URNKV VQRKECNKĢ CVKQP 'Y KVJ *QWV+TGUWORVKQP[*]

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The goal of this paper is to investigate two types of split topicalization[1] (van Riemsdijk 1989, Androutsopoulou 1998, Fanselow&Cavar 2002, van Hoof 2006, Roehrs 2009, Ott 2011, a.o.) in two dialects of Gilaki (Northwestern Iranian, Caspian) and Persian. The first type, our *numeral split*, involves the splitting of a head noun from the numeral, placing the former at the clause-initial position, while leaving the numeral below. The second type, our *possessor split*, can break up a noun phrase, placing the head noun clause-initially and leaving the possessor in the thematic position. In one dialect of Gilaki (EshkevaratGilaki, hereafter EG), the possessor can be followed by a gap. In another dialect (Rasht Gilaki, hereafter RG), the possessor has to be followed by a resumptive element. In Persian, too, a resumptive element is required in this construction.

We argue that while numeral split involves a base-generated structure, possessor split with a gap, found in EG, involves movement (see also Kahnemuyipour & Shabani, forthcoming). We further argue that possessor split with resumption found in Gilaki (both EG and RG) and Persian involves base generation. Finally, we explore the implications of this state of affairs with respect to the strategies used in these constructions in Gilaki and Persian.

1. Basic patterns

There is a type of topicalization in Gilaki which can split a possessive noun phrase, placing the possessum in a clause-initial position while leaving the possessor in the thematic position of the noun phrase.[2] We call this construction **possessor split**. In EG (1), the possessor can be followed by a gap or a resumptive element, while in RG (2), the resumptive element is obligatory.

(1) a.   mu   don-əm   ti   maashin   xəraab-ə   EG
          I   know-1sg your   car   broken-is

     b.   maashin, mu don-əm   ti   (*shini*)   xəraab-ə
          'I know your car is broken.'

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[1] We use topicalization as a cover term for any fronting out of the noun's thematic positions. This covers both cases of true topics and focus, an issue which does not appear to have any bearing on the main points discussed in this paper and as such put aside.

[2] An example of the unmarked order for the Gilaki noun phrase is given in (i) below.

(i)   mi   i   du   tə   zərəng   vətʃə
      my   this two classif. smart   child
      'these two smart children of mine'

(2) a. man də:n-əm ti   maashin   xəraab-ə   RG
        I   know-1sg your   car   broken-is

    b. maashin, man də:n-əm ti   *(*shin*)   xəraab-ə
        'I know your car is broken.'

Persian is similar to RG in this respect, in that possessor split requires a resumptive element *maal* (see Ghomeshi 2006 for a discussion of *maal*), as shown in (3).

(3) a. man   mi-dun-am   maashin-e   to   xaraab-e
        I   dur.-know-1sg   car-Ez   your   broken-is

    b. maashin, man mi-dun-am   *(*maal*-e) to   xaraab-e
        'I know your car is broken.'

An apparently similar case of split topicalization occurs with other nominal modifiers (exemplified here with numerals). We call this construction **numeral split**. This construction exists in both dialects of Gilaki, shown for EG in (4), and Persian (5).

(4) a. bogut-əm   mu du   tə   maashin   xa-m
        said-1sg   I   two classif. car   want-1sg

    b. maashin, bogut-əm mu du   tə   ----------   xa-m
        'I said I want two cars.'

(5) a. goft-am   man   do   taa   maashin   mi-xaa-m
        said-1sg   I   two classif. car   dur.-want-1sg

    b. maashin, goft-am   man   do   taa   ----------   mi-xaa-m
        'I said I want two cars.'

2.   Split topicalization with a gap: Movement or Base-generation

In this section, we investigate cases of split NP topicalization which leave a gap in the thematic position of the NP. This includes possessor split in EG and numeral split in both dialects of Gilaki as well as Persian.

2. 1. Possessor split with a gap in EG

We argue here that possessor split with a gap in EG involves syntactic movement. We provide several diagnostics to support this analysis below. An example of a possessor split with a gap in EG is given in (6).[3]

(6) maashin, mu don-əm   ti   -------   xəraab-ə
    car   I   know-1sg your   broken-is
    'I know your car is broken.'

The strongest evidence for a movement analysis of possessor split with a gap (6) comes from syntactic islands (Ross 1967 and subsequent authors). As shown in (7)-(9),

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[3]The non-split counterparts, which can be constructed by placing the topicalized element in the gapped position, are always grammatical and mostly not shown.

possessor split out of an island leads to ungrammaticality, which is expected if it involves syntactic movement.

(7)   *Coordinate Structure Constraint*

      * midaad mu ti -------   ba   unə xudkaar-ə vigit-əm
      pencil   I   your   and his pen-acc. took-1sg
      'I took your pencil and his pen'

(8)   *Complex NP Island*

      *sib   mu har tə   mi-------- vəgit-ə bon   dəvaa   gir-əm
      apple   I   whoever that my   take-pp. be.subj. fight   take-1sg
      'I will scold whoever has taken my apple.'

(9)   *Adjunct Island*

      *maashin, tər   goon puldaar-i vexti   mi   -------   bə-hen-i
      car   you say rich-are   when   my   subj.-buy-2sg
      'They say you are rich when you buy my car.'

Another type of evidence in favour of a movement analysis of possessor split with a gap comes from intervention effects. The intervention facts are given in (10), which show that a split head noun cannot associate with a possessor across another possessive construction.

(10) *laako   ti   xaaxur   mi   ---------   bedi
      daughter   your   sister   my   saw
      'Your sister saw my daughter.'

Freezing effects provide further support for the proposed movement analysis. It has been suggested that movement out of a phrase which has itself moved is banned (Ross 1967, Corver 2006 and references cited therein). If possessor split is the result of movement, it should be banned in an already moved phrase. This prediction is borne out as we can see in (11). (11a) shows the base structure with no split. (11b) shows topicalized movement of a whole phrase without splitting. (11c) show splitting from a phrase which has not been moved.The crucial examples is (11d), where splitting out of a moved phrase is ungrammatical.

(11) a.   Ali   bogut   mu   ba   [ti   maashin-ə]   bə-hen-əm
            Ali   said   I   must your car-acc.   subj.-buy-1sg.

     b.   Ali bogut   [ti   maashin-ə]ᵢ   mu ba   tᵢ bə-hen-əm
            Ali said   your   car-acc.   I   must   subj.-buy-1sg.

     c.   maashin,   Ali bogut   mu   ba   [ti   ----------] bə-hen-əm
            car   Ali   said   I   must your   subj.-buy-1sg.

     d.   *maashin, Ali bogut [ti -------]ᵢ   mu ba   tᵢ bə-hen-əm.
            car   Ali said   your   I   must   subj.-buy-1sg
            'Ali said that I must buy your car.'

Idiomatic readings are also often used as a diagnostic for movement (vs. base-generation). (12) shows that possessor split retains the idiomatic meaning of the expression, as expected.

(12) dəs,   don-əm ti   ------ nəmək   nə-dar-ə
     hand   know-1sg. your   salt   neg.-have-3sg.
     'I know you are not appreciated.' (Lit. I know your hand doesn't have salt.)

Further support comes from the beahviour of P-stranding in this context. P-stranding has been used as a diagnostic for movement in split topicalization (see van Riemsdijk 1989). We see in (13) that possessor split is banned outside of a PP.

(13) *sib,   she-a   mi   ------ ji yə livon   aab   gitən
      apple   become-3sg my   from one glass   juice   get
     'It is possible to get one glass of juice from my apple.'

Finally, it should be noted that inpossessor split, the topicalized element cannot be embedded in a lot of structure, which is expected from a moved element. We will see in the next section that this contrasts with numeral split.

(14) *in hamə   nəhal kə   bəz-em,   mi   laaku   bogut ti --- xub-ə
      this all   sapling that planted-1pl. my   daughter said   your good-is
     'From among all the saplings that we planted, my daughter said that yours is good.'

2.2. Numeral split in Gilaki

In this subsection, we will look at numeral split in Gilaki to argue for a base-generated analysis of this construction. The examples in this subsection are all from EG, noting that the RG counterparts exhibit similar behaviour with irrelevant phonological differences. Below, we apply the diagnostics used in section 2.1 to numeral split in Gilaki to argue that it involves b. An example of numeral split is repeated from (4).

(4) a.   bogut-əm mu du tə   maashin xa-m
          said-1sg I   two classif. car   want-1sg

     b.   maashin, bogut-əm mu du tə   ---------- xa-m
          'I said I want two cars.'

We can see in (15)-(17) that numeral split is grammatical inside an island, which is expected as a base-generated structure.

(15) *Coordinate Structure Constraint*

     sib mu du tə ------- ba chaar   tə   portəqaal   vigit-əm
     apple I   two classif. and four   classif. orange   took-1sg
     'I took two apples and four oranges.'

(16) *Complex NP Island*

     sib mu har tə   du tə ------- vəgit-ə bon   dəvaa gir-əm
     apple I   whoever that two classif.   take-pp. be.subj. fight take-1sg
     'I will scold whoever has taken two apples.'

(17) *Adjunct Island*

maashin, tər goon puldaar-i vexti   du   tə -------   bə-hen-i
car   you say rich-are   when   two classif.   subj.-buy-2sg
'They say you are rich when you buy two cars.'

The example in (18) shows that a split head noun can associate with a numeral across another numeral construction. This would have been a violation of intervention effects if numeral split involved movement, lending further support to the base-generated analysis.

(18) sib,   chaar   tə   vəchə   du   tə --------- boxord-ən
     apple   four   classif. boy   two classif.   ate-3pl.
     'Four boys ate two apples.'

If numeral split involves base generation, it should not exhibit freezing effects. It should, therefore, be possible to have numeral split inside an already moved phrase. This prediction is borne out as illustrated in (19). (19a) shows the base structure with no split. (19b) shows topicalized movement of a whole phrase without splitting. (19c) shows splitting from a phrase which has not been moved. The crucial example is (19d), where splitting the numeral in a moved phrase is grammatical.

(19) *No Freezing Effect with the Numeral Split*

a. Ali   bogut   mu   ba [du tə   maashin] bə-hen-əm
    Ali   said   I   must two classif. car   subj.-buy-1sg.

b. Ali   bogut [du   tə   maashin]$_i$ mu ba t_i bə-hen-əm
    Ali   said   two   classif. car   I   must   subj.-buy-1sg.

c. maashin, Ali   bogut   mu   ba   [du tə   -------] bə-hen-əm
    car   Ali   said   I   must two classif.   subj.-buy-1sg.

d. maashin, Ali bogut [du   tə   -------]$_i$ mu ba t_i bə-hen-əm.
    car   Ali said   two   classif.   I   must   subj.-buy-1sg
    'Ali said that I must buy two cars.'

The example in (20) shows that with numeral split, the idiomatic meaning of the expression is lost, as expected from a base-generated structure.

(20) *Idiomatic reading lost with numeral split*

#hunər mi mar   bogut u laaku har angüsht-ə ji hizaar tə   ----- var-ə
art   my mother said that girl each finger-Ez from thousand classif.   rain-3sg

vs. mi mar bogut u laaku har angysht-ə ji hizaar   tə   hunər var-ə.
    my mother said that girl each finger-Ez from thousand classif art rain-3sg
'My mother said that girl has thousands of skills.'
(Lit. My mother said that a thousand skills pour from each finger of that girl.)

We further see in (21) that numeral split is permitted inside a PP, pointing to a base-generated structure.

(21) sib, she-a dah tə ------ ji yə livon aab gitən
apple become-3sg ten classif. from one glass juice get
'It is possible to get one glass of juice from ten apples.'

Finally, we can see in examples such as (22) that, innumeral split, the topicalized element can be embedded in a lot of structure, which would be unexpected if numeral split involved movement.

(22) in hamə nəhal kə bəz-em, mi laaku bogut su tə --- xub-ən
this all sapling that planted-1pl. my daughter said three classif. good-are
'From among all the saplings that we planted, my daughter said three are good'

2.3. Numeral split in Persian

In this subsection, we briefly consider the Persian numeral split construction, repeated from (5).

(5) a. goft-am man do taa maashin mi-xaa-m
said-1sg I two classif. car dur.-want-1sg

b. maashin, goft-am man do taa ---------- mi-xaa-m
'I said I want two cars.'

In (23) below, we have applied the above tests to Persian numeral split. These diagnostics show that this construction exhibits identical behaviour to its Gilaki counterpart, pointing to a base-generated analysis.

(23) a. *Coordinate Structure Island*
(?) sib, man do taa -------- va chaar taa porteqaal bord-am
apple I two classif. and four classif. orange took-1sg.
'I took two apples and four oranges.

b. *Complex NP Island*
sib, man har kas-i ke do taa ---- borde bud, davaa kard-am
apple I everyperson-REL that two classif. take-pp. was fight did-1sg.
'I scolded anyone who had taken two apples.'

c. *Adjunct Island*
maashin, mi-g-an puldaar-i vaqti do taa ------- be-xar-i
car dur.-say-3pl. rich-are when two classif. subj.-buy-2sg
'They say you are rich when you buy two cars.'

d. *Intervention Effect*
sib, chaar taa pesar do taa ------ xord-an
apple four classif. boy two classif. ate-3pl.
'Four boys ate two apples.'

e.   *Freezing Effect*
    maashin,   Ali   goft   [do taa   -----]$_i$man   baayad   t$_i$ be-xar-am
    car   Ali   said   two classif.   I   must   subj.-buy-1sg
    'Ali said that I must buy two cars.'

f.   *Idiomatic Reading*
    #ketaab, Ali goft   do taa------ be-xun,   ye   xorde chiz yaad be-gir-i
    vs. Ali goft do taa   ketaab be-xun,   ye xorde chiz   yaad   be-gir-i
      Ali   said two classif. book   subj.-read a   little   thing   memory subj.-get-2sg
    'Ali said read more to learn something.'
    (Lit.: Ali said read two books, learn a little something.)

g.   *P-stranding*
    sib,   mi-sh-e   az   dah taa------- ye   livaan aab gereft
    apple,   dur.-become-3sg from   ten   classif. one   glass   juice get
    'It is possible to get one glass of juice from ten apples.'

i.   *Deeply embedded antecedent*
    az   beyne   hame-ye   daneshju-haa-yi ke   emtehaan daad-an,
    from among   all-Ez   student-pl.-rel.   that exam   gave-3pl.
    Ali   goft do   taa --------   qabul   shod-an
    Ali   said two   classif.   accepted   became-3pl
    'From among all the students who wrote the exam, two (students) passed.'

To summarize,the battery of tests used in this section shows that possessor split with a gap in EG is a result of syntactic movement, while numeral split (in Gilaki and Persian) involves a base-generated structure.

3.   Possessor split with resumption

In this section, we investigate possessor split with resumption in Gilaki and Persian. We show that they both involve a base-generated structure.

3.1.   Possessor split with resumption in Gilaki

As discussed above, Gilaki allows for a type of possessor split, in which the possessor is followed by a resumptive element. While this is one of two options in EG, the presence of the resumptive element *shin* in obligatory in RG.[4] An example is repeated below from (2). The examples in this subsection are all from RG, noting that the EG counterparts exhibit similar behaviour with irrelevant phonological differences.

(2)   a.   man   də:n-əm   ti   maashin   xəraab-ə   RG
          I   know-1sg   your   car   broken-is

    b.   maashin,   man də:n-əm   ti   *(*shin*)   xəraab-ə
          'I know your car is broken.'

Using similar tests to the ones used in the previous section, one can show that possessor split with resumption used in RG is a case of base generation. In (24)-(29), we can see the application of the above tests to this construction.

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[4] The resumptive element is also obligatory in EG if the possessor is a proper noun ending in a vowel. We leave an analysis of these cases for future research.

(24) *Complex NP Island*
sib, man har tə mi-*shin*-ə osandi dava konəm
apple I whoever that my-SHIN-acc. took fight take
'As for apples, I will scold whoever took mine.'

(25) *Adjunct Island*
maashin, asəbani bobəst-əm chun Ali mi-*shin*-ə bavərd
car angry got-1sg because Ali my-SHIN-acc. brought.3sg
'As for cars, I got angry because Ali brought mine.'

(26) *Intervention effect*
maashin, ti bərar mi-*shin*-ə behe
car your brother my-SHIN-acc. bought.3sg
'As for cars, your brother bought mine.'

(27) *Idiomatic Reading*
gush, bogoft-əm ti-shin-ə por aagod-an
 ear said-1sg. your-SHIN-acc. full did-3pl.
vs. bogoft-əm ti gush-ə por aagod-an
'I said that they have filled you in (with the wrong/negative information).'
(Lit.: I said that they have filled you ear.)

(28) *P-stranding*
kaaqəz, az mi-shin onsən
sheet from my-SHIN not.take
'As for sheets, do not take mine.'

(29) *Deeply embedded antecedent*
in hamə nəhhal kə bəze-jm mi doxtər bogoft fəqət ti-*shin* xub-ə
this all sapling that planted-1pl my daughter said only your-SHIN good-is
'From among all the saplings that we planted, my daughter said that yours is good.'

3.2. Possessor split with resumption in Persian

Possessor split in Persian, repeated below from (3), is only possible with the resumptive element *maal*.

(3) a. man mi-dun-am maashin-e to xaraab-e
        I dur.-know-1sg car-Ez your broken-is

    b. maashin, man mi-dun-am *(*maal*-e) to xaraab-e
       'I know your car is broken.'

This Persian construction behaves very similarly to its Gilaki counterpart, showing all the hallmarks of a base-generated structure.[5] In (30), we show the battery of tests used in the previous subsection for Gilaki, applied to the Persian construction.

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[5] We are cognizant of the order difference between the possessive construction in Persian and Gilaki and the presence of Ezafe. In this paper, we are abstracting away from these details, focusing on the presence of the resumptive element and the corresponding derivational strategy.

(30) a. *Complex NP Island*
     sib,   man harkas-i   maal-e   man-o be-bar-e   davaa mi-kon-am
     apple I   everyone-REL MAAL-Ez I-acc. subj-take-3sg fight dur.-do-1sg.
     'As for apples, I scold whoever takes mine.'

   b. *Adjunct Island*
     maashin, man asaabaani shod-am   chon   Ali maal-e   man-o   bord
     car   I   angry   became-1sg because Ali MAAL-Ez I-acc.   took
     'As for cars, I became angry because Ali took mine.'

   c. *Intervention Effect*
     medaad, doxtar-e   to   maal-e   man-o   bardaasht
     pencil   daughter-Ez you MAAL-Ez   I-acc.   took
     'As for pencils, your daughter took mine.'

   d. *Idiomatic Reading* (cf. (12) in EG)
     #dast,   mi-dun-am   maal-e   to   namak   na-daar-e
      hand   dur.-know-1sg. MAAL-Ez   you salt   neg.-have-3sg.
     vs.   mi-dun-am   dast-e   to   namak   na-daar-e
     'I know you are not appreciated.' (Lit. I know your hand doesn't have salt.)

   e. *P-stranding*
     tutfarangi,   be-hesh   goft-am az maal-e to   na-xor-e
     strawberries   to-her/him   said-1sg from MAAL-Ez you neg.-eat-3sg
     'As for strawberries, I told her/him not to eat from yours.'

   f. *Deeply embedded antecedent*
     az   beyne in   hame nahaal ke   kaasht-im,   doxtar-am
     from among this all sapling that planted-1pl   daughter-my
     goft faqat   maal-e   to   xub-e
     said only   MAAL-Ez   you   good-is
     'From among all the saplings that we planted, my daughter said that yours is good.'

We have shown in this section that possessor split with resumption in Gilaki and Persian involve a base-generated structure. In the following section, we will have a closer look at the structures of the constructions we have discussed so far and will explore the implications of the proposed analyses with respect to the strategies used in these constructions in Gilaki and Persian.

4. Split topicalization structures: A closer look

In this section, we will have a closer look at the structures for possessor split and numeral split constructions discussed above, with the aim of finding explanations for the use of the movement and base-generated strategies and the distribution of gaps and resumptive elements in these constructions. We start by looking at the split topicalization cases with a gap and will then consider the cases involving resumptive elements.

4.1. Split topicalization with a gap (Kahnemuyipour and Shabani, forthcoming)

We showed in section 2 that possessor split with a gap in EG is a result of syntactic movement, while numeral split (in Gilaki and Persian) involves a base-generated structure. Two key questions arise:

Question 1:Why is the movement operation unavailable for the numeral split construction? In other words, what does the movement operation involve in the case of the possessor split construction such that it is unavailable for the numeral split construction?

Question 2: Why is the base-generated structure unavailable for the possessor split construction? In other words, what does the base-generated structure involve in the case of the numeral split construction such that it is unavailable for the possessor split construction?

Following recent literature (e.g. Mathieu 2002, van Hoof 2006, Ott 2011), we take the base structure for movement-based cases of split topicalization to be a small clause consisting of a subject DP and predicate DP/NP, with the second noun phrase moving out to a clause initial/medial position for discourse reasons. In addition, following Kayne (1984), Guéron (1985, 2003), we take the structure of the possessive construction in Gilaki to be a small clause in which the possessor DP is the subject and the possessum DP/DemP its predicate. Split topicalization, under this view, is the result of the movement of the whole possessum to a clause-initial position. Recall that the unmarked position for the possessor in Gilaki is before all other nominal elements, which is in line with the proposed structure, shown schematically in (31).[6]

(31) Split topicalization in the possessor split construction
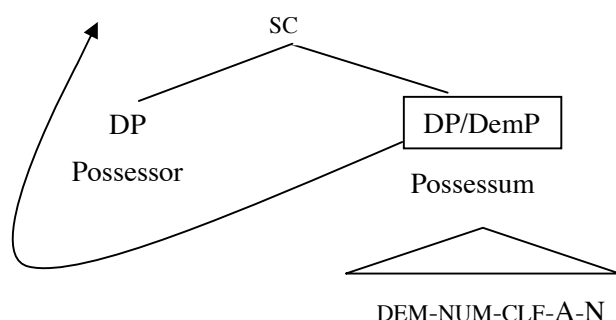
With this background, we can address the first question above. Accordingly, the second DP/DemP as a whole can move, but nothing from inside the DP/DemP can move alone. This is why the movement operation is not available for the numeral split construction because no lower nominal projections from inside the DP/DemP can move out. We can relate this to the status of DP as a phase (Svenonius 2000, Hiraiwa 2005, among others). Under this view, only syntactic objects that have a phasal status can move. Therefore, nominal projections lower than the D/Dem cannot move as they do not have a phasal status.

We turn to the numeral split construction, which is the result of a base-generated structure. There is an old debate in the literature over whether such base-generated

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[6]While in some languages (e.g. Germanic), the co-occurrence of Det/Dem and possessor is impossible (e.g. English *the/this my hat), in other languages such as Hungarian, Italian and Greek (see Alexiadou et al. 2007), this combination is grammatical. Meanwhile, in these languages, the Det/Dem appears before the possessor. In Gilaki, as we have seen in this paper, the unmarked order is one in which the possessor precedes all other nominal elements including the demonstrative in accordance with the structure shown in (31). Turkish seems to allow for a pre-demonstrative possessor, as one of three possible constructions for possession (Öztürk & Taylan 2016).

structures are the result of ellipsis or the presence of a null nominal element (surface vs. deep anaphora, to use Hankamer & Sag's 1976 terminology). We are taking numeral split to be the result of the presence of a null nominal element based on the possibility of using pragmatic control (the absence of a linguistics antecedent for an anaphor) (32), one of several diagnostics for this distinction (see, e.g. Saab, forthcoming).[7]

(32) Context: Individuals taking apples from a basket.

   a.   mu   du   tə   --------   vəgit-əm   EG
        I   two classif.   took-1sg.
        'I took two.'

   b.   man do   taa   --------   bardaasht-am   Persian
        I   two classif.   took-1sg
        'I took two,'

We can now turn to the second question, namely the unavailability of the base-generation strategy for the possessor split construction. In order for the base-generation strategy to be used in the context of the possessor split, we would need a null element replacing the whole DP/DemP. This option is apparently unavailable. With the assumption that DP is a phase, we may be able to relate this restriction to a more general ban on the emptiness of a phasal domain (see Kandybowicz 2015). In other words, under this view, base-generation is available in the context of numeral split, because replacing the NP with a null element will not result in an empty phase (i.e. DP/DemP), as a licensing element is always present in this domain.

4.2. Split topicalization with resumption

In section 3, we showed that possessor split with resumption in Gilaki and Persian involve a base-generated structure.This raises two further questions:

Question 3: What is the difference between possessor split with resumption and numeral split in Persian and EG/RG, both cases of base-generation, such that the former requires a resumptive element while the latter does not?

Question 4: What is the difference between EG, on the one hand, and RG (and Persian), on the other, such that the former allows the movement strategy in possessor split, while the latter uses base-generation (with resumption) only?

We may find the answer to question 3 in the response we provided for question 2. If there is a ban on the emptiness of the phasal DP/DemP possessum, that explains why a null element cannot be used with possessor split in RG/Persian and a resumptive element *shin/maal* is needed. The resumptive is used as a last resort to overcome the ban on the emptiness of the phasal domain. With the numeral split, the phasal DP/DemP will not be empty, as the null nominal is below the overt numeral inside DP/DemP. As a result, in the latter context, the last resort resumptive element is not needed.

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[7] The other diagnostics provided in the literature did not appear to be applicable to our context. We leave a more thorough investigation of this question for future research.

The last question with respect to the two strategies used in EG and RG/Persian possessor split is trickier. How does each strategy, resumption, or movement, address the assumed ban on the emptiness of the phasal DP/DemP possessum? When the base-generated strategy is used, the resumptive *shin/maal* replaces the possessum DP leading to a non-empty phase (similar to Kandybowicz's 2015 cases). For the movement strategy, we will have to assume that the lower copy of movement is deleted after the emptiness of the phasal domain is assessed. That still leaves us with the question of why one strategy (and not the other) is available in a particular language/dialect.[8]

5.   Conclusion

In this paper, we have looked at the behaviour of split topicalization in Gilaki and Persian. Our findings and proposals can be summarized as follows. There are two general types of split topicalization, one with a resumptive element and the other with a gap. Numeral split found in all the languages under investigation is a case of split topicalization with a gap involving a base-generated structure. Split topicalization with a gap is also found in possessor split in EG. This construction was shown to involve syntactic movement. Split topicalization with resumption, found in possessor split in EG/RG and Persian, involves a base-generated structure. In this paper, we have attempted to provide explanations for the (un)availability of the different derivational strategies and the distribution of gaps and resumptive elements in these constructions.

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[8]If the possessive construction in Persian, itself an instantiation of the Ezafe construction, involves roll-up movement, as suggested by Kahnemuyipour (2014), the unavailability of the movement strategy in Persian may be attributed to a freezing effect, the inability to move out of an already moved constituent. A similar explanation is not readily available for RG.

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