the reflexive form being *si* and the impersonal form being (*a*)*s* (with the *a* arguably an epenthetic vowel, given that the form is *sa* when it precedes s-stop clusters: *Sa sta bej chilonsé=si* ‘One feels good here’; cf. (3b) above). The fact that different forms are used for Impersonal *si* vs. Reflexive *si* (something common in Piedmontese varieties; see Parry, 1998) is not unexpected, given their different syntactic positions. That the different syntactic positions can (but do not necessarily have to) correlate with different morphological forms is reminiscent of Zanuttini’s (1997) findings concerning post-verbal negative markers in Romance varieties; as Zanuttini notes, some varieties use two different morphological forms (one for the presupposi-



clitics adjoin in Borgomanerese (see Tortora, 2002), a strictly V-domain language.

If this hypothesis is on the right track, then  $si_{imp}$  should be impossible in participial clauses, under the independent hypothesis that such clauses only contain a lower clitic placement domain (due to the unavailability of the higher functional structure); in the syntactic tree in (4), the curved line is intended to indicate the portion of the higher functional structure which is cut off in a participial clause (the portion of the structure above the curved line being the I-domain, and the portion below the curved line being the V-domain; see footnote 5). Thus,  $si_{imp}$  is represented as occupying the portion of the clause that we hypothesize is missing in participial clauses.

Now let us review some examples from Burzio (1986:194–195), which show that the prediction that  $si_{imp}$  should be impossible in participial clauses is borne out. In order to understand how the prediction is borne out, let us first look at his example of the use of  $si_{imp}$  and  $si_{refl}$  in Italian finite clauses in the example in (5):

- (5) Gli individui [che  $si_{imp/refl}$  erano presentati al direttore] furono poi assunti.  
 the individuals that  $si$  were presented to.the director were then hired  
 ‘The individuals that one had introduced to the director...’ Impersonal  $si$   
 ‘The individuals that had introduced themselves to the...’ Reflexive  $si$

As can be seen by this example, when the morpheme  $si$  is embedded in a finite relative clause (the clause in square brackets), it is interpreted either as Impersonal  $si$  or as Reflexive  $si$  (such that the sentence is ambiguous, as can be seen by the translations). Now let us look at an example with the morpheme  $si$  embedded in a participial relative clause:

- (6) Gli individui [presentati- $si_{imp/refl}$  al direttore] furono poi assunti.  
 the individuals presented- $si$  to.the director were then hired  
 \*‘The individuals that one had introduced to the director...’ Impersonal  $si$   
 ‘The individuals that had introduced themselves to the...’ Reflexive  $si$

As can be seen by the example in (6), when the morpheme  $si$  is embedded in a participial relative clause (again, the clause in square brackets), it can only be interpreted as Reflexive  $si$ . The lower (Z) head is thus available for placement of the clitic  $si$ , but in this position it will only be associated with the reflexive interpretation. This follows from the hypothesis that the participial clause does not contain the domain in which this clitic, in its function as an impersonal, is placed. The data thus support the hypothesis that participial clauses make only the lower clitic placement domain available, in contrast with finite clauses.

Now let us turn to what we believe is a related phenomenon regarding the clitic  $ci$  in the Italian verb *volerci* ‘to be necessary.’ As we will show, the facts revolving around this clitic in this construction support what we just concluded based on the behavior of Impersonal  $si$ .

## 2.2 *Volerci*

In this section we discuss another piece of evidence that Italian participial clauses have a missing higher Infl Field; this time the evidence comes from the behavior of the clitic  $ci$  with the Italian verb *volerci* (see Russi, 2006 for an analysis of this verb). *Volerci* consists of the verb *volere* ‘want’ plus the clitic  $ci$ , and translates roughly as ‘to be needed/necessary,’ as can be seen by the example in (7):

- (7) Ci vogliono due euro.  
 ci want two euros  
 ‘Two euros are necessary.’

The first thing we would like to note is that the clitic  $ci$ , like the morpheme  $si$ , has numerous functions in Italian. As the examples in (8) show, it can be used as a 1<sup>st</sup> person plural accusative (8a), a 1<sup>st</sup> person plural dative (8b), a deictic locative (8c), the existential locative (8d), or as a replace-

ment for the Reflexive morpheme *si*, when it appears with Impersonal *si* (see Cinque, 1995):<sup>6</sup>

- |   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| (8) a. <b>Ci</b> vedono.<br>ci they-see<br>'They see us.'                               | 1st pers. pl. accusative  |
| b. <b>Ci</b> parlano.<br>ci they-speak<br>'They talk to us.'                            | 1st pers. pl. dative      |
| c. <b>Ci</b> vado domani.<br>ci I-go tomorrow<br>'I'll go there tomorrow.'              | Deictic locative          |
| d. <b>Ci</b> sono tre libri.<br>ci are 3 books<br>'There are 3 books.'                  | Existential locative      |
| e. <b>Ci</b> <i>si</i> vede.<br>ci <i>si</i> <sub>imp</sub> sees<br>'One sees oneself.' | replacement for reflexive |

Given these different (sometimes seemingly entirely unrelated) uses of the clitic morpheme *ci*, we would like to recall at this point the hypothesis we put forth earlier (in the context of our discussion of *si*) on ambiguous morphemes: a clitic which serves multiple functions (such as Italian *ci*) occupies distinct functional heads, depending on its semantics, or depending on the syntax and semantics of the element it licenses. In other words, we should not conclude from a list of examples such as those in (8) that there are (at least) five homophonous *ci* morphemes. Rather, we propose that there is one morpheme, *ci*, and its apparently distinct meanings/uses actually derive from the fact that it is associated with different functional heads (which themselves carry the relevant semantic content), or with different “silent” morphemes (in the sense of Kayne, 2005) in the syntactic structure—again, which themselves carry the relevant semantics. Under the latter view, the structure in (8b) would differ from the structure in (8c) in that the clitic *ci* in the former licenses a silent DATIVE morpheme, while the clitic *ci* in the latter licenses a silent LOCATIVE morpheme (see Kayne, 2007 for inspiration for this idea).<sup>7</sup>

Given this view of *ci*, we would like to put forth the proposal that the verb *volerci* ‘to be necessary’ is not idiomatic; rather, we propose that its meaning is derived compositionally from the meaning of the verb *volere* ‘want,’ combined with a relatively high modal head encoding deontic semantics (which we label *Deon*<sup>0</sup>), 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). Let us say that *Deon*<sup>0</sup> is licensed by *ci* (also structurally high), and let us use the short-hand “*ci*<sub>deon</sub>” to refer to the clitic *ci* when it is performing this function (see footnote 4 above). We illustrate this idea in the structure in (9) for Italian:

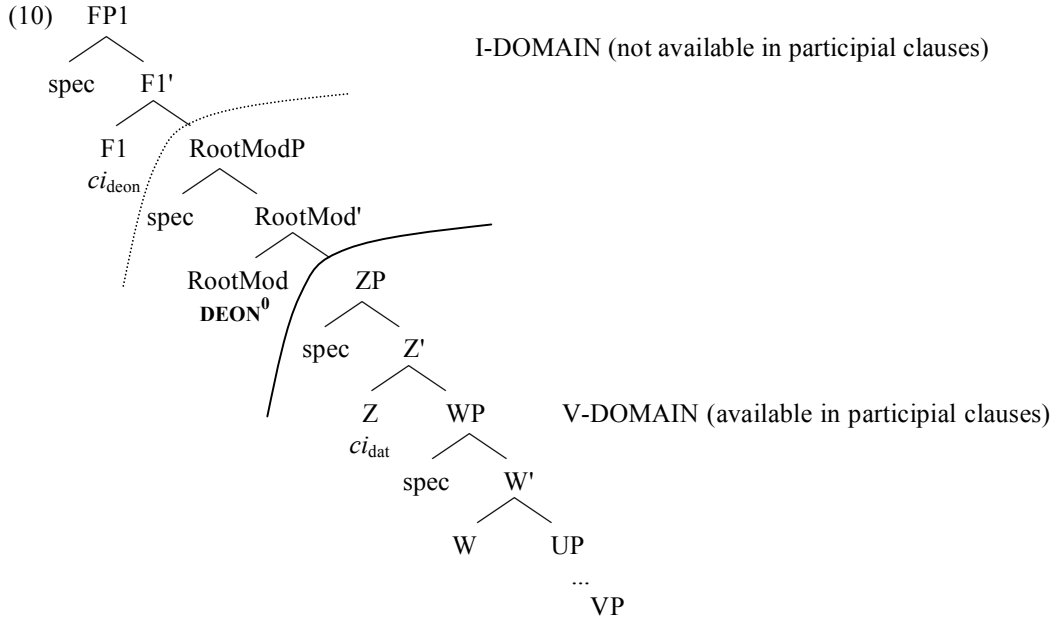
- (9) [AgrsP ... [FP1 ... [FP2 ... **ci** [RootModP *Deon*<sup>0</sup> [FP3 *vuole* ] ] ] ] ]

As we saw in section 2.1 with *si*<sub>imp</sub>, if the idea sketched in (9) is on the right track, then *ci*<sub>deon</sub> should be impossible in participial clauses, under the hypothesis that such clauses only contain a

<sup>6</sup>This list of different uses is by no means exhaustive; there are numerous other cases where *ci* is used as an oblique argument, sometimes giving the verb it appears with an idiomatic sense; in other cases its use as an oblique detransitivizes the verb (e.g., Non **ci** vede = neg *ci* sees = ‘He can’t see.’).

<sup>7</sup>Alternatively, as just noted, it could be that the structure in (8b) differs from that in (8c) in that *ci* in the former resides in a functional head which itself yields the dative semantic content, while *ci* in the latter resides in a functional head which itself yields the locative semantic content. The idea is similar to that in the text, but they are not identical; under this hypothesis (as opposed to the text hypothesis), there is no positing of a separate silent morpheme in a syntactic position distinct from the position occupied by the clitic. The hypothesis described in this footnote is thus like that proposed by Zanuttini (1997) for the two different negative markers *pa* in Valdostain (see footnote 3 above). While we do not commit to either idea, for the purposes of this paper we will adopt the idea in the text, namely, that there is a separate silent morpheme licensed by the clitic.

lower clitic placement domain (due to the missing higher functional structure). We illustrate this idea in (10):



In this tree, the solid curved line is intended to indicate the portion of the higher functional structure which is cut off in a participial clause.<sup>8</sup> With this part of the clause cut off, participial clauses should have no place for licensing *ci<sub>deon</sub>* to reside; as such, *volerci* should be impossible in participial clauses.

We now turn to some novel data which show that this prediction is borne out. However, the way in which it is borne out for different kinds of speakers in Italian requires some discussion. We begin with the fact that for a number of speakers of Italian, *volerci* is simply not possible in participial clauses (the prediction thus being straightforwardly borne out for these speakers). This can be seen by the ungrammaticality of (11), which contains a participial relative clause (in square brackets) headed by the participial form of *volerci*:

- (11) \*La pasta [ voluta-ci ] era troppa. (Italian)  
 the pasta wanted-ci was too much  
 ‘The pasta necessary was too much.’

In (11), *ci<sub>deon</sub>* is not possible, by hypothesis because the participial clause does not contain the domain in which this clitic, in this function, is placed.

Now, however, we would like to discuss a complication exhibited by Paduan-Italian speakers, for whom (11) is marginally acceptable. It is important to note that these speakers find (11) somewhat acceptable only with a benefactive interpretation, ‘for us’; we illustrate this Paduan-Italian judgment in (12):

- (12) ?La pasta [ voluta-ci ] era troppa. (Paduan-Italian)  
 the pasta wanted-ci was too much  
 ‘The pasta necessary was too much for us.’

The question thus arises as to where this 1<sup>st</sup> person plural benefactive reading comes from; let us address this question here. In order to understand the issue, especially in the context of the proposal put forth in this paper, we must first understand the grammar of Paduan’s equivalent of *vol-*

<sup>8</sup>It will become evident momentarily, in our discussion of Paduan, why we placed a dotted curved line above the RootMod head. We will also explain later the possibility of *ci<sub>dat</sub>* in the Z head in (10).

*erci*.

Paduan has a near-equivalent of Italian *volerci*, using instead the clitic *ghe*:<sup>9</sup>

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

As can be seen by the translation in (13), in contrast with the equivalent Italian example in (7), Paduan *volerghe* brings with it an optional 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular benefactive reading, ‘for him/her.’ The reason for this becomes clear once we consider two facts. First, note that the clitic *ghe* also functions as the 3<sup>rd</sup> person dative clitic in Paduan:

- (14) **Ghe** dago un libro.  
 him I-give a book  
 ‘I’m giving him a book.’

Second, while Paduan resembles Italian in its use of *volere* + *ci/ghe* to form a deontic verb, the two varieties differ in a notable respect: as can be seen in (15), if a benefactive clitic is chosen in Italian (e.g., *mi* ‘me’), it must co-occur with the *ci*<sub>deon</sub>. However, in Paduan, a benefactive clitic is in complementary distribution with *ghe*<sub>deon</sub>, as can be seen in (16) (with the clitic *me* ‘me’):<sup>10</sup>

- |  |         |
|--|---------|
| (15) <b>Mi</b> <i>ci</i> <sub>deon</sub> vogliono due euro.<br>me ci want two euros<br>‘Two euros are necessary for me.’   | Italian |
| (16) <b>Me</b> (* <i>ghe</i> <sub>deon</sub> ) vole do euro.<br>me ghe want two euros<br>‘Two euros are necessary for me.’ | Paduan  |

As (16) shows, the meaning of the verb is preserved, even when *ghe* is missing. This suggests that the benefactive clitic in Paduan has the ability to license Deon<sup>0</sup> (in contrast with Italian).<sup>11</sup>

These two facts (i.e., the specific nature of *ghe*’s ambiguity, and the complementarity between *ghe*<sub>deon</sub> and the benefactive clitic, together with the fact that absence of *ghe*<sub>deon</sub> in the presence of the benefactive does not change the meaning of this verb) are thus what renders the Paduan sentence in (13) ambiguous between ‘Two euros are necessary’ and ‘Two euros are necessary for him.’ That is, the *ghe* in (13) could either be *ghe*<sub>deon</sub> or *ghe*<sub>dat</sub> ((17) and (18), respectively), with Deon<sup>0</sup> present in both structures:

- (17) **Ghe**<sub>deon</sub> vole do euro.  
*ghe*<sub>deon</sub> wants two euros  
 ‘Two euros are necessary.’
- (18) **Ghe**<sub>dat</sub> vole do euro.  
*ghe*<sub>dat</sub> wants two euros  
 ‘Two euros are necessary for him.’

Aside from these differences between Italian and Paduan, though, we assume that Paduan *voler-*

<sup>9</sup>As we will see in a moment, like many clitics in Romance (such as Italian *si* and *ci*), *ghe* is ambiguous, serving different functions, depending on the context.

<sup>10</sup>This reflects a more general phenomenon in Paduan, whereby non-3<sup>rd</sup> 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-3<sup>rd</sup> person dative clitic were absent.

<sup>11</sup>We leave open the question of whether or not the complementarity of the two clitics indicates that they occupy the same syntactic head or not. We also leave open the question of why the benefactive serves the function of “licensor” of Deon<sup>0</sup> in Paduan, but not in Italian.

*ghe* involves essentially the same structure that we saw for Italian in (9) and (10) (see also footnote 11):

- (19) [<sub>AgrsP</sub> ... [<sub>FP1</sub> ... [<sub>FP2</sub> ... {*ghe/me*} [<sub>RootModP</sub> Deon<sup>0</sup> [<sub>FP3</sub> *vole* ] ] ] ] ] ]

Given what we now know about Paduan *volerghe*, it should not be surprising that Paduan-Italian speakers, who, as we saw, have both the benefactive and non-benefactive reading of (13) (i.e., they have both structures (17) and (18) available to them), also allow a benefactive reading for the Italian sentence in (7), repeated here as (20), but with the translations that are possible for Paduan-Italian speakers (cf. (7)):

- (20) **Ci** vogliono due euro. (Paduan-Italian)  
 ci want two euros  
 ‘Two euros are necessary (for us).’

In other words, just as we saw for Paduan (17) and (18), these speakers can interpret the *ci* of *volerci* either as *ci<sub>deon</sub>* or as a 1<sup>st</sup> person plural benefactive, which we will call “*ci<sub>dat</sub>*” (see (8b)):

- (21) **Ci<sub>deon</sub>** vogliono due euro.  
*ci<sub>deon</sub>* want two euros  
 ‘Two euros are necessary.’
- (22) **Ci<sub>dat</sub>** vogliono due euro.  
*ci<sub>dat</sub>* want two euros  
 ‘Two euros are necessary for us.’

That said, now let us return to our observation regarding Paduan-Italian speakers, and the fact that (11) is marginally acceptable for these speakers, with a benefactive interpretation (see (12)); we repeat this datum here as (23) (cf. (11)):

- (23) La pasta [ *voluta-ci* ] era troppa. (Paduan-Italian)  
 the pasta wanted-ci was too much  
 \*‘The pasta necessary was too much.’  
 ?‘The pasta necessary for us was too much.’

That is, Paduan-Italian speakers allow Italian *volerci* in a past participial clause (in contrast with Italian speakers), but in this case, only the benefactive reading is preserved (note the translations). This is found not only with participial relatives, as in (23), but also with absolute small clauses, as in (24):

- (24) *Voluta-ci* troppa pasta, ...  
 wanted-ci too much pasta,  
 \*‘Too much pasta having been necessary, ...’  
 ‘Too much pasta having been necessary for us, ...’

Now we are in a position to state why it is the case that Paduan-Italian speakers (in contrast with Italian speakers) accept Italian *volerci* in a participial clause (albeit with a restricted, benefactive interpretation). We would like to suggest that this derives in part from the hypothesis put forth here: past participial clauses only have a lower structure (and thus only a low clitic placement site). Like we saw for *si<sub>imp</sub>* in section 2.1 above, the high clitic placement site for *ci<sub>deon</sub>* is absent in such clauses. Regarding the question of why the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural (benefactive) interpretation is possible for these (Paduan-Italian) speakers, we would like to further suggest that the low (V-domain) clitic placement site (namely, the Z head) is available for “argumental” clitics (i.e., clitics that are linked with arguments); as such, speakers who allow the benefactive reading of *ci* will be forced to interpret the low *ci* in participial clauses as an argument.

A question which remains is why the sentence in (23) is grammatical at all (with the special



benefactive interpretation), if the portion of the structure above the solid curved-line in (10) is missing in participial clauses (as we argued for Italian). In other words, why is the sentence not simply ungrammatical, as it is for non-Paduan-Italian speakers? We tentatively suggest that this could be because such speakers “cut off” the clausal architecture at a slightly higher point in the tree, namely, the portion above the dotted curved line in (10). We propose this in order to account for why the deontic meaning of *volerci* is still possible in these structures. This proposal, if at all on the right track, of course raises the question of cross-linguistic differences in what portions of the clause are available in non-finite clauses, a question which we leave open for now.<sup>12</sup>

### 3 Conclusion

Proclisis and enclisis in Italian correlate with finiteness and non-finiteness, such that non-finite verb forms take enclitics, while finite verb forms take proclitics. We hope to have shown that the interpretive differences found between proclitic and enclitic structures in Italian reveal that (at least) participial clauses have a different architecture from finite clauses, such that the higher portion of the structure in the former is arguably missing (or present, but inactive). The question of exactly which portion of the functional structure is available in participial clauses is a matter for further investigation, but we believe that closer examination of clitic behavior and interpretation, of the type we have engaged in in this paper, is a promising avenue for revealing answers to this question. We also hope that the discussion in this paper initiates a way of exploring how Italian clitic placement facts—and subtle issues of clitic interpretation—can reveal that the clause has more than one clitic placement site, and specifically, that enclisis in participial clauses indicates a lower clitic placement site than that which we find in finite clauses. More generally, we might argue that the “V-domain” (or, the “low periphery”) can only host clitics of a certain type—perhaps just argumental clitics (see Benincà, 2006). In contrast, the higher “I-domain” contains clitics that instantiate the functional and modal heads found in the higher functional field.

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<sup>12</sup>An alternative hypothesis is simply that both varieties (Italian and Paduan-Italian) have the dotted curved line in (10) as the cut-off point for participial clauses. The difference between the two would then be that non-Paduan-Italian speakers interpret the sentence in (23) as ungrammatical simply because there is no mechanism for these speakers to interpret *ci* as a benefactive.

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