Split Nominal Constructions in Italian

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In this paper interface evidence is provided for an analysis of Split Nominal constructions which excludes extraction of the dislocated phrase from the NP containing the Focus. Based on formal and semantic considerations, it is argued that Split Nominals imply a *kind*-construction implemented by the dislocated element, which is merged as a G-Topic in the left periphery of the DP containing the Focus. Crucially, the latter is not a modifier, but a predicate within the SC selected by the relevant DP, which has a *pro* in subject position.

Following recent proposals, it is then argued that the subject *pro* in the SC is interpreted through an Agree relation with the local (possibly silent) AS-Topic, representing a high copy of the *<kind>* G-Topic in the D-domain. This analysis is supported by intonational evidence, showing that the dislocated constituent can be overtly realized as any type of Topic, depending on the context; when it constitutes an overt AS- or C-Topic in the C-domain, the DP-internal G-Topic is a silent low copy.

"The year you were born marks only your entry in the world.
Other years where you prove your worth, they are the ones worth celebrating"
(J. Kintz)
It's great when you can celebrate the second on the occasion of the first!
This is the case, Adriana, and it's a pleasure to participate.

1. Aim of the paper

This paper aims at proposing an interface analysis of a particular type of marked construction in Italian, which implies a 'Split Nominal' phenomenon (cf., among others, Mathieu 2004, Féry et al. 2007) . Consider the examples below:

(1) *Ho   letto   QUESTO, di   libro*
      have.1SG read.PST.PART this   of   book
      'I read THIS book' (lit.: I read THIS (one), of book)

(2) *Ho   letto   quello GRANDE, di   libro*
      have.1SG read.PST.PART that   big   of   book
      'I read the BIG book' (lit.: I read the BIG one, of book)

(3) *Ho   letto   il   TUO,   di   libro*
      have.1SG read.PST.PART the your(s) of   book
      'I read YOUR book' (lit.: I read YOURS, of book)

(4) *QUALE* *hai* *letto,* *di libro?*
    which have.2SG read.PST.PART of book
    'Which book did you read?' (lit.: Which (one) did you read, of book?)

As these examples show, the constructions under examination present a focused restrictive modifier (a demonstrative in (1), an attributive adjective in (2), a possessive in (3), a wh-item in (4)), which is followed by a dislocated phrase (underlined in our examples) introduced by the preposition *di* 'of' and including the noun which the modifier applies (*libro* 'book' in (1-4))

    The paper is organized as follows. The syntactic and semantic properties of the relevant construction are illustrated in §§ 2 and 3, while in § 4 the discourse interpretation of Split Nominal constituents is discussed. An interface analysis is therefore proposed in § 5, supported by intonational evidence in § 6. Section 7 provides final conclusions.

2. Syntactic properties

The examples in (1-4) above illustrate four cases of Split Nominals in Italian in which a right-hand dislocated phrase is present (*di libro*, 'of book'). Nevertheless, the construction at issue also allows for a left-hand realization of the dislocated constituent:

(5) *Di libro, ho letto QUESTO*
(6) *Di libro, ho letto quello GRANDE*
(7) *Di libro, ho letto il TUO*
(8) *Di libro, QUALE hai letto?*

The examples provided so far show that the focused modifier and the dislocated phrase need not be adjacent. In particular, in (1-3) as well as in (8) they are separated by a prosodic break (represented by commas), while linguistic material intervenes between them in (4-7).

    Nevertheless, some type of syntactic connection must be posited between them, since the focused modifier is interpreted as applying to the dislocated constituent. A brief review on the syntactic properties of Split Nominal constructions will help defining the nature of this connection.

    First of all, the morphological realization of a demonstrative provides evidence for the existence of an empty category in the DP containing the Focus. As is shown below, the distal demonstrative in Italian appears as *quel* in the presence of an overt noun (cf. (9a-b)), while in elliptical DPs its form is *quello* (cf. (9c)):

(9) a. *Quel(*lo) libro grande*
        that   book big
    b. *Quel(*lo) grande libro*
        that   big   book
        Both: 'That big book'
    c. *Quello grande*
        'The big one'

Interestingly, the latter is the only form allowed in Split Nominal constructions:

(10)   *Ho letto quello / *quel GRANDE, <u>di libro</u>*   (cf. (2))

This suggests that *quello* in (10) is included in an elliptical DP, namely in a DP headed by an empty nominal category (on elliptical DPs, cf. Sleeman 1996, Kester 1996, Corver & Van Koppen 2011).

   Data concerning the elision of pre-vowel material provide further support in the same direction. The examples below show that in Italian the feminine indefinite determiner *una* 'a' (11a) is realized as *un'* (due to vowel elision) when the following word starts with a vowel (11b):

(11) a. *Ho   visto   una   ragazza americana*
         have.1SG see.PST.PART a   girl   American
         'I saw an American girl'
      b. *Ho   visto   un' americana*
         have.1SG see.PST.PART a   American
         'I saw an American[FEM]'
      c. *Ne   ho   vista   una / *un' americana*
         of.it have.1SG see.PST.PART a   American
         'I saw an American one'

As can be observed, however, vowel elision is blocked in (11c), showing that an empty category (i.e., the trace of the clitic pronoun *ne* 'of it') is structurally present between the determiner and the adjective (as opposed to (11b), where *Americana* is merged as the head noun). In other words, in (11c) vowel elision is not allowed because *una* and *Americana* are not structurally *adjacent* (but separated by a trace).
   A similar pattern can be found in Split Nominal constructions, as is shown below:

(12) *Ho   visto   quella / *quell' AMERICANA, <u>di   ragazza</u>*
     have.1SG see.PST.PART that   American   of   girl
     'I saw the AMERICAN girl'

Also in this case, the lack of elision supports the hypothesis that an empty category is structurally present between *quella* 'that' and *Americana* 'American'.
   If this line of reasoning is correct, it is necessary to investigate the nature of the relevant empty category. In this respect, several proposals have been put forth in the literature to account for a construction which shares a number of crucial properties with the Italian structure at issue, namely the so-called 'Split Topicalization' in languages like German (cf. Van Riemsdijk 1989):

(13) [*Über Syntax*] *hat   er [ein Buch __] ausgeliehen*
     about   syntax   have.3SG he a   book   borrow.PST.PART
     'On syntax, he borrowed a book'   (De Kuthy 2002)
(14) [*In Schlössern*]*habe   ich noch [in keinen __] gewohnt*
     in   castles   have.1SG I   yet in   no   live.PST.PART
     'As for castles, so far I have not lived in any'   (Fanselow & Cavar 2002)

Some of the most influent explanations proposed in the '80s implied the movement of an intermediate projection followed by 'reanalysis' (cf. Fanselow 1987, Grewendorf 1989). Though movement of intermediate projections is not allowed under more recent approaches, an analysis in terms of dislocation can be resumed (and revised) in order to define the nature of the empty category involved in Split Nominals. In particular, the first hypothesis to be explored is whether the relevant empty category can qualify as the trace of the dislocated phrase. If this is correct, two predictions follow: 1) island effects are expected if the dislocated phrase is connected with an island-internal constituent, and 2) an overt head noun should not be allowed in the clause-internal DP (since this position is filled by the relevant trace). However, neither prediction is borne out.

As a matter of fact, no island effect emerges in the relevant construction when the focused modifier is contained in a syntactic island. For instance, in a sentence like (15) the focused possessive *tuo* 'your(s)' is interpreted as a modifier of the dislocated phrase *(di) laureando* '(of) final year student'. If the latter is assumed to be extracted from the clause-internal DP containing the Focus and moved to a left-peripheral position, an island violation would be expected, as its merge position is within a structural subject. However this is not the case,[1] providing an argument against a movement analysis:

(15) <u>*Di laureando,*</u>   IL TUO *discuterà*   *domani*   *(non il   mio)*
     of final.year.student the yours defend.FUT.3SG tomorrow   not   the mine
     'YOUR student will defend his thesis tomorrow (not mine)'

A similar conclusion can be reached by considering a Split Nominal construction like (16), in which the focused modifier is internal to a relative clause:

(16) [?]*Ho*   *incontrato*   *l'*   *autore che ha*   *scritto*   QUESTO,
     have.1SG meet.PST.PART the author that have.3SG write.PST.PART this
          <u>*di   libro*</u>
          of   book
     'I met the author that wrote THIS book'

As indicated, the sentence in (16) is marginal, but fairly acceptable, especially if compared with the application of wh-movement in the same context. Indeed, a sentence like (17) is definitely ungrammatical:

(17) *QUALE *hai*   *incontrato*   *l'*   *autore* *che* *ha*   *scritto,*
     which   have.2SG meet.PST.PART the author   that have.3SG write.PST.PART
          <u>*di   libro*</u>?
          of   book
     Intended: '*Which book did you meet the author that wrote?'

Besides (the absence of) island effects, the second prediction is also not met. As is shown below, the head noun of the clause-internal DP can be overtly realized by means of a hyponym of the dislocated phrase:

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[1] In the presence of subject islands, judgments are consistent no matter whether the subject is realized in pre- or post-verbal position, nor whether the verb is unaccusative or unergative.

(18) *Ho   letto   GUERRA E   PACE, <u>di romanzo</u> (non L' idiota)*
     have.1SG read.PST.PART war   and peace of   novel   (not The Idiot)
     'As a novel, I read *War and Peace* (not *The Idiot*)'

(19) <u>*Di cane, ho*</u>   *visto   IL DALMATA (non il   bassotto di Marco)*
     of dog   have.1SG see.PST.PART the Dalmatian not   the dachshund of Marco
     'As a dog, I saw THE DALMATIAN (not Marco's dachshund)'

This evidence is further supported by examples like (20): the presence of the clitic pronoun *ne* 'of it', extracted from the bracketed DP, excludes the possibility that the dislocated phrase *(di) cane* can have the same merge position.

(20) a. *Ne$_i$ ho   visto   [uno t$_i$ GRANDE], di   cane*
       of.it have.1SG see.PST.PART a   big   of   dog
    b. *Di cane, ne$_i$ ho visto [uno t$_i$ GRANDE]*
       Both: 'As a dog, I saw a BIG one'

It is now important to observe that similar "movement paradoxes" have also been noticed for Split Topicalization. Specifically, the (a) examples in (21-23) below show that an analysis in terms of extraction is not feasible, as it would imply an ungrammatical merge structure (illustrated in (b)):

(21) a. *[_{CP} [eine Lösung] [_{C'} hat   er [eine bessere __] als   ich]]*
       a   solution   have.3SG he a   better   than I
       'As a solution, he has one better than mine'   (Van Riemsdijk 1989)
    b. **[_{NP} eine bessere eine Lösung]*
(22) a. *[Geld] hat   er glaube   ich [keines __]*
       money have.3SG he believe.1SG I   no
       'As for money, I think he has any'   (Van Riemsdijk 1989)
    b. *[kein(*-es) [Geld]]*
(23) a. *[Autos] hat   er nur [eins __]*
       cars   have.3SG he only one
       'As for cars, he has only one'
    b. **[eins [Autos]]*   (Fanselow 1988)

The data considered so far show that the dislocated phrase cannot be taken as *extracted* out of the NP containing the Focus. Accordingly, the empty category at issue, included in the latter constituent, does not qualify as a trace. We therefore propose that the focused phrase is merged in an elliptical DP headed by a *pro*, whereas the dislocated constituent (whose syntactic category and internal structure will be defined below) is inserted in a left-peripheral projection.

3. Semantic properties

3.1. The DP containing the Focus

When considering the semantic properties of Split Nominal constructions, it is important to notice that only a specific type of modifiers is allowed in the DP containing the Focus. In order to define the nature of such modifiers, a semantic

distinction is needed within the class of attributive adjectives, so as to show that the relevant semantic asymmetry discriminates between functional (24a) and lexical (24b) adjectives (cf. Bernstein 1993, Cinque 2010, Ramaglia 2011):

(24) a. Functional (i.e., non-predicative) adjectives
          The mere accident (cf. **The accident is mere*)
          The future president (cf. **The president is future*)
          The nuclear energy (cf. **The energy is nuclear*)
      b. Lexical (i.e., predicative) adjectives
          A big house (cf. *The house is big*)
          A nice girl (cf. *The girl is nice*)
          The important point (cf. *The point is important*)

In the light of this semantic partition, it is noteworthy that only lexical adjectives can be focused in Split Nominal constructions. As is shown in (25), a functional adjective is excluded:[2]

(25) a. **Ho   visto   quello* MERO, *di incidente*
              have.1SG see.PST.PART that   mere   of accident
              Intended: 'I saw the MERE accident'
      b. **Di presidente, ho   visto   il   FUTURO*
              of president   have.1SG see.PST.PART the   future
              Intended: 'I saw the FUTURE president'

Crucially, this semantic restriction is confirmed by the interpretation of ambiguous adjectives in Split Nominal constructions. As is known, adjectives like the ones in (26-28) can be interpreted either as functional (a) or lexical (b) modifiers, depending on their position with respect to the head noun (i.e., pre-N *vs.* post-N position, respectively):

(26) a. *Un vecchio amico*   (≠ *Un amico che è vecchio*)
              a   old   friend
              'A long-standing friend' (≠ A friend who is old)
      b. *Un amico vecchio*   (= *Un amico che è vecchio*)
              a   friend old
              'An aged friend'   (= A friend who is old)
(27) a. *Un alto ufficiale*   (≠ *Un ufficiale che è alto*)
              a   tall   officer
              'A high-ranking officer' (≠ A man who is tall)
      b. *Un ufficiale alto*   (= *Un ufficiale che è alto*)
              a   officer tall
              'A tall officer'   (= An officer who is tall)
(28) a. *Un povero ragazzo*   (≠ *Un ragazzo che è povero*)
              a   poor   boy
              'A pitiable boy'   (≠ A boy who is poor)

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[2] Notice that this semantic restriction is also found in the French counterpart of the relevant Split Nominal constructions (cf. Mathieu 2004, § 4).

b. *Un ragazzo povero*   (= *Un ragazzo che è povero*)
   a   boy   poor
   'An impoverished boy'   (= A boy who is poor)

When ambiguous adjectives such as the ones above appear in Split Nominal constructions, only the lexical reading is maintained:

(29) *Ho   visto   quello VECCHIO, di amico*
     have.1SG see.PST.PART that   old   of friend
     'I saw the AGED friend' (not 'I saw the long-standing friend')
(30) *Ho   parlato   con quello ALTO, di ufficiale*
     have.1SG talk.PST.PART with that   tall   of officer
     'I talked with the TALL officer' (not 'I talked with the high-ranking officer')
(31) *Ho   incontrato   quello POVERO, di ragazzo*
     have.1SG meet.PST.PART that   poor   of boy
     'I met the IMPOVERISHED boy' (not 'I met the pitiable boy')

As the focused modifiers appearing in Split Nominal constructions can only obtain a lexical − namely predicative − reading, we conclude that they qualify as predicates within an elliptical DP (cf. § 2).

3.2. The dislocated constituent
Since the dislocated phrase in Split Nominal constructions constitutes a hyperonym of the focused element (cf. (18-19)), it can be analyzed as a partitive-like element, defining the set from which the referent denoted by the focused DP is selected. Specifically, sentences like (32-33) receive the interpretation indicated below, which suggests the existence of a 'part-whole' relation between the two nominal constituents (i.e., the focused DP and the dislocated phrase):[3]

(32) *Di libro, ho letto QUESTO*   (= (5))
     'I read THIS book'
     → '*In the relevant set of books*, I read THIS (one)'
(33) *Ho letto QUESTO, di libro*   (= (1))
     'I read THIS book'
     → 'I read THIS (one), *as a book* (= as a member of the relevant set of books)'

Given this interpretation, we follow Zamparelli's (2000) suggestion and consider this structure as a type of *<kind>* construction. According to this approach, an example like (32) above can receive the following (informal) representation:

(34) *<As for kinds of book>*, I read THIS (one)

Notice that a *kind*-interpretation is needed to account for the relevant 'part-whole' relation, since a broad reading is excluded in these structures:

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[3] The same type of 'part-whole' relation has also been identified as a crucial property of Split Topicalization (cf. Van Hoof 2007: "the anaphoric relation between TOP (antecedent) and REM (anaphor) forms a proper subset relation").

(35) a. *Ho   visto   spesso tramonti*
        have.1SG see.PST.PART often   sunsets
        "I have often seen sunsets"
   b. *<u>Di   tramonti</u>, ho   visto   spesso*
        of   sunsets   have.1SG see.PST.PART often
   c. *Ho   visto   spesso, <u>di   tramonti</u>*
        have.1SG see.PST.PART often   of   sunsets

Given this semantic characterization, we propose that the dislocated constituent is part (in a sense to be specified below) of a nominal construction implementing a *<kind>* interpretation.

4. Discourse-related considerations

In line with established analyses on 'Split Topicalization' (Fanselow 1988, Giusti 1993, Van Hoof 2007), Split Nominal constructions in Italian are connected to Information Structure (IS) requirements and, as such, entail reference to discourse categories like Focus and Topic. In particular, the clause-internal constituent is interpreted as a Focus,[4] while the dislocated phrase is a Topic, whose properties and position depend on its specific discourse function.

As is known, in the cartographic approach to the left periphery (Rizzi 1997 and subsequent works), the original CP-node has been reanalyzed as an array of functional projections, each dedicated to a specific IS-related feature (cf., in particular, Belletti ed. 2004, Rizzi ed. 2004). The left periphery thus provides an interface between the propositional content (the IP-node) and specific discourse roles. In this respect, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (henceforth, F&H) (2007) first showed that there is a systematic correlation between the formal properties of Topics and their function in the discourse, which is encoded in a strict hierarchy in the C-domain (*contra* a free recursion analysis of TopP projections). They thus provide intonational and syntactic evidence that different types of Topic projections must be posited in the left periphery.[5]

In particular, the *Aboutness-shift* Topic (AS-Topic) combines Reinhart's (1981) 'aboutness' with a shift in the conversation. This discourse quality is encoded in the highest Topic position and associated with a rise in the F0 contour that is aligned with the tonic vowel in its full extension (a complex L*+H tone).[6] The AS-Topic thus corresponds to Reinhart's 'sentence Topic', which identifies the entity (i.e., the 'file card') under which the proposition expressed in the clause should be stored in the

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[4] Though a contrastive interpretation seems to be the most immediate for the Focus at issue, an informative reading cannot be excluded, given the possibility of answering a wh-question like (4) with a sentence like (1) above. In the latter the focused demonstrative QUESTO necessarily assumes an informative reading.

[5] Notice that the prosodic properties of Topics, based on Italian and German data in F&H (2007), have been further supported by cross-linguistic evidence from Somali (Frascarelli & Puglielli 2009), Tagalog (Frascarelli 2010b) and Spanish (Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández 2012).

[6] According to the ToBi system (Pierrehumbert 1980), tunes are described as sequences of *low* (L) and *high* (H) tones (which determine the shape of the F0 contour). In this framework, there are six different types of pitch accent: two simple tones – high (H*) and low (L*) – and four complex (bitonal) ones. In this perspective, all pitch accents render prominent the material with which they are associated, regardless of the specific tonal event.

Common Ground content (for a discussion, cf. Bianchi & Frascarelli 2010). *Contrastive* Topics (C-Topics), on the other hand, break down a complex proposition into a conjunction of linguistically simpler entailed propositions (Bianchi & Frascarelli 2010): this creates alternatives in the discourse, which have no impact on the Focus value of the sentence. C-Topics are characterized by a rising contour, in which the tonic vowel marks the highest part of the relevant tonal event (i.e., a H* tone). The third type of Topic emerged from F&H's (2007) analysis is the *Familiar* (Given) Topic (G-Topic): a low-toned (L*) dislocated constituent that constitutes given information in the discourse; specifically, G-Topics can be used to resume background information or for Topic continuity (Givón 1983). Given this characterization, recursion only applies to G-Topics, since more than one constituent can be dislocated to retrieve given information. The hierarchy composing the C-domain can be therefore represented as follows:

(36) [$_{ShiftP}$ AS-Topic [$_{ContrP}$ C-Topic [$_{GP}$ [$_{FocP}$ [$_{FamP*}$ G-Topic [$_{FinP}$ [$_{IP}$
        L*+H   H*   L*

Since G-Topics are located in the lowest Topic projection(s), in multiple Topic constructions they are lower than AS- and C-Topics. Also notice that, unlike AS- and C-Topics, G-Topics can be realized in the right periphery of the sentence, modulo IP-inversion to Spec,GP (*Ground Phrase*; cf. Poletto & Pollock 2004).

In the present approach, discourse-related information is implemented in Narrow Syntax by means of functional features. This means that different types of Focus and Topic are interpreted insofar as they move to (or enter an Agree relation with) dedicated positions in the C-domain in which the relevant features are encoded. Our working hypothesis is therefore that the formal properties of the two constituents involved in Split Nominal constructions depend on IS-requirements.

5. The interface analysis

5.1. The internal structure of the DP containing the Focus

For the purposes of the present analysis we assume, with Frascarelli (2010a), that a narrow Focus is the predicate in a (often hidden) copular construction and, with Ramaglia (2011), that lexical adjectives (and predicative modifiers in general) are merged as nominal predicates within the DP.[7]
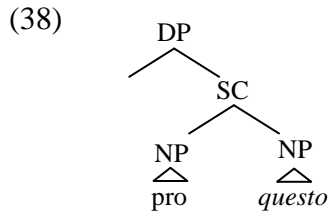
This means that the bracketed DP in (37) below should be analyzed as in (38), in which the focused demonstrative *questo* 'this' is a predicate,[8] while the subject is a pronominal variable:[9]

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[7] In this work nominal predication within the DP is realized by means of a Small Clause (SC), while in Ramaglia (2011) this (reduced) clausal structure is analyzed in terms of ConjP (following Rebuschi 2005). The latter can account for the fact that the relevant predication shares distributive properties with its subject (i.e., a NP), rather than with its predicate. Since this point is immaterial for the purposes of the present analyses, we have adopted the SC label for the sake of simplicity.

[8] For the sake of simplicity, the demonstrative in (38) is labeled as 'NP'; for a more detailed analysis of demonstratives, cf. Ramaglia (2013).

[9] A thematic null subject is a pronominal variable, the features of which are valued (i.e., 'copied through matching') by the local AS-Topic (Frascarelli 2007, 694). We will resume the analysis of the subject *pro* in (38) later in the paper.
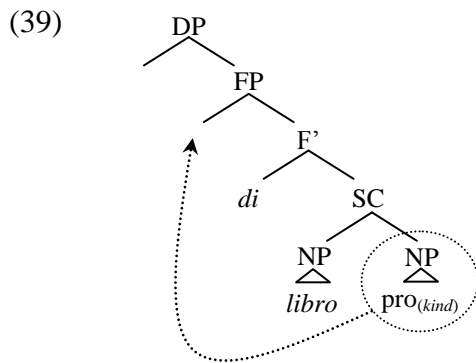
(37)   *Ho letto* [_{DP} QUESTO], <u>*di libro*</u>   (= (1))

(38)

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           DP
          /  \
             SC
           /    \
        NP       NP
        △        △
        pro     questo
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Based on this structural analysis, a novel explanation arises for the construction at issue, along the lines to be discussed below.

5.2. The internal structure of the topicalized constituent

Following Zamparelli's (2000) suggestion, we propose that the dislocated DP in a Split Nominal construction like (37) has the morpho-syntactic and interpretive properties of a '*kind*-constituent' (cf. § 3.2). Let us consider the structure in (39), adapted from Zamparelli (2000, ch. 3):

(39)

```
             DP
            /  \
              FP
             /   \
                  F'
                 /  \
               di    SC
                    /   \
                 NP      NP
                 △       △
               libro   pro(kind)
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As is shown, in the present approach the *di* head qualifies as a functional category in the left periphery of the SC, acting as a *linker* which allows for the inversion of the predicative NP (cf. Den Dikken 2006), which is a (silent) *<kind>* NP.

Though similar to Fanselow's (1988) proposal, this analysis allows for a deeper understanding of the formal and interpretive properties of the topicalized constituent in Split Nominal constructions. Indeed, according to Fanselow, the latter is a noun phrase which modifies the 'remnant' (i.e., the *in situ* focused phrase) by binding *pro* in the remnant itself. The present analysis, on the other hand, acknowledges a more complex internal structure for the dislocated constituent which is, in fact, a (reduced) clause: this can account for the fact that the Focus and the topicalized constituent do not establish a referential-anaphoric binding, but rather a 'part-whole' (*kind*)-relation. In other words, the subject *pro* in (38) and the dislocated DP in (39) do not refer to one and the same individual: rather, the latter establishes a set, while the former refers to a member of that set.

5.3. The (information) structure of Split Nominals

Given the semantic and discourse properties of the constituents composing Split Nominal constructions, the 'information packaging' of the structure under examination can be (informally) represented as follows:

(40)

(left-hand) Topic	Comment		(right-hand) Topic
<kind> *di libro*ᵢ	*ho letto*	QUESTOᵢ	<kind> *di libro*ᵢ
	Background	Focus	
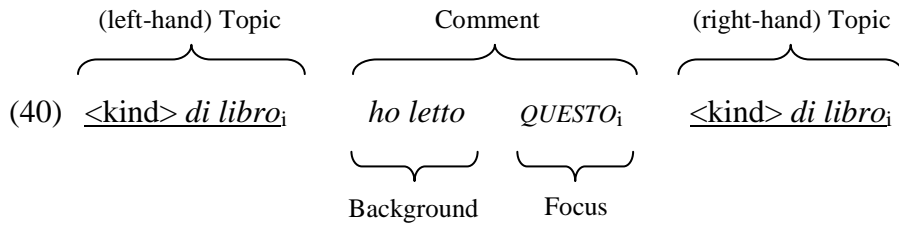
As we have seen, both the focused element and the NP included in the dislocated constituent are contained in a SC (the former as the predicate, the latter as the subject), independent of their linear order. The question is now what kind of syntactic relation can be assumed between these two constituents, which can account for their properties and interpretation.

In § 2 a number of arguments have challenged the feasibility of an extraction analysis. Still, there are some specific cases in which Split Nominals show some of the typical asymmetries characterizing the so-called 'island effects' (cf. Mathieu 2004). In particular, these asymmetries concern the dichotomy between right- and left-hand topicalization, in combination with the syntactic function or the θ-role of the dislocated constituent.

First of all, while Split Nominal constructions are allowed with topicalized direct objects in either periphery (41), dislocated indirect objects can only be found in the right periphery of the sentence (42):

(41) a. *Ho   dato   a Mario quello ROSSO, di   libro*
        have.1SG give.PST.PART to Mario that   red   of book
        'I gave Mario the RED book' (lit.: I gave Mario the RED (one), of book)
    b. *Di libro, ho dato a Mario quello ROSSO*
(42) a. *Ho   dato   il   libro al   TUO,   di   amico*
        have.1SG give.PST.PART the book to.the your(s) of   book
        'I gave the book to YOUR friend' (lit: I gave the book to YOURS, of friend)
    b. **Di amico, ho dato il libro al TUO*

The same pattern observed in (42) can be found with dislocated adjuncts (43) and in the presence of relative clauses (44); as is shown, in these cases the topicalized constituent is only accepted in the right periphery:

(43) a. *Le   ho   dato   un libro per il   SUO, di compleanno*
        to.her have.1SG give.PST.PART the book for the her(s) of birthday
        'I gave her a book for HER birthday'
        (lit.: I gave her a book for HERS, of birthday)
    b. **Di compleanno, le ho dato un libro per il SUO*
(44) a. ?*Ho incontrato l'autore che ha scritto QUESTO, di libro*   (= (16))
    b. **Di libro, ho incontrato l'autore che ha scritto QUESTO*

Furthermore, an asymmetry is also attested with respect to θ-roles, when the split constituent is a subject. Specifically, dislocated themes (46) are more easily accepted than topicalized agents (45). Interestingly, in this case the relevant ungrammaticality is found in the presence of left-hand topicalization (45a), unlike the cases illustrated above in (41-44):

(45) a. **Quello* ALTO *ha　　arrestato　　il ladro,di poliziotto*
　　　　　　that　tall　　have.3SG arrest.PST.PART the thief　of policeman
　　　　　　'The TALL policeman arrested the thief'
　　　　　　(lit.: The TALL (one) has arrested the thief, of policeman)
　　　b. $^?$*Di poliziotto, quello* ALTO *ha arrestato il ladro*
(46) a. $^?$*Quello* ALTO *è　　caduto　　a terra,　di poliziotto*
　　　　　　that　tall　　be.3SG fall.PST.PART to ground　of policeman
　　　　　　'The TALL policeman fell to the ground'
　　　　　　(lit.: The TALL (one) fell to the ground, of policeman)
　　　b. *Di poliziotto, quello* ALTO *è caduto a terra*

The existence of asymmetries like these clearly recalls island effects and their explanation apparently advocates for a movement analysis of the topicalized element, which was excluded after the discussion of examples like (15-20).

　　　The puzzling pattern illustrated above and the paradox that apparently arises can find a solution if we assume that the dislocated constituent is merged (as a Familiar Topic) in the left periphery of the SC containing the focused constituent (i.e., in the D-domain of the structure illustrated in (38) above). This proposal is in line with a number of recent works, in which the existence of a (reduced) functional array of discourse-related projections has been argued for the left periphery of DPs and embedded clauses (cf., among others, Haegeman 2002, Giusti 2006, Bianchi & Frascarelli 2010, Ramaglia 2013).

　　　The present solution can account for the asymmetries examined so far since, when the two elements of the Split Nominal construction are adjacent (like in the (a) examples in (41-44), as well as in the (b) examples in (45-46)), the Topic is located in the left periphery (specifically, in Spec,FamP) of the DP containing the Focus (i.e., DP1 in (47) below). Its right-hand position is derived through the movement of the SC itself to Spec,GP (cf. § 4), hence extraction is clearly not an issue.[10]

(47)　[$_{TopP}$ [$_{IP}$ pro$_k$ *ho* [$_{VP}$ t$_k$ *dato il libro*
　　　　[$_{DP1}$ [$_{GP}$ [$_{SC}$ pro *al TUO*] [$_{FamP}$ [$_{DP2}$ [$_{FP}$ pro$_{kind}$ *di* [$_{SC}$ *amico* t$_{pro}$]]] [t$_{SC}$]]]]]]] (= 42a)

On the other hand, when the two phrases at issue are not adjacent (cf. (41-44b) and (45-46a)), the derivation requires TopP-to-TopP movement of the dislocated constituent to the C-domain of the matrix clause; only in this case is the relevant Topic extracted from the DP, thus determining island effects (cf. (48)):[11]

---

[10] In other words, in cases like (41-44a) the dislocated phrase is a DP-internal G-Topic, whose right-hand position is derived through SC-inversion to Spec,GP (cf. (47)). In cases like (45-46b), on the other hand, SC-inversion does not apply, and the relevant DP-internal Topic obtains a left-hand realization.

[11] As for the absence of island effects with subject-themes (46) and direct objects (41), the fact that internal arguments extract freely while external ones cannot is a widely attested cross-linguistic phenomenon (also defined as 'syntactic ergativity'; see e.g. Dixon 1994). Traditionally accounted for in terms of ECP, this phenomenon has been lately approached referring to *Criterial Freezing* (Rizzi & Shlonsky 2007). Discussing this problem is far beyond the issues of the present paper.

(48) *[TopP [DP2 [FP pro_kind *di* [SC *amico* t_pro]]]_k [IP pro_k *ho* [VP t_k *dato il libro* [DP1 [FamP t_k

[SC pro *al TUO*]]]]]]   (= 42b)

This analysis clearly implies that the dislocated constituent in a Split Nominal construction is typically *given* in the discourse and, as such, necessarily merged as a G-Topic in Spec,FamP. As a matter of fact, Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010) provide compelling evidence that only G-Topics can be realized in any type of embedded (and reduced) clause. AS-Topics, on the other hand, are strictly connected with the matrix illocutionary force and C-Topics can only be embedded under proposition-taking verbs. Hence, neither of them could be merged in the left periphery of a DP-internal Small Clause.

5.4. The interpretation of pro
Since the analysis proposed for Split Nominal constructions implies the presence of a subject *pro* in the SC containing the focused constituent, it is now important to account for its interpretation. To this purpose, let us consider the derivation of a sentence like (49) at a moment in which the relevant SC still sits in its merge position:

(49) *Leo ha letto QUESTO, di libro*   (cf. (1))
      'Leo read THIS book' (lit.: Leo read THIS (one), of book')

(50) *Leo ha letto* [DP1 [FamP [DP2 [FP pro_kind *di* [SC *libro* t_pro]]] [SC **pro** *QUESTO*]]]

   Along the lines of Frascarelli (2007), we propose that the interpretation of the *pro* in bold in (50) relies on an AGREE relation with the local AS-Topic ('Topic Criterion'; cf. Frascarelli 2007, (37)). Indeed, though Frascarelli's analysis is mainly dedicated to the interpretation of null referential subjects, it also deals with the possibility for a *pro* to corefer with a quantified element. Specifically, the author shows that in a sentence like (51a) below the quantified expression *ogni studente* 'every student' cannot be a Topic, since it does not establish a reference;[12] this means that the interpretation of *pro* cannot depend 'directly' on it. Rather, *ogni studente* 'every student' evokes a set containing all and only the persons who have some specific property associated with the fact of 'being students'; as such, it can be thought of as projecting a TYPE consisting of a number of TOKENS, where the TOKENS are individuals ('students') identified by the (distributed) reference of *ogni* ('every') (cf. Jackendoff 1983). Hence Frascarelli (2007, 728) proposes that, in cases like (51a), the TYPE implements a silent AS-Topic and the null pronoun matches with the referential features of the individuals it includes (51b):

(51) a. [*ogni studente*]_k *pensa che* pro_k *è   un genio*
          every student   thinks that   is a genius
          'Every student_k thinks that he_k is a genius'

---

[12] The fact that quantifiers cannot be Topics is widely acknowledged in the literature (cf., among others, Cinque 1990, Rizzi 1997), unless, as is shown in this paper, the speaker refers to some *specific* individual.

b. [<as for TYPE X> [every X thinks [(that) TOKEN X is a genius]]][13]

$$\underbrace{\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad}_{\text{AGREE}}$$

Following this line of reasoning, the interpretation of the subject *pro* in the case at issue (cf. (50)) can be considered as relying on an AGREE relation with a (possibly silent) AS-Topic, which contains the dislocated DP semantically classified as a *<kind>* element. The latter matches its referential features with *pro*, as is illustrated below:

(52)   [<as for KIND X> [*Leo ha letto* [$_{DP}$ [pro$_k$ [*di* [*libro* t$_k$]]] [$_{SC}$ TOKEN X *QUESTO*]]]]

$$\underbrace{\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad}_{\text{AGREE}}$$

Given this scenario, when the *<kind>* DP is overtly realized in the left periphery of the matrix clause (as in (5-8)), the G-Topic in the left periphery of the DP containing the Focus is merged as a silent (low) copy. This is consistent with general minimalist tenets concerning copy theory and linearization of chains (Chomsky 1995).

As a matter of fact, data show that the *<kind>* DP, when dislocated in the matrix left periphery, can be realized as *any* type of Topic, depending on its discourse role.[14] Evidence is provided by the intonational properties discussed in the following section.

6.   Intonational analysis[15]

In this section prosodic evidence will be provided to support the analysis of Split Nominal constructions proposed in § 5. The relevant data will be presented in different subsections, according to the surface position in which the DP containing the focused modifier and the topicalized *<kind>* DP are realized.

6.1. Right-hand Topic, in situ *Focus*

The first Split Nominal structure to be considered is represented by a sentence in which the *<kind>* DP (*di cane* 'of dog') is a right-hand Topic and the focused modifier (*questo* 'this') appears *in situ*:

(53)   *Ho   visto   QUESTO, <u>di cane</u>   (non il bassotto   di Marco)*
        have.1SG see.PST.PART this   of   dog   not   the dachshund of Marco
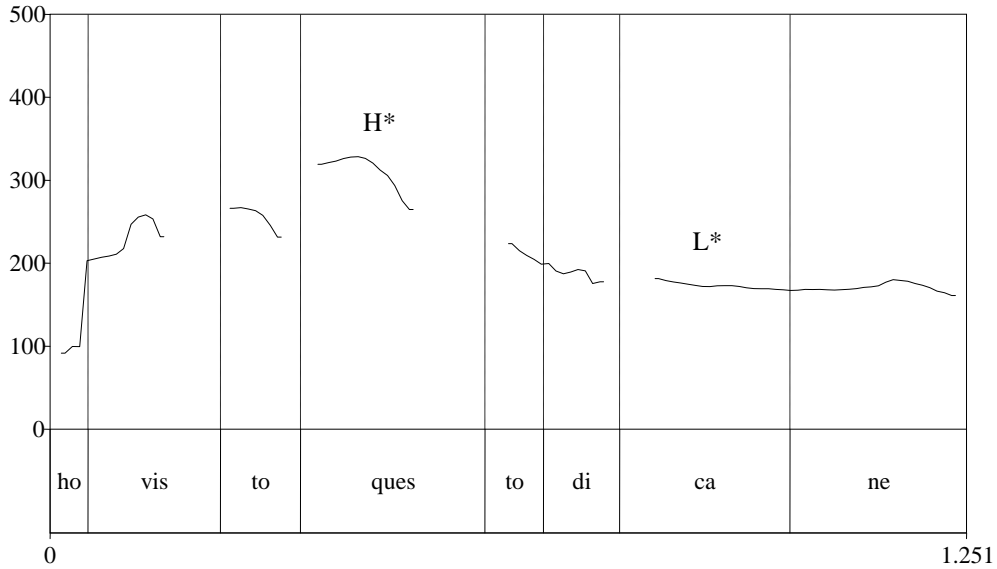   'I saw THIS dog (not Marco's dachshund)'

Figure 1

As this picture shows, the right-hand dislocated phrase *di cane* 'of dog' is low-toned, thus confirming its G-Topic quality (cf. (36) above). The focused demonstrative shows a pitch (H*), consistent with a contrastive interpretation of this modifier (a possible option for an *in situ* Focus in Italian).

6.2. Left-hand Topic, in situ *Focus*

Let us now consider a Split Nominal construction, composed by the same constituents as in (53), in which the dislocated phrase *di cane* appears in sentence-initial position:

(54) <u>*Di cane,*</u> *ho   visto   QUESTO (non il bassotto   di   Marco)*
        of   dog   have.1SG see.PST.PART this   not the dachshund of   Marco
        'As a dog, I saw THIS (not Marco's dachshund)'

Interestingly, in this case our consultants produced two different types of prosodic contour, which are illustrated in Figures 2a and 2b:
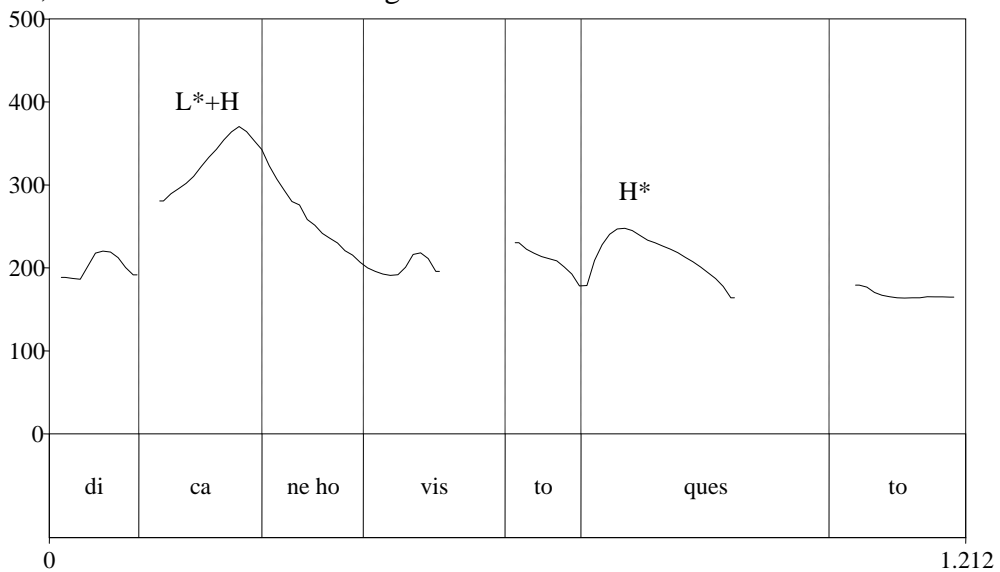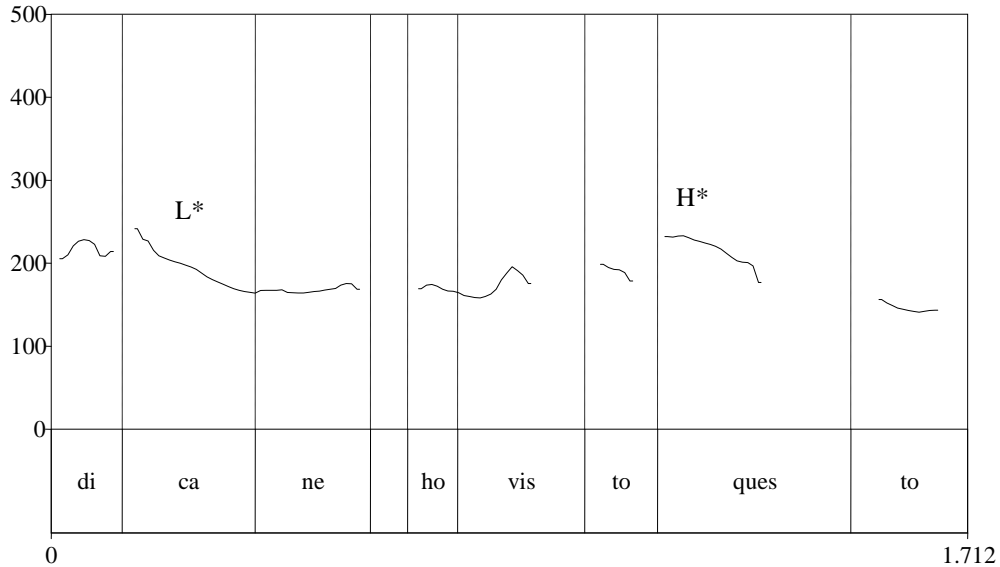
Figure 2a

Figure 2b

The fact that two different prosodic contours have been produced in the presence of a left-hand Topic is perfectly in line with the discussion provided in § 4. As a matter of fact, while right-dislocated constituents can only qualify as Familiar (i.e., G-) Topics, left-hand Topics in Italian can obtain different interpretive and formal characterizations depending on the context in which they are produced. In our elicitation test, a sentence like (54) was given to informants without a context, exactly to check the possibility of different interface interpretations.[16] Data thus show that, in this 'context-free' condition, the left-hand *<kind>* Topic can be realized in two different ways, that is to say, either as an AS-Topic (cf. the rising contour in Figure 2a) or as a G-Topic (i.e., low-toned in Figure 2b). In this respect, it is noteworthy that none of our consultants produced the relevant left-hand Topic as a C-Topic. This was expected in fact, since C-Topics require a specific context for their realization (cf. § 6.5 below), whereas the shifting or familiar functions are always 'available' for a left-hand Topic when no context is provided, depending on the speaker's interpretation of the relevant sentence. As for the focused constituent, it is marked with a pitch, independent of the type and the position of the Topic.

6.3. Right-hand Topic, fronted Focus
We can now turn to the intonational analysis of sentences presenting fronted Foci. In particular, in (55) and Figure 3 a Split Nominal construction is provided in which fronting of the modifier *questo* is proposed in combination with the right-dislocation of the *<kind>* DP:

(55) *QUESTO ho   visto,   di cane (non il   bassotto   di   Marco)*
      this   have.1SG see.PST.PART of dog   not the   dachshund of   Marco
      'THIS dog I saw (not Marco's dachshund)'

---

[16] Other sentences were instead preceded by contexts inducing a specific Topic interpretation, so as to validate the interface correlation between discourse and formal properties. These cases will be treated in § 6.5.
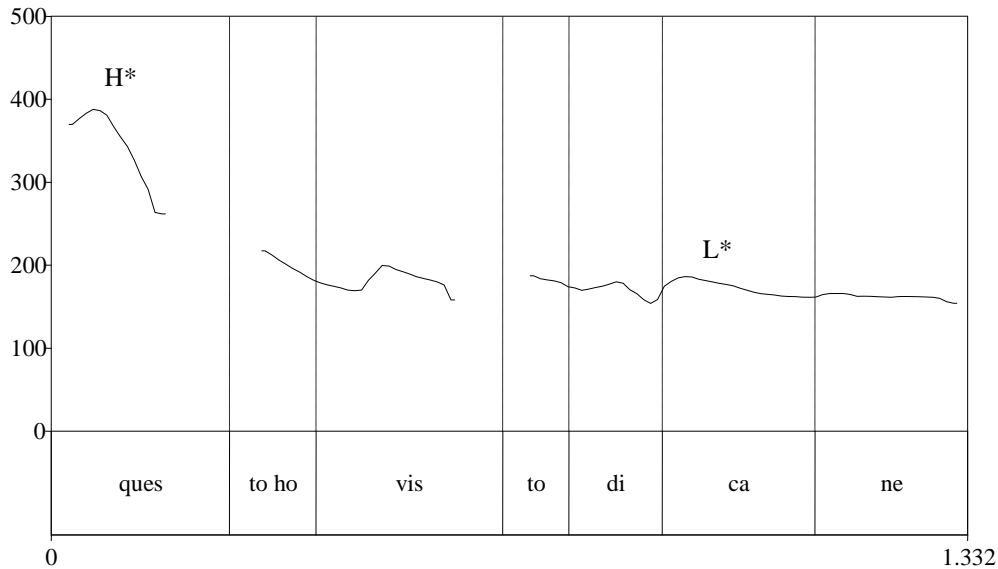
Figure 3

Once again, the L* tone marking the dislocated *<kind>* DP *di cane* 'of dog' supports its analysis as a right-hand G-Topic. The fronted Focus *questo* is marked with a pitch as expected, given the association between fronting and a contrastive reading of Foci in Italian.

6.4. Left-hand Topic, fronted Focus
The following example illustrates a case in which both the dislocated phrase and the focused modifier appear in the left periphery:

(56) <u>*Di   cane*</u>, QUESTO *ho   visto   (non il   bassotto   di Marco)*
      of dog   this   have.1SG see.PST.PART not   the dachshund of Marco
      'As a dog, THIS I saw (not Marco's dachshund)'

Much like in § 6.2, the presence of a left-hand Topic in an out-of-the-blue sentence gives raise to different interpretations across informants. In particular, the following Figures show that the dislocated *<kind>* DP can be interpreted either as an AS-Topic (Figure 4a) or as a G-Topic (Figure 4b):
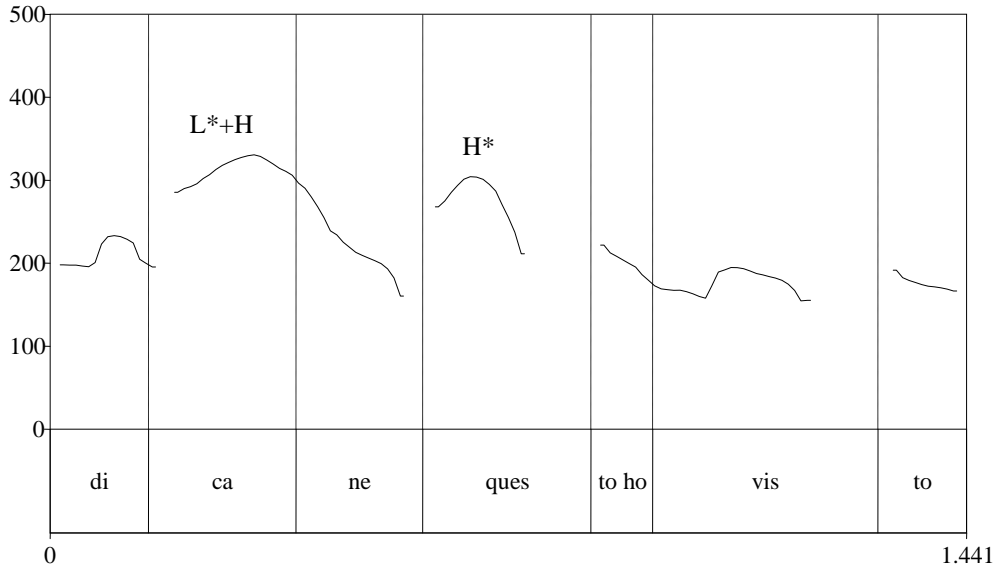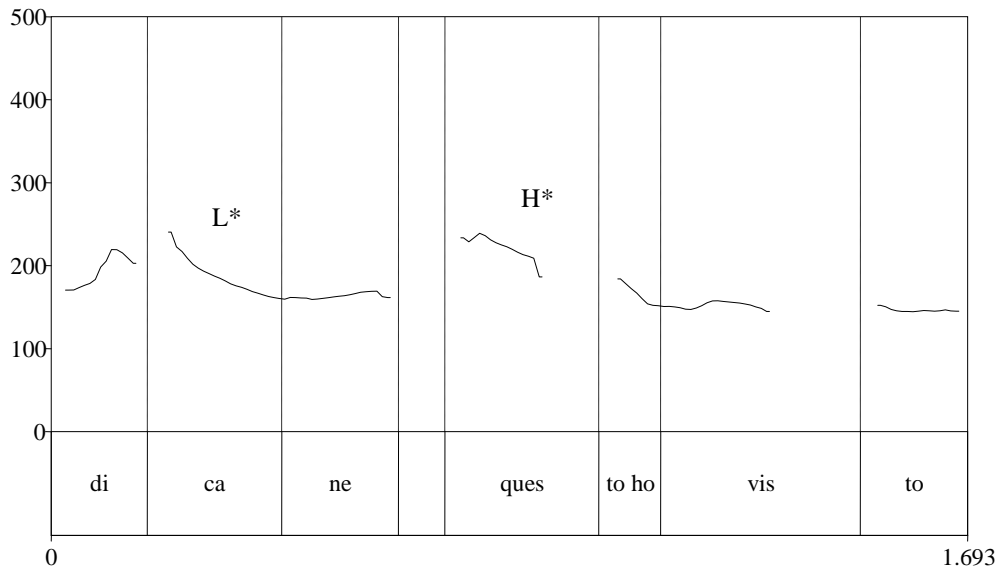
Figure 4a

Figure 4b

As for the realization of the focused modifier *questo*, in both cases it is marked by a pitch, consistent with the general picture.

6.5. Specific types of left-hand Topics

As already mentioned (cf. fn. 15 and 16), the corpus collected also includes cases in which the sentences used for elicitation were preceded by contexts inducing a specific interpretation for the left-hand *<kind>* Topic (i.e., either as an AS-, C- or G-Topic).

In the following example, for instance, the context provided is intended to obtain a shifting interpretation for the dislocated phrase *di torta* 'of cake':

[Context: *Per il tuo compleanno si va a cena fuori…*
            'For your birthday we are going to dine out…']
(57)   *… e   di torta quale vorresti?*
         and of cake which want.2SG.COND
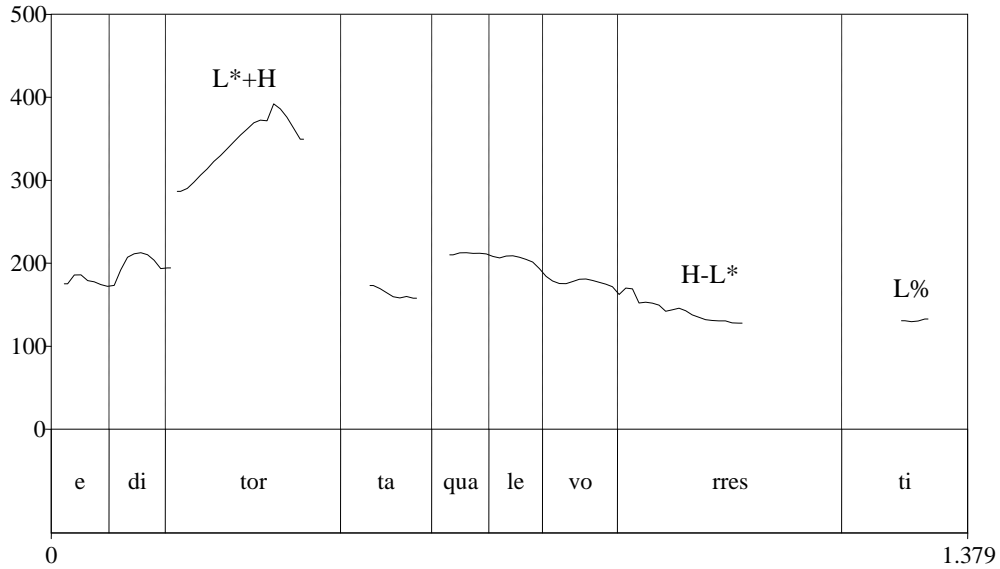   '… and which cake would you prefer?'

Figure 5

As expected, the left-hand Topic *di torta* 'of cake' shows a rising contour (L*+H), thus qualifying as an AS-Topic. This is followed by a downgrading contour, which is typical of wh-questions in standard Italian.

In other cases, the context was intended to obtain a contrastive interpretation for the topicalized <kind> DP, as illustrated below:

[Context: *Che dolce vorresti?* 'Which dessert would you like?']
(58) <u>*Di torta*</u> *vorrei*   *la* '*Mimosa*', <u>*di gelato*</u> *vorrei*   *quello*
        of   cake   want.1SG.COND the Mimosa   of ice.cream want.1SG.COND that
                alla   fragola
                to.the   strawberry
        'As a cake I would like a 'Mimosa', as an ice-cream I would like a strawberry-flavoured one'
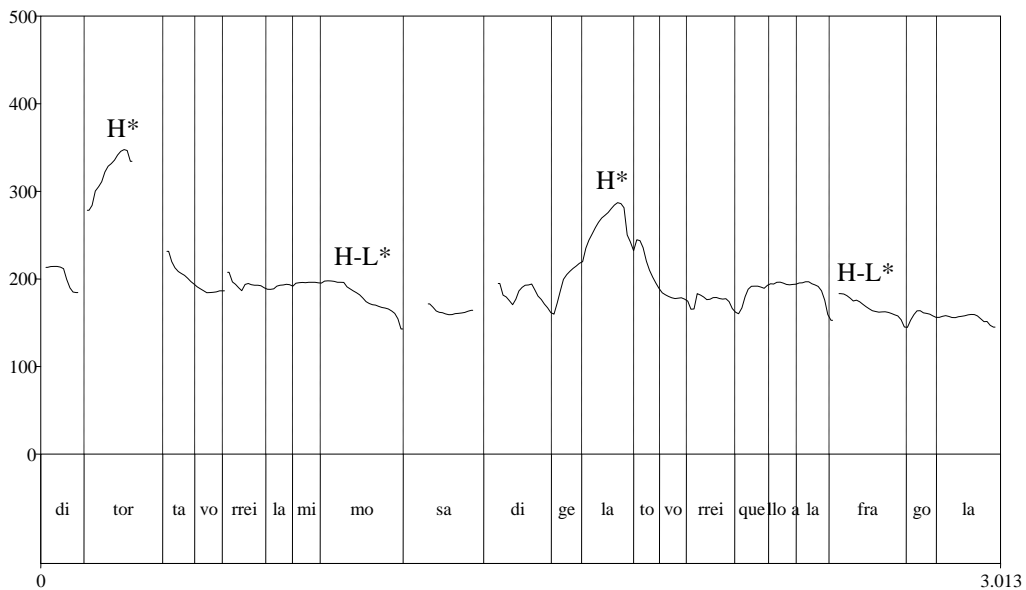

Figure 6

As is shown, the two dislocated *<kind>* DP are marked with a H* tone, proving their (expected) interpretation as C-Topics. This interpretation is further supported by the fact that, in the given context, the two *<kind>* DPs could not be realized as right-hand Topics (cf. (59)). This is in line with the fact that C-Topics are only allowed in the left-periphery of the sentence (cf. § 4 and the references cited therein).

(59) **Vorrei   la   'Mimosa',   di torta; vorrei   quello alla*
        want.1SG.COND the Mimosa   of cake want.1SG.COND that   to.the
              fragola,   di   gelato
         strawberry of   ice.cream

Finally, some contexts were intended to determine a continuing/familiar function for the dislocated phrase. This is the case illustrated below:

[Context: *Tutti pensano che io ami le torte al cioccolato…*
          'Everybody thinks I like chocolate cakes…']
(60) *… e   invece   di torta mi   piace   solo la   'Mimosa'*
        and instead of cake to.me please.3SG only the Mimosa
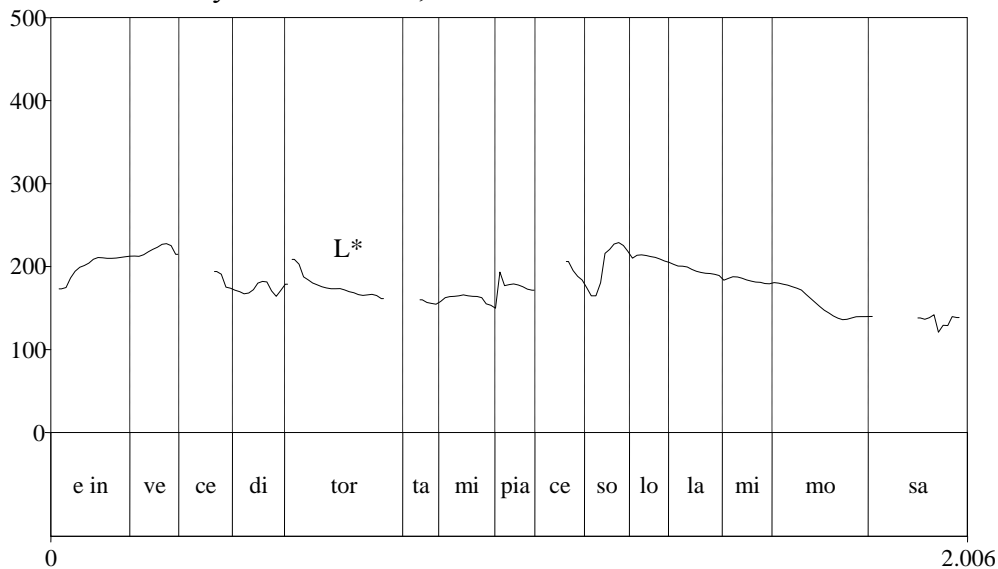   '… while I only like 'Mimosa', as a cake'

Figure 7

The dislocated *<kind>* DP *di torta* in Figure 7 is low-toned and qualifies as a G-Topic, consistent with its discourse properties.

6.6. *The interpretation of* pro *resumed: final considerations*

The prosodic analysis has shown that the dislocated phrase in a Split Nominal construction can implement different discourse functions if topicalized in the left periphery of the matrix clause (AS-Topic, C-Topic or G-Topic). On the other hand, it can only play a Familiar role in the right periphery, consistent with cross-linguistic studies (cf. § 4).

Since the interpretation of *pro* depends on an AGREE relation with the local AS-Topic, when the topicalized phrase does not implement a shift in the discourse, a silent AS-Topic including a *<kind>* DP must be assumed in Split Nominal constructions to allow for *pro* licensing (on null Topics, cf. also Sigurdsson 2011). This is not an *ad*

hoc solution: AS-Topics must be silent when 'aboutness' is kept continuous across sentences, namely in the presence of a G-Topic used for Topic continuity (cf. § 4) – a frequent case in conversations. This means that a dislocated phrase implementing a C- or G-Topic in the relevant constructions is always to be considered as a *low copy* of a silent AS-Topic.

In other words, a sentence like (54) above (with an *in situ* Focus and left-hand topicalization) can be represented as in (61) when the dislocated element is an overt AS-Topic (cf. Figure 2a), and as in (62) when it is a G-Topic (cf. Figure 2b):[17]

(61) [$_{ShiftP}$ [$_{DP}$ pro$_{kind}$ *di* [$_{SC}$ *cane* t]] [$_{IP}$ *ho visto* [$_{DP}$ [$_{FamP}$ <pro$_{kind}$ *di cane*> [$_{SC}$ pro *QUESTO*]]]]]

AGREE

(62) [$_{ShiftP}$ <pro$_{kind}$ *di cane*> [$_{FamP}$ [$_{DP}$ pro$_{kind}$ *di* [$_{SC}$ *cane* t]] [$_{IP}$ *ho visto* [$_{DP}$ [$_{FamP}$ <pro$_{kind}$ *di cane*> [$_{SC}$ pro *QUESTO*]]]]]]

AGREE

7. Conclusions

In this paper interface evidence is provided to support an analysis of (a particular case of) Split Nominal construction in which the dislocated element is not extracted from the NP containing the Focus.

Specifically, formal and semantic considerations suggest that the dislocated phrase constitutes a *kind*-construction, merged as a G-Topic in the left periphery of the DP containing the focused element. The latter is argued to select a SC having a *pro* in subject position and the focused NP as its predicate. This means that the latter is not, in fact, a modifier of the dislocated phrase at any point of the derivation.

Following recent proposals, it is then argued that the subject *pro* in the SC containing the Focus is interpreted through an Agree relation with the local (possibly silent) AS-Topic, representing a high copy in the C-domain of the *<kind>* G-Topic in the D-domain.

This analysis can explain a number of asymmetries concerning island effects connected with either left- or right-dislocation of the *<kind>* G-Topic. Furthermore, it is supported by intonational evidence, showing that the dislocated constituent can be overtly realized as any type of Topic, depending on the context; when it constitutes an overt AS- or C-Topic in the C-domain, the DP-internal G-Topic is a silent low copy.

This analysis provides a novel approach to Split Nominal constructions, which can be profitably applied in future analyses on Split constructions in different languages.

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[17] The internal structure of small clauses and the sentential IP are simplified for reasons of space.

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