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Relation	



The vP Periphery and the sCP Layer in the Small Clause of Old Italian

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1. Introduction

In the framework of the complementizer layer, which is one of the structural layers consisting of a clause, Rizzi (1997: 297) proposes the fine structure of the left periphery in the CP as follows:

- (1) [ForceP [TopP* [FocP [TopP* [FinP]]]]]

In regards to Rizzi's system, that TopP can appear in two different positions and be recursive, Benicà (2001: 62) proposes that Topics can only be inserted to the left of the FocP, and the higher another Topic called FrameP, with distinct syntactic properties exists, as shown in (2)¹:

- (2) [ForceP [FrameP* [TopP [FocP [FinP]]]]]

Moreover, Benicà (2006) sketches the following CP system in Modern Italian through investigating the type of Topics, the recursivity of TopP, *wh*-phrases, and complementizers:

- (3) [Force C⁰] [Rel*wh* C⁰] / {_{Frame} [ScSett] [HT] C⁰} {_{Topic} [LD] [LI] C⁰}
[_{Focus} [I Focus] [II Focus] / [Interr*wh*] C⁰] [Fin C⁰]

The head in this CP can be occupied either by a complementizer (C) or by the verb, depending on the nature of the sentence (Benicà (2006: 55)). Based on these arguments, the following structure is suggested:

- (4) [_{CP} [_{Spec} [_C C/V [_{TP}...

Concerning Old Italian, Benicà (2010: 30) proposes the following unmarked CP system²:

*1 Benicà (2006: 55) points out that a *wh*-element is typically a Focus, the Hanging Topic (HT) is in the Frame field, and the Clitic Left Dislocation (LD) is in the Top field in Italian.

*2 Benica's original scheme in Italian is as follows: [_{sintagma relativo}] *che* T₁ [_{Cornice/ Tema Sospeso}] T₃ [_{Topic}] T₂ [_{Operatore/Focus}] *che*/VT₁ # [_{soggetto}] V_{FLESSO} T₀

(5) [₁Relwh] *che* T₄ [₃Frame/ HT] T₃ [₂Topic] T₂ [₂Operaor/Focus] *che*/VT₁ # [₀subject] V_{INFL} T₀¹

In declarative sentences of the main clause, V_{INFL} moves to the position of T₁ and at the same time one or more constituents move to the position of the left periphery. That is, V-to-T movement operates and the V₂ syntax occurs.

This paper deals with the above CP layer in Old Italian (1350-1525) with respect to the sentences containing the verbs *parere/sembrare*² "to seem" followed by complement clauses (CC). Ueno (2017b) points out that the non-finite complement clause (NCC) forms the small clause phrase (sCP) comprised of the subject (Subj.) and the predicate (Pred.), as shown in (6):

(6) [_{TP} [_V *parere/sembrare*] [_{sCP} [_{Subj.}] [_{Pred.}]]]

Although Poletto (2014) points out that CP clauses, infinitive phrases and NPs have the similar left periphery as main clauses in old Italian, sCPs are treated like CP clauses. What is the most different between the CP and the sCP, however, is the presence of the complementizer. Since sCPs have no complementizer, they have three peripheral positions, ①, ② and ③, as shown in (7):

(7) [_{CP} ① [_{TP} [_{VP} *parere/sembrare*] [_{sCP} ② [_{Subj.}] [_{Pred.} [_{TP} INF] ③ [_{VP} V]]]]]

An example for each is shown below:

(8) a. ①: [_{CP} [_{morta}] [_{TP} [_{VP} *ti pare*] [_{sCP} [_{Subj.}] [_{Pred.} [_{TP} *essere* [_{VP} *morta*]]]]]]]
 died.PastP to.you seems.3sg be.inf
 "it seems that you have been dead" [*Convivio*, 2-10-3]

b. ②: [_{CP} [_{TP} [_{VP} *non gli parve*] [_{sCP} [_{Subj.}] [_{Pred.} [**bene**] [_{VP} *stare bene*]]]]]]]
 not to.them seemed.3sg fine stay.inf
 "it seemed that they were fine" [*Villani*, 336]

c. ③: [_{CP} [_{TP} [_{VP} *parendogliele*] [_{sCP} [_{Subj.}] [_{Pred.} [_{TP} *avere già* [_{VP} [**mezza**] [_{VP} *convertita mezza*]]]]]]]]]
 seeming-to.him-them have.inf already half converted
 "seeming that he has already half converted them" [*Boccaccio*, 343]

The position shown in ① is the clause-external CP layer, in ② is the clause-external sCP layer,

*1 "#" indicates the boundary in the structure of sentence, "[_]" the hosting of phrase, and "T" the heads.

*2 The verb *sembrare* is rarely used in this Period. It begins to be used from the 17th century. Cf. Ueno (2016).

and in ③ is the clause-internal vP periphery. This paper argues how the sCP-internal in ② and ③ are comprised and whether it coincides with the CP layer.

2. The Corpora

The corpora are selectively based on works written in prose prior to 1450. Table 1 is an itemized list of the corpora utilized in this paper.

Table 1: The Corpora

Corpus	<i>parere</i>	CC (Freq.)	FCC (Freq.)	NCC (Freq.)
Brunetto Latini, <i>La rettorica</i> (1260) [Latini]	103	70 (65.1%)	67 (95.7%)	3 (4.3%)
Bono Giamboni, <i>Il libro de' vizi e delle virtudi</i> (1270) [Giamboni]	22	7 (31.8%)	6 (85.7%)	1 (14.3%)
Novellino (1281-1300) [Nov.]	22	6 (27.3%)	6 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Dante Alighieri, <i>Convivio</i> (1304) [Convivio]	141	68 (48.2%)	14 (20.6%)	54 (79.4%)
Giovanni Villani, <i>Nuova cronica</i> (1322) [Villani]	155	76 (49.7%)	36 (47.4%)	40 (52.6%)
Giovanni Boccaccio, <i>Decameron</i> (1348-1353) [Decameron]	515	267 (51.9%)	120 (44.9%)	147 (55.1%)
Santa Caterina da Siena, <i>Dialogo della provvidenza ovvero libro della divina dottrina</i> (1378) [Siena]	122	97 (79.5%)	60 (61.9%)	37 (38.1%)
Leon Battista Alberti, <i>Della Famiglia, libro terzo</i> (1432) [Fam.]	122	65 (53.3%)	32 (49.2%)	33 (50.8%)
Total	1202	656 (54.6%)	341 (52.0%)	315 (48.0%)

In Table 1, "*parere*" 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. The appearance ratio of the complement clause in the total is much the same in every corpus and the total ratio is 54.6%. It can be said that the non-finite complement clause, in the oldest three corpora (i.e. [Latini], [Giamboni] and [Nov.]), has not fully developed, but it has been used to much the same degree as the definite complement clause since the corpus [Convivio]. It may be said that Dante developed the non-finite complement from the finite complement, but his NCCs

are mostly personal constructions (81.5%).

Table 2: Personal vs. Impersonal¹

Corpus	NCC	Personal	Impersonal
[<i>Latini</i>]	3	3 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
[<i>Giamboni</i>]	1	1 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)
[<i>Convivio</i>]	54	44 (81.5%)	10 (18.5%)
[<i>Villani</i>]	40	4 (10.0%)	36 (90.0%)
[<i>Decameron</i>]	147	4 (2.7%)	143 (97.3%)
[<i>Siena</i>]	37	0 (0.0%)	37 (100.0%)
[<i>Fam.</i>]	33	3 (9.1%)	30 (90.9%)
Total	315	59 (18.7%)	256 (81.3%)

It can be said that his personal NCC shifted to the impersonal construction after the corpus [*Villani*].

3. Syntactic Structures in Old Italian

Ueno (2017b) suggests that in CCs with *sembrare* and *parere*² followed by an adjective, the complementizer \varnothing replaces the complementizer *di* in Modern Italian (1840-). The complementizer \varnothing and the accusative structure are established in this period. Obviously the complementizer \varnothing doesn't exist in Old Italian, but in the structure of CCs without an adjective in Old Italian, sentences like (9) are found.

- (9) *le pare essere degna delle pene*
 to.her seems.3sg be.inf worthy.fem.sg.of.the penalties
 "it seems that she is worthy of the penalties"

[*Siena*, 18]

Sentence (9) seems to form the accusative structure using the complementizer \varnothing , but as Ueno (2017b) points out, the NCC in (9) forms the sCP structure comprised of the null subject *pro* and the predicate *essere degna delle pene* 'to be worthy of the penalties,' as shown in (10):

- (10) [_{TP} [_{VP} [_{PRN} *le*]_i] [_V [_v *pare*]_j] [_{sCP} [_{PRN} *pro*]_k] [_{INF} *essere degna delle pene*]]]]]

The fact that sentence (10) forms the sCP structure shows that the adjective *degn*a 'worthy' in

*1 The corpus [*Nov.*] is excluded from the table, because there is no NCC.

*2 The same can be said for the verb *essere* "be" (Cf. Ueno (2017a)).

the predicate of the sCP agrees with the gender and number of the dative pronoun *le* 'to her' which obligatorily emerges and controls the null subject *pro*. As well as impersonal constructions in (10), the same can apply to personal constructions, with the subject *il suo avviso* 'his opinion' of the sCP raising to the Spec of TP.

- (11) [TP [DP *il suo avviso*] [VP [V' [*pareva*] [sCP [DP ~~*il suo avviso*~~] [INF *dovere avere effetto*]]]]]]
 ↑
 the his opinion seemed.3sg must.inf have.inf effect
 "his opinion seemed surely to have effect" [Decameron, 743]

Personal constructions like (11) also comprise the sCP structure, although, as Ueno (2017b) points out,¹ they aren't used much in this period.

Just as the CC is comprised of the SC structure in Old Italian, the same can also be said for the CC with the complementizer *di*.

- (12) *parve a tutti di ritornare*
 seems.3sg to everyone *di* return.inf
 "it seems appropriate that everyone return" [Decameron, 803]

The verb *parere* in (12) has the implied meaning of "appropriate, exact or better" and the *di* infinitive functions as the subject of the sCP:

- (13) *parve a tutti* [sCP [CP *di ritornare*] [PRN *pro*]]

The *di* infinitive of (13) is the subject in the sCP, and the *pro* is the predicate, which forms the same structure as the FCC, as shown in (14):

- (14) *pare* [sCP [CP *che le parole medesimo siano discordanti dalla sentenza dello scrittore*] [PRN *pro*]]
 seems.3sg that the words same are discordant from.the sentence of.the author
 "it seems that the same words are discordant from the sentence of the author" [Latini, 67]

That is, in Old Italian, the complementizers *di* and *che* do not form the unaccusative structure, but build the sCP structure, functioning as the subject markers.

In summary, only sCP structures exist in Old Italian, and the unaccusative structure doesn't develop, because the complementizers \varnothing and *di* were not fully established. From this result we can see that Old Italian has the following underlying syntactic structures:

*1 In the place of the construction, the FCC is frequently used except the corpus [Dante].

(15) i) the FCC (personal/impersonal): the sCP structure

[_{VP} [_V [_V **V**¹]] [_{sCP} [_{CP} *che*...] [_{PRN/DP} *pro*/DP]]]]

ii) the \varnothing NCC (personal/impersonal): the sCP structure

[_{VP} [_V [_V **V** ([_{PRN} DAT.])]] [_{sCP} [_{PRN/DP} *pro*/DP] [_{INF} *Inf*]]]]

iii) the *di* NCC (impersonal): the sCP structure

[_{VP} [_V [_V **V** ([_{PRN} DAT.])]] [_{sCP} [_{CP} *di* INF] [_{PRN} *pro*]]]]

4. The Left Periphery of Complement Clauses in Old Italian

On the assumption that CC constructions following the verb *parere/sembrare* in Old Italian derive from the sCP structure, we attempt to analyze them from the perspective of the movement of elements. In Old Italian which is dominated by the V₂ syntax, there are two types of movement in NCCs: the movement to the CP layer (to CP) and the internal shift of the sCP. Moreover, there are two types of internal movement: the movement to the left periphery of the vP (to vP) and the movement to the Spec of sCP (to sCP).

Table 3: The moving position of elements²

Corpus	NCC	to vP	to sCP	to CP	Total
[<i>Latini</i>]	3	0	0	1	1 (33.3%)
[<i>Convivio</i>]	54	0	9	29	38 (70.4%)
[<i>Villani</i>]	40	3	9	12	24 (60.0%)
[<i>Decameron</i>]	147	8	36	82	126 (85.7%)
[<i>Siena</i>]	37	0	3	7	10 (27.0%)
[<i>Fam.</i>]	33	0	19	20	39 (118.2%)
Total	315	11	76	151	238

In the corpus the most common the movement is 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 mainly discusses the phenomenon of [to vP] and [to sCP], as the phenomenon of [to CP] is analyzed in Ueno (2018).

*1 V indicates the verb *parere/sembrare*.

*2 The corpus [*Giamboni*] is excluded from the table, because there is no movement.

4.1. The movement to the left periphery of vP

The movement to the vP periphery is found inside NCCs. The position where the elements move to is between the auxiliary and the verb. It is likely that these movements are based on informational structures of Old Italian. Poletto (2014: 55) argues that in the CP the vP keeps a series of Topic projection, as illustrated in (16):

(16) [vP [Topic₁ [Topic₂ [Topic₃ ... [Operator ... VP] ...]

It is uncertain what these Topics or Focuses are pragmatically like, but it is sure that these Topic projections followed by the Operator exist in the left periphery of the vP. In this section, we ascertain whether the left periphery of the vP in the sCP is the same as in the CP in (16).

First, what element moves to the vP periphery in the corpus is shown in Table 4.

Table 4: The elements moving to vP

Corpus	NCC	DO	ADV	PP	Compl.	Subj.
[<i>Villani</i>]	40	0	3	0	0	0
[<i>Decameron</i>]	147	4	8	4	1	1
Total	187	4	11	4	1	1

Movement to the vP periphery in the sCP is found only in the [*Boccaccio*] corpus. In the corpus are 4 occurrences out of 49 cases which contain the AUX-VP construction (0.8%).

According to claims in Poletto (2014: 98), "Gerund and infinitival sentences in OI display extensive preposing of any type of element of the V₂/scrambling type: the preverbal position can be occupied by adverbs, PPs, and direct objects." This indication falls in line with the result of our corpus. The elements which emerge after the auxiliary in the corpus are direct objects (DO), adverbs (ADV), prepositional phrases (PP), complements of the infinitive (Compl.) and subjects of the sCP. In the corpus are 21 occurrences of elements moving to the vP left periphery, Four cases have a sequence of two elements, and of them, three cases include an adverb:

- (17) a. parendo allo abate essere [ADV assai] [PP colla giovanetta] dimorato
 seeming to.the abbot be.inf extremely with.the young woman stayed.PastP
 "seeming that the abbot has extremely stayed with the young woman" [*Boccaccio*, 96]
- b. parendogliete avere [ADV già] [ADV mezza] convertita
 seeming-to.him-them have.inf already half converted.PastP
 "seeming that he has already half converted them" [*Boccaccio*, 343]

c. egli me le pare avere [ADV parimente] [Compl. laudevole e dilettevoli] conosciute
 it.EXP to.me it seems.3sg have.inf equally praiseworthy and delightful known.PastP
 "it seems that I have equally known it praiseworthy and delightful" [Boccaccio, 120]

The adverbs in (17) are what are called "lower" adverbs which occur in the lower portion of the clause, in the "space" delimited on the left by the leftmost position that a past participle (PastP) can come to occupy and on the right by a complement of the past participle (Cinque (1999: 4)). As for "lower" adverbs, Poletto (2014: 56) assumes that the dots between the Operator and the VP in (16) have to be filled by some aspectual projections: they don't prepose to the position of Topic. Moreover, Cinque (1999: 16) points out the overall ordering of adverbs, as shown in (18):
 (18) "Higher" (sentence) AdvPs > "Lower" AdvPs > (DP_{subj}) (V) complements>

Place, time, manner, etc. adverbials > (focused) "Lower" AdvPs > de-accented material
 As shown in (18), non-focused "lower" AdvPs originally stay in front of the VP, and don't move from the VP-internal. Thus, it appears that adverbs that seem to prepose do not move to the topic position, and only one element preposes, as illustrated in (19):

- (19) a. parendo allo abate, [_{SCP} [_{TP} *essere assai* [_{VP} [_{Spec} *colla giovanetta*] [_V *dimorato*]]]#
 [_{VP} [_{PRN} *pro*'] [_V *dimorato*] [_{PP} *colla giovanetta*]]]]
 b. parendogliele [_{SCP} [_{TP} *avere già* [_{VP} [_{Spec} *mezza*] [_V *convertita*]]]#
 [_{VP} [_{PRN} *pro*'] [_V *convertita*] [_{ADV} *mezza*]]]]
 c. egli me le pare [_{SCP} [_{TP} *avere parimente* [_{VP} [_{Spec} *laudevole e dilettevoli*] [_V *conosciute*]]]#
 [_{VP} [_{PRN} *egli*] [_{VP} *conosciute*] [_{Compl} *laudevole e dilettevoli*]]]]

In the left periphery of vP, the verbs of (19) become Operators and move to the head of the vP, and one constituent moves to the Spec of vP. The adverbs shown in Table 2 are mostly "lower" adverbs*2.

The following demonstrates one remaining case which has a sequence of two elements:

*1 Poletto (2014: 102) refers to the possibility of non-arbitrary null subjects of gerund clauses selected by non-control verbs.

*2 The adverbs in the corpus are: *assai* "much", *ben* "well", *già* "already", *mal (e)* "badly", *omai* "already", and *parimenti* "equally".

- (20) parendo alla gentil donna avere [_{PP} nel deserto luogo] [_{DO} alcuna compagnia] trovata
 seeming to.the kind women have.inf in.the deserted place some company found.PastP
 "seeming that the kind women has found some company in the deserted place" [Boccaccio, 177]

The corresponding structure can appear in (21), following Poletto's left periphery.

- (21) parendo alla gentil donna. [_{sCP} [_{TP} avere [_{vP} [_{TopicP} nel deserto luogo]
 [_{FocusP} [_{Spec} alcuna compagnia] [_v trovata]]# [_{vP} [_{PRN} pro.] [_v trovata] [_{QP} alcuna compagnia]
 [_{PP} nel deserto luogo]]]]]

(21) indicates that the verb *trovata* "found" moves to the head of an operator projection labeled as FocusP, and the higher position is occupied by a Topic of some sort.

To summarize this section, in the vP which is between the auxiliary and the verb, the verbs can become Operators and move to the head of the FocusP, and at the same time, up to two elements can be preposed to the vP left periphery, as shown in (22):

- (22) [_{sCP} [_{TP} AUX [_{vP} ([_{TopicP} YP]) [_{FocusP} [_{Spec} XP] [_v V]]# [_{vP} [_{PRN} pro.] [_v V] [_{XP}] ([_{YP}])]]]]]

4.2. Movement to the Spec of sCP

Poletto (2014) points out the distribution of topics across two left peripheries, as shown in (23).

- (23) Delle dette cose esser da Dio meritato*² (Poletto (2014: 55))
 of.the said things be.inf by God rewarded.PastP
 "To be rewarded by God for the aforementioned matters."

Sentence (23) has the PP *delle dette cose* "of the aforementioned matters" in the Spec of CP and the PP *da Dio* "by God" in the vP left periphery. Since movement in the vP left periphery was addressed in the previous section, this section observes the T-to-sCP phenomenon. In the corpus the elements which emerge in the Spec of the sCP include the DO, ADV, PP, Compl., Subj. and Pred., which are similar to those elements of the vP left periphery.

*1 Since the null subject *pro* will be addressed in section 5, here it is put at the original position.

*2 Bono Giamboni, *Il Libro de' Vizi e delle Virtudi*.

Table 5: The elements moving to the sCP*¹

Corpus	NCC	DO	ADV	PP	Compl.	Subj.	Pred.
[<i>Convivio</i>]	54	1	2	2	0	5	0
[<i>Villani</i>]	41	1	3	0	5	0	1
[<i>Decameron</i>]	147	8	18	8	4	2	0
[<i>Siena</i>]	37	0	3	0	0	0	0
[<i>Fam.</i>]	33	5	6	2	0	2	7
Total	312	15	32	12	9	9	8

- (24) a. DO: gli parve [_{DO} matta impresa] aver fatta
to.him seemed.3sg reckless challenge have.inf made.PastP
"it seemed that he has made reckless challenge" [Boccaccio, 240]
- b. ADV: pare loro [_{ADV} sottilissimamente] argomentare
seems.3sg to.them very.subtly argue.inf
"it seems that they very subtly argue" [Convivio, 4-15-15]
- c. PP: le mi pareva [_{PP} nella gola] aver messo un collar d'oro
it to.me seemed.3sg in.the throat have.inf put.PastP a ring of-gold
"it seemed that I have put a ring of gold in the throat" [Boccaccio, 431]
- d. Compl.: parendole [_{Compl.} assai bene] stare
seeming-to.her very fine stay.inf
"seeming that she is very fine" [Boccaccio, 200]
- e. Subj.: pareva a tutti [_{Subj} madonna Beatrice]
seemed.3sg to everyone Lady Beatrice
essere stata maliziosa in beffare il suo marito,
be.inf been.PastP malicious in fool.inf the his husband [Boccaccio, 657]
"it seemed to everyone that Lady Beatrice has been malicious in fooling his husband"
- f. Pred.: a me certo parrebbe [_{Pred.} cosa piissima] esterminare e spegnere i ladroni
to me certainly seems.3sg thing terrible exterminate.inf and extinguish.inf the master thieves
"it seems certainly that to exterminate and to extinguish the master thieves is terrible thing"
[Fam, 467]

In the left periphery of the sCP in (24), the infinitive becomes an Operator and moves to the head of the sCP, while one element moves to the Spec of sCP, as illustrated in (25):

*1 The corpus [*Latini*] is excluded from the table, because there is no movement to the sCP.

- (25) a. gli parve [_{sCP} [_{Spec} *matta impresa*] [_{sc} *aver*]#
 [TP [T *aver*] [VP [PRN *pro.*] [V *fatta*] [_{DO} *matta-impresa*]]]]]
- b. pare loro_i [_{sCP} [_{Spec} *sottilissimamente*] [_{sc} *argomentare*]#
 [VP [PRN *pro.*] [V *argomentare*] [_{ADV} *sottilissimamente*]]]
- c. le mi pareva [_{sCP} [_{Spec} *nella gola*] [_{sc} *aver*]#
 [TP [T *aver*] [VP [PRN *pro.*] [V *messo un collar d'oro*] [_{PP} *nella-gola*]]]]]
- d. parendole_i [_{sCP} [_{Spec} *assai bene*] [_{sc} *stare*]# [VP [PRN *pro.*] [V *stare*] [_{Compl} *assai-bene*]]]
- e. pareva a tutti [_{sCP} [_{Spec} *madonna Beatrice*] [_{sc} *essere*]#
 [TP [T *essere*] [VP [DP *madonna-Beatrice*] [V *stata maliziosa in beffare il suo marito*]]]]]
- f. a me certo parrebbe [_{sCP} [_{Spec} *cosa piissima*] [_{sc} *esterminare e spegnere i ladroni*]#
 [_{INF} *esterminare e spegnere i ladroni*] [_{DP} *cosa piissima*]]]

Although the sCP layer is similar to the CP layer, it differs from the CP layer in the number of moving elements. In the corpus 10 cases have a sequence of two elements including the adverb.

- (26) a. parendole [_{DO} *il suo amante*] [_{ADV} *già*] riaver nelle braccia
 seeming-to.her the his lover already reacquire.inf.in.the arms
 "seeming that she already reacquires his lover in the arms" [Boccaccio, 743]
- b. a lui non pareva [_{ADV} *quella notte*] [_{ADV} *ben*] riposare
 to.him not seemed.3sg that night well rest
 "it seemed that he rests well that night" [Boccaccio, 117]

The second elements in examples (26a) and (26b) are "lower" adverbs¹ which were addressed in the previous section. In general these "lower" adverbs appear in the position between the auxiliary and the past participle or in front of the inflectional verb (Cf. Benicà (2010:67)). In (26) these adverbs occupy the anteverbal position. From this it follows that these adverbs do not move, but stay in the original position.

- (27) a. parendole_i [_{sCP} [_{Spec} *il suo amante*] [_{sc} *già riaver*]# [VP [PRN *pro.*] [V *già riaver*]
 [_{DP} *il-suo-amante*] [_{PP} *nelle braccia*]]]]]

*1 The adverbs in the corpus are: *alquanto* "sufficiently", *altramenti* "otherwise", *assai* "much", *ben* "well", *del tutto* "completely", *pienamente* "fully", *già* "already", *mal* "badly", *più* "more", *poco* "little", *quasi* "almost", *similmente* "similarly", *tanto* "much", and *testé* "just now".

b. a lui non pareva [_{SCP} [_{Spec} quella notte] [_{SC} ben riposare]#
 [_{VP} [_{PRN} pro.] [_V ben riposare [_{ADVP} quella notte]]]]

In perception verb constructions in the SC, another infinitive can appear besides perception verbs.

(28) gli parve [_{PP} in su la mezza notte] sentire [_{PP} d'in su il tetto della casa]

to.him seemed.3sg in on the half night hear of-in on the roof of.the house
 scender nella casa persone

descend in.the house people

[Boccaccio, 322]

"it seemed that he heard people around the midnight descend from the roof o the house in the house"

In (28), PP movement occurs before both the perception verb *sentire* and the infinitive *scender*.

Perceptual verb constructions followed by the verb *parere* have two sCPs. This structure can be illustrated in (29):

(29) gli parve [_{sCP1} [_{Spec} in su la mezza notte] [_{sCP1} sentire]# [_{VP} [_{PRN} pro.] [_V ~~sentire~~
 [_{PP} in su la mezza notte]]] [_{sCP2} [_{Spec} d'in su il tetto della casa] [_{sC2} scender]#
 [_{VP} [_V ~~scender~~ [_{PP} d'in su il tetto della casa] [_{PP} nella casa] [_{DP} persone]]]]]]

The structure in (29) indicates that each infinitive inside the sCP has the sCP layer¹.

To summarize, in the sCP layer the infinitive becomes an operator and moves to the head of the sCP and at the same time one constituent is preposed to the Spec of sCP, as shown in (30):

(30) [_{SCP} [_{Spec} XP] [_{SC} V]# [_{VP} [_{PRN} pro.] [_V ~~XP~~]]]]

5. The Subject in the sCP

If the hypothesis that one element is habitually preposed to the Spec of sCP is correct, how should we treat sentence (31)?

(31) parendogli [_{ADV} assai] aver veduto

seeming-to.him extremely have.inf seen

"seeming that he has extremely seen"

[Boccaccio, 87]

*1 The subject of the infinitive *scendere* "descend" is *persone* "people", and it keeps the postverbal position, since the verb *scendere* is unaccusative.

In modern Italian, Cinque (1999) points out that the adverb *già* "already" locates in the Spec of the lowest TP and the manner adverbs like *bene* "well" are in the Spec of the VoiceP. In any case, as Poletto points out, it may be conceivable that the "lower" adverbs are somewhere between the Operator and the VP in Old Italian: they don't prepose to the position of Topic. Here, it is important to take the existence of *pro* into consideration. If the null subject *pro* moves to the Spec of sCP, one element turns out to be preposed in the sCP layer, as shown in (32):

(32) *parendogli* [_{SCP} [_{Spec} *pro*]_i [_{SC} *assai aver*]_i # [_{TP} [_T *assai aver*]_i [_{VP} [_{PRN} *pro*]_i [_V *veduto*]]]]]

The structure in (32) shows that the null subject *pro* moves to the Spec of sCP. Thus, it can be said that the sole constituent is moved to the left periphery of the sCP. According to this, sentence (33), which appears to show no movement, is illustrated below¹:

(33) *parendo al medico*_i [_{SCP} [_{Spec} *pro*]_i [_{SC} *avere*]_i # [_{VP} [_{PRN} *pro*]_i [_V *avere* *assai piena certezza*]]]
 seeming to.the doctor have.inf extremely full certainty
 "seeming that the doctor has extremely full certainty" [Boccaccio, 225]

The structure in (33) shows that the infinitive *avere* "to have" moves to the head of the sCP and the null subject *pro* to the Spec of sCP, with the sCP layer involving some sort of elements. Similar predictions can be true of the expletive subject²:

(34) *a me, par* [_{SCP} [_{Spec} *egli*]_i [_{SC} *esser*]_i # [_{VP} [_{PRN} *egli*]_i [_V *essere* *certo che ...*]]]
 to me seems.3sg it-EXP be.inf certain that ...
 "it seems to me to be certain that ..." [Boccaccio, 708]

From this it follows that the null subject *pro* has the same nature as the expletive subject and there is one element in the sCP layer. The expletive or overt subject differs from the null subject *pro* in the remaining trace.

(35) a. [[_{PRN} *e'*]_i *lo'* *pare*]_i # [_{TP} *to'pare*]_i # [_{SCP} [_{Spec} *e'*]_i [_{SC} *ricevere*]_i]
 it-EXP to.them seems.3sg receive.inf

*1 The examples in the corpus are *alquanto/ altramentil assai/ ben/ forte/ già/ mall/ omai/ pienamente/ più/ poco/ quasi/ tanto/ testé/ troppo*.

*2 Camacho (2013: 46) suggests two possibilities of Spanish expletives: a) [_{CP} [_{IP} *ello* hay]] and b) [_{CP} *ello* [_{IP} *pro* hay]]. We adopt the structure b) in which *pros* and expletives occupy the same position.

[_{VP} ~~*e'ricevere*~~ *alcuna volta da me ingiuria*]

some time from me injury

"it seems that they receive injury from me"

[*Siena*, 15]

b. [[_{DP} *messer Corso Donati*] *non gli parea*]# [_{TP} ~~*non gli parea*~~]#

Mr. Corso Donati not to.him seemed.3sg

[_{SCP} [_{Spec} ~~*messer Corso Donati*~~] [_{SC} *esser*]]#

be.inf.

[_{VP} ~~*messer Corso Donati*~~ *esser così grande in Comune*]

very grate in Community

[*Villani*, 266]

That is, by leaving a trace like [*e'*] or [*messer Corso Donati*] in the Spec of the sCP in (35), it is likely that the sCP layer has one element.

To sum up, one element is always preposed to the Spec of sCP in the sCP layer. The null subject *pro*, the expletive subject and the overt subject could be the preposed element. In addition to (30), in the sCP layer the infinitive becomes an Operator and moves to the head of the sCP, and at the same time, one element is preposed to the Spec of the sCP, as shown in (36):

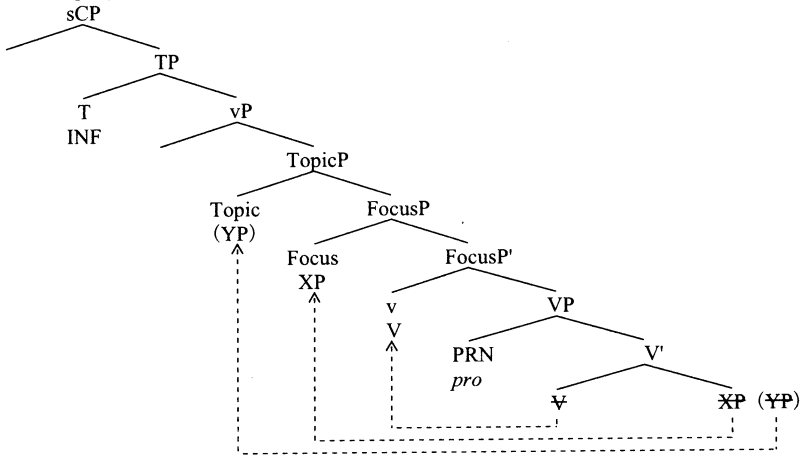
(36) [_{CP} [_{Spec} *pro*/EXP/Subj.] [_{SC} V]]# [_{VP} [_{PRN} *pro*/EXP/Subj.] [_V V]

The null subject *pro* in the small clause moves to the Spec of sCP if there is no element in the sCP layer, and it moves to the Spec of CP if there is another element. The expletive subject and the overt subject move likewise, but they can leave the trace in order to be an element.

6. Conclusion

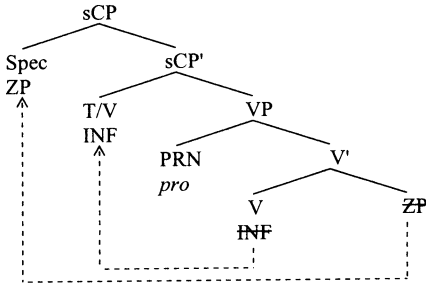
Based on the claim that all of the complement clauses of Old Italian are small clauses, this paper analyzes the vP Periphery and the sCP layer in the small clause following the verbs *parere/sembrare* of Old Italian. In the vP which is between the auxiliary and the verb, the verbs can become Operators and move to the head of the FocusP, and up to two elements can move to the vP periphery:

(37) the vP Periphery

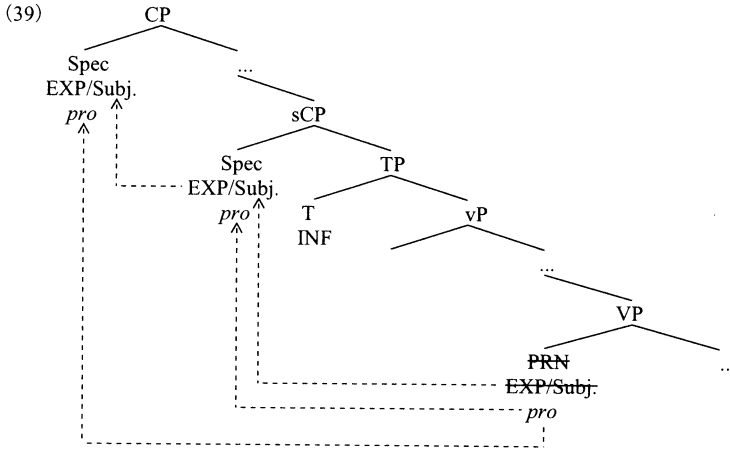


On the other hand, in the sCP layer the infinitive becomes an operator and moves to the head of the sCP, and at the same time, one element is preposed to the Spec of sCP:

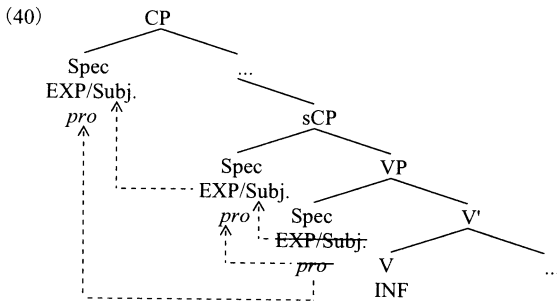
(38) the sCP layer



Concerning the movement of the subjects in the SC, the null subject *pro*, the expletive subject and the overt subject could be the obligatory preposed element. In the case that the vP periphery exists in the small clause, the subject moves to the Spec of sCP or CP, as illustrated in (39):



Similarly, in the case of no vP periphery, the subject moves to the Spec of sCP or CP, although the Operator is different from the structure with the vP periphery:



Even in Old Italian, movement over the complementizer isn't allowed. In the sentences with the verbs *parere/sembrare* followed by the non-finite complement clause, movement over the sCP frequently occurs. This point is a major difference between the CP and the sCP. From this it follows that the sCP has no complementizer.

* I am grateful to Lynn Anne Cooper for stylistic improvements. All remaining errors are my own.

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