

Information structure, Topic chains and intervention effects.
An interface analysis of the Move/Agree dichotomy in discourse-related dependencies

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1. The notion of Topic: an overview

From a discourse-semantic perspective...

- Kuroda: *predicational (i.e. non-thetic) sentences must have a topic*: “every proposition is necessarily composed of three elements - the subject-idea, the attribute, and the joining of these two ideas [...] when the sentence is predicational, its subject is taken as the premise of the predication.” (Kuroda 1965: 35-37; cf. also Miyagawa & Saito 2008, a.o.).
- Reinhart (1981): sentence topic is “*what the sentence is about*”, the **entity** that identifies the entry under which the propositional content of the sentence is stored (cf. Heim’s 1982 “file-card”).
- Krifka’s (2007: 40): “*topic is the entity* that a speaker identifies, *about which information* (the comment), *is given*.”

... and at the syntax-prosody interface

- Cartographic Approach (Rizzi 1997 and subsequent works): ***dedicated projections for topic(s)*** in the C-domain; topics can be iterated and realized either in the high C-domain, or in a lower position (below FocP).
- Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007): a distinction between different types of topic, based on a systematic interface relation (syntactic position, discourse role and prosodic properties): Aboutness-shift Topic (**A-Topic**), Contrastive Topic (**C-Topic**), Familiar/Given Topic (**G-Topic**):

(1) [ForceP [Force' [ShiftP [A-Topic] [Shift' Shift⁰ [ContrP [C-Topic] [Contr' Contr⁰ [FocP [Foc' [FamP [G-Topic]
[Fam' Fam⁰ [FinP [Fin' [TP [T' [vP [v' [VP [V']]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

- Frascarelli (2007): the **A-Topic**, endowed with [aboutness; shift] features, heads *topic chains*, which allow for the interpretation of null subjects and low-toned pronouns.

A **Topic Criterion** is thus proposed (cf. Puglielli & Frascarelli 2009, Bianchi & Frascarelli 2010, Sigurdsson 2011, van Gelderen 2013, Frascarelli 2018, Frascarelli & Casentini 2019, Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández 2019, Ylinärä & Frascarelli 2021 for *cross-linguistic evidence*):

(2) TOPIC CRITERION

- a) [aboutness] is connected with an ‘extended’ EPP feature in the high Topic field that yields a specific discourse-related property, namely ‘Aboutness’;
- b) The [aboutness; shift] Topic matches with an argument in the local clause through Agree;
- c) When continuous, the A-Topic can be null (i.e., silent).

This means that:

- (a) every predication sentence contains a position endowed with the [+aboutness] feature in the C-domain,
- (b) within discourse ‘predication’ can imply a *multiclausal domain*, in which chains of clauses are combined and refer to the same A-Topic, implementing long-distance relations in which A’-movement is not implied;
- (c) since the ***Agree relation*** is local, when the A-Topic is maintained continuous across sentences, the [aboutness] feature is maintained through *silent A-Topics* in the C-domains included in the chain.

2. The creation of Topic chains and the interpretation of Null Subjects

2.1 *The A-Topic*

The A-Topic connects *aboutness* with the property of being *newly (re)introduced and changed to* (=shift) in the discourse.

→ The A-Topic is associated with the complex **L*+H** tone on the Tone Bearing Unit (TBU).

(3) 1. *I giochi avvenivano sempre durante la giornata cioè non era come per noi adesso*

‘Games always occur during the daytime, that is to say, it was not like it is for us now

2. *per cui magari che ne so uno va al cinema la sera o a teatro no –*
that is, we go to the cinema or to the theatre in the evening, well-

3. *in realtà **la vita dei romani** avveniva sempre durante il giorno...*
actually, Romans’ social life would take place during the daytime.’

(4) *la vita dei romani avveniva sempre durante il giorno*
 the life of.the Romans occur.PST.3SG always during the day
 ‘Romans’ social life would take place during the daytime.’

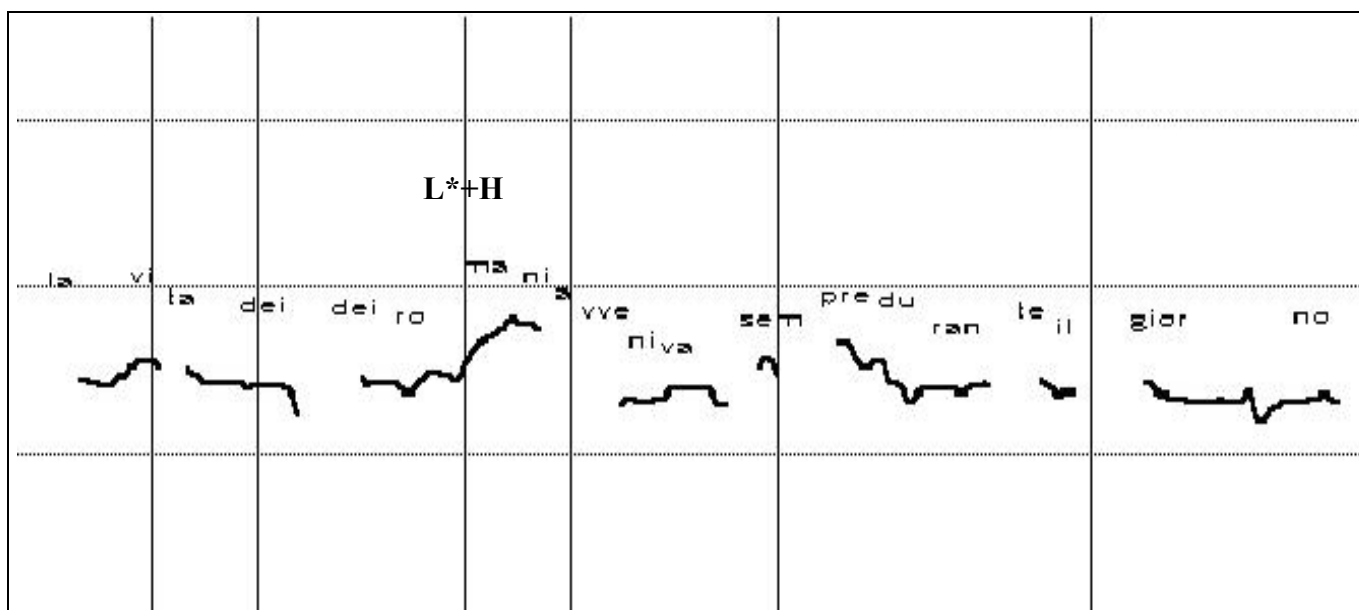


Figure 1 – A-Topic

2.2 The Given/Familiar Topic (G-Topics)

The G-Topic refers to *given* information in the discourse. G-Topics are assumed to be D-linked constituents *either* in a *strong* (Heim 1982) or in a *weak* sense (cf. Roberts' 2003 Familiarity).

➤ G-Topics are used:

- (i) for *continuity* w.r.t. the current A-Topic (*Aboutness G-Topic*), or
- (ii) to resume *background* information (*Background G-Topic*).

→ The G-Topic is associated with the **L*** tone on the TBU.

- (5) 1. *i gladiatori_k entravano nell'arena pro_k sfilavano, pro_k salutavano gli spettatori*
 'The gladiators would enter the arena, (they) marched, (they) greeted the public
2. *e pro_k salutavano soprattutto l'imperatore, poi pro_k si recavano davanti alla tribuna e*
 and (they) hailed the emperor first of all, then (they) used to go in front of the gallery
3. *c'era l'arena che era praticamente un tavolato di legno*
 and there was the arena, which was practically a wooden stage
4. *sul quale veniva buttata della sabbia e su questa, loro_k, i gladiatori_k lottavano.*
 covered with sand and on this they - the gladiators - would fight.'

- (6) *su questa, loro, i gladiatori lottavano*
on this.F they the gladiators fight.PST.IMP.3PL
'On this, they – the gladiators – would fight.'

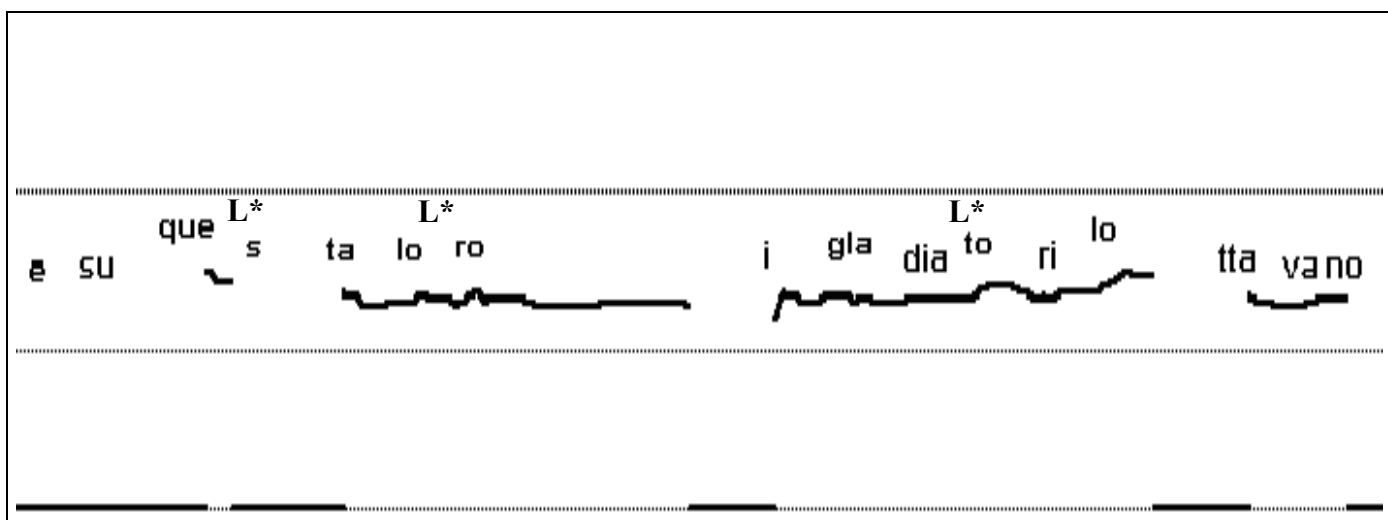


Figure 2 – Background & Continuity G-Topics

Topic maintenance across sentences:

→ If a new **A-Topic** *intervenes in* a Topic-chain, it *breaks* the established chain and starts a new one;

→ **G-Topics** *never* break an A-Topic chain.

(7)

- 1 mio fratello & **mia cognata_k** (L*+H) restano qui alla Garbatella per il momento –
- 2 comunque **lei_k** (L*) ~~mi ha detto che appena~~ **pro_k** può **pro_k** se ne va
- 3 perché non per la zona ~~credo perché è la casa dove~~ **lei_k** (L*) è cresciuta per cui –
- 4 bene o male la casa si **qualcosa_j** (L*+H) l_j hanno fatta però...
- 5 **lei_k** (L*+H) dice cioè mi muovo nella casa che per me è la casa dei miei genitori

- 1 ‘my brother and **my sister-in-law_k** [**A-Topic1**] remain at ‘Garbatella’ for the moment
- 2 anyway **she_k** [**G-Topic**] told me that as soon as **pro_k** can, **pro_k** moves
- 3 not for the zone but, I think, because this is the house where **she_k** [**G-Topic**] grew up so
- 4 for better and worse, yeah, **something** [**A-Topic 2**] was changed in the house but...
- 5 **she_k** [**A-Topic1**] says, well, I feel like moving in the house that was my parents’ house’

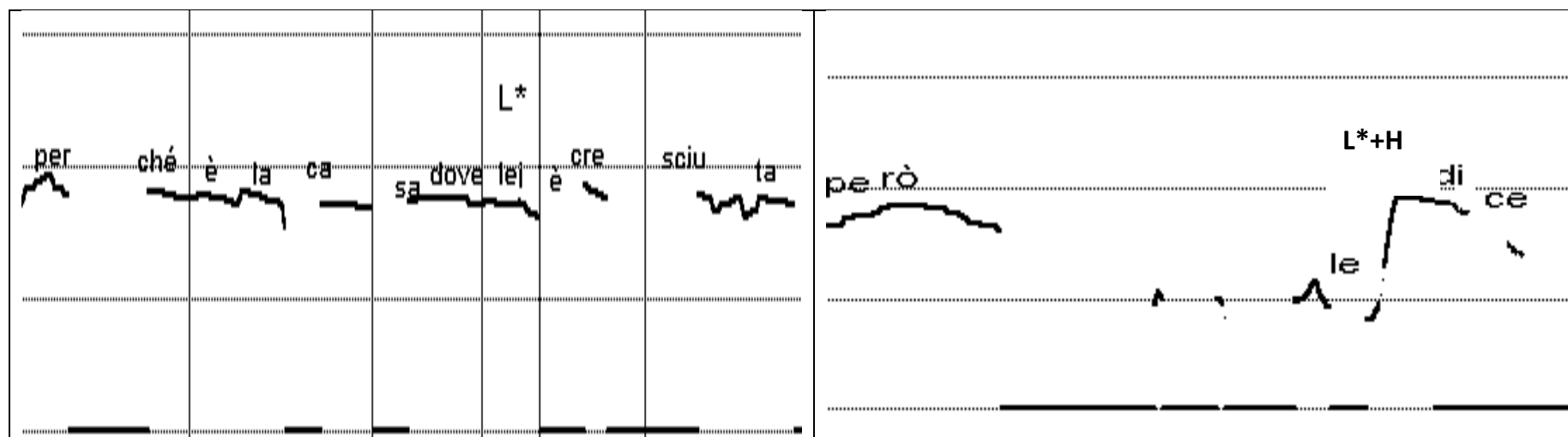


Figure 3 – Continuing G-Topic (line 3)

Figure 4 – A-Topic (line 5)

This shows that pronouns are NOT always strong in a pro-drop language like Italian and do not necessarily trigger ‘obviation’:

→ a *low-toned pronoun* can be part of a Topic chain and *interpreted as a null pronoun (pro)*.

2.3 The Contrastive Topic (C-Topic)

The *C-Topics induce alternatives in the discourse*, which have *no impact on the Focus* value and create oppositional pairs with respect to other Topics.

- Büring (2003): an instruction for the hearer on how to relate the asserted proposition(s) to a strategy of inquiry.
- Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010): a strategy to simplify a complex proposition producing two simpler sentences in which a predicate applies separately to each member of a salient set.

→ The C-Topic is associated with the **H*** tone on the TBU.

(8) A: *Come mai hai fatto due lingue, cioè, inglese e francese?*
'Why did you study two languages, namely English and French?'

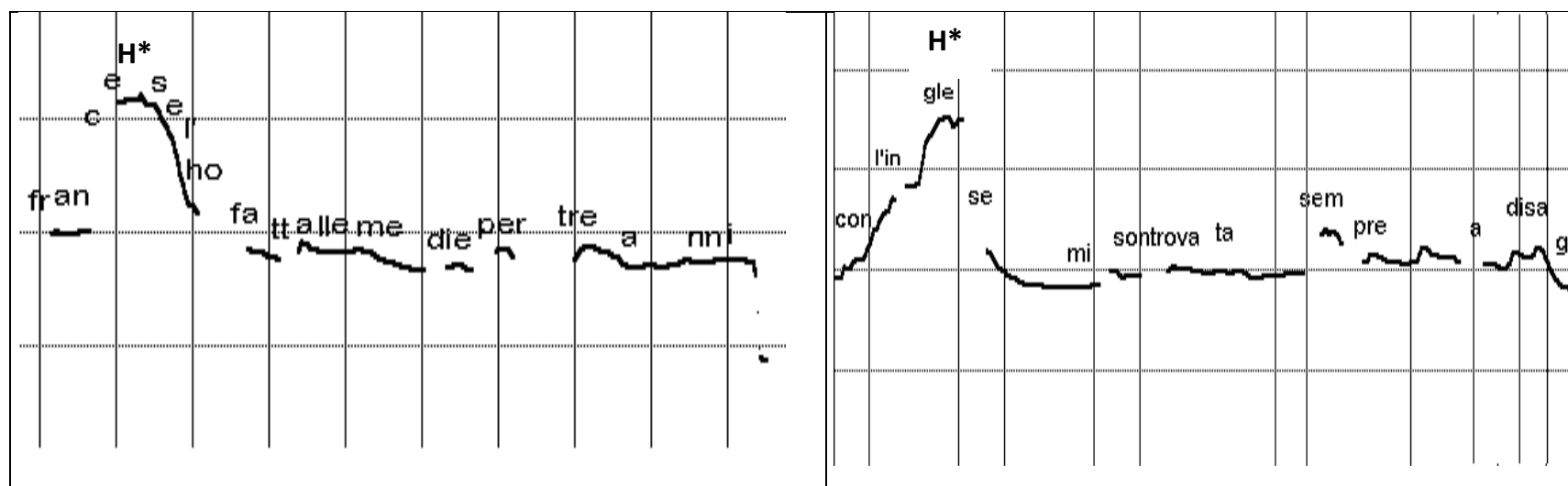
B: *Francese l'ho fatto alle medie per tre anni con una professoressa con cui mi sono trovata benissimo- con l'inglese mi son trovata sempre a disagio.*

'***French***, I studied at school for three years with a professor that I liked a lot - with ***English***, I never felt at ease.'

(9) *francese_k l_k'ho fatto alle medie per tre anni*
 French it have.1SG done at.the school for three years

con l'inglese mi son trovata sempre a disagio
 with the English me be.1SG found always uneasy

‘French I studied at school for three years [...] with English I never felt at ease.’



Figures 5&6 – C-Topics

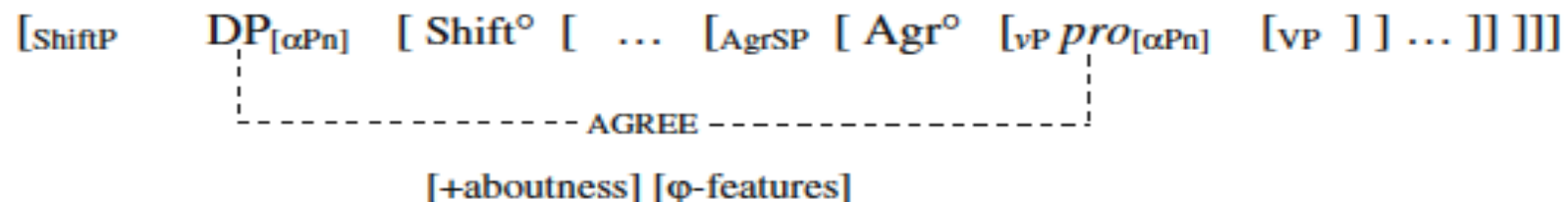
3. The syntactic properties of the Topic chain: the AGREE relation

The realization of Topic chains does not imply A'-movement, but **Agree**.

In a **cartographic approach** discourse-related features are merged as formal features in dedicated functional projections.

- A *matching relation* is established between the interpretable [aboutness] and [ref] features of the A-Topic DP in the C-domain and the correspondent *uninterpretable* features in the D° head of the (c)overt pronominal DP.
- The structural condition for the relevant pro(noun) to be visible is to be located in an **edge position**:

(10)



→ When the Topic is continuous, the A-Topic heading the chain is **repeated** as **silent** in the subsequent C-domains while **(c)overt low-copies** allow for **topic maintenance** across clauses. In this case, interpretation occurs under **long-distance Agree**.

(11) [ShiftP [DP_k **A-Topic**] [Shift' Shift⁰ [aboutness; ref] [.... [ShiftP **<A-Topic>_k** [Shift' Shift⁰ [aboutness; ref]
 [FamP [DP_k G-Topic] [Fam' Fam⁰ [aboutness; ref] [TP [DP_k pro(noun) T [v_P v+V]]]]]]]

→ Referential pro(nouns) are provided with [aboutness] and φ -features when the CP phase is completed and the sentence proceeds to the interfaces for interpretation.

3.1 *Silent Topics as chain heads: supporting evidence*

- (12) *Ogni angolo della banca era sorvegliato da una guardia.* \forall, \exists
Cada esquina del banco estaba vigilado por un policía.
 each corner of the bank be.PST.3SG guarded by a police.officer
 ‘Every corner of the bank was guarded by a police officer.’

However, if we continue (12) with a sentence like (13), only the existential reading is available:

- (13) *pro fumava come un matto!* $*\forall, \exists$
¡pro fumaba como un loco!
 smoke.PST.3SG like a mad
 ‘(He) would smoke like a madman!’

- the NS in (13) does not take as its antecedent the DP *una guardia* in (12) but a ***silent topic*** in its local C-domain, which is specific by definition and only allows for an ***existential reading***:

- (13')...*sorvegliato da una guardia*. [$\langle \text{La/questa guardia}_k \rangle$ [pro_k *fumava come un matto*]].
 ...guarded by a police.officer the/this police.officer smoke.PST.3SG like a mad

4. Different types of Topics and Conversational Dynamics

Bianchi & Frascarelli (2010):

- discourse categories have **different functions in conversational dynamics**;
- if a discourse category triggers an **update** of the discourse context, it must occur in clauses endowed with **context update potential**.

(14) INTERFACE ROOT RESTRICTION (Bianchi and Frascarelli 2010, (41))

Information Structure phenomena that affect the conversational dynamics (CG management) must occur in clauses endowed with illocutionary force that implement a conversational move.

Since topic selection is a speech act itself (cf. Krifka 2007), evidence is proposed that:

- The A-Topic *implements a conversational move* and pertains to the dimension of the **CG management (i)** → restricted to *root/‘root-like’ clauses* (Emonds 2004; Heycock 2006);
- C-Topics are not restricted to root clauses. Nevertheless, their expression *must remain at the propositional level* (under bridge verbs, but not in adverbial clauses);
- G-Topics *do not instantiate a conversational move* since givenness is calculated on the basis of the **CG content**; hence, they can be found in any type of subordinate clause.

(15) TOPIC CHAIN CONDITION (Frascarelli 2018)

- (i) An A-Topic chain can only be started from a root (or root-like) C-domain;
- (ii) it can extend across sentences and
- (iii) it can only be interrupted by new A-Topics.

4.1 *Empirical evidence*

A) English. *Left Dislocation* (LD = A-Topics) *vs.* *Topicalization* (TOP = C-Topics).

- (16) a. *I am glad that [this unrewarding job], she has finally decided to give it up.
b. **ok** I am glad that [this unrewarding job], she has finally decided to give up and [her children], she can follow more tightly.
- (17) a. *I hope that [the past] he will forget it soon, so as to bravely face the future.
b. **ok** I hope that [the past] he will forget, and the future he will face bravely.

→ The *shifting function* associated with LD *cannot be realized under a factive or a volitional verb* (since they are not endowed with context update potential).

→ (16b) and (17b) show that illocutionary force is not a requirement for C-Topics.

B) English vs. French. *G-Topics in adverbial clauses*. LD and TOP do not instantiate G-Topics (realized through in situ destressing). Hence they are excluded in English (18), while they are fine in French (19):

(18) *If [these exams] you don't pass (them), you won't get the degree.

(19) *On peut aussi regarder la télé quand*
IMPERs can.3SG also watch.INF theTV when

[les livres] on ne les aime pas.
thebooks IMPERS NEG DO.CL love.3SG not

'You can always watch TV when you don't love reading (lit. the books).'

5. Topics across languages: Merge vs. A'-Movement

Topics present **derivational differences** cross-linguistically.

- a) For **clitic-resuming (CLLD) languages** an external **Merge** account in the C-domain is generally agreed upon (cf., among others, Cinque 1990, Frascarelli 2000).
- b) In non-CLLD languages Topic are mostly derived via **A'-movement**.

➤ Evidence for Topic Merge in the C-domain in CLLD (Romance) languages.

- CLLD is not sensitive to *weak islands* (20), does not license *parasitic gaps* (21) and does not show WCO effects (contrary to Operator-like constituents like Foci) (22a-b):

(20)	It.	[<i>la macchina</i>],	<i>mi stupirei</i>	<i>se Leo la ripara.</i>
	Fr.	[<i>la voiture</i>],	<i>ça m' étonnerait</i>	<i>si Leo la répare.</i>
	Sp.	[<i>el coche</i>],	<i>me sorprendería</i>	<i>si Leo lo arreglara.</i>
		the car it	REFL surprise.COND1SG	if Leo DO.CL fix.3SG

‘I will be surprised if Leo fixes the car.’ [lit.: *The car, I would be surprised if Leo fix it]

- (21) It. [Maria], l' hanno invitata alla festa senza conoscer*(la).
 Fr. [Marie], ils l' ont invitée à la fête sans *(la) connaître
 Sp. [María], la han invitado a la fiesta sin conocer*(la).
 Mary they DO.CL.F have.3PL invited at the party without know.INF DO.CL.F
 'Mary, they have invited her without knowing *(her).'

- (22) It. a. [Gianni]_k, sua_k madre lo_k ha sempre apprezzato. (Topic)
 Fr. a'. [Jean]_k, sa_k mère l_k' a toujours apprécié.
 John his mother DO.CL have.3SG always appreciated
 'John_k, his_k mother has always appreciated him_k.'

- It b. *GIANNI_k sua_k madre ha sempre apprezzato. (Focus)
 Fr. b'. *C'est JEAN_k que sa_k mère a toujours apprécié.
 '*JOHN_k his_k mother has always appreciated t_k.'

NB: English translations in (22a-b) →
 further support for a derivational distinction between LD and TOP in English.

6. Topics chains and A'-movement: intervention effects.

Frascarelli & Jimenéz-Fernandez (2021).

Cross-linguistic analysis (English, Italian, Spanish) on the *acceptability* of different discourse-related categories in *imperative clauses*.

- Experimental test (data from 274 Italian, 95 Spanish and 82 English informants).
- Judgements provided on a Likert scale **from 0 to 4**.

Results consistently show that:

- A-Topics are **not** allowed in imperative (IMP) clauses → IMPs *are not endowed with illocutionary force*, they are not root clauses.
- C-Topics (and Corrective Foci) are allowed → IMPs convey a propositional import.

However, major asymmetries emerge:

- i) between **in situ** and **fronted Corrective Foci (CF)** in *all* the languages examined,
- ii) between Italian/Spanish, on the one hand, and English on the other, in the realization of **C-Topics**.

In particular:

- while in situ CF is always accepted, *fronted CF is very marginal* in the languages examined.
- while *C-Topics* are allowed in Italian and Spanish, they are *very marginal in English*.

6.1 The detail

A) Consider CF (Italian and English):

(23) A: *Posso avere un bicchiere di vino per favore?*
can.1SG have.INF a glass of wine please
'Can I have a glass of wine, please?'

B *Devi guidare dopo la festa.*
must.2SG drive.INF after the party

a. *bevi ACQUA piuttosto, non vino!*
**ACQUA bevi piuttosto, non vino!*

b. *drink.IMP.2SG water drink.IMP.2SG rather not wine*

'You must drive after the party, have WATER / *WATER have instead, not wine!'

Median values attested (CGr = Control Group):

English		Italian		Spanish	
Informants	CGr	Informants	CGr	Informants	CGr
3.18	3.33	3.11	3.31	3.16	3.25

Table 1 – In situ CF in imperatives

English		Italian		Spanish	
Informants	CGr	Informants	CGr	Informants	CGr
0.20	0.19	0.73	1.10	0.77	0.64

Table 2 – Fronted CF in imperatives

B) Consider C-Topic (Spanish and English):

(24) A: *¿Dónde dejas estas flores?*
 where leave.PST.1SG these flowers
 ‘Where shall I leave these flowers?’

B: *Las rosas, ponlas en el jarrón;*
 the roses put.IMP.2SG-them.CL in the vase
el girasol, déjalo sobre la mesa
 the sunflower leave. IMP.2SG.it.CL on the table
 ‘**The roses** put in the vase; **the sunflower** leave on the table.’

English		Italian		Spanish	
Informants	CGr	Informants	CGr	Informants	CGr
1.78	1.94	2.76	2.73	3.24	3.20

Table 3 – C-Topics in imperatives

6.2 A (necessary) aside: ‘allocutive agreement’ in IMPs

As grammatical agreement starts out at C (cf. Chomsky 2008), it is proposed that the Speech Act Phrase (SAP, cf. Speas 2000, Speas & Tenny 2003) can offer an explanation to the *antiagreement effects* that characterize IMPs (adapting from Miyagawa (2012):

‘Allocutive agreement’ is proposed for IMP clauses.

→ 2nd person agreement is a default agreement with the HEARER/ADDRESSEE.

In IMPs **agreement** does not lower to T:
it **stays in the C-domain** and **agrees with the allocutive probe in SA°**:

(25) [_{saP} SPEAKER [_{sa} sa° [_{SAP} [_{CP} [_{C'} [+DIR] [_{FinP}
[_{Fin'} ALL-AGR [_{TP} [_{T'} [_{JussP} [_{Juss'} V_[+imp] [_{vP} t_v]]]]]]]]] [_{SA} SA°_[φALL] [HEARER]]]]]

Back to intervention effects.....

6.3 Move vs. Agree and intervention effects

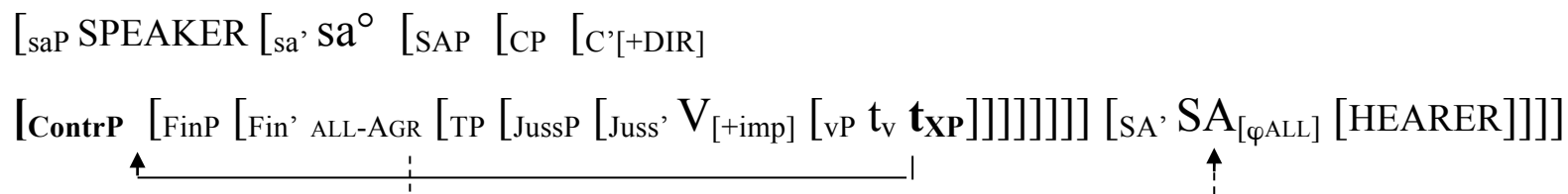
Frascarelli & Jimenéz-Fernandez (2021):

- No assertive force → IMP interpretation depends on a **Modality feature** ([+imp]);
- [+imp] is encoded in the **Jussive Phrase** (JussP; cf. Zanuttini 2008) as a formal feature;
- since IMP is a *directive act*, the [+DIR] feature encoded in the C-domain acts like a *probe* and enters an **Agree relation** with the Juss^o head.

Cross-linguistic variation in the derivation of discourse-related categories provides an explanation:

- CF fronting and TOP are derived through **A'-movement**,
- in CLLD languages Topics are subject to external **Merge** in the C-domain.

(26) a. *(TOP languages like) English:



b. (CLLD languages like) Italian:

[_{saP} SPEAKER[_{sa'} sa^o [_{SAP} [_{CP} [_{C'}[+DIR]

[_{ContrP} **C-Topic** [_{FinP} [_{Fin'} ALL-AGR [_{TP} [_{JussP} [_{Juss'} V_[+imp] [_{vP} t_v]]]]]]]] [_{SA'} SA^o_[φALL] [HEARER]]]]

↑

- *A'-movement in IMPs determines intervention* effects with the *allocutive probing* operation.
- In CLLD languages intervention effects only arise in the case of CF fronting.

The block on fronted CF and the block on C-Topics in (languages like) English is due the same (independent) syntactic reason: *intervention effects in A'-movement operations*.

The *relevance of the Move/Agree distinction* is also supported by intervention effects in the formation of Topic chains in Chinese.

7. Topic chains in Italian vs. Chinese adverbial clauses

Frascarelli & Casentini (2019):

Relevance of the Topic Criterion (1) and the Chain Condition (15) in radical pro-drop Chinese.

- Experimental test (data from 97 native speakers of Chinese).
- Judgements provided on a Likert scale **from 0 to 4**.
-

(27) **Ok** *Zhangsan_k shuo pro_k yao qu jie ta qizi.*
 Zhangsan say pro have to go pick up 3SG wife
 ‘Zhangsan_k said (he)_k has to go and pick up his wife.’

→ Null subjects (NSs) in Chinese are licensed by an A-Topic heading a Topic chain:

(27') [ShiftP Zhangsan_k [TP t_k shuo [ShiftP <Zhangsan>_{j=k} [TP pro_j yao qu jie ta qizi]]]]

➤ **Evidence** supporting the existence of a Topic chain for interpretation: when the NS is embedded under a factive verb, the relevant sentence is very marginal/excluded:

(28) *[?] *Zhangsan_k hen yihan pro_k bu neng gei ta qian*
 Zhangsan very regret pro NEG can give 3SG money
 ‘Zhangsan_k regrets that (he)_k can’t give her money.’

→ Since factive clauses are not endowed with illocutionary force, the embedded C-domain cannot contain a (silent) A-Topic. Hence the NS must create a Topic chain with a non-local A-Topic, yielding strong marginality.

(28') [_{ShiftP} Zhangsan_k [_{TP} t_k shuo [_{ShiftP} [_{TP} pro_j yao qu jie ta qizi]]]]

Null subjects in Chinese are licensed by a **local** A-Topic heading a Topic chain.
 The A-Topic can also be **silent**.

Adverbial clauses

Haegeman (2002, 2010, 2012): **central** and **peripheral** adverbial clauses must be distinguished.
→ Differences occur for both external and internal syntax.

Focusing on *the pre-matrix position* of:

- Conditional adverbial clauses (central type);
- Concessive adverbial clauses (peripheral type).

7.1 *Conditional adverbial clauses*

A) **Overt A-Topic** preceding the conditional adverbial clause

- (29) **Sunli*_k, *ruguo* *pro*_k *neng ba yu dou chi-wan*, *pro*_k *hui hen gaoxing*
Sunli if pro can BA fish all eat-finish pro can very happy
'Sunli_k, if (she)_k can finish all the fish, (she)_k will be happy.'

→ Rejected, despite the presence of a c-commanding, Topic in the matrix C-domain.

On the contrary (and contrary to possible expectations):

B) **Silent A-Topic** preceding the conditional adverbial clause

(30) **Ok** *Ruguo pro_k neng ba yu dou chi-wan, Sunli_k hui hen gaoxing.*
 if pro can BA fish all eat-finish Sunli can very happy
 ‘If (she)_k can finish all the fish, Sunli will be happy.’

Given the Chain Condition (15), a silent A-Topic must be assumed in the matrix C-domain, scoping over the pro in the adverbial clause:

(31) [_{ShiftP} <Sunli>_k [[_{pro_k} neng ba yu dou chi-wan]_j [_{FamP} Sunli_{j=k} [_{TP} t_j hui hen gaoxing]]]]]

➤ A silent A-Topic is apparently ‘better’ than an overt one (cf. (29)). WHY?

7.2 *Concessive adverbial clauses*

a) **Overt A-Topic** preceding the concessive adverbial clause.

- (32) **Ok** *Sunli_k suiran pro_k tongguo le gaokao,*
Sunli although pro pass PERF university admission exam
danshi pro_k haishi bu gaoxing.
but pro still NEG happy.
'Sunli, although (she)_k passed the university admission exam, (she)_k is still not happy.'

→ Differently from conditional clauses (cf. (29)), an overt A-Topic is fine with concessive clauses and allows for the intended interpretation with NSs. WHY?

Proposal

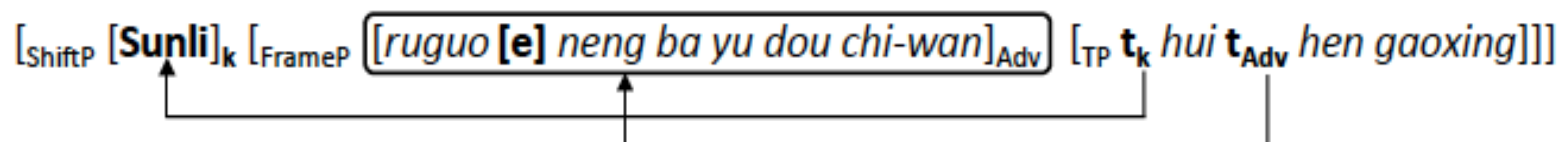
- (a) As they are verb modifiers, *central adverbial clauses* are **merged** in a functional projection of the IP-split domain (cf. Cinque 1999) and show the properties of relative clauses (in line with Haegeman's approach).
- (b) *Central adverbial clauses* are fronted to serve as *Frame-setters* (cf. Krifka 2007, a.o.) through *A'-movement* to a dedicated position in the C-domain, namely **FrameP** (cf. Frascarelli 2017, Haegeman & Greco 2020).

On the other hand,

- (c) *Peripheral* adverbial clauses are merged in the *C-domain of the matrix clause* (they are not verb modifiers). Hence,
- (d) the element introducing a concessive clause is *not an Operator* but a C° head.

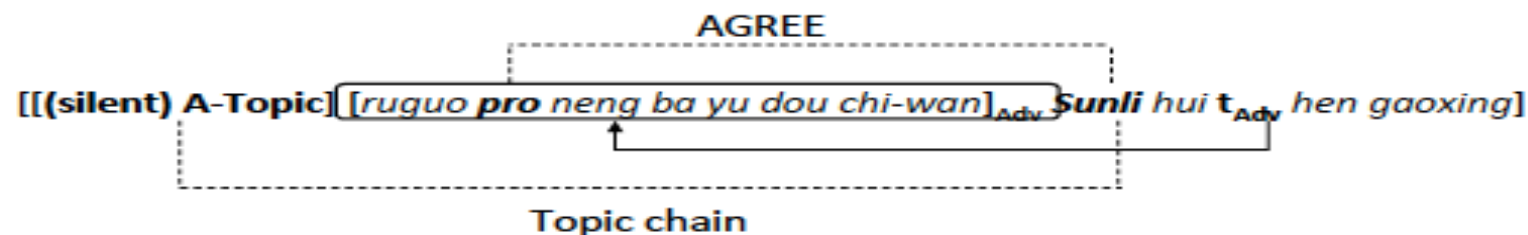
→ An *overt A-Topic* in Chinese *A'-moves* from Spec,TP to the C-domain triggering *intervention effects on the fronting of a central adverbial clause* (differently from consistent NS languages like Italian, in which the A-Topic is merged in ShiftP and no intervention effect is at stake):

(29')



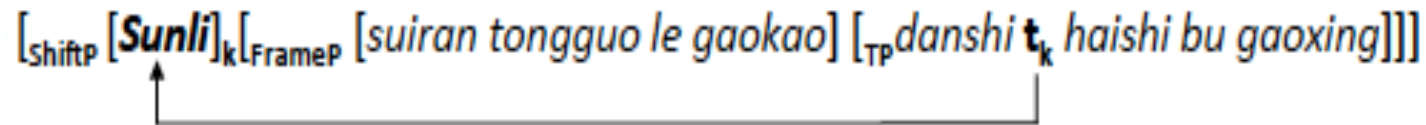
→ A *silent A-Topic* is *merged* in the C-domain. The *adverbial clause only* moves. Hence, no intervention effect is at stake:

(30')



→ With *peripheral* adverbial clauses the *Topic only moves*. Again, no intervention effect:

(32')



8. To conclude (in a nutshell)

Cross-linguistic analysis of Topics and the formation of Topic chains support the theoretical import and empirical relevance of a **Merge/ A'-Move dichotomy** in the derivation of discourse-related categories.

Thanks

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