# The D(emonstrative)-construction: a newly-identified left-dislocated configuration in Spanish

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## Abstract

This paper explores a newly identified contrastive topic configuration in Spanish. Coined by de Andrade (2018) for Galician and European Portuguese, the

D(emonstrative)-construction features a left-dislocated topic and d(emonstrative)-pronoun resumptive. This study investigates whether the D-construction exists in Spanish, and if so, with which syntactic properties.

We administered an acceptability judgment task on the D-construction, Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD), Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD) and Focus Fronting (FF) to Spanish speakers. The task tested the role of the left-dislocate, case connectivity, subject-verb inversion, embedding, recursivity, and sensitivity to island constraints.

Simple instances of the D-construction received consistently high ratings, demonstrating that it exists in Spanish. There was individual variation regarding the role of the left-dislocate and case connectivity. The D-construction did not require subject-verb inversion, was non-recursive and demonstrated selective island sensitivity. Findings for CLLD, HTLD and FF were mostly in line with previous literature.

The D-construction did not exactly pattern with CLLD, HTLD, nor FF; it is characterized by a unique set of syntactic properties. We propose that both left-dislocated elements are base-generated at Spec, TopP: the fronted DP is a hanging topic, and its resumptive d-pronoun is linked to a clitic within the main clause via an A'-chain.

## 1. Introduction

A "D(emonstrative)-construction" that features a left-dislocated resumptive d(emonstrative)-pronoun and carries a contrastive topic interpretation has been proposed for European Portuguese (1) and Galician (2) (de Andrade 2018).[1, 2] This study explored the acceptance and syntactic properties of an equivalent D-construction in Spanish (3).[3]

(1)    Portuguese (de Andrade 2018: 82 (1a))
       **O  João**, **esse** não    tenho          ideia  de     quem  seja.
       the João   DEM NEG   have.1SG        idea   of     whom  be.SBJV.3SG
       '(As for) João, I have no idea about who he is.'

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[1]     For the remainder of the paper, we use 'Portuguese' to refer to the European variety.
[2]     Bold text is used to highlight the left-dislocated constituents and their resumptive elements.
[3]     Throughout the paper, if an example is not preceded by a corresponding reference, it was created by the authors.

(2)     Galician (de Andrade 2018: 82 (1b))
        **Xoán**, **dese**      non      teño       nin      idea.
        Xoán    of-DEM      NEG      have.1SG      NEG      idea
        '(As for) Xoán, I have no idea about who he is.'

(3)     Spanish
        **(A)** **Elena**, **a**      **esa**      **la**      vi            ayer.
        DOM     Elena DOM      DEM      ACC.3SG.F      saw.1SG            yesterday
        '(As for) Elena, that girl I saw (her) yesterday.'

De Andrade (2018) determined the D-construction's syntactic properties in Portuguese and Galician by consulting corpus data and comparing the construction's properties to instances of Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) in Romance languages, Germanic Contrastive Left Dislocation (CLD), and Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD) in German and Portuguese. Based on the results of his analysis, de Andrade (2018: 102) concluded that the D-construction in Portuguese and Galician represented a "marked syntactic construction [to be described] in its own terms".

For this study, we utilized experimental data drawn from a carefully-designed acceptability judgment task to explore the permissibility and syntactic properties of the D-construction in relation to CLLD (4), HTLD (5) Rand FF (6) in Spanish. [4, 5] Because these left-dislocated topic and focus configurations have been identified and described in terms of their associated syntactic, intonational and pragmatic characteristics in Spanish (e.g., Campos & Zampini 1990; Hernanz & Brucart 1987; López 2009; Rivero 1978, 1980; Villalba 2000; Zagona 2002; Zubizarreta 1998), considering their properties allowed us to better understand the syntactic properties of the D-construction in Spanish.

(4)     Spanish
        **A**      **Elena**, **la**            vi            ayer.
        DOM      Elena ACC.3SG.F            saw.1SG            yesterday
        'Elena, I saw (her) yesterday.'

(5)     Spanish
        **Elena**, **la**            vi            ayer            **a**      **esa**      **chica**.
        Elena    ACC.3SG.F            saw.1SG            yesterday            DOM      DEM      girl
        'Elena, I saw that girl yesterday.'

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[4]     Example (5), which is an instance of HTLD, appears to have two resumptive elements because there is clitic doubling.
[5]     We use a comma to denote either a prosodic break or a full pause. The D-construction, CLLD, HTLD and FF items in our Acceptability Judgement Task followed the comma conventions used in examples (3)-(6). In the remainder of the paper, any examples that appear punctuated differently follow the conventions used by the cited author.

(6)    Spanish
       **A    ELENA**    vi        ayer,        no    a    Marta.
       DOM   Elena       saw.1SG   yesterday    NEG   DOM  Marta
       'I saw ELENA yesterday, not Marta.' / 'ELENA I saw yesterday, not Marta.'

In our task, we presented instances of CLLD, HTLD, FF and the D-construction preceded by a couple of sentences that established an appropriate discursive context to native speakers of Spanish. These items were designed to test a selection of syntactic properties which distinguish left-dislocated constructions in Romance languages: the category of the left-dislocate, resumptive elements, DP case connectivity, subject-verb inversion, embedding, recursivity, and sensitivity to various island constraints (*wh*-islands, the Complex NP constraint, relative clauses, and adjunct islands).

Almost all speakers accepted CLLD within this task, and at least half of them accepted FF, HTLD and the D-construction. Importantly, we will show that the D-construction configuration does not pattern exactly with CLLD, HTLD and FF, but rather forms a different construction with its own properties.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, we introduce the discourse notions of *topic* and *focus* as they were defined within this study. Section 3 introduces CLLD, HTLD and FF with an emphasis on distinguishing their syntactic properties in Spanish. Section 4 offers a description of the D-construction in Galician and Portuguese and its syntactic properties. Section 5 outlines the methods we used, including information about the participants, task, materials, and procedures. Section 6 presents the results attained from the acceptability judgment task. Finally, Section 7 discusses how the properties found to be associated with the D-construction in the acceptability judgment task compared to those of other left-dislocated constructions in Spanish, as well as to its Portuguese/Galician counterpart. Section 8 closes with some concluding remarks.

## 2. *Topic* and *focus* in Spanish

People generally engage in conversation with one another to expand upon their common ground, or shared knowledge (Halliday 1967; Jackendoff 1972; Reinhart 1981). Within a given exchange, speakers tend to offer old or presupposed information to establish a *topic* (or *theme*) of discourse, and provide new information (*focus,* or *rheme*) to comment on it further (Jacobs 1984, 1999; Lambrecht 1994). When presenting new information, speakers use a combination of strategies to prioritize these words to the interlocutor (Erteschik-Shir 1997; Gundel 1994; Vallduví 1990). To achieve these pragmatic functions within the discourse, speakers use a combination of prosodic and syntactic features. Therefore, language-specific tools are available to efficiently revisit information that is already shared and to optimally frame new information. These tools fall within the realm of *information structure*, where

sentence-level constituents are governed by notions of the discourse and, thus, exist at the syntax-discourse interface.

In Spanish, canonical word order is SVO. Here we follow Zubizarreta's (1998) claim that the canonical word order which arises in unmarked contexts can also be VSO. This means that in 'out-of-the-blue' contexts, as in responding to the question 'what happened?' (*¿Qué pasó?*), speakers tend to produce a configuration like (7).

(7)     Spanish (Zubizarreta 1999: 4217, (5))
        Todas  las    mañanas    compra (V)      Juan (S)    el diario (O).
        all    the    mornings   bought.3SG.PST  Juan        the newspaper
        'Juan bought the newspaper every morning.'

Other word orders are possible in Spanish, as in (8), but only for discourse-pragmatic reasons. For example, (8), which appears with a fronted object (i.e., in OSV order), would not be considered a felicitous response to the question "what happened?", but it could appear in a different pragmatic context where the fronted element represents old information. This same sentence could not, however, surface as a response to the question *¿qué compró Juan?* 'what did Juan buy?'.

(8)     Spanish (Olarrea 2012: 603 (1))
        El periódico,      (él)    lo       compraba      todos los días.
        the newspaper      (he)    CL-it    used-to-buy   every day
        'He used to buy the newspaper every day.'

According to Zubizarreta (1998), *non-contrastive/new information focus*, such as the information requested by the previous question, tends to appear in sentence-final position in order to align with nuclear stress in Spanish, which is the neutral stress-marking pattern expected in declarative sentences. The relationship between nuclear stress and noncontrastive focus is outlined in the *Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR),* which can be either *selection-driven (S-NSR)* or *constituent-driven (C-NSR)* (Zubizarreta 1998: 18).

Following *F(ocus)-structure* notation, focus constituents are distinguished from topic constituents using the distinctive feature [F(OCUS)]. Focus constituents are denoted [+F] and topic constituents are denoted [-F] or left unmarked, as in (9). Each F-structure is associated with one or more different Assertion Structures (AS) that are associated with explicit or implicit context questions (Zubizarreta 1998: 2).

Following Zubizarreta's (1998: 38) *Focus Prosody Correspondence Principle (FPCP)*, if the [F]-marked constituent appears in a position which does not coincide with nuclear stress – like sentence-medially or sentence-initially (9b) – then the statement would not be perceived as an adequate response within the context. More specifically, the first part of the FPCP dictates that the focused constituent within a phrase must contain that phrase's intonational nucleus. The second part stipulates that the F-marked constituent must contain the most prominent word in that phrase. In other terms, there can only be one focused constituent per sentence (Zubizarreta 1998: 6).

(9)    Spanish
       Context:      ¿Qué   compró         Juan?
                     what   bought.3SG.PST  Juan
                     'What did Juan buy?'
       a.     Juan   compró            [F el periódico].
              Juan   bought.3SG.PST        the newspaper
       b.     *[F el periódico]         compró              Juan.
              the newspaper             bought.3SG.PST      Juan
              'Juan bought the newspaper.'

    *Corrective/contrastive focus*, characterized by the presence of emphatic stress on the focused constituent, may also surface in Spanish.[6] Cases of emphatic stress follow Zubizarreta's (1998: 45) *Focus/Contrastive Stress Correspondence Principle,* where a word with contrastive stress must be dominated by every F-marked constituent in the phrase. Stress of this type is freely assigned, but its relationship with F-structure is more restricted than in the case of noncontrastive focus. Zubizarreta (1998: 6-7) states that contrastive focus is preceded by a statement to situate its context within the discourse (a *context statement*). Contrastive focus then has two effects: first, it negates the value assigned to a variable in the AS of its context statement; second, it introduces an alternative value for the variable. For example, the constituent, *un ratón* 'a mouse' is marked with contrastive focus in situ in (10) to clarify that the speaker meant the cat ate a mouse, not a canary.

(10)   Spanish (Zubizarreta 1999: 4228 (58a))
       El     gato   se      comió [F UN  RATÓN] (no         un     canario).
       DEF    cat    REFL    ate.3SG INDEF mouse   NEG         INDEF  canary
       'The cat ate A MOUSE (not a canary).'

    When a focus constituent is marked with emphatic stress and also moved to a left-dislocated position within the structure, the resulting syntactic configuration is known as Focus Fronting (FF) (Campos & Zampini 1990; Leonetti & Escandell-Vidal 2009), as in (11).[7] This left-dislocated focus configuration tends to surface with a predetermined set of syntactic properties, like obligatory subject-verb inversion.

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[6]    Gussenhoven (2007: 87) discusses the focus-to-accent relation through the Sentence Accent Assignment Rule (SAAR), which dictates that constituents may be focused (contrastively) by accentuating only one word.

[7]    Focus Fronting and contrastive focus are closely related. Focus Fronting occurs when contrastive focus is marked syntactically (i.e., through the fronting of the focus constituent, which also bears contrastive stress). Contrastive focus may remain syntactically unmarked and surface in-situ with contrastive stress.

(11)    Spanish
        [F UN  RATÓN]         se comió      el  gato       (no un         canario).
        INDEF mouse           ate.3SG       DEF cat        NEG INDEF      canary
        'The cat ate A MOUSE (not a canary).'

        The following section discusses the discursive/pragmatic contexts in which
CLLD, HTLD and FF typically arise and expands upon their syntactic properties.


## 3. Left-dislocated topic and focus configurations in Spanish

### 3.1. Introduction to CLLD, HTLD and FF

Originally identified across Romance languages by Cinque (1977), CLLD features a
topic at the left edge which is doubled by a corresponding clitic in the main clause
when available (as in (4), repeated here as (12)).[8] The left-dislocated topic within
CLLD is a sentence-topic that demonstrates grammatical dependence on elements
within the main clause. This means that the fronted constituent preserves certain
characteristics of its corresponding argument within the main clause. For example, if
the fronted element corresponds to a direct object, it will be doubled by an accusative
clitic in the main clause and appear marked with a differential object marker, *a*, if
semantically required. If the fronted element relates to an object of a preposition, there
is no clitic available for this type of argument, but the entire prepositional phrase will
be left-dislocated in CLLD (i.e., rid of an overt co-referential clitic).

(12)    Spanish
        **A    Elena**, **la**          vi            ayer.
        DOM   Elena  ACC.3SG.F      saw.1SG       yesterday
        'Elena, I saw (her) yesterday.'

        Pragmatically, CLLD can be used to refer to a previously stated topic and
comment on it further. For example, in (13)-(15), Speaker A's brother represents the
topic, and CLLD is used to redirect attention to the brother and note that he has not
gotten his visa yet. In (14), which is an instance of CLLD, *tu hermano* 'your brother'
is a sentence topic which acts as an indirect object within the main clause, it is preceded
by *a* to mark its dative case and is doubled by a corresponding third-person, singular,
dative clitic *le.* Although (15) represents a grammatical utterance, this sentence would
be an infelicitous continuation of the context set by (13).

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[8]     In Spanish, corresponding clitics are available for direct objects (*me, te, lo/la, nos,
los/las*) and indirect objects (*me, te, le, nos, les*) (Mayer 2017); however, no corresponding
clitics are available for, for example, mass nouns, for passives or for objects of prepositions.

(13)    Spanish (*based on* Cinque 1983/1997: 95 (5))
        <u>Speaker A</u>
        Mi       hermano y      yo tenemos    que      hacer     las  maletas.
        POSS     brother  CONJ  I  have.1PL    COMP     to do.INF DEF  luggage
        Nos             vamos a     Córcega        mañana.
        REFL.1PL        go.1PL to    Corsica        tomorrow
        'My brother and I have to pack our luggage. We leave for Corsica tomorrow.'

        <u>Speaker B</u>
        Pero,   he oído                que…
        CONJ    have-heard.1SG         COMP
        'But, I have heard that…'

(14)    Spanish (Cinque 1997: 94 (2))
        **a      tu      hermano**, no   **le**          han dado        la    visa.
        DOM     POSS    brother    NEG  DAT.3SG        have given.3PL   DEF   visa
        '(To) your brother, (they) have not given (him) a visa.'

(15)    Spanish
        *No   **le**         han dado          la   visa    **a      tu      hermano**.
        NEG   DAT.3SG have-given.3PL   DEF visa          DOM    POSS    brother
        'They have not given your brother a visa.'

López (2009: 6) describes CLLD as representing "a discourse anaphor with a somewhat complex relationship with its antecedent—the relationship can be part/whole, set/subset, etc." In (13)-(14), Speaker A's brother represents the 'part' of the 'whole' (i.e., *mi hermano y yo*), for example. Arregi (2003) argues that CLLD can also be considered to carry a contrastive topic interpretation.

Another available left-dislocated topic configuration in Spanish, HTLD (Cinque 1977) features presupposed information at the left edge (as in (5), repeated as (16)). Different from CLLD, the left-dislocated topics within HTLD are discourse topics which lack grammatical dependence on any element within the main clause. In the case of HTLD, if a fronted element corresponds to a direct object within the main clause, it may appear doubled with an accusative clitic, but it will not be preceded by *a* to mark its accusative case at the left edge. In HTLD, regardless of the fronted element's role within the main clause, this constituent will always appear in a default nominative form, rid of any features of connectivity to elements with which it corresponds. Accordingly, these topics are conceived as 'hanging' and tend to communicate what the conversation is generally about without referring to a definite or specific indefinite entity that was already mentioned within the conversation (i.e., the *aboutness* condition; Casielles-Suárez 2004; López 2009; Mathesius 1975; Villalba 2000; Zagona 2002).

(16)    Spanish
       **Elena**, **la**         vi          ayer       **a**   **esa**  **chica**.
       Elena   ACC.3SG.F   saw.1SG      yesterday   DOM  DEM  girl
       'Elena, I saw that girl yesterday.'

Pragmatically, HTLD can be utilized to shift the discourse to an entirely new (or different) topic. For example, in (17), the speaker used HTLD to redirect the conversation about their childhood and make a comment about a different topic: the listener's brother during that time. Topicalizing expressions, such as *en cuanto a* 'regarding' or *con respecto a* 'with respect to', may be used to introduce hanging topics; whether or not a topicalizing expression appropriately introduces a topic has been used as a test for identifying hanging topics for languages which lack features of case connectivity, like Portuguese (De Andrade 2018).[9, 10]

(17)    Spanish (*based on* Cinque 1983/1997: 95 (4))
       [A friend of two brothers recalling childhood with one of them]
       En     aquellos   días,   recuerdo   que   comías   sólo
       in      those      days   remember.1SG  COMP  would eat.2SG only
       de     vez    en   cuando   y    sin      ganas…
       of     time   in   when     CONJ  without   wanting.INF
       'In those days I remember you would only eat occasionally and unwillingly…'

       (*based on* Cinque 1983/1997: 94 (1))
       Sin embargo, **tu**   **hermano**, **él** sí   que   tenía   hambre   siempre.
       however   POSS   brother   he  yes COMP had-3SG hunger   always
       'Your brother, however, he was always hungry/always had an appetite.'

As stated in Section 2, FF (like (6), repeated as (18)) is interpreted as highlighting an element that comes from a contextually given set while excluding other alternative members from the set (Leonetti & Escandell-Vidal 2009: 157). In (19), the contextual set would be all of the people invited to the party. FF is used to highlight *a tu hermano* as an invitee while excluding Speaker A from the set. In other words, in (19), Speaker B uses FF to correct the direct object that was poorly defined by Speaker A, while filling this argument position with its correct value. The FF used by Speaker B clarified to Speaker A that their brother was the one to receive the invitation to the party, not them.

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[9]     Following de Andrade (2018: 95, footnote 21), we acknowledge that some works, like Villalba (2000), distinguish between HTLD and dislocations preceded by a topicalizing expression. We treat them together for ease of presentation.

[10]    Benincà and Poletto (2004) provides six empirical tests to distinguish between Hanging Topics and Left Dislocated elements. In our paper, these correspond to the fronted constituents within HTLD and CLLD.

(18)    Spanish
        **A      ELENA**      vi             ayer,         no      a       Marta.
        DOM     Elena        saw.1SG        yesterday     NEG     DOM     Marta
        'I saw ELENA yesterday, not Marta.' / 'ELENA I saw yesterday, not Marta.'

(19)    Spanish (*based on* Cinque 1983/1997: 95 (6))
        <u>Speaker A</u>
        Porque   me          han invitado,    iré           a      la      fiesta.
        because  dat.1SG      have-invited.3PL will go.1SG   to     DEF     party
        'Since they have invited me, I'll go to the party.'

        <u>Speaker B</u>
        No, …

        (*based on* Cinque 1983/1997: 94 (3))
        **A     TU     HERMANO** han invitado,          no      a       ti.
        DOM    POSS    brother        have-invited.3PL     NEG     DOM     you
        '(They) have invited YOUR BROTHER, not you.'

        While FF is traditionally related to a contrastive or corrective meaning, as
exemplified in (18)-(19), Cruschina (2012, 2019) (see also Jiménez-Fernández
(2015a), among others) has shown that FF can also be used to express surprise in
Spanish (and other Romance languages), coined as *mirative FF*. This option is
presented in (20).

(20)    Spanish (Cruschina 2019: 10, (8a))
        ¡Imáginate!              ¡Con el  director    quería         hablar!
        Imagine.IMP.2G-you      with the director    want.IMPF.3SG talk.INF
        'Guess what! The director he wanted to talk to!'

        Along the same vein, recent reports have shown that native speakers also
accept non-contrastive preverbal foci in response to *wh*-questions (e.g., Gabriel 2007,
2010 (Argentinian Spanish); Gutiérrez-Bravo 2006; Hoot 2012, 2016 (Mexican
Spanish)). In response, Cruschina (2021) proposed a re-exploration of the typically
binary conception of contrast for FF. Instead, Cruschina (2021) identified four
subtypes of focus (information, exhaustive, mirative and corrective) that carry
different degrees of contrast and, accordingly, a higher or lower likelihood to be
marked through syntax, or arise as an instance of FF.

## 3.2. Syntactic properties of CLLD, HTLD and FF in Spanish

In the current analysis, the syntactic properties of left-dislocation were used to
determine the extent to which the D-construction represents a unique configuration in
Spanish. Therefore, within this section, CLLD, HTLD and FF will be distinguished in
terms of the following properties: (i) the phrasal category (or role) of the dislocated

constituent, (ii) resumptive elements with which this constituent may appear, (iii) case connectivity between the fronted element and an argument position in the main clause, (iv) subject-verb inversion, (v) embedding, (vi) recursivity, and (vii) sensitivity to island constraints.

(i) The types of phrasal categories permitted at the left edge distinguish CLLD and FF from HTLD. Virtually any phrasal category can be CLLD-ed—including DPs, PPs (21), AdjPs, CPs, and QPs (Casielles-Suárez 2004; Cinque 1997; López 2009; Villalba 2000; Zagona 2002). This is also the case for FF provided that this category is parallel to that of the element within the assertive context (Campos & Zampini 1990) (22). Hanging topics, however, are restricted to DPs only, as demonstrated by the unacceptability of (23b) (López 2009; Villalba 2000; Zagona 2002).

(21)    Spanish (Zagona 2002: 221 (41a))
        **De   Juan**, no     me     acuerdo.
        of    Juan   NEG    REFL   remember.1SG
        'Of Juan, I don't remember.'

(22)    Spanish (Campos & Zampini 1990: 49 (3c))
        **EN   ESA   LIBRERÍA**, compró    Juan    unos    libros  (y     no
        in    DEM   bookstore    bought.3SG  Juan    INDEF   books   CONJ  NEG
        en    ésta)
        in    DEM
        'IN THAT BOOKSTORE Juan bought some books (and not in this one).'

(23)    Spanish (Zagona 2002: 221 (39a-b))
        a.    **Juan**, no     me             acuerdo          **de    él**.
              Juan   NEG    REFL.1SG       remember.1SG     of     him
              'Juan, I don't remember him.'
        b.    *__De   Juan__, no     me             acuerdo          **de    él**.
              of    Juan   NEG    REFL.1SG       remember.1SG of    him
              'Juan, I don't remember him.'

(ii) The types of resumptive elements (e.g., clitics, strong pronouns, and epithets) permitted to appear within the main clause of each construction differ across CLLD, HTLD and FF. When functioning as an accusative or dative argument, CLLD-ed constituents characteristically appear doubled by a coreferential clitic in the main clause: (24) shows a fronted DP direct object doubled by a corresponding accusative clitic, and (25) shows a fronted DP indirect object doubled by a corresponding dative clitic. A CLLD-ed constituent cannot be resumed by an overt category, such as a strong pronoun (26) or an epithet (27) (Aissen 2003; Escobar 1997; López 2009).

(24)    Spanish (Casielles-Suárez 2004: 67 (57))
       **A**      **tu**      **hermana**,    **la**           vi           ayer.
       DOM   POSS   sister           ACC.3SG.F    saw.1SG     yesterday
       'Your sister, I saw (her) yesterday.'

(25)    Spanish (Arregi 2003: 33 (6))
       **A**      **Juan**,   **le**      di          un      libro.
       to      Juan   DAT.3SG gave.1SG   INDEF  book
       'To Juan, I gave (him) a book.'

(26)    Spanish (Escobar 1997: 233 (2b))
       ***A***     **Juan**ᵢ lo          conozco     **a**    **él**ᵢ.
       DOM   Juan   ACC.3SG.M   know.1SG    DOM   him
       'Juan, I know (him) (*him).'

(27)    Spanish (López 2009: 4 (1.3e))
       ***A María,*** hace tiempo   que     no      veo     **a**    **esa**
       DOM María    does time    COMP   NEG    see.1SG DOM   DEM
       **sinvergüenza**.
       shameless
       'María, I haven't seen that shameless woman in a long time.'

When functioning as the object of a preposition, like in (28), the entire prepositional phrase appears at the left edge via CLLD. Objects of prepositions do not appear doubled with a resumptive element because they lack suitable coreferential clitics in Spanish. When functioning as the subject, CLLD-ed topics are resumed by *pro* (29) and only reveal themselves via agreement in person and number with the verbal suffix. Again, there are no coreferential subject clitics available in Spanish.

(28)    Spanish (Casielles-Suárez 2004: 78 (105))
       **Con**   **Juan**, hablé         ayer.
       with   Juan   spoke.1SG    yesterday
       'With Juan, I spoke yesterday.'

(29)    Spanish (Escobar 1997: 240 (22A))
       **Juan**, *pro*   est***á***   de       vacaciones.
       Juan  3SG     is.3SG on      vacation
       'Juan, (he) is on vacation.'

HTLD-ed constituents which represent accusative ((2) above) or dative (30) arguments appear doubled by a corresponding clitic in the main clause (Escobar 1997). Various overt categories – like strong pronouns (31), epithets (32), or a combination of these resumptive elements – are also available (López 2009).

(30)    Spanish (López 2009: 4 (1.3b))
        **María**, no  **le**       enviaré            ningún     paquete.
        María  NEG  3SG.DAT will send.1SG       NEG        package
        '(To) María, I will not send a package to her.'

(31)    Spanish (Zagona 2002: 221 (40a-b))
        **Juan**, **lo**           vimos      **a    él**   en    la       fiesta.
        Juan   ACC.3SG.M     saw.1PL   DOM him    at    DEF    party
        'Juan, we saw him at the party.'

(32)    Spanish (López 2009: 4 (1.3f))
        **María**, hace           tiempo que     no    veo    **a    esa**
        María  does.3SG       time    COMP   NEG   see.1SG DOM   DEM
        **sinvergüenza.**
        shameless
        'María, I haven't seen that shameless woman in a long time.'

FF-ed constituents cannot be linked to any type of coreferential element within the main clause (Campos & Zampini 1990), as demonstrated by the ungrammaticality associated with the presence of the clitic *los* in (33). Along the same vein, strong pronouns (34) and epithets (35) are also not permitted in FF.

(33)    Spanish (*adapted from* Campos & Zampini 1990: 48 (2c))
        **UNOS LIBROS,** (*los)         compró          Juan   en   esa  librería
        INDEF books      ACC.3PL.M bought.3SG     Juan   at   DEM bookstore
        (y      no    unas   revistas).
        CONJ   NEG   INDEF magazines
        'SOME BOOKS Juan bought in that bookstore, not some magazines.'

(34)    Spanish
        **A    MARTA** escribió   Pedro una   carta **(*a   ella)** (y  no  a  Susana).
        DOM   Marta     wrote.3SG  Pedro INDEF letter DOM her and  not DOM Susan
        '(TO MARTA) Pedro wrote a letter (and not to Susana).'

(35)    Spanish
        **A    MARTA** escribió   Pedro una   carta **(*a esa chica)** (y  no  a
        DOM   Marta     wrote.3SG Pedro INDEF letter  to that girl   and not DOM
        Susana).
        Susan
        '(TO MARTA) Pedro wrote a letter (and not to Susana).'

(iii) In Spanish, [+HUMAN, +ANIMATE, +DEFINITE] direct objects are obligatorily marked with a *differential object marker* (DOM) – the preposition *a*. Objects that are [-HUMAN, +ANIMATE, +DEFINITE] or [+HUMAN, +ANIMATE, -DEFINITE] are optionally marked and [-HUMAN, -ANIMATE] objects are not marked (see Aissen

2003). Relevant to CLLD, HTLD and FF, the presence of the DOM *a* before a dislocated constituent, thus, signals that this element maintains a certain level of grammatical dependence, or case connectivity, with its argument position in the main clause.

The obligatory presence of the DOM *a* at the left edge (i.e., a manifestation of case connectivity requirements) distinguishes CLLD and FF from HTLD (Campos & Zampini 1990; Villalba 2000; Zagona 2002; Zubizarreta 1998). CLLD-ed (36) or FF-ed (37) direct objects that are [+HUMAN, +ANIMATE, +DEFINITE] demonstrate required case connectivity and must be preceded with *a* to mark their accusative case.[11]

(36)    Spanish
        *(A)  **Juan**, **lo**          vi              ayer.
        DOM    Juan   ACC.3SG.M    saw.1SG       yesterday
        'Juan, I saw (him) yesterday.'

(37)    Spanish
        *(A)  **PEDRO**       escribió       María una    carta.
        DOM    Pedro          wrote.3SG      María INDEF  letter
        '(TO PEDRO) María wrote a letter.'

Note that the preposition *a* serves more than one function in Spanish (see Fábregas 2013; Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007). Outside of acting as a differential object marker, *a* also represents the preposition 'to' and a dative case marker. Indirect objects, regardless of their semantic characteristics, are preceded by *a* in Spanish. Accordingly, CLLD-ed (38) and FF-ed (39) indirect objects are always preceded by the preposition *a* to mark their dative case.

(38)    Spanish (*adapted from* Arregi 2003: 33 (6))
        *(A)  **Juan$_i$**, **le$_i$**        di              un      libro.
        DOM    Juan   DAT.3SG       gave.1SG       INDEF  book
        '(To) Juan, I gave (him) a book.'

(39)    Spanish
        *(A)  **CRISTINA**    compró        José    un      Mercedes       para
        DOM    Cristina       bought.3SG    José    INDEF  Mercedes       for
        su             cumpleaños   (y       no      a       Marta).
        POSS.3SG       birthday     CONJ    NEG    DOM    Marta
        'FOR CRISTINA José bought a Mercedes for her birthday (and not for Marta).'

---

[11]    Escobar (1997) states that only elements that are [+SPECIFIC] may be CLLD-ed, and that this is a requirement of CLLD vs. clitic doubling or case connectivity.

HTLD-ed constituents lack case connectivity with the verb (Anagnostopoulou 1997; Escobar 1997; Suñer 2006) and always appear in a 'default' nominative form (López 2009: 4), lacking *a* even when the HTLD-ed constituent would semantically require it, as in (40).

(40)    Spanish (Escobar 1997: 233 (1a))
        **Juan, lo**            conozco.
        Juan    ACC.3SG.M       know:1SG
        'Juan, I know (him).'

        (iv) A requirement for a post-verbal subject within the main clause distinguishes FF from CLLD and HTLD. FF requires subject-verb inversion (41) (Casielles-Suárez 2004; Hernanz & Brucart 1987), whereas CLLD (42) and HTLD (43) do not (Escobar 1997). This requirement is demonstrated by the grammaticality contrast between instances of FF with a post-verbal (41a) vs. a pre-verbal (41b) subject (Hernanz & Brucart 1987; Casielles-Suárez 2004). CLLD and HTLD, on the other hand, often surface with a preverbal subject, signaling that subject-verb inversion is not required (Escobar 1997).[12]

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[12]    Arregi (2003) argues that CLLD involves *contrastive topicalization,* a particular type of topicalization. Within this framework, contrastive topics (CT) respond to partial answers to a multiple question and correspond with the question's *wh*-phrases. Context for CTs provide a contrastive set, or a set of alternatives to the CT. Regarding subject placement within the structure, CLLD may contain a postverbal subject, but Arregi (2003) argues that the CLLD-ed object would have obligatory wide scope, resulting in the grammaticality contrasts demonstrated in examples (i) and (ii). (i) is ungrammatical because the CLLD-ed object was reconstructed below the postverbal subject in the structure and, within the framework adopted by Arregi (2003), a CLLD-ed object pronoun cannot be bound by a postverbal subject QP. (ii) shows that this can also be explained through scope. Only the interpretation in (iia), where the CLLD-ed object has wide scope, yields an acceptable instance of CLLD. In this case, 'each' reconstructs above 'less than 3'. This is in contrast with the ungrammatical interpretation in (iib) where 'less than 3' reconstructs above 'each'.

(i)     Spanish (Arregi 2003: 41 (23))
        *A      su$_i$    hijo,    deberá       acompañarlo           cada madre$_i$.
        DOM     POSS      son      will-have    to-accompany-him      each mother
        'Her$_i$ son, each mother$_i$ will have to accompany.'

(ii)    Spanish (Arregi 2003: 41 (24))
        Cada libro, lo            leyeron        menos de     tres    estudiantes.
        each book, ACC.3SG.M read.3PL.PST    less    than     three    students
        a.    'For each book *x*, there are less than three students that read *x*.'
        b.    *'There are less than three students that read every book.'

(41)    a.      Spanish (Casielles-Suárez 2004: 185 (43))
                EN    PRIMAVERA        visitó          Juan    Leningrado.
                in    spring                visited.3SG    Juan    Leningrado
                'IN SPRING Juan visited Leningrado.'
        b.      Spanish (Casielles-Suárez 2004: 185 (44))
                *EN   PRIMAVERA Juan   visitó          Leningrado.
                in    spring          Juan   visited.3SG    Leningrado
                'IN SPRING Juan visited Leningrado.'

(42)    Spanish (Escobar 1997: 244 (34))
        A     María, yo     la            he         invitado.
        DOM   María I    ACC.3SG.F      have.1SG invited.PTCP
        'Mary, I have invited (her).'

(43)    Spanish (Escobar 1997: 244 (35b))
        En cuanto a    María, yo     la            he         invitado.
        as for        María I    ACC.3SG.F      have.1SG invited.PTCP
        'As for María, I have invited her.'

(v) The option to appear within an embedded position distinguishes CLLD and FF from HTLD. CLLD-ed (44) and FF-ed (45) constituents can appear in both root and embedded contexts (Casielles-Suárez 2004; López 2009; Villalba 2000; Zagona 2002; Zubizarreta 1998). HTLD, on the other hand, cannot be embedded and may only appear in root contexts (Casielles Suárez 2004; López 2009; Zagona 2002), as shown in (46).[13]

(44)    Spanish (López 2009: 105 (3.49))
        Creo      que   **a María** no   **la**          vas      a      ver.
        think.1SG COMP DOM María NEG  ACC.3SG.F      go.2SG to     see.INF
        'I don't think you'll get to see María.'

(45)    Spanish (Zubizarreta 1999: 4241 (145))
        Estoy    segura de  que   **NADA**    te        regalará          Pedro.
        am.1SG sure   of  COMP nothing  DAT.2SG will gift.3SG          Pedro
        [Pedro me            regalará      un     libro.]
        Pedro  DAT.1SG        will gift.3SG   INDEF book
        'I'm sure that Pedro will not give you ANYTHING. [Pedro will give me a book]'

---

13      A reviewer noted that (46) is not ungrammatical in their variety.

(46)     Spanish (Zubizarreta 1998: 188 (ix))
         *Sin embargo, estoy     segura que,    **Bernardo**,    nadie   confía
         however      am.1SG   sure  COMP   Bernardo      no one  trusts.3SG
         **en     ese     idiota**.
         in    DEM    idiot
         'However, I'm sure that, Bernardo, no one trusts that idiot.'

(vi) Recursivity, or the ability to simultaneously front multiple constituents, distinguishes CLLD from HTLD and FF. CLLD is a recursive phenomenon, meaning that multiple constituents may be CLLD-ed (Villalba 2000; Zagona 2002), as in (47). HTLD (Villalba 2000; Zagona 2002), as in (48), and FF (Hernanz & Brucart 1987), as in (49), pattern similarly in that neither are recursive. That is, only one constituent may be FF-ed or HTLD-ed at a time.

(47)     Spanish (Casielles-Suárez 2004: 74 (88))
         **A     Pedro   los     libros** ya     **se**          **los**          compré.
         DOM   Pedro   DEF   books   already   DAT.3SG     ACC.3PL.M   bought.1SG
         'Pedro, the books, (I) already bought (them) (for him).'

(48)     Spanish (Zagona 2002: 223 (47b))
         *__Juan__, **el     libro**, **él**     no     **lo**          ha          comprado.
         Juan    DEF   book    he    NEG   ACC.SG.M   has.3SG   bought.PTCP
         'Juan, the book, he hasn't bought it.'

(49)     Spanish (Hernanz & Brucart 1987: 96 (66a))
         *__A     PEDRO     UNA   CARTA__     escribió     María.
         DOM   Pedro          INDEF   letter          wrote.3SG     María
         '(TO) PEDRO A LETTER María wrote.'

(vii) Various types of syntactic islands have been used to determine whether these structures involve movement.[14] All three constructions differ in terms of their acceptability within various island contexts and, thus, have been proposed to have different syntactic derivations.

CLLD-ed constituents can relate to an argument situated within *wh*-islands (50) but not within Complex NPs (51), relative clauses (52) or adjunct islands (53). Accordingly, the varied island sensitivity displayed by CLLD has been described as *selective* (López 2009).

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[14]     There is debate about whether some islands are considered strong vs. weak. For example, Cinque (1990) called Complex NPs 'strong' islands, but Suñer (2006) considered them 'weak'. We follow Suñer's (2006) classification of strong (RC Extraction and Adjunct islands) vs. weak (*wh*-islands and Complex NPs) syntactic islands in Spanish.

(50)   Spanish (Suñer 2006: 136 (21a))
       **A    Mara**, no    recuerdo         quién preguntó        (que) dónde
       DOM   Mara NEG    remember.1SG who    asked.3SG      COMP where
       **la**         había         visto    yo.
       ACC.3SG.F   had.1SG         seen.PTCP  I
       'Mara, I don't remember who asked where I had seen (her).'

(51)   Spanish (Suñer 2006: 136 (18a))
       ??**A    Mara**, existe    la  posibilidad   de que **la**           arresten.
       DOM   Mara exists.3SG DEF possibility    COMP ACC.3SG.F    arrest.3PL
       'Mara, it is possible that they arrest (her).'

(52)   Spanish (Zubizarreta 1998: 187 (i))
       *Estoy segura que    **a    Pedro**, conocemos      a      la      mujer
       am.1SG certain COMP   DOM   Pedro   know.1PL      DOM    DEF    woman
       que          **lo**         traicionó.
       COMP         ACC.3SG.M      betrayed.3SG
       'I'm sure that, Pedro, (we) know the woman that betrayed (him).'

(53)   Spanish (Zubizarreta 1998: 187 (ii))
       *Me        parece     mejor que    **a    Pedro**,          terminemos   la
       DAT.1SG   seems.3SG  better COMP   DOM   Pedro            finish.1PL    DEF
       tarea             antes de      llamar**lo**.
       assignment        before        calling.INF-ACC.3SG.M
       'It seems better to me if, Pedro, we will finish the assignment before calling (him).'

Following Chomsky (1981a), Hernanz and Brucart (1987), Cinque (1990), Suñer (2006), Zagona (2002/2006), and Fernandez-Rubiera (2009) (among others), we propose the derivation in Figure 1 for (54). As shown in the structure, the CLLD-ed *a Elena* is base-generated in Spec Top(ic)P, and is coreferential with the covert DP in verb-complement position. This covert DP is in turn licensed by the clitic *la*, which takes the verb *vi* as a host (note that the verb starts low in the structure in V and undergoes head-to-head movement until it lands in AgrS). According to Cinque (1990), the relationship between the left-dislocated element and its corresponding covert DP in the main clause is established via an A'-chain that links these elements through a long-distance dependency (indicated through superindexation <$^i$> in Figure 1). Usually, A'-chains are generated by movement. However, Cinque (1990) proposes that A'-chains can also be formed in the absence of movement. This explains the movement-like properties of CLLD and the selective island sensitivity.[15]

---

[15]    For an alternative approach involving a bi-sentential analysis of CLLD, see Ott (2014, 2015, 2016, 2017).

(54)    Spanish
        A       Elena, la          vi              ayer.
        DOM     Elena  ACC.3SG.F   saw:1SG         yesterday
        'Elena, I saw (her) yesterday.'

**Figure 1.** Syntactic derivation of CLLD in Spanish
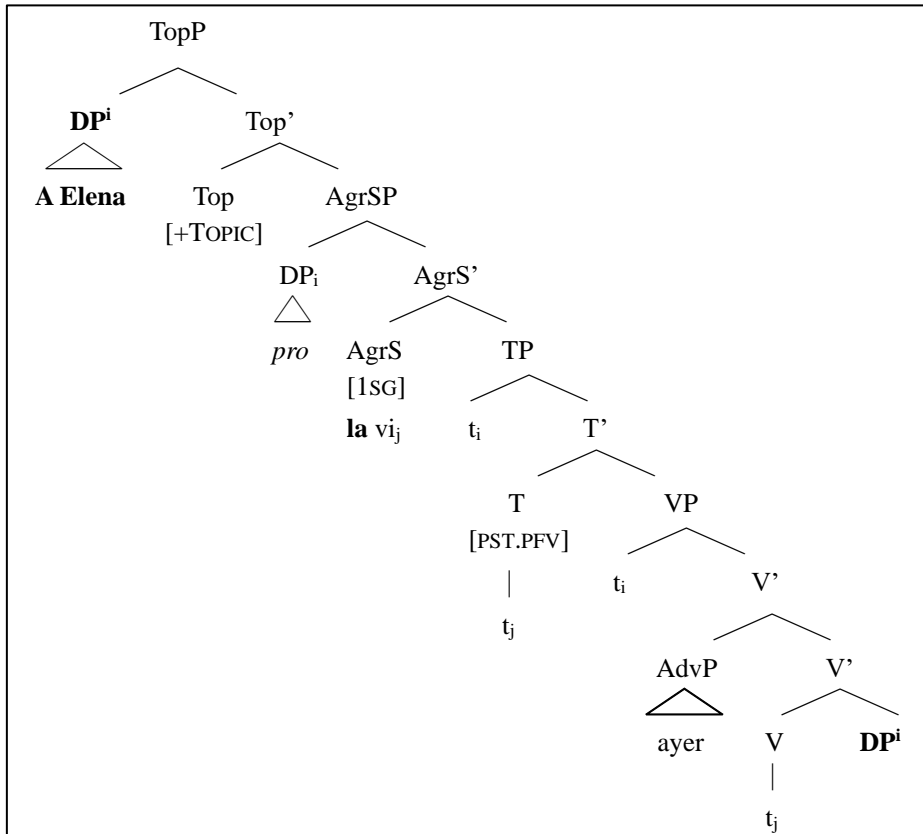


HTLD is not sensitive to island effects (López 2009; Zagona 2002). That is, HTLD-ed constituents can relate to an argument situated within *wh*-islands (55), Complex NPs (56), relative clauses (57), or adjunct islands (58).

(55)    Spanish (Rivero 1980: 380 (47b))
        **Dinero**, te          pregunta       (que) por    qué     no      tiene.
        money  DAT.2SG     asks.3SG       COMP  for    why     NEG     have.3SG
        'Money, (s)he asks you why (s)he doesn't have.'

(56)    Spanish (Escobar 1997: 242 (30))
        **Juan**, tengo     la    impresión de que **lo**        conocí **a      él**    en
        Juan   have.1SG  DEF   impression COMP ACC.3SG.M met.1SG DOM him    in
        New York.
        New York
        'Juan, I get the impression that I met him in New York.'

(57)    Spanish (Zubizarreta 1998: 188 (x))
        (En cuanto a) **el    Sr. Gonzales**, conocemos a    la      mujer  que
        (as for)       DEF Mr. Gonzales know.1PL   DOM DEF   woman COMP
        **lo**            traicionó.
        ACC.3SG.M    betrayed.3SG
        '(As for) Mr. Gonzales, we know the woman that betrayed (him).'

(58)    Spanish (Zubizarreta 1998: 188 (xi))
        (En cuanto a) **el      Sr. Gonzales**, terminaremos          la   tarea
        (as for)       DEF   Mr. Gonzales   will finish.1PL      DEF assignment
        antes de       llama**lo**.
        before         calling.INF-ACC.3SG.M
        'Regarding Dr. Gonzales, we will finish the assignment before calling him.'

Following Hernanz and Brucart (1987) and Rivero (1980), this fronted DP within HTLD is base-generated in the Spec, TopP position (like CLLD; see Figure 1). As shown by the structure in Figure 2 for (59), the HTLD-ed DP *Elena* is correferential with a resumptive element within the main clause (the DP[i] (*a ella*) in verb-complement position). However, unlike CLLD, it does not demonstrate grammatical dependence on any element at the sentence level. Similar to CLLD, this is represented through the use of super-indexation within the structure, the difference here being that the DP remains available within the VP, and thus, can be filled with a corresponding element, like a strong pronoun or epithet (*a ella* in (59)). The lack of grammatical dependence also explains the insensitivity of HTLD to island effects.[16]

(59)    Spanish
        Elena, la            vi          ayer          (a     ella).
        Elena ACC.SG.F     saw.1SG      yesterday      DOM   her
        'Elena, I saw her yesterday.'

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[16]    See Villa-García (2023) for an alternative non-movement analysis of HTLD following Ott's (2014, 2015, 2016, 2017) bi-clausal framework.

**Figure 2.** Syntactic derivation of HTLD in Spanish
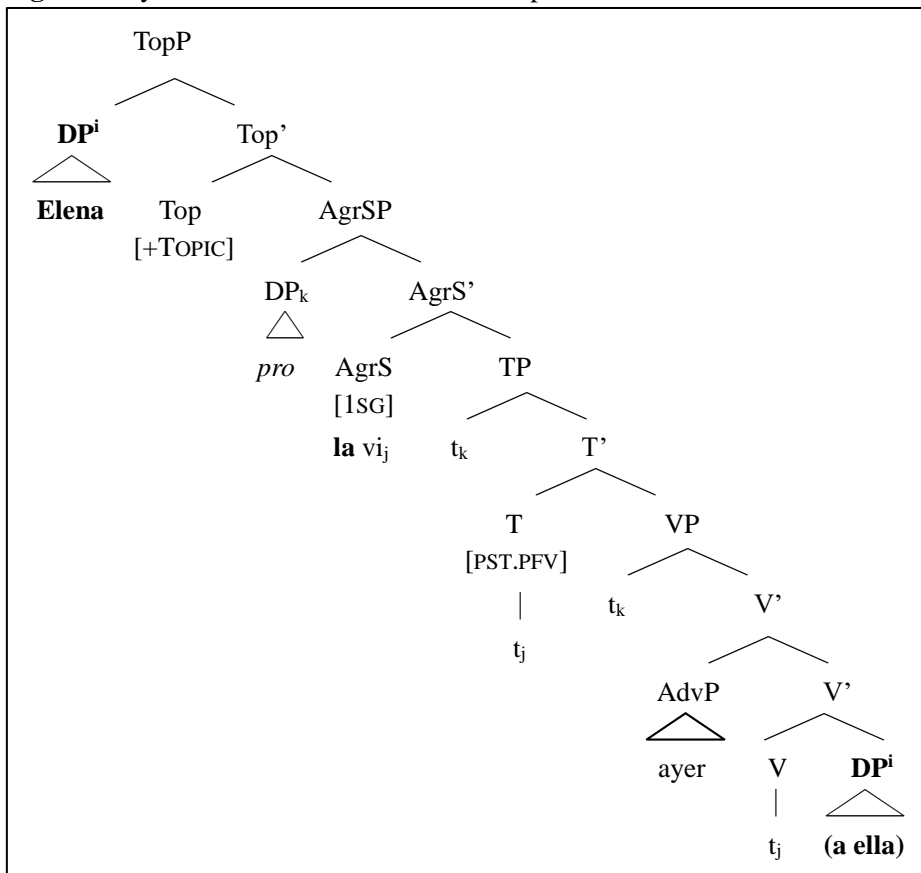


FF is sensitive to all syntactic islands (Campos & Zampini 1990; Hernanz & Brucart 1987; Zubizarreta 1999). That is, FF-ed constituents cannot be extracted from *wh*-islands, complex NPs, relative clauses or adjunct islands, as shown in (60)-(63).[17]

(60)     Spanish (Hernanz & Brucart 1987: 97 (72a))
         *EL   DINERO    ignora         María quién   tiene __.
          DEF  money      ignores.3SG    María who     has
         'THE MONEY María ignores who has.'

(61)     Spanish (Hernanz & Brucart 1987: 97 (72b))
         *A    PEDRO     tengo          la      seguridad      de que nadie
          DOM  Pedro      have.1SG       DEF     certainty      COMP   no one
         ha       visto      antes __.
         has.3SG  seen.PTCP  before
         'PEDRO I'm sure that no one has seen before.'

---

17        '__' is used to represent the gap left within the main clause by the left-dislocated element.

(62)    Spanish (Campos & Zampini 1990: 50 (6b))
        ***UN   MERCEDES** conozco      al              chico   que     se
        INDEF  Mercedes       know.1SG    DOM-DEF         boy     COMP    REFL.3SG
        ganó __      en      la      lotería ayer.
        won.3SG      in      DEF     lottery yesterday
        'A Mercedes (I) know the boy that won in the lottery yesterday.'

(63)    Spanish (Zubizarreta 1999: 4240 (133))
        ***A   PEDRO** terminamos la   tarea          antes de  llamar __. (y     no
        DOM Pedro      finish.1PL   DEF  assignment    before    calling.INF CONJ NEG
        a     JUAN)
        DOM Juan
        'PEDRO we finish the homework before calling.'

Following Hernanz and Brucart (1987) and Campos and Zampini (1990), FF in Spanish demonstrates sensitivity to all syntactic islands because it involves an A'-element being moved from the verb complement position to the specifier position of the Foc(us)P, as in Figure 3 for (64). Consequently, the contrastive focus constituent (i.e. *MANZANAS* in (64)) also triggers the verb (*compró*) to raise from AgrS to Foc (i.e., subject-verb inversion) and cannot correspond to any resumptive element within the main clause. This also explains the requirement for case connectivity features on the FF-ed constituent.

(64)    Spanish (Zubizarreta 1999: 4239 (120))
        **MANZANAS**            compró   Pedro (y    no      peras).
        apples                  bought.3SG Pedro CONJ NEG    pears
        'Pedro bought APPLES (and not pears).'

**Figure 3.** Syntactic derivation of FF

```
                        FocP
                      /      \
                   DPᵢ        Foc'
                  /  \       /    \
          MANZANAS    Foc      AgrSP
                    [+FOCUS]   /     \
                      |      DPₖ      AgrS'
                    compróⱼ   △      /     \
                          Pedro   AgrS      TP
                                 [3SG]    /    \
                                  tⱼ    tₖ      T'
                                             /     \
                                           T        VP
                                        [PST.PFV]   /  \
                                           |      tₖ    V'
                                          tⱼ          /    \
                                                     V      DP
                                                     |       |
                                                    tⱼ      tᵢ
```
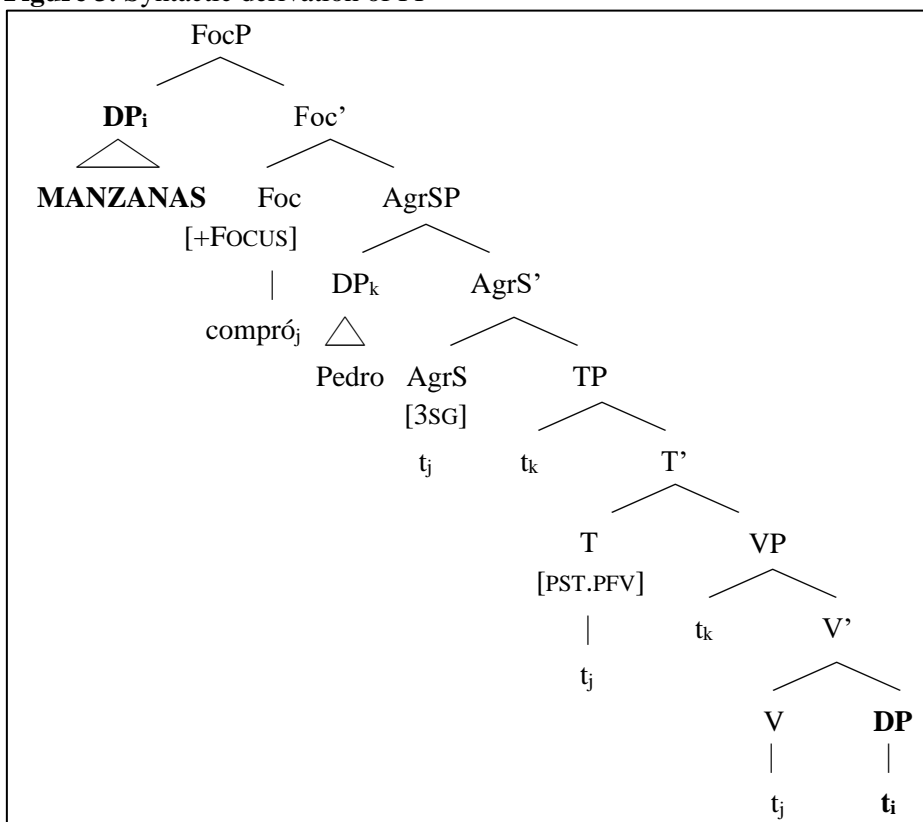
To summarize the information synthesized in this section, Table 1 presents a comparison of the syntactic properties of CLLD, HTLD, and FF in Spanish. In the following section, we present what is known about the D-construction in Portuguese and Galician (de Andrade 2018) regarding these properties.

**Table 1.** Syntactic properties of CLLD, HTLD and FF in Spanish

|  | CLLD | HTLD | FF |
|---|---|---|---|
| *(i) Any XP can be left-dislocated* | ✓ | ✗ | ✓ |
| *(ii) Resumptives*<br>　a. *Resumptive elements are required*<br>　b. *Strong pronoun resumptives are permitted* | ✓<br><br>✗ | ✓<br><br>✓ | ✗<br><br>✗ |
| *(iii) Demonstrates case connectivity with its original position in the verbal argument* | ✓ | ✗ | ✓ |
| *(iv) Requires subject-verb inversion* | ✗ | ✗ | ✓ |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *(v) May appear in embedded contexts* | ✓ | ✗ | ✗ |
| *(vi) Is recursive* | ✓ | ✗ | ✗ |
| *(vii) Demonstrates sensitivity to island constraints* | ✓ | ✗ | ✓ |

## 4. The D-construction

### 4.1. The Portuguese/Galician D-construction

De Andrade (2018) identified the D-construction in Portuguese (65) and Galician (66) and offered the first description of its properties and uses. As demonstrated by examples (65) and (66), within the D-construction, the fronted DP takes a resumptive d-pronoun at the left edge to pragmatically communicate a contrast. De Andrade (2018) asserts that the D-construction could be elicited by a *conjunctive question*: a question that is not as specific as the answer that it requires (Lee 2003). For example, (65) and (66) would be considered valid responses to a question like *¿Conoces a los hermanos?* 'Do you know the brothers?' (provided that the brothers are *Pedro* and *João/Xoán*).

(65)    Portuguese (de Andrade 2018: 82 (1a))
    (O    Pedro  eu      conheço;)
    DEF  Pedro  I       know.1SG
    [**o**   **João**], *esse*   non    tenho      ideia  de quem   seja.
    DEF  João  DEM  NEG  have.1SG     idea  of whom  be.SBJV.3SG
    'I know Pedro; (as for) João, I have no idea about who he is.'

(66)    Galician (de Andrade 2018: 82 (1b))
    (A    Pedro  eu     coñézoo;)
    to   Pedro  I       know.1SG-3SG
    [**Xoán**], *dese*     non    teño       nin    idea.
    Xoán   of-DEM    not   have.1SG    even  idea
    '(as for) Xoán, I have no idea about who he is.'

At the most general level, the D-construction differs from other left-dislocated configurations in Romance in terms of two key syntactic properties: (i) the appearance of a resumptive d-pronoun (i.e., *ese* (m) / *esa* (f) / *iso* (n) in Galician; *esse* (m) / *essa* (f) / *isso* (n) in Portuguese) directly after its left-dislocated DP antecedent (and not in

any other position, as demonstrated by (67) for Portuguese), and (ii) the required case connectivity between the DP and its D-pronoun resumptive.[18]

(67)   a.   Portuguese (de Andrade 2018: 93 (37a))
            [**Os    filmes de Hitchcock**], *esses* os    alunos    conhecem.
            DEF    movies of Hitchcock   DEM   DEF    students  know:3PL
            '(As for) Hitchcock's movies, the students know them.'

       b.   Portuguese (de Andrade 2018: 93 (37b))
            *[**Os    filmes de Hitchcock**], os    alunos    conhecem *esses*.
            DEF    movies of Hitchcock   DEF    students  know:3PL   DEM
            '(As for) Hitchcock's movies, the students know them.'

Following Bernstein's (2001) proposal for the internal structure of the fronted DP, de Andrade (2018: 85) accounts for the contrast in (67) by claiming that the d-pronoun can occupy a focus position inside the DP structure of the dislocate in Galician (as in 68a), but a similar construction is ungrammatical in Portuguese (as in 68b).

(68)   a.   Galician (de Andrade 2018: 85 (9a))
            [**A rapaza *esa***]   atopein**a**        en ocasións   aqui.
            the girl   DEM.F  met.1SG-3SG.F      in occasions  here
            'This girl, I met her sometimes here.'

       b.   Portuguese (de Andrade 2018: 85 (9b))
            *[**A rapariga *essa***],   encontrei(**-a**)        às       veces aqui.
            the girl      DEM.F   met.1SG(-3SG.F)        to.the   times here
            'This girl, I met her sometimes here.'

From a pragmatic standpoint, the addition of a d-pronoun linked to a dislocated topic constituent acts as "a strategy to promote a referent into the sentence topic and at the same time contrasting it to other salient members of a partially ordered set" (de Andrade 2018: 81). Thus, with a contrastive topic interpretation, the D-construction may seem to serve a similar pragmatic function as CLLD (Arregi 2003), while contrasting the topic over another possible member of the set, like the corrective use of FF. However, when considering their syntactic characteristics, the D-construction clearly differs from these constructions in Portuguese and Galician.

---

[18]     De Andrade (2018: 95) claims that (ii) cannot apply for Portuguese because "the lack of case-marking prevents one from testing Case connectivity in this language." Examples of German HTLD's lack of case connectivity and Portuguese HTLD's ability to be preceded by a topicalizing expression were provided by de Andrade (2018: 94-95), but case connectivity was not discussed for Galician.

Before comparing the D-construction's properties to the left-dislocated constructions in Spanish, we will first comment on the extent to which similar forms of CLLD, HTLD, and FF exist in Galician and Portuguese. Regarding CLLD, a similar configuration exists in Portuguese, but without the presence of clitic doubling (69a). CLLD in Galician is also an available topic configuration, but clitic doubling (enclisis) is required (69b) (de Andrade 2018: 98). Therefore, CLLD exists in all three languages, but its syntactic properties manifest differently in each one.

(69)    a.    Portuguese (de Andrade 2018: 98 (43b))
              Dei-lhe                um presente    {*ao  João}/{a ele}.
              gave.1SG-3SG.DAT       a   gift        to.the João   to him
              'I gave João a gift.'

        b.    Galician (de Andrade 2018: 98 (43a))
              Deille                 un regalo      {a Xoán}/{a el}.
              gave.1SG-3SG.DAT       a   gift        to Xoán    to him
              'I gave Xoán a gift.'

De Andrade (2018) notes that there are two types of HTLD, HTLD I and HTLD II. HTLD I – "a structure with a D-pronoun resumptive in a left-dislocated position but without obligatory case connectivity with the dislocated DP" (p. 95) – corresponds to the D-construction. HTLD I is noted to be common in Germanic languages. HTLD II (equivalent to what we have referred to as HTLD thus far) contains a resumptive personal pronoun in the middle field and exists in Spanish, Galician and Portuguese.

The existence of a comparable configuration to FF in Spanish has been a source of debate within discussions of information structure for Galician and Portuguese. Costa (2004) argued that Portuguese lacks a Spanish-like FF and, instead, attests a form of FF that is more similar to topicalization found in English (Gupton 2014: 84). Costa and Martins (2011) counter this by demonstrating that Portuguese attests a Contrastive Focus Fronting configuration that is distinguishable from topicalization. In conclusion, both FF and English-like topicalization are possible in Portuguese.

For Galician, Gupton (2014: 200-202) claims that the contrastive sentences in Galician represent contrastive topics rather than contrastive focus in order to account for grammatical differences between these configurations and their Spanish (and Italian) counterparts. Accordingly, *corrective contrast* in Galician manifests without triggering proclisis, with optional subject-verb inversion and the lack of a resumptive clitic associated with CLLD (Gupton 2021: 45). Gupton (2021: 56-57) proposes a "prosodic isomorphism expansion of the Rizzian Cartographic Program" where *wh*-phrases, fronted (corrective focus), and verum fronted focus constituents cannot co-occur and trigger proclisis. All elements would link to the speech context and appear in Spec,FinP via movement.

Taken as a whole, there are some similarities and some differences in how information structure is expressed across Spanish, Galician and Portuguese. In any case, all three languages permit the left dislocation of topic and focus constituents

along with a predetermined set of syntactic characteristics. CLLD is available in all three languages; Galician and Portuguese CLLD mainly differ in their requirements for resumptive elements. HTLD II also exists in all three languages. FF is attested in all three languages, but cleft constructions seem to be preferred when expressing contrastive focus in both Galician and Portuguese. Based on this, we anticipate that the D-construction may also arise in Spanish, but with a different set of syntactic properties and a different pragmatic use. Following de Andrade (2018), the remainder of this subsection presents the syntactic properties of the D-construction in Portuguese and Galician followed by a juxtaposition of the D-construction's properties in Portuguese and Galician with those of CLLD, HTLD, and FF in Spanish.

(i) First, similar to the hanging topic in HTLD, the D-construction in Portuguese and Galician is restricted to DPs only. For instance, the Portuguese example in (70), which has a fronted PP, is ungrammatical.

(70) Portuguese (de Andrade 2018: 91 (26a))
*[**À      Maria**]**, a essa**  eu não (**lhe**)      enviarei      o      pacote.
to.DEF Maria  to  DEM  I NEG (3SG.DAT) send.FUT.1SG DEF   package
'To Maria, I will not send her the package.'

(ii) Within the D-construction in Portuguese, a fronted DP is characteristically resumed by a d-pronoun in left-peripheral position while also being optionally doubled by a clitic in the main clause. In (71), the d-pronoun *essa* is required and must refer to the left-dislocated constituent, *A Joana,* and not to the other topic mentioned within the context, *a moça*. In Galician, a resumptive clitic is required in the main clause of the D-construction, as in (72). These clitic requirements mimic the requirements for clitic resumption within CLLD for both languages as well, where it is optional in Portuguese and required in Galician.

(71) Portuguese (de Andrade 2018: 82 (2))
(Acabo         de ver       a       moça$_i$ do      quarto         andar.)
finish.1SG     of see.INF   DEF    girl     of.DEF fourth          floor
[**A      Joana$_j$**]**, essa$_{j/*i}$**     eu      verei          amanhã.
DEF   Joana   DEM           I      will see.1SG   tomorrow
'I have just seen the girl from the fourth floor. (As for) Juana, I will see her tomorrow.'

(72) Galician (de Andrade 2018: 88 (16))
[…]  teño      case   claro onde         van            ir      a      parar
have.1SG almost clear where        go.3PL         go.INF to      stop.INF
as       nosas  reclamación   pero  a   lo        menos   [**o pracer**] **ese**
DEF     our    complaints    but   at ACC.SG.M less        DEF pleasure DEM
non    no**lo**          poden         quitar.
NEG    1PL.DAT-3SG    can.3PL       take.INF

'…I have it almost clear where our complaints end up going, but at least the pleasure, they cannot take it from us.'

(iii) For the D-construction, case connectivity must be defined between two pairs of elements: (a) the left-dislocated element and its corresponding gap position, and (b) the DP and its resumptive d-pronoun. Due to the lack of overt case-marking features (outside of the pronominal system) in Portuguese, de Andrade (2018) tested for case connectivity by seeing whether the topic could be preceded by topicalizing expressions, like *quanto a* in (73). Because the resultant configuration was deemed acceptable (with or without the appearance of *a*) the topic in (73) was considered a hanging topic.

(73)    Portuguese (de Andrade 2018: 95 (33a))
        [Quanto        a**os    alunos**], **(a) esses**    eu       não       culpo.
        how.much       to.DEF  students   to   DEM     I        NEG       blame.1SG
        'As for the students, I don't blame them.'

De Andrade (2018) compared the D-construction in Portuguese to instances of CLD in German when discussing case connectivity. Gupton (2014, 2021) does not explicitly address this feature in Galician, so the status of the D-construction in Galician regarding case connectivity features remains unclear.

(iv) The D-construction in Portuguese does not require subject-verb inversion. For example, in (74), the subject *os alunos* appears in pre-verbal position and the construction maintains grammaticality. This property remains unspecified for the D-construction in Galician.

(74)    Portuguese (de Andrade 2018: 93 (37a))
        [**Os    filmes de Hitchcock**], *esses* os       alunos    conhecem.
        DEF     movies of Hitchcock   DEM   DEF      students  know:3PL
        '(As for) Hitchcock's movies, the students know them.'

(v) The D-construction is restricted to root contexts. In (75), the D-construction in Portuguese was deemed ungrammatical because the configuration appears within an embedded context, introduced by *disse que* 'said that'. The D-construction in Galician was not considered in embedded contexts by de Andrade (2018), so this property remains undefined.

(75)    Portuguese (de Andrade 2018: 91 (26d))
        *O homem disse      que   [**os    miúdos**]**, esses** não      encontrou.
        DEF man    said.3SG COMP  DEF   children   DEM NEG      met.3SG
        'The man said that he did not meet the children.'

(vi) In the D-construction, it appears that both the hanging topic and its resumptive d-pronoun are non-recursive. That is, the topic and its corresponding d-

pronoun together cannot appear before another instance of the D-construction, as in (76) in Portuguese. The permissibility of (77) indicates that although the D-construction permits two consecutive hanging topics only one of those hanging topics can take a resumptive d-pronoun at the left edge in Portuguese. Recursivity remains unspecified for the D-construction in Galician.

(76)     Portuguese (de Andrade 2018:91, (26c))
         *[**O queijo**], **esse**,       [**aos alunos**], **a esses**, eu       dei
         DEF cheese   DEM         to.DEF students to   DEM   I       gave.1SG
         (-lhos).
         (-3SG.DAT-3PL)
         'For the cheese, it holds that to the students, I gave it to them.'

(77)     Portuguese (de Andrade 2018: 92 (30d))
         [**O      Pedro**]ᵢ, [**o     carro**]ⱼ, **esse**ⱼ      eleᵢ      comprou.
         DEF    Pedro   DEF  car    DEM         he       bought.3SG
         '(As for) Pedro, the car, he didn't buy it.

         (vii) De Andrade (2018) states that the D-construction in Portuguese demonstrates sensitivity to selective 'weak' islands, like that of (77). It is worth noting, however, that the 'weak' island in (78) is notably different from the types of islands discussed for Spanish throughout Section 3, and it is not typically considered an island context in Spanish. Instead, (78) seems to represent an embedded context, and confirms the claim represented by example (75) that the D-construction can only surface in root contexts.
         Considered a strong island by de Andrade (2018), the grammaticality of (79) demonstrates that the left-dislocated DP within the D-construction in Portuguese can relate to a position within a Complex NP (de Andrade 2018). The Complex NP Constraint in this work, following previous literature, is typically considered a 'weak' island. Therefore, the findings related to sensitivity to syntactic islands for the D-construction in Portuguese remain unclear but seem to imply that the construction is not sensitive to islands (pending data from relative clauses or adjunct islands). The same property was not considered for Galician by de Andrade (2018).

(78)     Portuguese (de Andrade 2018: 91 (26e))
         *[**Os miúdos**], lamento      que, *esses*, não    tenhas    encontrado.
          DEF children regret.1SG   COMP DEM   NEG   have.2SG met.PTCP
         'The children, I regret that you haven't met (them).'

(79)     Portuguese (de Andrade 2018: 93 (30e))
         [**O Manel**], *esse* o  Pedro odeia     o     facto (de)  que  a
         DEF Manel   DEM  DEF Pedro hates.3SG   DEF   fact  (of)  COMP DEF
         Maria (o)    tenha        beijado.
         Maria (3SG) has.SBJV.3SG kissed.PTCP
         '(As for) Manel, Pedro hates the fact that Maria has kissed him.'

De Andrade (2018) determined that the D-construction's structural properties in Portuguese and Galician could be explained by a derivation that involved two different strategies: (i) left-dislocation of the DP via HTLD and (ii) left-dislocation of the resumptive d-pronoun via a process resembling CLLD. Within this derivation, de Andrade (2018) assumed a non-movement analysis for both HTLD and CLLD, indicating that both the left-dislocated DP and resumptive pronoun within the D-construction were base-generated in this position. To account for the difference in clitic doubling requirements across the two languages, de Andrade (2018: 99) proposed that in Portuguese, the D-construction base-generated topicalization of the left-dislocate followed by the CLLD (linking via an A'-chain) of the d-pronoun to the outer specifier of IP (80). In Galician, the d-pronoun is base-generated at Spec, TopP and linked to its corresponding clitic via an A'-chain (81) as in CLLD. The structures provided by de Andrade (2018) are given in Figures 4 and 5.

(80)    Portuguese (de Andrade 2018: 85 (10b))
    […]    [**o João**],    *esse*    prendi        no      quarto.
                DEF João        DEM      locked.1SG   in.DEF  room
            '…(as for) João, I have locked him in the room.'

**Figure 4.** Syntactic derivation of the D-construction in Portuguese
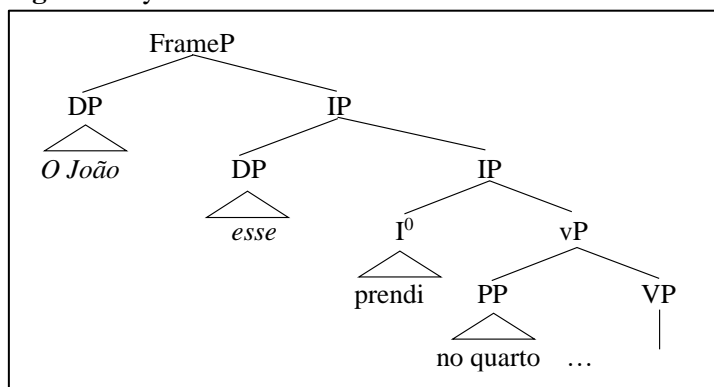


**Source:** de Andrade (2018: 101 (53a))

(81)    Galician (de Andrade 2018: 89 (21b))
    [**Xoán**], *a*    *este*    prendino              no      cuarto.
        Xoán    to    DEM      locked.1SG-3SG       in.DEF  bedroom
        '(As for) Xoán, I have locked him in the bedroom.'

**Figure 5.** Syntactic derivation of the D-construction in Galician
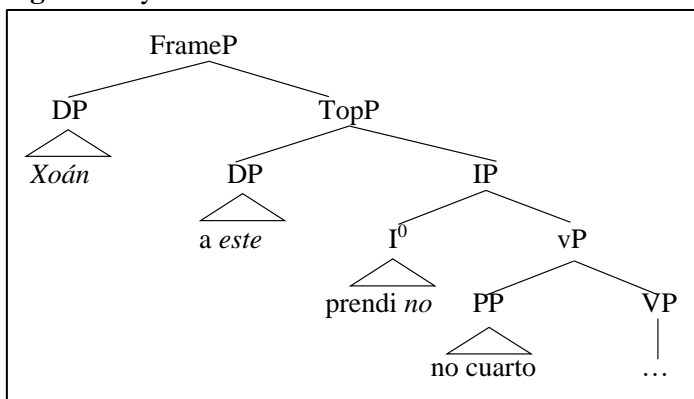


**Source:** de Andrade (2018: 101 (53b))

To conclude, the syntactic properties of Spanish CLLD, HTLD and FF (Section 3.2) and the Portuguese/Galician D-construction (Section 4.1) are summarized in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Syntactic properties of CLLD, HTLD and FF in Spanish vs. the D-construction in Portuguese (EP)/Galician

|  | **CLLD** *(Spanish)* | **HTLD** *(Spanish)* | **FF** *(Spanish)* | **D-Construction** *(EP/Galician)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *(i) Any XP can be left-dislocated* | ✓ | ✗ | ✓ | ✗ |
| *(ii) Resumptives* **c. Resumptive elements are required** | ✓ | ✓ | ✗ | ✓ |
| **d. Strong pronoun resumptives are permitted** | ✗ | ✓ | ✗ | ✓ |
| *(iii) Demonstrates case connectivity with its original position in the verbal argument* | ✓ | ✗ | ✓ | ✗ / ✓ |
| *(iv) Requires subject-verb inversion* | ✗ | ✗ | ✓ | ✗ |
| *(v) May appear in embedded contexts* | ✓ | ✗ | ✗ | ✗ |
| *(vi) Is recursive* | ✓ | ✗ | ✗ | ✗ |
| *(vii) Demonstrates sensitivity to island constraints* | ✓ | ✗ | ✓ | ✓ |

De Andrade's (2018) D-construction in Portuguese and Galician patterns with HTLD in Spanish in that both constructions contain hanging topics at the left edge, are limited to DPs, cannot be embedded and are non-recursive. The fronted DP within the D-construction in Portuguese/Galician is a hanging topic, and its left-dislocated resumptive d-pronoun arrives at its position via topicalization in Portuguese and CLLD in Galician, causing this configuration to share certain case connectivity features with both HTLD (i.e., for the hanging topic DP) and CLLD (i.e., for the resumptive d-pronoun). Although both constructions have a contrastive interpretation, FF in Spanish differs from the D-construction in Portuguese/Galician in that it features a fronted focus constituent rather than a hanging topic, cannot take a resumptive element, while the presence of a d-pronoun resumptive at the left edge epitomizes the D-construction. Additionally, FF requires obligatory subject-verb inversion while the D-construction does not.

All in all, the D-construction as described by de Andrade (2018) for Portuguese and Galician shares certain characteristics with all three constructions in Spanish. To generalize, the D-construction syntactically patterns with both HTLD and CLLD (because it involves the mechanisms associated with both configurations) while pragmatically communicating a contrast, like FF. The remainder of this paper focuses on the acceptability and syntactic properties of the D-construction in Spanish.

## 4.2. Current study: the D-construction in Spanish

This study sought to confirm whether the D-construction, a newly identified contrastive topic configuration in Portuguese and Galician (de Andrade, 2018) also exists in Spanish and, if so, with which syntactic properties it manifests.

The following research questions and hypotheses guided our study:

RQ1.   To what extent do Spanish speakers accept the D-construction?
RQ2.   Which syntactic features characterize the D-construction in Spanish? Does this construction in Spanish pattern similarly to its Portuguese/Galician counterpart identified by de Andrade (2018)?
RQ3.   To what extent does the D-construction in Spanish pattern like an instance of CLLD, HTLD and/or FF?

Regarding RQ1, even though some syntactic requirements differ between Spanish, Galician and Portuguese – such as the permissibility of enclisis vs. proclisis, clitic doubling, IP-scrambling and/or topicalization, case-marking requirements and differences in DOM (de Andrade 2018) – we hypothesize that the D-construction might be an available structure in Spanish, and, in turn, be accepted by Spanish-speakers. At the same time, because Galician and Portuguese do differ from each other and from Spanish in their expression of information structure, it is possible that a similar construction may manifest with different properties or with a different pragmatic interpretation in Spanish.

In terms of RQ2, the aforementioned grammatical differences which exist between Spanish, Portuguese and Galician – namely, the lack of case-marking in Portuguese, the presence of clitic doubling in a focus context in Galician (Gupton 2014: 200), and the usage of DOM in Spanish – may cause this construction to manifest differently across these three Romance languages, as we have already seen for Portuguese and Galician in de Andrade (2018). Based on these contrasts, we hypothesize that fronted objects within the D-construction in Spanish may require case connectivity, contrary to Portuguese/Galician. This follows de Andrade's formal analysis for both Portuguese and Galician whereby CLLD was involved in at least some part of their respective derivations. In this case, it is possible for the fronted DP to be a hanging topic (in a default nominative form) or a CLLD-ed topic (with case connectivity). Therefore, case connectivity will be an important property to consider.

If the characteristics presented for Portuguese and Galician by de Andrade (2018) hold for its Spanish counterpart, the D-construction would involve mechanisms associated with both HTLD and CLLD. That is, the fronted element within the D-construction would represent a hanging topic, an instance of HTLD, while the resumptive d-pronoun at the left edge would demonstrate case connectivity features, like CLLD, with the argument in the main clause. Based on this assumption, the D-construction would lack case connectivity in the DP hanging topic but demonstrate case connectivity in the CLLD-ed d-pronoun. Therefore, this construction may share certain properties with CLLD related to the A'-chain, while also sharing properties with HTLD. We hypothesize that the resumptive d-pronoun within the D-construction, along with the dislocated topic which precedes it, will demonstrate case connectivity features, and require the main clause to contain a coreferential clitic linked in some way to both left-dislocated elements.

Finally, with respect to RQ3, if the D-construction patterns with CLLD, the fronted element would require case connectivity and not be restricted to DPs, clitic doubling would be required, subject-verb inversion would not be obligatory, embedding and recursivity would be permitted, and the construction would be sensitive to strong, but not weak, syntactic islands. If the D-construction patterns with HTLD, the fronted element would appear in a default nominative form and be restricted to DPs only, clitic doubling would be required, subject-verb inversion would not be obligatory, embedding and recursivity would not be permitted, and the construction would be insensitive to all island constraints. If the D-construction patterns with FF, the fronted element would require case connectivity and not be restricted to DPs, no other resumptive elements (besides the d-pronoun) would be permitted in the main clause, subject-verb inversion would be obligatory, embedding would be permitted, but not recursivity, and the construction would be sensitive to all island constraints. There is also a possibility that the D-construction in Spanish could pattern with a combination of configurations or, along the same vein, not pattern exactly with any of them. See Table 2 in Section 4.1 for a summary of these properties.

## 5. Methods

To explore the syntactic properties of the D-construction vs. those of CLLD, HTLD and FF, we administered a sociolinguistic background questionnaire, an acceptability judgment task and a follow-up questionnaire as an online Qualtrics XM survey (Qualtrics Labs 2009).

### 5.1. Participants, materials and procedure

The sociodemographic questionnaire included questions on the participants' age, occupation, education level, birthplace, and current residence. Participants were also asked to indicate any other languages spoken. For each language, they were prompted to provide their age of acquisition and the amount of time they spent living in a place where this language was spoken. Twenty-seven adult native speakers of Spanish participated in this study. Only the data from participants who completed the survey in its entirety were included in the analysis. Data from six participants was discarded (see Section 5.2 for details). Therefore, the data collected from twenty-one adult ($M =$ 42 years old; *range:* 20-72 years; 4 male) native speakers of Spanish were analyzed for this paper.[19] See Appendix A for more information about the participants.

The acceptability judgment task was designed to test the D-construction for case connectivity, subject-verb inversion, category of the left-dislocate, embedding, recursivity and sensitivity to four island constraints: two weak islands (*wh*-islands, and the Complex NP Constraint) and two strong islands (relative clause islands, and adjunct islands). CLLD, HTLD and FF items were included as a control and to verify their properties in terms of embedding, recursivity and syntactic island sensitivity.

The acceptability judgment task presented instances of the D-construction (82), CLLD (83), HTLD (84), and FF (85) following a discursive context and prompted participants to rate them on a scale of 1 *muy mal* 'very bad' to 7 *muy bien* 'very good'. Of the 200 total items presented, 147 were experimental items (60 D-construction items, 29 CLLD items, 29 HTLD items, and 29 FF items), and 53 were fillers.[20] See Appendix B for a full list of the experimental items.

(82)  Hablo         mucho con  **Pedro y     María**, pero…
      speak:1SG     a lot  with  Pedro CONJ  María  but
      'I speak to Pedro and María often.'

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[19]    Data were analyzed from 21 native speakers. 15 participants spoke Peninsular Spanish, four Mexican Spanish, two Colombian Spanish, and one Argentinean Spanish. Three of the participants were simultaneous bilinguals of Spanish and another Romance language, and three speakers were early sequential bilinguals with Spanish or another Romance language as their L1. Their ratings did not differ significantly from those of other participants.

[20]    The acceptability judgment task included more D-construction items than other items because more aspects were tested regarding this construction.

**Pedro**, **a** **ese** no **lo** he llamado desde hace mucho tiempo.
Pedro DOM DEM.3SG.M NEG ACC.3SG have called:1SG from long time
'Pedro, that guy I haven't called him in a while.'

(83)  No habíamos visto **a** **nuestros primos** hacía más de tres años.
NEG had.1PL seen.PTCP DOM POSS cousins since more than three years
'We had not seen our cousin in more than three years.'

**A** **mi** **prima Emilia**, **la** vimos ayer en el partido de fútbol.
DOM POSS cousin Emilia ACC.SG.F saw.1PL yesterday in DEF game of soccer
'My cousin Emilia, we saw (her) yesterday at the soccer game.'

(84)  Normalmente ceno con **mis** **amigas** cada semana.
normally eat-dinner.1SG with POSS friends each week
'Normally I eat dinner with my friends every week.'

**Alejandra**, hace seis meses que no **la** veo.
Alejandra, been.3SG six months COMP NEG ACC.3SG.F see.1SG
'(As for) Alejandra, it has been six months since I saw her.'

(85)  A Ricardo le encanta pasar tiempo en la biblioteca.
DOM Ricardo DAT.3SG pleases.3SG spend.INF time in DEF library
Me dijo que no le gusta leer **novelas de ficción**.
DAT.1SG said.3SG COMP NEG DAT.3SG please.3SG read.INF novels of fiction
'Ricardo enjoys spending time at the library. He told me that he doesn't like to read fiction novels.'

**AUTOBIOGRAFÍAS** lee Ricardo todos los días.
autobiographies reads.3SG Ricardo all DEF days
'Ricardo reads AUTOBIOGRAPHIES every day.'

All items were preceded by one or two sentences to establish an appropriate discursive context. For the D-construction to carry a contrastive topic interpretation, the context introduced multiple topics. The D-construction items then featured only one of these topics at the left edge, thus establishing a contrast. For example, in (82), both *Pedro* and *María* were presented as topics, and the D-construction was used to single out *Pedro* and comment further.

Context sentences for CLLD items were designed to create a part/whole or subset/set relationship between the CLLD-ed constituent and its antecedent. For example, in (83), *a nuestros primos* 'our cousins' was introduced within the context, and CLLD was used to shift the topic to just one of these cousins, *a mi prima Emilia* 'my cousin Emilia', and comment on the last time they saw her.

HTLD contexts were constructed so that the target construction would carry the interpretation of a discourse shift associated with hanging topics. To achieve this, hanging topics within the HTLD structures were never explicitly stated within the context. For example, in (84), the general topic of my friends (*mis amigas*) was stated

within the context; then, an instance of HTLD was used to shift the topic to just one friend, Alejandra, with whom they had a bad experience.[21]

FF items appeared after their corresponding assertive context was established. The pragmatic interpretation was either one of correction or contrast. To indicate emphatic stress on the FF-ed XP, these items appeared capitalized. For example, in (85), the context stated that Ricardo did not like to read fiction books (*novelas de ficción*). Then, the speaker used FF to redefine the object within the assertive context from 'fiction books' to 'autobiographies' (*autobiografías*). 'Autobiographies' appeared capitalized to signal contrastive focus on this object.

To determine which syntactic properties characterized the D-construction, items were designed to differ in terms of the grammatical properties which have been used in previous analyses to distinguish CLLD and HTLD from each other and from FF: case connectivity, subject-verb inversion, role of the fronted element, embedding, recursivity, and sensitivity to a selected set of island constraints. Based on the results of a norming study with 19 participants, which tested for the presence of resumptive elements and for case connectivity in two different arguments (the fronted DP and its resumptive pronoun), the d-pronoun in this study always showed case connectivity and appeared with clitic doubling. We focused on whether the fronted DP demonstrated case connectivity with its argumental position.

To reduce the survey's length, we isolated the relevant properties (i.e., subject-verb inversion, category of the left-dislocate, embedding, recursivity, and sensitivity to island constraints) by balancing for case connectivity and/or subject-verb inversion when needed. For example, when testing the D-construction items for the category of the left dislocate, half of the items with fronted objects of prepositions appeared with case connectivity and half of the items appeared without case connectivity.

Sixty instances of the D-construction appeared within the acceptability judgment task. To test if the D-construction was restricted to DP/NPs only or could also appear with a different phrasal category at the left edge (i.e., to test the role of the d-pronoun), in eight items the fronted element functioned as the object of a preposition. Four of these items appeared with case connectivity (86) and four appeared without case connectivity (87).

(86)    […]    [PP **con Pancho**], [PP **con ese**]      no   podemos contar    para nada.
                with    Pancho    with   DEM.3SG.M NEG could.1PL count.INF  for nothing
                'On Pancho, on that guy, we cannot count for anything.'[22]

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[21]     As a reviewer pointed out, some participants could have interpreted (84) as Alejandra not being part of the group.
[22]     From now on, we will use […] to denote that this construction was taken out of context.

(87)   […]   [DP **Ricardo**], [PP **en ese**]   no    quiero    ni        pensar.
              Ricardo        in   DEM.3SG.M NEG   want.1SG   not-even  think.INF
              '(As for) Ricardo, of that guy I do not even want to think.'

Resumptive elements, corresponding to accusative/dative clitics, were included in all items whenever the left-dislocated element was a direct object (88) or indirect object (89). Four instances of the D-construction featuring dislocated subjects were also included.

(88)   […]   (a) **Mario, a    ese        lo**       vi        robando
              DOM Mario  DOM DEM.3SG.M ACC.3SG.M saw.1SG  stealing
              una     manzana.
              INDEF   apple
              'Mario, that guy I saw (him) stealing an apple.'

(89)   […]   (a) **Adriana, a   esa        le**       encantaron los langostinos.
              to Adriana  to DEM.3SG.F DAT.3SG    loved.3PL  DEF langoustines
              'Adriana, that girl (she) loved the langoustines.'

The left-dislocated resumptive d-pronoun within the D-construction may be linked to both its fronted DP antecedent and a resumptive clitic within the main clause. Here we assumed that the d-pronoun would demonstrate case connectivity features and tested whether the same would hold for its corresponding fronted DP. Of the 16 items designed to test for case connectivity in the D-construction, eight demonstrated case connectivity between the fronted DP, its resumptive d-pronoun, and its argument position in the main clause (90). The other eight items also showed case connectivity with the d-pronoun but were preceded by hanging DPs without case-marking (91). All items testing the D-construction for case connectivity were restricted to fronted human direct and indirect objects. Other examples involving fronted objects contained equal instances of +/– case connectivity or involved only inanimate objects, which do not take DOM (92).

(90)   […]   A **Mario, a    ese        lo**       vi        robando una manzana.
              DOM Mario  DOM DEM.3SG.M ACC.3SG.M saw.1SG  stealing INDEF apple
              'Mario, that guy I saw (him) stealing an apple.'

(91)   […]   **Marisol, a    esa**       nunca **la**       he visto.
              Marisol  DOM DEM.3SG.F    never ACC.3SG.F    have-seen.1SG
              '(As for) Marisol, that girl I have never seen (her) before.'

(92)   […]   **La tarta, esa**       no    sabía    quién **la**     había hecho.
              DEF cake DEM.3SG.F NEG    knew.1SG who ACC.3SG.F had-made.3SG
              'The cake, that one I do not know who made (it).'

Eight items were designed to test for subject-verb inversion. Specifically, we included four items with subject-verb (SV) word order (93) and four with verb-subject

(VS) word order (94). As this characteristic could not be considered in isolation from case connectivity, half of the items appeared with case connectivity (like (93)) and the other half appeared without case connectivity (like (94)).

(93)  […]  **a**     **Juana**, **a**     **esa**         Ricardo no  **la**           conoce.
           DOM    Juana   DOM   DEM.3SG.F  Ricardo NEG  ACC.3SG.F  know.3SG
           'Juana, that girl Ricardo does not know (her).'

(94)  […]  **Jaime**, **a**    **ese**        **lo**          ayudó       Josefina con
           Jaime   DOM   DEM.3SG.M  ACC.3SG.M  helped.3SG  Josefina with
           todos  los    deberes.
           all    DEF    homework
           '(As for) Jaime, that guy Josefina helped (him) with all the
           homework.'

Four embedded instances of the D-construction were included: two of these items appeared with case connectivity (95) and two appeared embedded without case connectivity.

(95)  […]  No  podía    creer        que      **a**     **Ana**, **a**    **esa**
           NEG could.SG believe.INF  COMP     DOM    Ana    DOM   DEM.3SG.F
           **la**            vi           saltar       del          barco.
           ACC.3SG.F    saw.1SG     jumping      from-DEF     boat
           'I could not believe that Ana, that girl I saw (her) jumping off of the
           boat.'

Recursive D-construction items ($n = 4$) typically contained a fronted subject followed by an inanimate, fronted object to avoid interference from case connectivity preferences (96).

(96)  […]  **Felipe**, **ese**,        **la**    **mochila**, **esa**,        otra    vez
           Felipe  DEM.3SG.M   DEF    backpack  DEM.3SG.F  other   time
           se   **la**         dejó           en       casa.
           REFL ACC.3SG.F  left.3SG        at       home
           'Felipe, that guy, the backpack, that one once again (he) left (it) at
           home.'

To test for sensitivity to various types of syntactic islands, the fronted element within the D-construction related to positions within *wh*-islands ($n = 4$) (97), complex NP/DPs (i.e., the Complex NP Constraint) ($n = 4$) (98), relative clauses ($n = 4$) (99), and adjunct islands ($n = 4$) (100). The D-construction items featured either inanimate objects or subjects, again, to avoid interference from case connectivity. Whenever an item featured an animate object with case connectivity, another item was included without case connectivity to account for this feature.

(97)  […]  **Federico, ese**      no sé         por qué no   comió    nada.
           Federico DEM.3SG.M NEG know.1SG why    NEG ate.3SG nothing
           'Federico, that guy (I) do not know why (he) did not eat anything.'

(98)  […]  **aquel vestido, ese**      estoy   obsesionada con la  idea de que
           that   dress DEM.3SG.M am.1SG obsessed    with DEF idea COMP
           **lo**          compraré       algún  día.
           ACC.3SG.M       will buy.1SG  some   day
           'That dress, that one I am obsessed with the idea that I will buy (it)
           someday.'

(99)  […]  **el poema, ese**      conozco   a    la   mujer que **lo**
           DEF poem DEM.3SG.M   know.1SG  DOM DEF woman COMP ACC.3SG.M
           escribió.
           wrote.3SG
           'The poem, that one I know the woman who wrote (it).'

(100) […]  **La tarea     de inglés, esa**       no    podíamos      hacer
           DEF homework of English DEM.3SG.F NEG    can.1PL        do.INF
           nada          divertido      antes de      terminar**la**.
           nothing       fun            before        finishing.INF-ACC.3SG.F
           'The English homework, that one we could not do anything fun before
           finishing (it).'

The remaining experimental items were instances of CLLD ($n = 29$), HTLD ($n = 29$) and FF ($n = 29$). Items featuring fronted human objects ($n = 5$), subjects ($n = 3$) and objects of prepositions ($n = 3$) were devised to represent basic instances of each construction ($n = 11$). All constructions were also tested for embedding ($n = 3$ items each), recursivity ($n = 3$), and sensitivity to *wh*-islands ($n = 3$), the Complex NP Constraint, ($n = 3$), relative clauses ($n = 3$) and adjunct islands ($n = 3$). Within these items, CLLD and FF fronted objects appeared with case connectivity, while HTLD did not. HTLD and CLLD appeared with coreferential clitics when available. FF items demonstrated obligatory subject-verb inversion, contrastive stress and the absence of resumptive elements.

All filler items (28 grammatical, 25 ungrammatical) featured sentences that contained a subordinate clause to maintain comparable complexity to the experimental items.[23] All ungrammatical fillers were deemed as such due to a mood and/or tense violation (i.e., unexpected usage of indicative vs. subjunctive) (101).[24]

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[23]    The number of fillers was relatively low to avoid an excessively long acceptability judgment task. In addition, given that we looked at four different constructions, the other constructions added variation to the task.

[24]    A reviewer noted that (101) is not ungrammatical in their variety.

(101)  Mi      jefe    puso    a  Julia a cargo   de      un      gran proyecto.
       POSS    boss    put.3SG DOM Julia in charge of      INDEF   huge    project
       'My boss put Julia in charge of a huge project.'

       Confía          en      que     ella    sea             responsable.
       trusted.SG      in      COMP    she     be.3SG.SBJV     responsible
       'He trusted that she would be responsible.'

Two versions of the acceptability judgment questionnaire were constructed with items in pseudorandomized order, avoiding two items of the same type from appearing consecutively. Within the instructions, participants were told to assess the acceptability of the target sentence on a scale from 1 (*muy mal* 'very bad') to 7 (*muy bien* 'very good') as it fit within the context. Participants were presented with two practice items before being instructed to complete the task. Directly following the task, they responded to the follow-up questionnaire. The follow-up questionnaire debriefed the participants on the D-construction and then presented a basic example alongside questions asking (a) whether this expression sounded good to them, and if not, why? (b) whether it carried a negative/positive connotation or depended on the context, and (c) if they had any further comments about the construction.[25] Completing the survey took a median time of 42 minutes.

## 5.2. Data analysis

Eight experimental items were discarded due to unexpectedly low or high ratings (i.e., a standard deviation of 1.5 or higher from the mean). After these items were discarded, a total of 59 D-construction items, 28 CLLD items, 27 HTLD items and 25 FF items were analyzed per participant.

Three participants without significant differences between the grammatical and ungrammatical filler ratings (based on *t*-tests) were discarded. Data from three additional participants were discarded because they did not accept CLLD. Given that items were rated on a 7-point Likert scale, a rating above four was the threshold for acceptance for each item. In total, 139 experimental items rated by 21 speakers, or 2,919 total experimental items, were analyzed. 1,239 of these were instances of the D-construction.

Data were analyzed in multiple steps. We first looked at the acceptance of basic instances of the D-construction ($n = 35$), CLLD ($n = 11$), HTLD ($n = 10$), and FF ($n = 8$). These were instances of these constructions with one fronted object, subject, or object of a preposition in main clauses. The average rating of these items was calculated (by participant for each construction) and used to assess whether each participant accepted or rejected the construction at hand. An average rating above four

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[25]    Question (b) was included because we hypothesized based on our own intuitions that the D-construction may have a pejorative connotation in Spanish. We maintained a neutral context within all items representing instances of the D-construction to control for positive vs. negative interference.

signaled an acceptance of the given construction in its basic form. These results are reported in Section 6.1.

After considering the general acceptance of each construction in its basic form, the ratings for each syntactic property were considered separately. First, we considered the properties included for just the D-construction: the role of the d-pronoun, case connectivity, and subject-verb inversion. These properties were assumed for CLLD, HTLD and FF based on their descriptions in the literature (as outlined in Section 5.1). For example, we analyzed and compared how each participant rated the D-construction with a fronted DP vs. a fronted PP in a context where the fronted element functioned as the object of a preposition in the main clause in order to determine if the left dislocate within the D-construction was restricted to DPs only (like HTLD) or permitted other phrasal categories (like CLLD or FF).

In this part of the analysis, we calculated how many items each participant accepted out of the total number of items designed to test that property. If a participant rated more than half of the items testing the property over 4, then we concluded that they accepted the D-construction with the property at hand. We calculated the percentage of participants who accepted each construction in terms of each property and then summarized the group's preferences.

For the remaining properties – embedding, recursivity and sensitivity to various island constraints – we included CLLD, HTLD, FF and D-construction items. That is, we considered participant preferences for all four constructions. These more complex properties allowed us to confirm the assumptions for each configuration from the literature with acceptability ratings (i.e., can CLLD and FF actually appear in embedded contexts, but not HTLD, according to our participants?). As before, we calculated how many items for each property received ratings over 4 for each participant, calculated the percentage of participants who accepted each construction in terms of each property, and then summarized the group's preferences.[26]

## 6. Results

### 6.1. Basic instances of the D-construction, CLLD and HTLD

Figure 6 presents the percentage of participants who accepted basic instances of CLLD, HTLD, FF and the D-construction. All participants (100%) accepted CLLD, 13 out of 21 participants (62%) accepted HTLD, 16 out of 21 participants (76%) accepted FF, and 11 out of 21 participants (52%) accepted the D-construction in their basic forms. All but one participant who rejected the D-construction in its basic form rejected at least one other construction (i.e., HTLD or FF).

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[26] We also analyzed our data using standardized *z*-scores. To check for significant differences between conditions, we conducted one-sided independent samples *t*-tests (where relevant). The findings were largely the same as those presented in Section 6 (see Appendix C).

Overall, these results demonstrate that the D-construction was accepted in its basic form by slightly over half of the participants in this study. It is important to note that, unlike the basic CLLD, HTLD, and FF items, the basic D-construction items were designed to test features such as case connectivity and subject-verb inversion. Therefore, in some cases, participants who rejected the D-construction may have just been sensitive to (a combination of) these features rather than to the construction itself. Therefore, their acceptance of individual properties required further analysis.

It is worth pointing out that all participants rated at least one instance of the D-construction favorably. Along the same vein, at least one participant accepted CLLD, HTLD and FF in their basic forms; seven participants accepted all four constructions.

**Figure 6.** Percentage of participants who accepted basic instances of CLLD, HTLD, FF and the D-construction
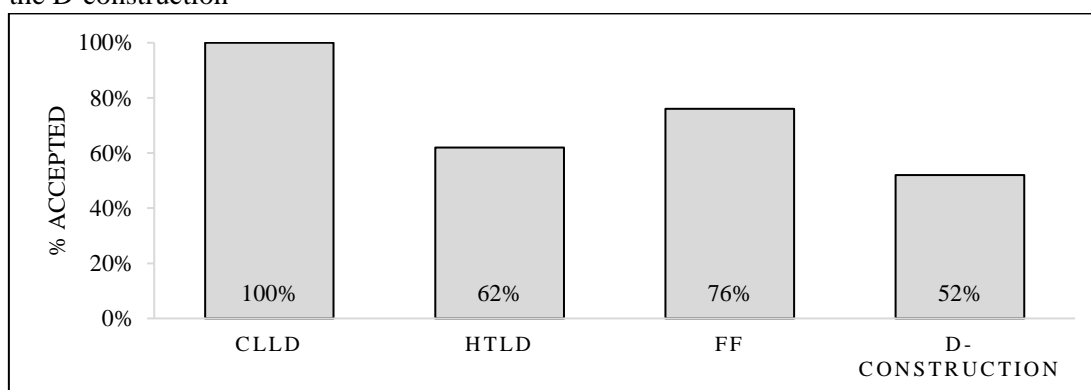


## 6.2. Syntactic properties of the D-construction

The findings regarding the role of the d-pronoun (Section 6.2.1), case connectivity (Section 6.2.2) and subject-verb inversion (Section 6.2.3) are presented for the D-construction only. Findings for the items within embedded (Section 6.2.4), recursive (Section 6.2.5) and island contexts (Section 6.2.6) are presented for all constructions (CLLD, HTLD, FF and the D-construction).

### 6.2.1. The role of the left dislocate

Overall, 2 out of 21 (10%) participants accepted the D-construction with fronted PPs only (and not with fronted DPs), 4 out of 21 (19%) accepted the D-construction with fronted DPs only, and 9 out of 21 (43%) participants accepted the D-construction with a fronted PP or a fronted DP. 5 out of 21 (24%) participants rejected the D-construction with a fronted DP or PP. Thus, the most common pattern across participants was to accept the D-construction items in both forms (Figure 7).

**Figure 7.** Percentage of participants who accepted the D-construction only with fronted PPs, only with fronted DPs, or with both, or who rejected the D-construction with fronted DPs and PPs
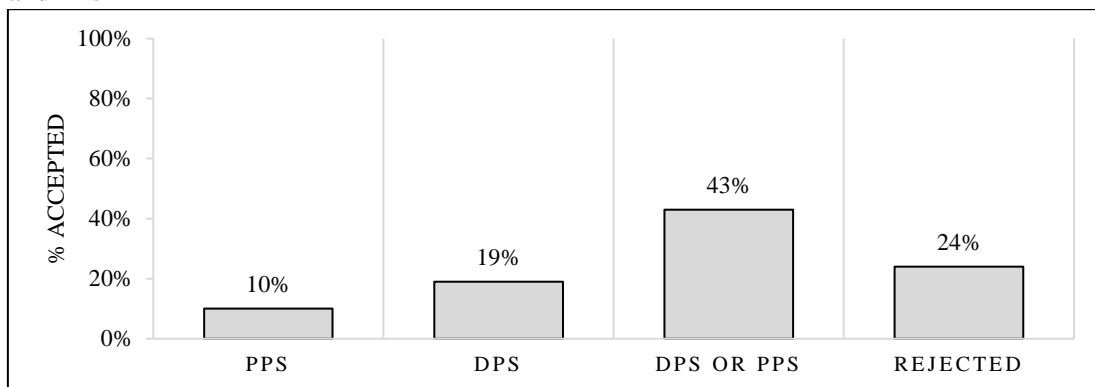


Taken as a whole, the fact that almost half (43%) or the participants accepted the D-construction with fronted PPs or DPs demonstrates that the D-construction is not restricted to fronted DP/NPs, like HTLD, for at least some participants. Note that if we consider only the 11 participants who accepted the D-construction in its basic form, nine out of these 11 participants (82%) accepted the D-construction both with fronted DPs and with fronted PPs, and 2 out of them (18%) only accepted the D-construction with fronted DPs (like HTLD).

### 6.2.2. Case connectivity

Overall, 16 out of 21 participants (76%) accepted the D-construction items that tested for case connectivity. Four out of 21 (19%) participants accepted more D-construction items with case connectivity, similar to CLLD or FF. One out of 21 (5%) participants accepted more D-construction items without case connectivity, like HTLD. Finally, 11 out of 21 (52%) participants accepted the D-construction in both forms. Thus, the most common pattern was to accept the D-construction items both with and without case connectivity (Figure 8).

**Figure 8.** Percentage of participants who accepted the D-construction only with case connectivity, only without case connectivity, with or without case connectivity, and the percentage who rejected it regardless
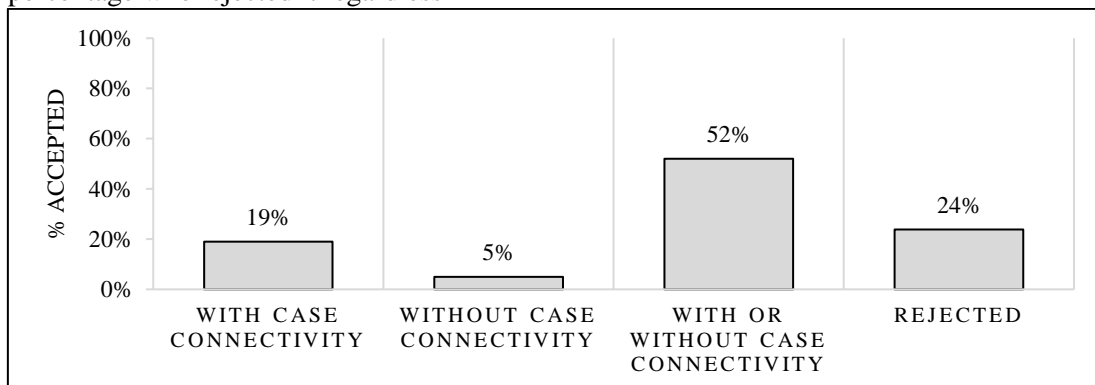
There seems to be some individual variation regarding preferences for case connectivity for the D-construction. A closer look at the participant characteristics did not reveal a factor that explains these differences. We will return to this in the Discussion.

### 6.2.3. Subject-Verb inversion

Overall, 17 out of 21 (81%) participants accepted the D-construction items that tested for subject-verb inversion. Four out of 21 (19%) participants accepted more items with SV order, 3 out of 21 (14%) accepted more items with VS order, and 10 out of 21 (48%) showed no preference. As shown in Figure 9, the most common pattern was to accept the D-construction items regardless of subject-verb order. The fact that several participants accepted the D-construction with pre-verbal subjects demonstrates that subject-verb inversion is not required.

**Figure 9.** Percentage of participants who accepted the D-construction only with SV order, only VS order, and with SV or VS order, or rejected it regardless
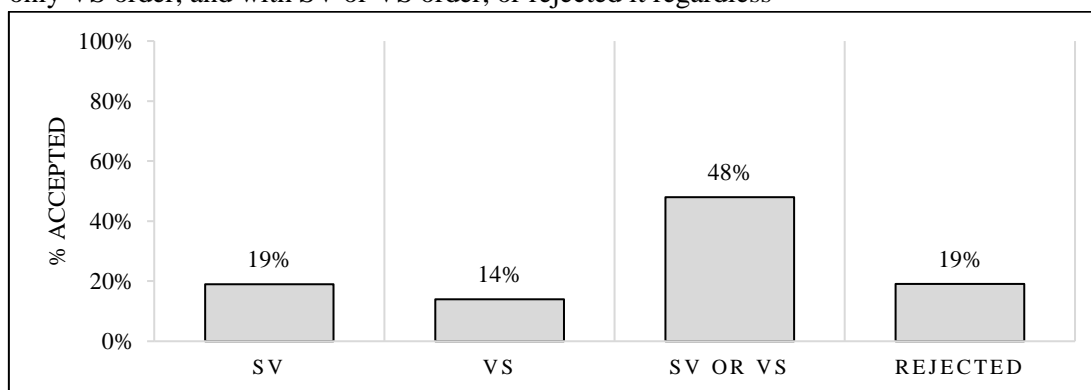


### 6.2.4. Embedding

Figure 10 presents the percentage of participants who accepted each construction when it appeared in an embedded context. Overall, seventeen out of 21 participants (81%) accepted CLLD items with embedding, 7 out of 21 participants (33%) accepted HTLD items with embedding, and 5 out of 21 participants (24%) accepted FF items with embedding. In the literature, it is assumed that CLLD and FF permit embedding, but HTLD is restricted to root contexts only. Therefore, the preferences for CLLD and HTLD tended to pattern with the literature, but the preferences for FF items in embedded contexts did not.

As for the D-construction, seven out of 21 participants (33%) accepted this construction with embedding. Six of these seven participants were part of the group of 11 participants that accepted the D-construction in its basic form. All seven participants who accepted the D-construction in embedded contexts also accepted at least one other construction with embedding. Specifically, three of them also accepted both CLLD and HTLD in embedded contexts, but not FF; two participants accepted all four constructions in embedded contexts; one participant only accepted the D-

construction and CLLD when embedded; and one participant accepted the D-construction, CLLD and FF, but not HTLD when embedded.

**Figure 10.** Percentage of participants who accepted CLLD, HTLD, FF and the D-construction in embedded contexts
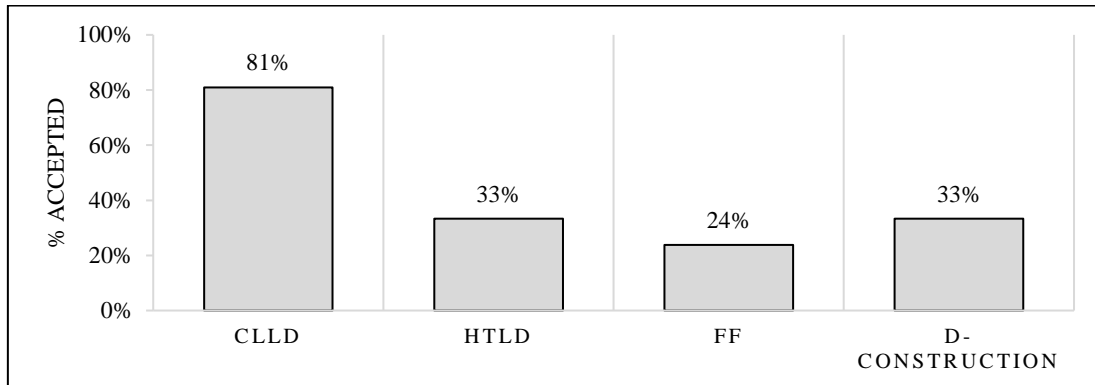


Taken as a whole, all the seven participants that accepted the D-construction when embedded, also accepted the CLLD when embedded, three also accepted HTLD when embedded, and three also accepted FF when embedded. According to the findings for the participants in this study, the D-construction seems to pattern more with CLLD than HTLD in embedded contexts.

*6.2.5. Recursivity*

Figure 11 presents the percentage of participants who accepted each construction in recursive contexts. Eleven out of 21 participants (52%) accepted recursive CLLD items, four out of 21 participants (19%) accepted recursive HTLD items, and four out of 21 participants (19%) accepted recursive FF items. Only one participant out of 21 (5%) accepted recursive instances of the D-construction. This participant also accepted all the CLLD, HTLD, and FF included to test for recursivity. Of the 11 participants that accepted recursive CLLD, four also accepted recursive FF, three also accepted recursive HTLD, and one also accepted the recursive D-construction.

**Figure 11.** Percentage of participants who accepted CLLD, HTLD, FF and the D-construction in recursive contexts
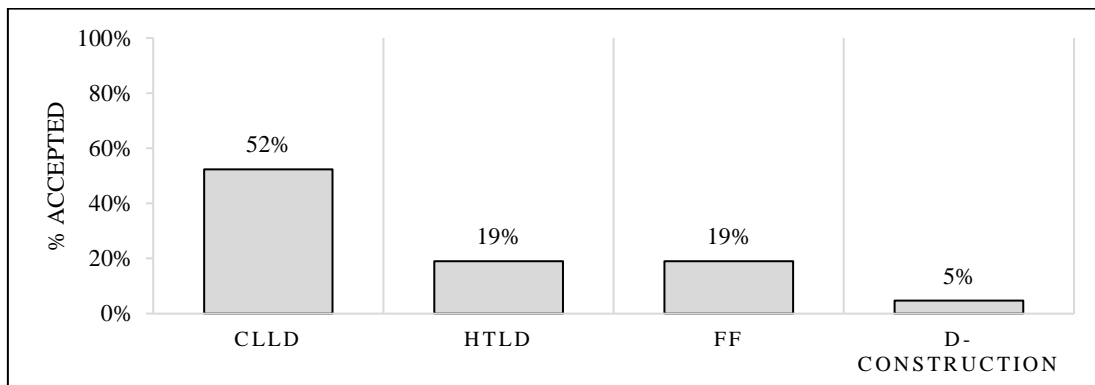
In the literature, CLLD is recursive, but FF and HTLD are not. Therefore, these findings confirm that a majority of the participants' preferences conform to the literature in terms of recursivity in that CLLD was accepted in this context, but not the other constructions. Additionally, 20 out of 21 participants (95%) rejected recursive instances of the D-construction, signaling that this is not a syntactic property of the construction and, thus, differentiating it from an instance of CLLD, which does permit recursion.

### 6.2.6. Sensitivity to syntactic island constraints

Figure 12 presents the percentage of participants who accepted each construction in a selection of island contexts. Fourteen out of 21 participants (67%) accepted CLLD when the fronted element related to a position within a *wh*-island. Moreover, 15 out of 21 (71%) participants accepted CLLD when the fronted element related to a position within a Complex NP. Both of these findings signal a general acceptance of CLLD within weak island contexts. In addition, three out of 21 participants (14%) accepted CLLD when the fronted element related to a position within a relative clause, and five out of 21 participants (24%) accepted CLLD when the fronted element related to a position within an adjunct. Therefore, most participants accepted instances of CLLD in weak island contexts and rejected CLLD in strong island contexts.

Considering HTLD in island contexts, 11 out of 21 participants (52%) accepted HTLD when the fronted element related to a position within a *wh*-island, and 15 out of 21 (71%) participants accepted HTLD when the fronted element related to a position within a Complex NP. Moreover, two out of 21 participants (10%) accepted HTLD when the fronted element related to a position within a relative clause, and four out of 21 participants (19%) accepted HTLD when the fronted element related to a position within an adjunct. Therefore, unlike what has been reported for the HTLD within the literature, HTLD within our study demonstrated similar selective island sensitivity as CLLD.

For instances of FF in island contexts, nine out of 21 participants (43%) accepted FF when the fronted element related to a position within a *wh*-island, and nine out of 21 (43%) participants accepted FF when the fronted element related to a position within a Complex NP. Furthermore, one out of 21 participants (5%) accepted FF when the fronted element related to a position within a relative clause, and four out of 21 participants (19%) accepted FF when the fronted element related to a position within an adjunct. While more participants accepted FF in weak island contexts than anticipated, less than half of the participants accepted FF in any island context. Therefore, the construction appears to be sensitive to all syntactic islands in our study, which conforms with the findings from the literature.

Finally, regarding the D-construction in island contexts, 13 out of 21 participants (62%) accepted the D-construction when the fronted element related to a position within a *wh*-island, and 13 out of 21 (62%) participants accepted the D-construction when the fronted element related to an island created by the Complex NP Constraint (CNPC). In addition, two out of 21 participants (10%) accepted the D-

construction when the fronted element appeared in a context of RC extraction, and eight out of 21 participants (38%) accepted the D-construction when the fronted element related to a position within an adjunct island.

**Figure 12.** Percentage of participants who accepted CLLD, HTLD, FF and the D-construction in four island contexts: wh-islands, CNPC, RC extraction, and adjunct islands
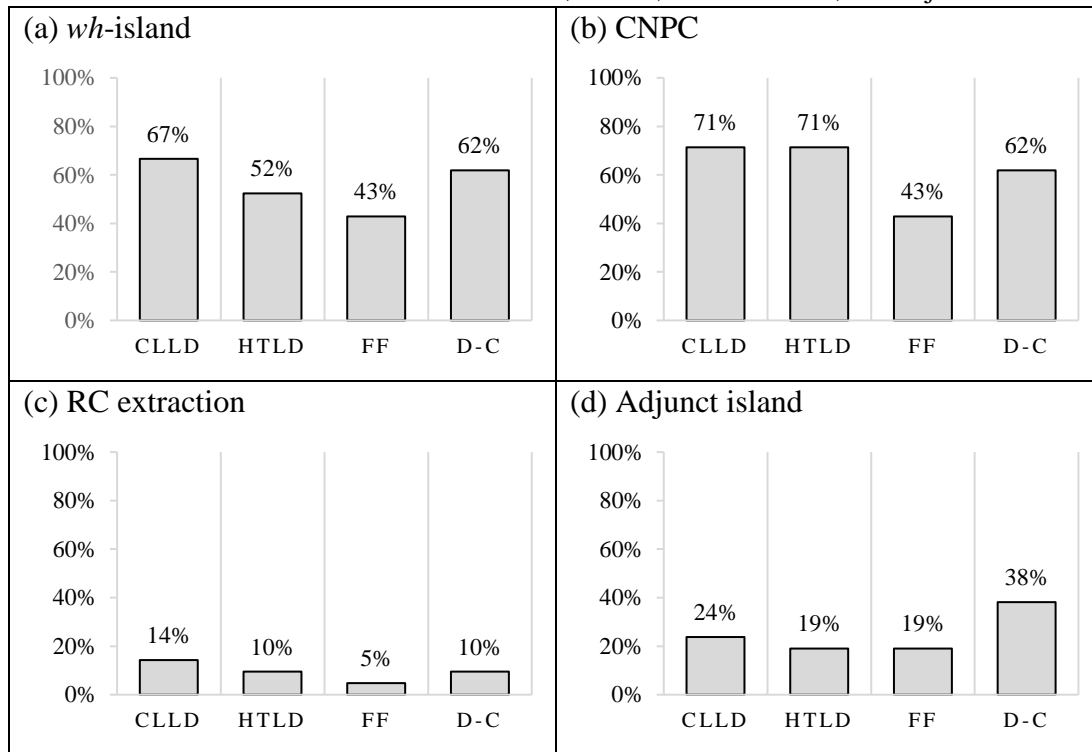


Taken as a whole, the D-construction seems to pattern like CLLD within the literature, and both CLLD and HTLD within our study, in that it demonstrates sensitivity to strong, but not weak, islands.

## 6.3. Summary of the findings

In sum, our findings for the syntactic properties of the D-construction showed clear tendencies for some properties and inconclusive patterns for others. Specifically, the findings were inconclusive for the properties of case connectivity and the category of the left-dislocated element. We found that some participants accepted the D-construction with subject-verb order, indicating that subject-verb inversion is not required. D-construction items were generally rejected when the fronted element related to an embedded context, and when recursive or in strong island contexts. Thus, D-construction items tended to demonstrate the same selective island sensitivity as CLLD and HTLD in this study, and as CLLD in the literature.

CLLD items within this study were generally accepted by all participants in their basic form, where the fronted element demonstrated case connectivity features and clitic doubling when relevant, and subject-verb inversion was not required. Participants in this study generally accepted CLLD items in embedded contexts and

with recursivity. Moreover, participants tended to accept CLLD items within weak island contexts and reject them in strong island contexts. In general, the findings for CLLD in its basic form and within embedded, recursive and island contexts corroborated the properties posited within the previous descriptions of CLLD in Spanish referenced throughout Section 3.

About half of the participants within this study accepted HTLD in its basic form, where the fronted element appeared in a default, nominative form with clitic doubling, and subject-verb inversion was not required. Participants tended to reject HTLD in embedded and recursive contexts. Moreover, they demonstrated selective island sensitivity for HTLD items, which was not expected. In general, the findings for HTLD in its basic form, a left-dislocated construction which is more marked in Spanish than in Germanic languages like English, were not surprising. The fact that HTLD could not be embedded or recursive agreed with the literature, unlike the findings for island sensitivity. For this property, HTLD items in this study patterned more like CLLD than the insensitivity to all island constraints that was expected for HTLD. We will get back to this in the discussion.

About half of the participants within this study accepted FF in its basic form, where the fronted element demonstrated case connectivity features, no clitic doubling, and subject-verb inversion was required. The fronted element for these items appeared in CAPS to denote contrastive stress, which will be discussed further in Section 7. In terms of the more complex features, FF items could not be embedded, were non-recursive and sensitive to both weak and strong island constraints. The findings for recursivity and island sensitivity conform to the literature, unlike the findings for embedding which do not. FF was considered felicitous in embedded contexts like CLLD in the literature, but the participants in this study tended to reject FF in embedded contexts (unlike CLLD).

To conclude this section, Table 3 summarizes the findings for the syntactic properties of CLLD, HTLD, FF and the D-construction in Spanish.

**Table 3.** Summary of the syntactic properties of CLLD, HTLD, FF and the D-construction in Spanish

| | CLLD (Spanish) | HTLD (Spanish) | FF (Spanish) | D-Construction (Spanish) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *(i) Any XP can be left-dislocated* | ✓ | ✗ | ✓ | ✗ / ✓ |
| *(ii) Resumptives*    a.  *Resumptive elements are required* | ✓ | ✓ | ✗ | ✓ |
|    b.  *Strong pronoun resumptives are permitted* | ✗ | ✓ | ✗ | ✓ |
| *(iii) Demonstrates case connectivity with its original* | ✓ | ✗ | ✓ | ✗ / ✓ |

| *position in the verbal argument* | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *(iv) Requires subject-verb inversion* | ✗ | ✗ | ✓ | ✗ |
| *(v) May appear in embedded contexts* | ✓ | ✗ | ✗ | ✗ |
| *(vi) Is recursive* | ✓ | ✗ | ✗ | ✗ |
| *(vii) Demonstrates sensitivity to island constraints* | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

## 7. Discussion

In this paper, we reported on the results of a study examining the properties of an understudied dislocated construction in Spanish, the D-construction. First, we revisit the research questions individually and discuss the extent to which the findings from the acceptability judgement task corroborated our hypotheses. Then, we discuss the theoretical implications of our findings and potential avenues of investigation for future studies.

Regarding RQ1 (To what extent do Spanish speakers accept the D-construction?), eleven out of twenty-one participants accepted the D-construction in its basic form. This is similar to the acceptance rate for HTLD, but lower than those for CLLD and FF. A possible explanation for the relatively low ratings of HTLD and the D-construction is that a preference for CLLD and FF may be tied to a general preference for DP case connectivity. That is, participants may have favored CLLD and FF because they contained *a* (whether DOM or dative) before objects that semantically require it in Spanish. Along the same vein, 'hanging topics' may be more acceptable in languages like English and Portuguese, which lack this feature.

In order to respond to RQ2 (Which syntactic features characterize the D-construction? Does this construction in Spanish pattern similarly to its Portuguese/Galician counterpart identified by de Andrade (2018)?), Table 4 juxtaposes the properties of the Galician/Portuguese D-construction as discussed by de Andrade (2018) (repeated here from Table 1) with the properties of the Spanish D-construction.

**Table 4.** Syntactic properties of the D-construction in Portuguese/Galician (de Andrade 2018) vs. the D-construction in Spanish

|  | D-Construction *(EP/Galician)* | D-Construction *(Spanish)* |
|---|:---:|:---:|
| *(i) Any XP can be left-dislocated* | ✗ | ✗ / ✓ |
| *(ii) Resumptives*<br>    a.   *Resumptive elements are required* | ✓ | ✓ |
| b.   *Strong pronoun resumptives are permitted* | ✓ | ✓ |
| *(iii) Demonstrates case connectivity with its original position in the verbal argument* | ✗ / ✓ | ✗ / ✓ |
| *(iv) Requires subject-verb inversion* | ✗ | ✗ |
| *(v) May appear in embedded contexts* | ✗ | ✗ |
| *(vi) Is recursive* | ✗ | ✗ |
| *(vii) Demonstrates sensitivity to island constraints* | ✓ | ✓ |

As shown in Table 4, the D-construction in Spanish clearly patterns like its Portuguese/Galician counterpart in that it does not require subject-verb inversion, cannot be embedded and is non-recursive.

De Andrade (2018) determined that the fronted element within the D-construction (similar to HTLD and our D-construction) was a hanging topic (i.e., restricted to DPs only) without connectivity. Participants' preferences varied for PPs and DPs appearing at the left edge for the D-construction in our study. Similarly, rating tendencies for items testing for case connectivity between this fronted constituent and its argument within the main clause were inconsistent, demonstrating that there may be interspeaker variation for both properties of the D-construction.

Within this study, the D-construction in Spanish displayed selective island sensitivity (i.e., sensitivity to strong but not weak islands). Sensitivity to the four island constraints used for this study were not included in de Andrade's (2018) analysis. Rather than consulting data from island contexts, de Andrade (2018) used evidence from clitic requirements to argue for movement vs. base-generation of the left-dislocated elements. Here they were included to help us compare the D-construction to similar constructions in Spanish.

In response to RQ3 (To what extent does the D-construction in Spanish pattern like an instance of CLLD, HTLD and/or FF?), the results provided in Table 3 presented

the properties of CLLD, HTLD and FF (embedding, recursivity and sensitivity to island constraints) and compared them with the Spanish D-construction. As represented in Table 3, the D-construction differs (syntactically) from CLLD in terms of embedding and recursivity. Moreover, the D-construction can be distinguished from FF in terms of resumptive elements and subject-verb inversion. Also, the D-construction features a left-dislocated topic constituent, not a focus constituent, so it also has a clear pragmatic difference with FF. Finally, the D-construction is distinct from HTLD in that it is not strictly restricted to DPs only for all participants and requires a coreferential clitic in the main clause. It is worth noting that the findings for the CLLD, HTLD and FF items designed to test for the properties of embedding and recursivity agreed with the literature, but the selective island sensitivity typically associated with CLLD (sensitivity to strong islands, adjunct islands and relative clause extraction, but not weak islands, like *wh*-islands or complex NPs) was found for all constructions, including the D-construction.[27] Although the D-construction patterns like each construction in some ways, these key differences reinforce our claim that the D-construction represents a unique instance of left dislocation that carries its own set of syntactic properties.

Taking a step back, the current study offered experimental data for a newly identified left-dislocated construction, while providing more data for the syntactic properties of CLLD, HTLD and FF in Spanish. At the same time, due to the limited number of participants and items included in this study, this investigation acts as a starting point for the analysis of the D-construction in Spanish. Now that we have some evidence that native Spanish speakers accept the D-construction, we can continue to determine the extent to which its properties differ from other left-dislocated topic and focus constructions in Spanish.

Once its syntactic properties are more established, a future study could be designed to address its pragmatic uses in Spanish. Although the items in this study were purposefully designed to have a neutral connotation, it is possible that the D-construction would be more acceptable in exaggerated contexts, whether overly positive or overly negative. This is based on intuition data from native speakers in a pilot study and from more casual conversations with native speakers regarding the construction.

Along the same vein, a future study could explore the prosodic features of each construction in more detail. As suggested by de Andrade (2018) for Portuguese and Galician, the presence or absence of an intonational break between the fronted element and the main clause along with changes in pitch accent could further distinguish these constructions. A production study could be run to explore the prosody used by native speakers when producing the D-construction orally, similar to Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl's (2007) study on topic, based on recorded conversations between friends. This option could provide additional evidence for use of the D-construction in spontaneous production, as well as pragmatic and prosodic insights. In line with recent

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[27]    For *wh*-islands, only slightly over 50% of the participants accepted HTLD, suggesting it may pattern more similarly to FF in our study in this context.

studies of CLLD, HTLD and FF in the field of second language acquisition (Hoot, 2016; Hoot et al., 2020; Slabakova et al., 2012), a future study could administer the acceptability judgment task aurally to explore whether the ratings would be more favorable. This type of task would also allow us to consider participant sensitivities to the presence or absence of emphatic stress on the fronted element or a pause between the fronted element, its d-pronoun resumptive, and the main clause.

As a whole, future analyses of the D-construction should consider data from more participants. The online modality of this survey made it easy to distribute, but its length deterred some participants from rating all the items. Administering the survey in-person may ensure that more participants complete the acceptability judgment task in its entirety. Additionally, either a wide range of varieties should be represented in the participant pool, or regional variation should be controlled for in future studies (i.e., by selecting participants from the same community).

Regarding the formal implications for our findings, we posit the derivation in Figure 13. Within this derivation, we argue that *(a) Elena* in Spec TopP represents a CLLD-ed/hanging topic (depending on the speakers' preferences for case-connectivity, perhaps), while its corresponding d-pronoun resumptive *a esa* (in a lower Spec TopP) is connected to a covert DP through an A'-chain akin to that of CLLD (Cinque 1990; see Figure 1). This would explain why this element seems to require the appearance of certain case agreement features that are typically indicative of movement (e.g., DOM). Additionally, this derivation could explain why the D-construction demonstrated sensitivity to strong islands only (like CLLD)—indicating that the configuration may contain movement-like syntactic properties due to the presence of this A'-chain, though no movement ever took place.

(102)   Spanish
    (A)   Elena,   a      esa     la          vi          ayer.
    DOM   Elena  DOM   DEM   ACC.3SG.F    saw:1SG      yesterday
    'Elena, I saw (her) yesterday.'

**Figure 13.** Proposed syntactic derivation for the D-construction in Spanish
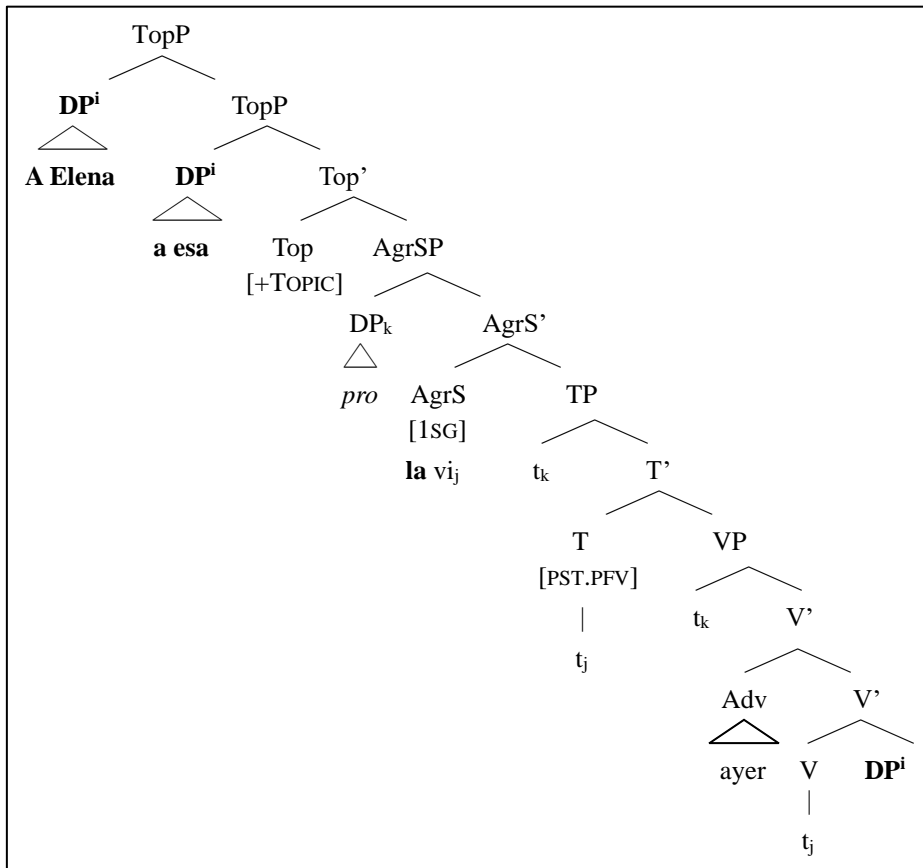


The fact that some participants accepted the D-construction with case connectivity (like CLLD) and others without (like HTLD) demonstrated that a fronted d-pronoun may appear (in addition to a CLLD-ed or HTLD-ed topic) to communicate a contrastive interpretation. That is, rather than classifying the D-construction as a definitive unit with a hanging topic (as was the case in de Andrade (2018)), it seems that the construction may accompany any type of fronted element (i.e., whether it be an instance of CLLD or HTLD).[28] In either case, based on de Andrade's (2018) analysis, the d-pronoun which characterizes the D-construction was determined to be a resumptive unit which occupies a peripheral position behind another topic to communicate some sort of contrast.

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[28]     A reviewer pointed out another possible interpretation for the D-construction findings. Rather than being a completely different construction, it could be considered a combination of two constructions that may not always be distinguishable: one similar to Germanic CLD, and another one that is more similar to HTLD I. Prosodic information and future studies testing less properties at once may shed more light on this option.

## 8. Conclusion

In sum, this study explored the syntactic characteristics associated with the D-construction in Spanish. An acceptability judgment task was constructed to collect data on instances of CLLD, HTLD, FF and the D-construction which had been designed in terms of a selection of syntactic properties: the role of the dislocate, case connectivity, subject-verb order, embedding, recursivity and sensitivity to syntactic islands. Based on a comparison of these constructions in their most basic forms, a consistent acceptance of the D-construction in Spanish was prevalent in some speakers, though questions remain open regarding aspects of this construction based on the presence of individual variation in their preferences.

In general, the empirical nature of this study verified the existence of an understudied left-dislocated topic configuration available in Spanish. With a unique design, this study demonstrated that it is possible to systematically analyze speaker preferences for a syntactic construction in terms of its properties using an acceptability judgment task administered in an online format. Questions remain related to the particular details of the D-construction such as its prosodic features, whose answers may provide further evidence for its syntactic derivation. Future studies may extend this approach to defining the syntactic properties of information structure to more languages. In addition, an acceptability judgment task that considers fewer properties may be administered to a larger sample of participants using an aural modality to explore the D-construction or similar configurations further.

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