The Left Projection of the Small Clause in Old Italian

—The Derivation by the Two-Phase Configuration—

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1. Introduction

Based on the idea that all of the complement clauses in Old Italian are small clauses (SC), Ueno (2017b) analyzes the *v*P periphery and the SC layer inside the SC following the verbs *parere/sembrare*. In Old Italian which is dominated by the V_2 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 *v*P 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 *v*P periphery[2]:
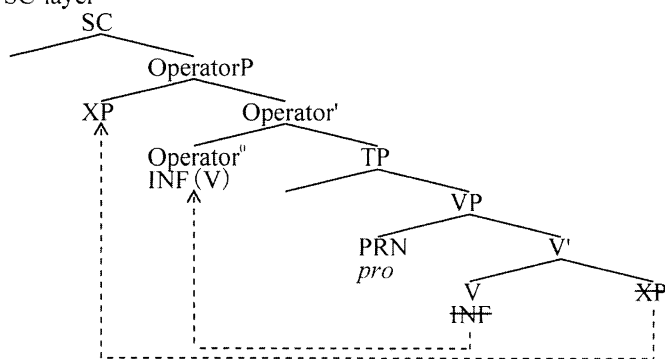
(1) the *v*P Periphey
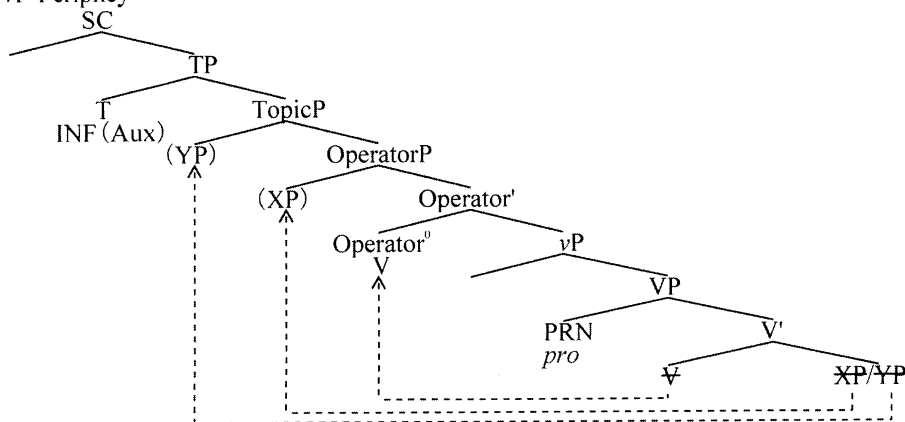
On the other hand, in the SC layer the infinitive becomes an operator and moves to the head of the OperatorP, and at the same time, one element is preposed to the SC layer, as illustrated in (2).
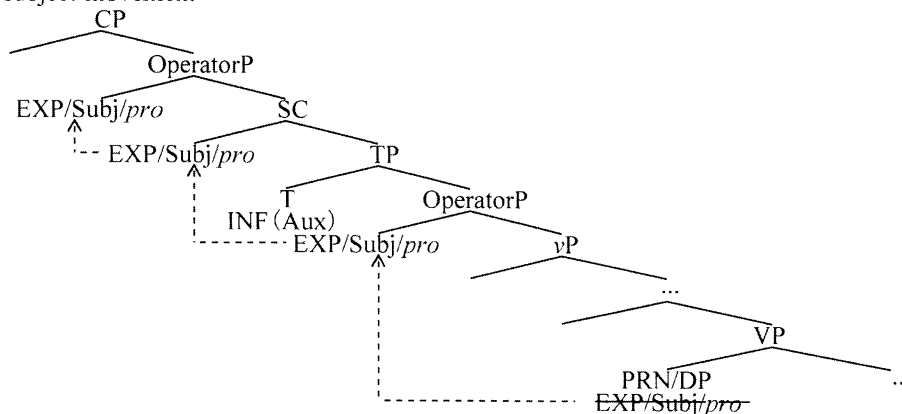
Concerning the subject movement in the SC, the null subject *pro*, the expletive subject (EXP) and the overt subject (Subj) could be the obligatory preposed element. These subjects move to the TP-internal Topic/Focus position or the CP layer, as shown in (3).

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

(2) the SC layer

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                SC
        ┌────────┴────────┐
              OperatorP
        ┌────────┴────────┐
       XP              Operator'
       ╱╲         ┌────────┴────────┐
       ┊    Operator"              TP
       ┊    INF (V)          ┌──────┴──────┐
       ┊      ╱╲                          VP
       ┊      ┊                  ┌─────────┴─────────┐
       ┊      ┊                 PRN                 V'
       ┊      ┊                 pro          ┌───────┴───────┐
       ┊      ┊                             V              XP̶
       ┊      ┊                            I̶N̶F̶              ┊
       ┊      └─────────────────────────────┘              ┊
       └──────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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(3) the subject movement

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                CP
        ┌────────┴────────┐
              OperatorP
    ┌─────────────┴─────────────┐
 EXP/Subj/pro                  SC
    ╱╲              ┌───────────┴───────────┐
    ┊ ┄ EXP/Subj/pro                       TP
    ┊       ╱╲              ┌────────────────┴────────────────┐
    ┊       ┊             T                               OperatorP
    ┊       ┊           INF (Aux)              ┌───────────────┴──────────────┐
    ┊       ┊  ┄┄┄┄┄┄ EXP/Subj/pro                                          vP
    ┊       ┊              ╱╲                                         ┌───────┴───────┐
    ┊       ┊              ┊                                         ...
    ┊       ┊              ┊                                    ┌─────┴─────┐
    ┊       ┊              ┊                                               VP
    ┊       ┊              ┊                                    ┌──────────┴──────────┐
    ┊       ┊              ┊                                  PRN/DP                 ...
    ┊       └──────────────┴──────────────────────────────── E̶X̶P̶/̶S̶u̶b̶j̶/̶p̶r̶o̶
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the verbs *parere/sembrare* in Old Italian. This paper analyses the position ⓐ of the structure (4)[3],
and an example is shown as in (5):

(4) [cp ⓐ [TP *parere/sembrare*] [sc ⓑ [Subj] [Pred [TP INF] ⓒ [vP V]]]]

(5) [cp **morta** [TP ti   pare] [sc [Subj] [Pred [TP essere [vP m̶o̶r̶t̶a̶]]]]]]
           die.PastP   to.you seems.3sg   to.be
           "it seems that you have been dead"   [*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

Corpus	V	CC(*Freq.*)	FCC(*Freq.*)	NCC(*Freq.*)	Pers.(*Freq.*)	Imper.(*Freq.*)
Brunetto Latini, *La rettorica*(1260) [*Latini*]	103	70(68.0%)	67(95.7%)	3(4.3%)	3(100.0%)	0(0.0%)
Bono Giamboni, *Il libro de' vizi e delle virtudi*(1270) [*Giamboni*]	22	7(31.8%)	6(85.7%)	1(14.3%)	1(100.0%)	0(0.0%)
Novellino(1281-1300) [*Nov.*]	22	6(27.3%)	6(100.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)
Dante Alighieri, *Convivio*(1304) [*Convivio*]	141	68(48.2%)	14(20.6%)	54(79.4%)	44(81.5%)	10(18.5%)
Giovanni Villani, *Nuova cronica*(1322) [*Villani*]	155	76(49.0%)	36(47.4%)	40(52.6%)	4(10.0%)	36(90.0%)
Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron* (1348-1353) [*Deca.*]	516	270(52.3%)	123(45.6%)	147(54.4%)	4(2.7%)	143(97.3%)
Santa Caterina da Siena, *Dialogo della provvidenza ovvero libro della divina dottrina*(1378) [*Siena*]	122	97(79.5%)	60(61.9%)	37(38.1%)	0(0.0%)	37(100.0%)
Leon Battista Alberti, *Della Famiglia*(1432) [*Fam.*]	122	65(53.3%)	32(49.2%)	33(50.8%)	3(9.1%)	30(90.9%)
Total	1203	659(54.8%)	344(52.2%)	315(47.8%)	59(18.7%)	256(81.3%)

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

On the assumption that the CC constructions following the verb *parere/sembrare* 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_2 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

Corpus	NCC	[to SC]	[to CP]	Total
[*Latini*]	3	0	1	1
[*Gimaboni*]	1	0	0	0
[*Convivio*]	54	10	28	38
[*Villani*]	40	10	12	22
[*Deca.*]	147	34	71	105
[*Siena*]	37	3	6	9
[*Fam.*]	33	19	17	36
Total	315	76	135	211

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:

(6) $[_4\text{Rel}wh]$ *che* $\mathbf{T_4}$ $[_3\text{Frame/ HT}]$ $\mathbf{T_3}$ $[_2\text{Topic}]$ $\mathbf{T_2}$ $[_1\text{Operaor/Focus}]$ *che*/V$\mathbf{T_1}$ # $[_0\text{subject}]$ V_{INFL} $\mathbf{T_0}$[4]

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[5]. The movement to

Table 3: The elements moving to CP

Corpus	NCC	Subj	Pred	IO	INF	PastP	Comp.	AdvP	Total (*Freq.*)
[*Latini*]	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1 (33.3%)
[*Convivio*]	54	10	0	1	5	1	4	10	31 (57.4%)
[*Villani*]	40	6	0	0	0	0	1	6	13 (32.5%)
[*Deca.*]	147	10	2	17	16	1	10	24	80 (54.4%)
[*Siena*]	37	1	1	0	0	0	2	2	6 (16.2%)
[*Fam.*]	33	2	1	12	0	0	0	8	23 (70.0%)
Total	314	29	4	30	21	2	17	51	154 (49.1%)

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 *v*P periphery and the SC layer. From this it would be necessary to configure the diphase derivation[6]:

(7)   Phase 1: non gli parea [sc [OperP messer Corso Donati [Oper⁰ esser]] # [vP ~~esser~~ così grande in Comune

Phase 2: [OperP messer Corso Donati [Oper⁰ non gli   parea]] # [TP ~~non gli parea~~
           Majesty Corso Donati   not to.him seemed.3sg
           [sc ~~messer Corso Donati~~ esser così grande in Comune
                                     to.be   very great   in commonwealth
           "it didn't seem that Majesty Corso Donati was very great in the 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)   [OperP a me [Oper⁰ parrebbe]] # [TP ~~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

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)　Phase 1: vi par [sc [OperP cortesia [Oper⁰ fare]]#[vp ~~fare~~ il negar di voler con loro desinare] [DP ~~cortesia~~

　　　Phase 2: [OperP cortesia [Oper⁰ vi　par]]#[TP ~~vi par~~
　　　　　　　　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"　　　　　　　[*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)　ciò che fatto avea e　che saper gli　parea
　　　this that made had　and that to.know to.him seeemed.3sg
　　　"what he had made and seemed to know"　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[*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[7].

(11)　[CP se [OperP esser [Oper⁰ le　pare]]#[TP1 ~~le pare~~] [sc [TP2 [T ~~esser~~ [vp ingannata
　　　　　if　　　to.be　　to.her seems.3sg.　　　　　　　　　　deceived
　　　　　"if she seems to be deceived"　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[*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 TP₂, as shown in (11).

(12)　[CP che [OperP saper [Oper⁰ gli parea]]#[TP ~~gli parea~~ [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)　Phase 1: gli　pareva [sc [OperP perduta [Oper⁰ avere]]#[TP ~~avere~~ [vp ~~perduta~~
　　　　　　　to.him seemed.3sg.　　　　lose.PastP　to.have
　　　　Phase 2: [OperP perduta [Oper⁰ gli pareva]]#[TP ~~gli pareva~~ [sc avere ~~perduta~~
　　　　　　　"he seemed to have lost"　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[*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)　a. niuna resistenza mi　parea　　　fare
　　　　no　　resistance　to.me seemed.3sg to.make
　　　　"it seemed that I made no resistance"　　　　　　　　　　　　　[*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" [*Siena*, 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 [FocP matta impresa [Oper⁰ aver]]#[vp ~~aver fatta matta impresa~~
to.him seemed.3sg reckless challenge to.have make.PastP
"it seemed that he has made reckless challenge" [*Deca.*, 240]

The sentence (15) indicates that the auxiliary verb *aver* in the SC becomes an operator and the direct object *matta 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 [FocP niuna resistenza [Oper⁰ fare]]#[vp ~~fare niuna resistenza~~
     Phase 2: [FocP niuna resistenza [Oper⁰ mi parea]]#[TP ~~mi parea~~ [sc ~~niuna resistenza~~ fare
   b. Phase 1: gli pare [sc [FocP nel mondo [Oper⁰ essere]]#[vp ~~essere nel mondo~~
     Phase 2: [FocP nel mondo [Oper⁰ 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 > (DP$_{subj}$) (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"/ *troppo* "so"

   c. Place, time, manner, etc. adverbials[8]: *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 maliziosa

    unexpectedly seemed.3sg to everyone Lady Beatrice to.be be.PastP malicious

    "unexpectedly it seemed to everyone that Lady Beatrice was malicious" [*Deca.*, 657]

(20) [OperP già [Oper⁰ 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 [OperP a Pisa [Oper⁰ esser]]#[VP ~~esser~~ vostra bagascia ~~a Pisa~~
            to.me seemed.3sg   in Pisa   to.be   your   whore

        Phase 2: [OperP a Pisa [Oper⁰ mi pareva]]#[TP ~~mi pareva~~ [SC ~~a Pisa esser~~ vostra bagascia
                "in Pisa it seemed that I was your whore"   [*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: *quivi* "there"/ *nel primo di Cielo* "in the first of Heaven"/ etc.

These movements are shown as follows:

(23) [OperP nel primo di Cielo [AdvP incidentemente [Oper⁰ 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 [OperP per la prima broccata [Oper⁰ aver]]#
           seem.Ger to.the maid   for the first   venue   to.have

           [VP ~~aver~~ ben proccaciato ~~per la prima broccata~~
                well fare.PastP

        Phase 2: [OperP alla fante [OperP per la prima broccata [Oper⁰ 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:

(25) [OperP XP [AdvP "Higher" AdvP [Oper⁰ *parere/sembrare*

The sentence (24) is subjected to the two-phase derivation[9].

   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 inifinitive *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: [$_{OperP}$ esser fuor d'un gran pericolo [$_{Oper⁰}$ le parve]]#[$_{TP}$ ~~le parve~~ [$_{SC}$ ~~fuor d'un gran pericolo esser~~
    Phase 2: [$_{OperP}$ fuor d'un gran pericolo [$_{Oper⁰}$ 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 [$_{SC}$ [$_{OperP}$ fuor d'un gran pericolo [$_{Oper⁰}$ esser]]#[$_{VP}$ ~~esser fuor d'un gran pericolo~~
    Phase 2: [$_{OperP}$ fuor d'un gran pericolo esser [$_{Oper⁰}$ 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 [$_{SC}$ [$_{OperP}$ assai bene [$_{Oper⁰}$ stare]]#[$_{VP}$ ~~stare assai bene~~
    seem.Ger-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 *v*P periphery. The movement both to the CP and the SC is found, but there is no combination with the CP and the *v*P.

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

(30) Phase 1: certo parebbe a me [$_{SC}$ [$_{OperP}$ cosa piisima [$_{Oper⁰}$ esterminare e   spegnere]#
        certainly seemes.3sg to me   thing awful   to.exterminate and to.extinguish
        [$_{VP}$ ~~esterminare e spegnere~~ i ladroni   e ciascuno vizioso] [$_{DP}$ ~~cosa piisima~~
                        the master thieves and each   depraved person

    Phase 2: [$_{OperP}$ a me [$_{AdvP}$ certo [$_{Oper⁰}$ parrebbe]]#[$_{TP}$ ~~parebbe a me~~ [$_{SC}$ cosa piisima...
        "it certainly seems to me that to exterminate and extinguish the master thieves and each depraved
        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 [$_{SC}$ [$_{OperP}$ cosí [$_{OperP}$ necessario [$_{Oper^0}$ avere]]
           certainly to me seemes.3sg   so   necessary   to.have

           #[$_{VP}$ ~~avere~~ grande diligenza ~~cosí~~[10) [$_{Pred}$ ~~necessario~~
                     great   diligence

     Phase 2: [$_{FocP}$ cosí [$_{Oper^0}$ mi pare]]#[$_{TP}$ certo ~~mi pare~~ [$_{SC}$ ~~cosí~~ necessario avere ...
             "it certainly seems necessary that I have great diligence"   [*Fam.*, 91]

In the phase 1, the predicate *necessario* and the AdvP *cosí* 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
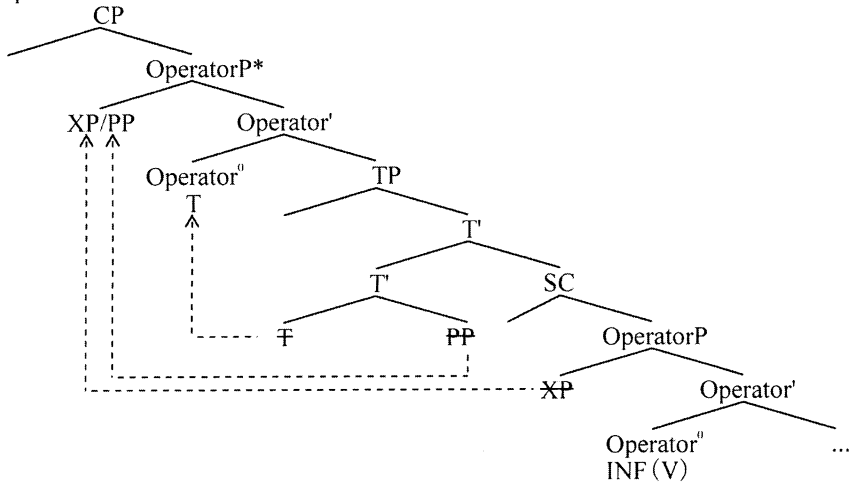
Notes

1) For the following discussions. I call these together the OperatorP.
2) The tree diagrams are partially modified from Ueno (2017b).
3) The position ⓑ is the SC layer. and the position ⓒ is the *v*P 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 thing can be said about the complement:

i) Phase 1: parrebbe a me [sc [OperP **da'** **miei** [OperP più onesto [OperP accettarne]]]#
   seems.3sg to me   from-the mine   more honorable   to.accept-of.it

         [VP ~~accettare~~ benivolenza e   amore che obedienza e   servitú [Pred ~~più onesto~~
                     good will   and love   than obedience   and servitude

   Phase 2: [OperP **da' miei** [OperP a me [OperP più [OperP parebbe]]]]#[IP ~~parebbe a me~~ [sc ~~da' miei più~~ onesto accettarne...
   "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."

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