<table>
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<th>The Left Projection of the Small Clause in Old Italian: The Derivation by the Two-Phase Configuration</th>
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<td>Ueno, Takahumi</td>
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The Left Projection of the Small Clause in Old Italian

—The Derivation by the Two-Phase Configuration—

Takafumi UENO

1. Introduction

Based on the idea that all of the complement clauses in Old Italian are small clauses (SC), Ueno (2017b) analyzes the vP periphery and the SC layer inside the SC following the verbs *parere/sembrare*. In Old Italian which is dominated by the V; syntax, there are two types of movement in non-finite complement clauses: the movement to the CP layer, and the internal shift of the SC which is discussed in Ueno (2017b). Concerning the movement to the vP periphery which exists between the auxiliary and the verb, the verb can become an operator and move to the head of OperatorP/FocusP\(^1\), and up to two elements can move to the vP periphery\(^2\):

(1) the vP Periphery

```
SC
  ↓
TP
  ↓
INF (Aux)
  ↓
(YP)
```

```
TopicP
  ↓
OperatorP
  ↓
(XP)
```

```
Operator
  ↓
Operator'
  ↓
(vP)
```

```
PRN
  ↓
pro
```

```
VP
  ↓
V'
```

On the other hand, in the SC layer the infinitive becomes an operator and moves to the head of the OperatorP, and at the same time, one element is preposed to the SC layer, as illustrated in (2).

Concerning the subject movement in the SC, the null subject *pro*, the expletive subject (EXP) and the overt subject (Subj) could be the obligatory preposed element. These subjects move to the TP-internal Topic/Focus position or the CP layer, as shown in (3).

Based on these analyses, this paper discusses the movement to the CP layer in NCC including
the SC layer

\[ \text{SC} \]

\[ \text{OperatorP} \]

\[ \text{XP} \]

\[ \text{Operator'} \]

\[ \text{INF (V)} \]

\[ \text{TP} \]

\[ \text{VP} \]

\[ \text{PRN} \]

\[ \text{pro} \]

\[ \text{V'} \]

\[ \text{INF} \]

\[ \text{XP} \]

(3) the subject movement

\[ \text{CP} \]

\[ \text{OperatorP} \]

\[ \text{EXP/Subj/pro} \]

\[ \text{SC} \]

\[ \text{TP} \]

\[ \text{INF (Aux)} \]

\[ \text{EXP/Subj/pro} \]

\[ \text{yP} \]

\[ \text{...} \]

\[ \text{PRN/DP} \]

\[ \text{EXP/Subj/pro} \]

the verbs parere/sembrare in Old Italian. This paper analyses the position ⊗ of the structure (4)\textsuperscript{3}, and an example is shown as in (5):

(4) \[ [CP \text{⊕} [\text{TP parere/sembrare}][\text{SC} \text{⊕} \text{[Subj] [PRN [\text{TP INF}] \text{⊕} [\text{V}]]}] \]

(5) \[ [CP [\text{morta} [\text{TP ti pare}][\text{SC} [\text{Subj} [\text{PRN [\text{TP essere [\text{V morta}]}]]]]]] \]

\[ \text{die.PastP to.you seems.3sg to.be} \]

"it seems that you have been dead" \[ \text{[Convivio, 2-11-3]} \]

In this paper, the two-phase configuration will be proposed in order to explain the multiple movements.

2. The Corpora

The corpora used in this paper are same as ones used by Ueno (2017b), as shown in Table 1. In Table 1, "V" indicates the appearance frequency of the verbs parere and sembrare; "CC" the appearance frequency and the ratio of the complement clause; "FCC" the appearance frequency of the finite complement clause and the appearance ratio in the CC; "NCC" the appearance frequency of the non-finite complement clause and the appearance ratio in the CC. "Pers." means the personal construction, and the number indicates the appearance frequency and the appearance ratio
in the NCC, and "Impers." is the impersonal construction.

Table 1: The corpora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>CC(Freq.)</th>
<th>FCC(Freq.)</th>
<th>NCC(Freq.)</th>
<th>Pers.(Freq.)</th>
<th>Imper.(Freq.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brunetto Latini, <em>La retorica</em> (1260) [Latin]</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>70(68.0%)</td>
<td>67(95.7%)</td>
<td>3(4.3%)</td>
<td>3(100.0%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bono Giamboni, <em>Il libro de' vizi e delle virtudi</em> (1270) [Giamboni]</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7(31.8%)</td>
<td>6(85.7%)</td>
<td>1(14.3%)</td>
<td>1(100.0%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novellino (1281-1300) [Nov.]</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6(27.3%)</td>
<td>6(100.0%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dante Alighieri, <em>Convivio</em> (1304) [Convivio]</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>68(48.2%)</td>
<td>14(20.6%)</td>
<td>54(39.4%)</td>
<td>44(81.5%)</td>
<td>10(18.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Villani, <em>Nuova cronica</em> (1322) [Villani]</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>76(49.0%)</td>
<td>36(47.4%)</td>
<td>40(52.6%)</td>
<td>4(10.0%)</td>
<td>36(90.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Boccaccio, <em>Decameron</em> (1348-1353) [Deca]</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>270(52.3%)</td>
<td>123(45.6%)</td>
<td>147(54.4%)</td>
<td>4(2.7%)</td>
<td>143(97.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Caterina da Siena, <em>Dialogo della provvidenza ovvero libro della divina dottrina</em> (1378) [Siena]</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>97(79.5%)</td>
<td>60(61.9%)</td>
<td>37(31.8%)</td>
<td>0(0.0%)</td>
<td>37(100.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leon Battista Alberti, <em>Della Famiglia</em> (1432) [Fam.]</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>65(53.3%)</td>
<td>32(49.2%)</td>
<td>33(50.8%)</td>
<td>3(9.1%)</td>
<td>30(90.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1203</td>
<td>659(54.8%)</td>
<td>344(52.2%)</td>
<td>315(47.8%)</td>
<td>59(18.7%)</td>
<td>256(81.3%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. The Left Periphery of Non-Finite Complement Clauses in Old Italian

On the assumption that the CC constructions following the verb *parere/*semmbrare* in Old Italian derive from the SC structure, I endeavor to analyze them from the perspective of the movement of elements. In Old Italian which is dominated by V; syntax, there are two types of movement in NCCs: the internal shift of the SC [to SC] and the movement to the CP layer [to CP].

Table 2: The moving position of elements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>NCC</th>
<th>[to SC]</th>
<th>[to CP]</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Latin]</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Giamboni]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Convivio]</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Villani]</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Deca.]</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Siena]</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Fam.]</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the corpus the most common is the movement to the CP. Although the occurrence of movement differs depending on the corpus, it can be said that to move any elements apart from the original position is more common in Old Italian. This paper discusses the phenomenon of [to CP], as the phenomenon of [to SC] has been analyzed in Ueno (2017b).

Concerning Old Italian, Benincà & Poletto (2010: 30) propose the following unmarked CP layer:

\[(\text{Relwh}) \_ \text{che} \_ \text{T}_1 \_ \text{Frame/ HT} \_ \text{T}_1 \_ \text{Op} \_ \text{Oper/OpFocus} \_ \text{che/VT}_1 \# \_ \text{subject} \_ \text{V} \_ \text{Nom} \_ \text{T}_0^c\]

Poletto (2014: 3) points out that Old Italian has the property of attracting the inflected verb to a Focus head, and the head targeted is the one whose specifier contains an XP.

First, elements moving to the CP layer in the corpus is shown in Table 3\(^\circ\). The movement to
Table 3: The elements moving to CP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>NCC</th>
<th>Subj</th>
<th>Pred</th>
<th>IO</th>
<th>INF</th>
<th>PastP</th>
<th>Comp.</th>
<th>AdvP</th>
<th>Total (Freq.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Latin]</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (33.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Convido]</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>31 (57.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Villani]</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13 (32.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Deca]</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>80 (54.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Sienna]</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6 (16.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Fam.]</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23 (70.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>154 (49.1%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the CP layer accounts for 49.1% of the total corpus, and approximately half elements move to the CP layer. The elements which emerge in the CP layer are subjects (Subj) and predicates (Pred) of the SC, focused indirect objects (IO), infinitives (INF) in the SC, past participles (PastP) in the VP of SC, complements or direct objects of the infinitive (Comp.), and adverb Phrases (AdvP). It follows that almost every element can move to the CP layer.

3.1. The Movement of a Single Element

3.1.1 The subjects, the focused indirect objects, and the predicates

The fact that the subject and the focused indirect object raise to the left position of parere/sembrare in Old Italian is same as Modern Italian, but supposed the idea that the inflected verb is an operator in Old Italian, it could be said that the derivation is different from Modern Italian. As mentioned (3) above, the subject of the SC can also appear in the vP periphery and the SC layer. From this it would be necessary to configure the diphasic derivation⁶:

(7) Phase 1: non gli parea [sc [oper messer Corso Donati [oper esser]]] # [vP esser cosi grande in Comune

Phase 2: [oper messer Corso Donati [oper non gli parea]

Majesty Corso Donati not to.him seemed.3sg

[sc messer Corso Donati esser cosi grande in Comune
to.be very great in commonwealth' [Villani, 266]

In the phase 1 of (7), the infinitive essere becomes an operator and the subject of the SC moves to the SC layer. And then, the inflected verb parea becomes an operator and the subject raises to the CP layer. In this manner two operators, inflected verb and infinitive, exist in the SC structure. Because of this, the two-phase configuration can be proposed regarding the movement of elements inside the SC.

On the other hand, the focused indirect object undergoes one operation of movement, since it is involved only with the inflected verb parere.

(8) [oper a me [oper parebbe]] # [vP parebbe a me [sc star bene
to.me seems.3sg. to.stay fine

"it would seem to me to be fine" [Deca., 873]

The sentence (8) indicates that the inflected verb parebbe becomes an operator, and the

"it would seem to me to be fine" [Deca., 873]
experiencer a me raises to the Spec of OperatorP. I assume that the raising of IO and Subj of Old Italian is same as Modern Italian on the surface structure in spite of the different derivation.

The movement of the predicates receives the two-phase operation:

\[(9) \text{ Phase 1: } \text{vi par} [\text{sc \ Op}_{\text{cortesia}} \text{ [Op}_{\text{fare}] } ] [\text{vp \ fare il negar di voler con loro desinare}] [\text{op \ cortesia}]\]

\[\text{Phase 2: } [\text{op \ cortesia} \text{ [op \ vi \ par]} ] [\text{tp \ vi \ par}]
\text{courtesy to you seems.3sg.}
[sc \ cortesia fare il negar di voler con loro desinare cortesia to make the deny of wish with their dinner}
"it seems courtesy to make a denial of the wish with their dinner"

\[\text{Deca., 943}\]

3.1.2 The infinitives and the past participles

Some suggestive evidence that the inflected verbs copulas parere/sembrare are in the position of the head of TP comes from the following example:

\[(10) \text{ciò che fatto avea e che saper gli parea}
\text{this that made had and that to know to him seemed.3sg}
"what he had made and seemed to know"

\[\text{Deca., 642}\]

The sentence (10) contains a coordinate relative clause: the first clause includes the verb fatto and the auxiliary verb avea; the second one, likewise, constitutes from the verb saper and the quasi copula parea. That is, the quasi copula is in the same position as the auxiliary verb: the head of TP. In the sentence (11), however, esser is not a verb but an auxiliary verb”.

\[(11) [\text{cp se [op \ esser [op \ le \ parea]} ] [\text{tp \ le \ parea} ] [\text{sc \ [tp \ t \ esser [vp \ ingannata\]
\text{if to be to her seems.3sg.}
"if she seems to be deceived"

\[\text{Deca., 931}\]

It follows that the infinitive originally appears in two kinds of position: the head of VP, as shown in (12), and the head of TP, as shown in (11).

\[(12) [\text{cp che [op \ saper [op \ gli parea]} ] [\text{tp \ gli \ parea} ] [\text{sc \ [tp \ t \ [vp \ saper]]}]\]

In any case, the movement of the infinitive undergoes a single phase operation.

Since the past participle in the SC is V, it undergoes the two-phase operation:

\[(13) \text{Phase 1: gli pareva [sc [op \ perduta [op \ avere]]] [tp \ avere [vp \ perduta]
\text{to him seemed.3sg. lose PastP to have}
\text{Phase 2: [op \ perduta [op \ gli pareva]] [tp \ gli \ pareva [sc \ avere \ perduta]
"he seemed to have lost"

\[\text{Deca., 711}\]

3.1.3 The complements of the infinitive

The complements of the infinitive can be divided into two kinds of complements: the direct objects of the transitive verb (14a) and the prepositional phrases of the intransitive verb (14b).

\[(14) \text{a niuna resistenza mi parea fare}
\text{no resistance to me seemed.3sg to make}
"it seemed that I made no resistance"

\[\text{Deca., 431}\]
b. nel mondo gli pare essere
in the world to him seems 3sg to be
"it seems that he is in the world"

[Sienna, 149]

Benincà (2006: 64) points out that preposed objects occupy the Spec of FocusP. It would be possible that all complements including preposed objects occupy the Spec of FocusP. The movement of the complements undergoes the two-phase derivation, and the sentence (15) ceases it at the first phase:

(15) gli parve [sc [foc [mattia impresa [Opnp aver]]]# [vp aver fatta mattia impresa
to him seemed 3sg reckless challenge to have make PastP
"it seemed that he has made reckless challenge"

[Decca, 240]

The sentence (15) indicates that the auxiliary verb *aver* in the SC becomes an operator and the direct object *mattia impresa* moves to the SC layer. Thus it follows that the complement in the SC is made to move by the auxiliary verb, not the inflected verb *parve*. After this first phase, the inflected verb becomes an operator and the complement moves to the CP layer. These derivations are illustrated as follows:

(16) a. Phase 1: mi parea [sc [foc [niuna resistenza [Opnp fare]]]# [vp fare niuna resistenza
Phase 2: [foc [niuna resistenza [Opnp mi parea]]]# [tp mi parea [sc niuna resistenza fare
b. Phase 1: gli pare [sc [foc [nel mondo [Opnp essere]]]# [vp essere nel mondo
Phase 2: [foc [nel mondo [Opnp gli pare]]]# [tp gli pare [sc nel mondo essere

3.1.4 Adverb phrases

Concerning the position of adverbs, Cinque (1999) suggests the following ordering:

(17) "Higher" (sentence) AdvPs > "Lower" AdvPs > (DPsub) (V) complements >
Place, time, manner, etc. adverbials > (focused) "Lower" AdvPs > de-accented material
(Cinque (1999: 16))

In the corpus the AdvPs are:

(18) a. "Higher" AdvPs: *meritamente* "naturally"/ *ora* "now"/ *poveramente* "poorly"/ *stranamente*
   "unexpectedly"

b. "Lower" AdvPs: *assai* "rather"/ *così* "so"/ *già* "already"/ *mai* "never"/ *mai più* "never
   again"/ *molto avvedutamente* "very prudently"/ *ottimamente* "highly"/
   *più volte* "over and over/ poi* "then/ quasi* "almost"/ *sempre* "always"/
   *subitamente* "suddenly"/ *talora* "sometimes"/ *tropo* "so"

c. Place, time, manner, etc. adverbials*: *qui* "here"/ *quivi* "there"/ *senza sua colpa* "without
   his fault"/ etc.

The configuration of each AdvP is shown in (19)-(21):

(19) stranamente [tp pareva a tutti [sc [dp madonna Beatrice [vp essere stata maliziaosa
unexpectedly seemed 3sg to everyone Lady Beatrice to be be PastP malicious
"unexpectedly it seemed to everyone that Lady Beatrice was malicious"

[Decca, 657]
(20) [O pers già [O pers le pareva]]# [TP le pareva [SC già [VP star bene already to her seemed 3sg to stay well]

"it seemed that she was already fine" [Deca., 198]

(21) Phase 1: mi pareva [SC [O pers a Pisa [O pers esser]]# [VP esser vostra bagascia a Pisa to me seemed 3sg in Pisa to be your where

Phase 2: [O pers a Pisa [O pers mi pareva]]# [TP mi pareva [SC a Pisa esser vostra bagascia in Pisa it seemed that I was your where" [Deca., 259]

The sentence (19) in which a "Higher" AdvP is in the initial position has no movement. In the sentence (20) containing a "Lower" AdvP, the inflected verb pareva becomes an operator and the AdvP già moves to the CP layer. The movement including the circumstantial adverbials uses the diphase operation such as in (21).

3.2. The movement of multiple elements

3.2.1 The multiple movements to the CP

The movement including AdvPs can be seen most in the multiple movement. The AdvPs are:

(22) a. "Higher" AdvPs: certo "certainly"/ incidentemente "incidentally"/ ora "now"/ per certo "for certain"

b. "Lower" AdvPs: così "so"/ mai "never"/ più "more"/ poi "then/ tanto più "much more"/ troppo "so"

c. Place, time, manner, etc. adverbials: qui "there"/ nel primo di Cielo "in the first of Heaven"/ etc.

These movements are shown as follows:

(23) [O pers nel primo di Cielo [Adv p incidentemente [O pers paia]]#
in the first of Heaven incidentally seems 3sg

[TP paia [SC pro sentire altrimenti nel primo di Cielo (he) feel otherwise "incidentally it seems that he feels otherwise in the first of Heaven" [Convivio, 2-4-3]

(24) Phase 1: parendo alla fante [SC [O pers per la prima broccata [O pers aver]]#

[VP aver ben proccaciato per la prima broccata well fare Past P

Phase 2: [O pers alla fante [O pers per la prima broccata [O pers parendo]]#[TP parendo alla fante ...

"seeming to the maid that it has well fared for the first venue" [Deca., 463]

Since the AdvP incidentemente is a "Higher" adverb in the sentence (23), it doesn't undergo the operation of movement. Only the adverbial nel primo di Cielo in the SC moves to the CP layer. The order about the "Higher" AdvP and the other preposed element XP is as follows:

The sentence (24) is subjected to the two-phase derivation".

Concerning the movement including the infinitive, there are two possibilities in the raising.
Consider the following:

(26) fuor d’un gran pericolo esser le parve
    out of a great danger to be. to her seemed.3sg
    "It seemed that she is out of a great danger"

[Deca., 199]

In the sentence (26), the complement fuor d’un gran pericolo and the infinitive esser which are originally in the SC move to the CP layer. It would be reasonable to suppose that one constituent esser fuor d’un gran pericolo moves together, not separately, because this is one phrase. It is problematical when to invert the infinitive and the complement. One solution is to invert them at the CP after raising there:

(27) Phase 1: [OOG esser fuor d’un gran pericolo [OOG le parve]]# [VP le parve [SC fuor d’un gran pericolo esser]
    Phase 2: [OOG fuor d’un gran pericolo [OOG esser]]# [VP esser fuor d’un gran pericolo [TP le parve]...

An Alternative method is to move inside the SC:

(28) Phase 1: le parve [SC [OOG fuor d’un gran pericolo [OOG esser]]# [VP esser fuor d’un gran pericolo]
    Phase 2: [OOG fuor d’un gran pericolo esser [OOG le parve]]# [TP le parve [SC fuor d’un gran pericolo esser

In (28), the infinitive in the SC becomes an operator and moves to the head of FocusP, and the complement raises to the SC layer in the first phase. Subsequently, the inflectional verb parve becomes an operator, and the inverted infinitive phrase moves to the CP layer. The derivation (28) seems more plausible than that of the (27), since the structure occurring in the first phase is found:

(29) parendole [SC [OOG assai bene [OOG stare]]# [VP stare assai-bene
    seem.Ger-to.to her very fine to stay
    *seeming that she is very fine"

[Deca., 200]

The existence such a sentence like (29) testifies the two-phase derivation as well as the movement to the SC layer.

3.2.2 The multiple movements to the CP and the SC

Ueno (2017b) suggests that in Old Italian there are three positions to which elements can move: the CP layer, the SC layer, and the vP periphery. The movement both to the CP and the SC is found, but there is no combination with the CP and the vP.

Supposed the two-phase movement, the movement of the predicate in the SC layer and the focused indirect object in the CP layer can be illustrated in (30):

(30) Phase 1: certo parebbe a me [SC [OOG cosa piisima [OOG esterminare e spegnere]]#
    certainly seems.3sg to me thing awful to. exterminate and to. extinguish
    [VP esterminare e spegnere i ladroni e ciascuno vizio]. to. cosa piisima
    the master thieves and each depraved person

    Phase 2: [OOG a me [LAP certo [OOG parebbe]]# [TP parebbe a me [SC cosa piisima...
    "It certainly seems to me that to exterminate and extinguish the master thieves and each deprived person is the awful thing"

[Fam., 49]
In the phase 1 of (30), the infinitives becomes an operator and the predicate moves to the SC layer. In the phase 2, the inflected verb becomes an operator and the focused indirect object raises to the CP layer.

In the case including the AdvP, it moves twice:

(31) Phase 1: certo mi pare [\text{sc} \left[\text{operator} \cosi \left[\text{operator} \text{necessario} \left[\text{operator} \text{avere}\right]\right]\right]]
    certain \_ to \_ me \_ seems.3sg \_ so \_ necessary \_ to \_ have
    #[\text{vP} \text{avere} \text{grande} \text{diligenza} \text{costui} \left[\text{pred} \text{necessario}\right]]
    great \_ diligence

    Phase 2: \left[\text{facP} \cosi \left[\text{operator} \text{mi} \_ pare\right]\right]\#[\text{TP} \text{certo} \text{mi parere} \left[\text{sc} \cosi \text{necessario} \text{avere}\_\_\_\_}\right]
    "it certainly seems necessary that I have great diligence"

In the phase 1, the predicate necessario and the AdvP cosi move to the SC layer, and furthermore the AdvP functioning as a contrastive focus raises to the CP layer in the phase 2.

4. Conclusion

This paper insists the possibility of the two-phase configuration in Old Italian. The phase 1 is the movement to the SC layer and the phase 2 is to the CP layer. In the phase 1, the infinitive of the SC becomes an operator and one element is preposed to the OperatorP, as illustrated in (2). In the phase 2, the inflected verb becomes an operator and the focused indirect object and the element which moved in the phase 1 can raise to the CP layer, as illustrated in (32):

(32) the phase 2

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{CP} \\
&\text{OperatorP*} \\
&\text{XP/PP} \\
&\text{Operator'} \\
&\text{Operator''} \\
&\text{TP} \\
&\text{TP} \\
&\text{T'} \\
&\text{T'} \\
&\text{SC} \\
&\text{OperatorP} \\
&\text{XP} \\
&\text{Operator''} \\
&\text{INF (V)} \\
&\text{...}
\end{align*}
\]

Notes

1) For the following discussions, I call these together the OperatorP.
2) The tree diagrams are partially modified from Ueno (2017b).
3) The position ⑬ is the SC layer, and the position ⑭ is the vP periphery.
4) "$\#" indicates the boundary in the structure of sentence, "[ ]" the hosting of phrase, and "T" the heads.
5) The number of the movement of each multiple element is reckoned.
6) Poletto (2006: 3) points out that "Old Italian has the property of attracting the inflected verb to a Focus head ... when no specifier is occupied, ... the inflected verb raises further to the Topic field."
7) It is presumed that the two-phase operation is undergone regarding the movement of infinitives and past particles: in phase 1 the null subject pro moves to the SC layer.
8) According to Cinque (1999: 29), "the postcomplement circumstantial adverbials are actually "predicates" predicated of the VP."
9) Benincà (2010) suggests that when the direct object is separated from the verb it needs a resumptive clitic.
   The same can be said about the complement:
   i) Phase 1: parrebbe a me [inf da' miei [inf piú onesto [inf accettarne]]]#
       seems.3sg to me from-the mine more honorable to.accept-if.it
       [inf accettare benivolenza e amore che obbedienza e servitù [inf piú onesto
       good will and love than obedience and servitude
       Pharse 2: [inf da' miei [inf a me [inf piú [inf parebbe]]]]#
       it seems more honorable that I accept good will and love than obedience and servitude"
       [Fam., 92]
10) Poletto (2006: 28) points out that "così can only be contrastively focalized like other low adverbs."

References