

A special type of left dislocation in Galician and Portuguese: the D-construction

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Abstract

This text analyses the here dubbed D-construction in Galician and European Portuguese, composed of a determiner phrase (DP) followed by a demonstrative pronoun and a main clause. This quite unexplored construction is described 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, by means of the analysis of its pragmatic and prosodic aspects. An existing analysis supposing an appositive role for the demonstrative is argued against, thus strengthening the idea that DP and demonstrative do not form a single constituent. By means of a series of intuition tests, the D-construction is characterised as an instance of Hanging Topic Left Dislocation of a kind found in Germanic languages. Finally, a unified account is put forward for Galician and Portuguese, whenever the structure includes a coreferent clitic in the main clause. In this case the DP is assigned a position in a Frame projection (FrameP), whereas the demonstrative is a base-generated topic in the left periphery, connected to the clitic by long-distance agreement. In European Portuguese, where the structure may also occur without a resumptive clitic, the demonstrative can move into Spec,IP. Either of these are the first part of the derivation, respectively identical to Clitic Left Dislocation or Topicalisation. The paper concludes that the D-construction must be considered a marked syntactic construction on its own terms, and considers some possible themes for future research.

Keywords

Left dislocation, hanging topics, demonstrative pronouns, Galician, European Portuguese

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Un tipo especial de dislocación á esquerda en galego e portugués: a construción-D

Resumo

O presente texto analiza a aquí chamada construción-D en galego e portugués europeo, composta por un sintagma determinante (DP) seguido por un pronome demostrativo e unha oración principal. Esta construción, certamente pouco explorada, descríbese como unha estratexia de promoción de tópico e asemade de contraste dese tópico con outros membros dun conxunto parcialmente ordenado, por medio da análise dos seus aspectos prosódicos e pragmáticos. Argúmentase contra unha análise existente que lle atribúe un papel appositivo ao demostrativo, o que fortalece a idea de que DP e demostrativo non forman un único constituínte. Mediante unha serie de tests de intuición, caracterízase a construción-D como un exemplar de dislocación á esquerda de tópico colgado dun tipo atopado en linguas xermánicas. Finalmente, preséntase unha explicación unificada para o galego e o portugués, para os casos en que a estrutura inclúe un clítico coreferente na oración principal. Nestes casos, ao DP lle atribúida unha posición de proxección de cadro (FrameP), mentres que o demostrativo é un tópico xerado na base na periferia esquerda, ligado ao clítico mediante concordancia de longo alcance. En portugués europeo, onde a estrutura tamén pode aparecer sen un clítico resumptivo, o demostrativo pode moverse para Spec,IP. Calquera destas posibilidades representa a primeira parte da derivación, sendo respectivamente idénticas a unha dislocación á esquerda clítica ou a unha topicalización. O artigo conclúe que a construción-D debe ser considerada de seu como unha construción sintáctica marcada, e suxire algúns posibles temas para investigacións futuras.

Palabras chave

Dislocación á esquerda, tópicos colgados, pronomes demostrativos, galego, portugués europeo

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1. INTRODUCTION

This text makes a case for the existence of a construction that has been largely overlooked in the traditional and scientific descriptions of Galician and (European) Portuguese. In this text I refer to it atheoretically as the *D-construction*, where *D* stands for a demonstrative pronoun: the construction is composed of a clause preceded by a DP (marked between square brackets) and a D-pronoun (in italics), as illustrated below:

- (1) a. (O Pedro eu conheço);
 the Pedro I know.1SG
 [o João], esse não tenho ideia de quem seja. (Portuguese)
 the João DEM.M NEG have.1SG idea of whom be.SBJV.3SG
 'I know Pedro; (as for) João, I have no idea about who he is.'
- b. (A Pedro eu coñézo);
 to Pedro I know.1SG-3SG
 [Xoán], dese non teño nin idea. (Galician)
 Xoán of-DEM.M not have.1SG even idea
 'I know Pedro; (as for) Xoán, I have no idea about who he is.'

The paper aims at describing it as a marked syntactic construction, an instance of *Hanging Topic Left Dislocation* whose resumptive pronoun may occupy a left-peripheral position, and presenting a formal analysis of it¹.

Two very general properties of the D-construction are examined at once. First, it usually implies the use of a D-pronoun of the medial paradigm (*ese / esa / iso* in Galician; *esse / essa / isso* in Portuguese), as shown in (1)². Second, there is necessary co-reference between DP and D-pronoun:

- (2) (Acabo de ver a moça_i do quarto andar.)
 finish.1SG of see.INF the girl of.the fourth floor
 [A Joana], essa_{j,pi} eu verei amanhã.
 the Joana DEM.F I see.FUT.1SG tomorrow
 'I have just seen the girl from the fourth floor. (As for) Joana, I will see her tomorrow.'

The remainder of the article is organised as follows. In section 2 I discuss two possible constituent structures for the D-construction, in which DP and D-pronoun either form a single constituent or separate constituents in their final configuration, and argue that the latter alternative is superior to the former one. In section 3 I present some evidence showing that it has a specific pragmatic import, and analyse the status of both the DP and the D-pronoun. Section 4 deals with the construction's identity, i.e. whether it can be associated with an already existing marked syntactic construction, and which one of them. Section 5 includes a formal analysis for its derivation, followed by the final remarks.

2. THE CONSTITUENT STRUCTURE OF THE D-CONSTRUCTION

As already mentioned, the D-construction has not received specific attention in contemporary grammars of either Galician or Portuguese. Nevertheless, a recent work mentions it together with a family of appositive structures. Thus our point of departure is to analyse the D-construction

¹ I would like to acknowledge an anonymous reviewer's suggestion of using the term *D-construction*, which helps to keep apart descriptive and analytic matters.

² The Portuguese examples represent the European variety, since the use of the D-construction is much more restricted in Brazilian Portuguese.

tion constituent structure, and more specifically the one involving the initial elements DP and D-pronoun, considering the following options:

- i. *The appositive analysis*: DP and D-pronoun form a single constituent, the latter being an appositive;
- ii. *The resumptive analysis*: DP and D-pronoun form separate constituents, the latter being a resumptive pronoun.

The only existing comment on the constituent structure of an example that is similar to the D-construction as in (3a) is a representative of the appositive analysis, where it is considered in parallel to bona fide appositive uses of demonstratives in (3b-c) (examples from Miguel / Raposo 2015: 871-872):

- (3) a. Os filmes de Hitchcock, *esses*, são obras-primas do cinema mundial.
 the movies of Hitchcock DEM.M.PL are.3PL masterpieces of.the cinema world.ADJ
 ‘(As for) Hitchcock’s movies, these are masterpieces of world cinema.’
- b. O marido da Joaquina, *esse patife*, não lhe liga nenhuma.
 the husband of.the Joaquina DEM.M rascal NEG 3SG.DAT cares anything
 ‘Joaquina’s husband, this rascal, does not give a fig about her.’
- c. Essa editora acaba de publicar um livro de Saramago,
 this publisher finish.3SG of publish.INF a.M book of Saramago
livro este/esse escrito nos anos 80.
 book DEM.M written in.the years 80
 ‘This publisher has just published a book by Saramago, this (one) written in the 1980s.’

In the following some well-accepted appositive features are tested with respect to the D-construction. First, notice that appositives have considerable freedom in the clause, being also acceptable back into the base position of the topic, both in conjunction with or separately from the constituent they modify, as (4b-c) illustrate in comparison to (4a). However, putting either the DP + D-pronoun together or just the D-pronoun back into the base position of the object topic gives a bad output, in (5b-c), derived from (5a)³:

- (4) a. [O Rio de Janeiro, *essa cidade maravilhosa*,] todos gostam de visitar.
 the Rio de Janeiro DEM.F city wonderful everybody like.3PL of visit.INF
 ‘(As for) Rio de Janeiro, this wonderful city, everybody likes visiting (it).’
- b. Todos gostam de visitar [o Rio de Janeiro, *essa cidade maravilhosa*].
 everybody like.3PL of visit.INF the Rio de Janeiro DEM.F city wonderful
- c. O Rio de Janeiro, todos gostam de visitar [*essa cidade maravilhosa*].
 the Rio de Janeiro, everybody like.3PL of visit.INF DEM.F city wonderful
- (5) a. O candidato de verde, *esse o júri* não aceitou.
 the candidate of green DEM.M the jury NEG accepted.3SG
 ‘(Regarding the) candidate in green, this one the jury did not accept.’

3 Notwithstanding the arguments presented here, the appositive analysis seems to be correct for a similar construction with a universal quantifier, where the results for the same tests are the opposite from those found for the D-pronoun in (5):

- (i) a. Alegrias, tristezas, preocupações, *tudo* eu temia.
 joys sadnesses worries everything I feared.1SG
 ‘Joys, sadnesses, worries... everything I feared.’
- b. Eu temia alegrias, tristezas, preocupações, *tudo*.
 I feared.1SG joys sadnesses worries everything
- c. Alegrias, tristezas, preocupações, eu temia *tudo*.
 Joys sadnesses worries I feared.1SG everything

An important difference of this configuration with respect to the D-construction is that the referent of *tudo* in these examples is not strictly anaphorical to the DP that precedes it. In other words, *tudo* may refer to more referents than the ones explicitly mentioned.

- b.7* O júri não aceitou o candidato de verde, esse.
 the jury not accepted.3SG the.M candidate of green DEM.M
- c.7* O candidato de verde, o júri não aceitou esse.
 the candidate of green the jury NEG accepted.3SG DEM.M

The examples in (5b-c) are only acceptable (even though they are still marked) if the demonstrative has a deictic use. In any case, they are weird if the demonstrative is interpreted as an anaphor to 'the candidate in green'.

Second, consider a relevant feature of resumptives in contrast to appositions: being anaphors, resumptives must obey the Novelty Condition, according to which an anaphor cannot be more determinate in reference than its antecedent (Wasow 1972), as the pair of minitexts below illustrate.

- (6) a. A captain_i walked into the room. The officer_i at first said nothing.
 b.* An officer_i walked in to the room. The captain_i at first said nothing.

On the other hand, the pair in (7), where (7a) repeats (3b), demonstrates that appositives do not obey the Novelty Condition:

- (7) a. O marido da Joaquina, esse patife, não lhe liga nenhuma.
 the husband of.the Joaquina, DEM.M rascal NEG 3SG.DAT care.3SG anything
 'Joaquina's husband, this rascal, does not give a fig about her.'
- b. Esse patife, o marido da Joaquina, não lhe liga nenhuma.
 DEM.M rascal the husband of.the Joaquina NEG 3SG.DAT care.3SG anything
 'This rascal, Joaquina's husband, (he) does not give a fig about her.'

If the appositive analysis should be applied to (3a), repeated in (8a) below, the prediction is that shifting the order between DP and D-pronoun should be possible as well, contrary to fact—cf. (8b). In order to verify this prediction, I have included a context that is compatible with both word orders:

- (8) (Os filmes de Christopher Smith não o tornaram muito conhecido;
 the movies of Christopher Smith NEG 3SG turned.3SG much known
 por outro lado...)
 by other side
 'Christopher Smith's movies did not make him very known; on the other hand...'
- a. os filmes de Hitchcock, esses, são obras-primas do cinema mundial.
 the movies of Hitchcock DEM.M.PL are.3PL masterpieces of.the cinema world.ADJ
 'Hitchcock's movies are masterpieces of world cinema.'
- b.# esses, os filmes de Hitchcock, são obras-primas do cinema
 DEM.M.PL the movies of Hitchcock are.3PL masterpieces of.the cinema
 mundial.
 world.ADJ

Once again, (8b) would only be acceptable if the demonstrative has a deictic, non-anaphoric use. I consider that these tests are sufficient to show that the appositive analysis is not empirically adequate.

I acknowledge that it would be theoretically simpler to apply a DP-internal analysis to the DP and D-pronoun section of the construction, as an anonymous reviewer has pointed out. By using proposals for the structure of the DP that have already been developed e.g. in Bernstein (2001), it is possible to account for a postnominal demonstrative in Galician as in (9a) below, where *esa* occupies a focus position inside the DP structure; however, a similar construction is ungrammatical in Portuguese, as in (9b):

- (9) a. [A rapaza esa], atopeina en ocasións aquí. (Galician)
 the girl DEM.F met.1SG-3SG.F in occasions here
 'This girl, I met her sometimes here.'
- b.* [A rapariga essa], encontrei(-a) às vezes aquí. (Portuguese)
 the girl DEM.F met.1SG(-3SG.F) to.the times here

One way to distinguish the D-construction from the one with a postnominal demonstrative in (9a) considers that in the latter the demonstrative helps to set the reference of the whole DP, which is not the case in the other studied examples⁴. Besides, consistently with the tests above, (9a) does have a counterpart in which the whole DP appears back in object position (without the resumptive *na*): *Atopei [a rapaza esa] en ocasións aquí*. However, a skeptical reader could still want to consider a non-unified analysis, assigning the different behaviour in the tests to independent factors⁵. In view of this latter case, I analyse prosodic evidence regarding a possible focal characterization of the demonstrative. Two elements lead to confirmation of the resumptive analysis: the lack of prominence in the demonstrative, and the pause between DP and demonstrative. These facts have been verified by means of an electronic form that recorded three identical utterances performed by native speakers of European Portuguese for each of the following two sentences with the D-construction, after having read the whole minitexts in their respective contexts, as below⁶:

- (10) A: — O que fizeste aos teus irmãos?
 what did.2SG to.the your siblings
 'What did you do to your siblings?'
- B: — A Clara fugiu, não sei onde está;
 the Clara ran.away.3SG NEG know.1SG where is.3SG
 [o João], esse prendi no quarto.
 the João DEM.M locked.1SG in.the room
 'Clara ran away, I don't know where she is; (as for)
 João, I have locked him in the room.'
- (11) A: — Conhece toda a gente da vizinhança?
 know.2SG all the people of.the neighbourhood
 'Do you know all the people of the neighbourhood?'
- B: — Não, mas [os da minha idade], esses conheço todos.
 no but the of.the my age DEM.M.PL know.1SG all
 'No, but those of my age, I know them all.'

Since there was no important difference related to the size of the DP, I present the F0 track only for the simpler D-construction in sentence (10B) in Figure 1, analysed with *Praat*. The nuclear pitch accent in the DP *o João* is L*+H, and the edge tone is Hp. The nuclear configuration in the main clause is H+L* L+L% (cf. Feldhausen 2016 for a study on related constructions in Spanish modeled in Autosegmental Metrical Phonology).

⁴ Without supporting prosodic and contextual information it may be difficult to distinguish the two constructions in Galician.

⁵ Another possibility to maintain a single DP analysis is to assume that there is a "Big DP", including DP and demonstrative, involving the constituents that I argue to be independently projected (cf. Uriagereka 1995, among others):

(i) [_{DP} [A rapaza] [_{DP} esa]]

See section 5.2 for an empirical problem related to the use of this type of analysis to explain the use of the resumptive clitic *na* in (9a). Abstracting away from this analysis, the use of a "Big DP" as in (i) presents a further problem in that the demonstrative cannot be a D⁰, as much as the clitic is.

⁶ The Portuguese examples have been obtained from two informants, both aged more than 30 years old and holding a university degree. The judgment data explored in other parts of this paper have been collected with the same persons.

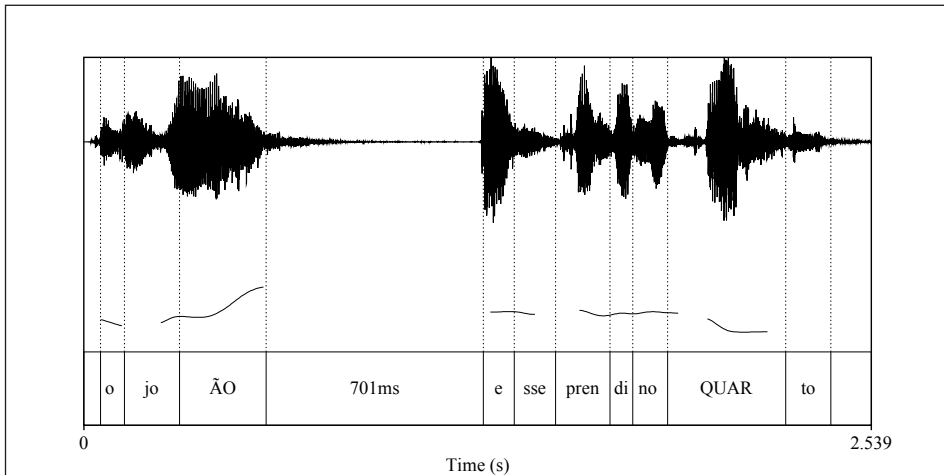


Figure 1. Waveform and F0 trace for the D-construction in (10B)

The average pause duration in the three utterances was of 588ms, which is incompatible with a single constituent analysis. Besides, if the demonstrative represented a narrow focus, it should receive a higher prominence than the DP *o João*, contrary to fact. These represent important arguments against an appositive account for the initial elements in the D-construction.

3. THE PRAGMATIC IMPORT OF THE D-CONSTRUCTION

The previous section has paved the way for a pragmatic analysis of the D-construction, thus verifying in which contexts it is suitable, focusing on the role of the initial DP. In order to do so, I present and discuss some examples from diachronic corpora and from the internet, in order to assess the usage of the construction: given that I am claiming for the existence of a largely overlooked construction, it is worth showing that this sentence-type is naturally produced by native speakers. Nevertheless, being a paper on formal grammar, intuition data are crucially taken into account as well.

3.1. Diachronic data

I present diachronic examples of the D-construction in this section in order to establish that it has existed for a number of years in Galician / Portuguese.

A corpus query for medial demonstratives in parsed Classical and Early Modern Portuguese texts (from the 16th till the 19th centuries) available in the TBCHP (Tycho Brahe Corpus of Historical Portuguese) has shown that the D-construction is very rare. In (12) I show an example with a subject D-pronoun, from Garrett (1904 [1845-1877]):

- (12) [A tal visita de agradecimento ao general Lemos]: essa não
 the such visit of thanks to.the general Lemos DEM.F NEG
 se pôde evitar.
 3SG.IMP can.3SG avoid.INF
 '(As for) the visit of thanks from general Lemos, it cannot be avoided.'

This sentence is a reply to a rhetorical question where the speaker asks: *Agora que mais falta?* ('What is missing now?'). The initial DP answers this question but at the same time shifts the theme of the conversation to a presupposed question: *O que se pode evitar?* ('What can be

avoided?') that opens up alternatives: from the tasks that must be accomplished, all but that one cannot be avoided.

Unlike in other texts, the D-construction is especially frequent in Christ's parables present in d'Almeida's (1681) version of the New Testament. Although this may be an effect of the original Greek text from which it was translated, the fact that archaic constructions that are common in Middle Portuguese texts (from the 15th century) are found reveals that the D-construction is much older than that (example from d'Almeida 1681 (Acts of the Apostles 3:6)):

- (13) (E disse Pedro: "Nem prata nem ouro tenho; and said.3SG Pedro nor silver nor gold have.1SG mas [o que tenho] isso te dou." but the that have.1SG DEM.N 2SG.DAT give.1SG
 'Then Peter said, 'Silver or gold I do not have, but what I do have I give you.'

Reference to *o que tenho* ('what (Peter) has') stands in contrast to *prata e ouro* ('silver and gold').

Another query for demonstratives in the TMILG (*Tesouro Medieval Informatizado da Língua Galega*) has yielded only one case of the D-construction, showing that it was possible even in Galician-Portuguese, as in the following example from Cintra (1959 [1211-1237]):

- (14) (E con essas pesquisas, colla el quereoso sua calonna;) and with DEM.F.PL enquiries takes.3SG the complainant his complaint e [qui primeyro ferire], esse peyte las calonnas and whoever first hurt.FUT.3SG DEM.M pay.SBJV.3SG the complaints de ambos. of both
 'And with these enquiries, the complainant retrieves his complaint; and whoever hurts (the other) first, s/he shall pay for the complaints of both (of them)';

In the example above, the initial DP with a free relative clause *qui primeyro ferire* indicates an alternative between any of the complainants in conflict, choosing the one that decides to hurt the other side.

The interim conclusion is that the D-construction is quite old, being found in various moments of the history of Portuguese, and even in Galician-Portuguese. For space reasons I will leave a detailed analysis of further historical data for future work. However, the examples above suggest that they express contrast between the initial DP and an explicit or implicit referent.

3.2. Synchronic corpus data

The internet data presented below have been collected from an advanced Google search, including sequences of a D-pronoun and verb in .pt and .es domains. The following Portuguese example is an excerpt from a blog about a boy that can play the accordion:

- (15) (O pai, embora saiba quem é, nunca falei com ele.) the father, although know.SBJV.1SG who is never talked.1SG with him [O avô e a avó], esses conheço-os bem⁷. the grandfather and the grandmother DEM.M.PL know.1SG-3PL well
 'The (boy's) father, although I know who he is, I've never talked to him; (as for) his grandfather and grandmother, I know them well.'

⁷ <http://paradadocorgo.blogs.sapo.pt/240863.html> [15 January 2017]

This example suggests that the initial DP *o avô e a avó* ('the grandfather and the grandmother') conveys a contrastive topic, understood as building a list with *o pai* ('the (boy's) father'); all of these are contained in a larger partially ordered set {the boy's family}.

I consider that the following utterance in Galician contains a bona fide D-construction, being similar to the previous one, inclusively for the use of the resumptive clitic *lo*:

- (16) [...] teño case claro onde van ir a parar
 have.1SG almost clear where go.3PL go.INF to stop.INF
 as nosas reclamacións pero a lo menos [o pracer] ese
 the our complaints but to the less the pleasure D EM.M
 non nolo poden quitar⁸.
 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.'

However, the reading in which *o pracer ese* is analysed as a single DP could only be possible if *o pracer* was already present in the interlocutor's discourse model, which is not the case, because it was not previously mentioned.

In the examples above the DP is always connected to the clause. In other less frequent cases, the DP may be expressed as a hanging topic⁹, as in the following Portuguese examples:

- (17) Olhe, nem conheço um nem outro, por isso
 look, nor know.1SG one nor other for that
 deve antes perguntar-lhes directamente a eles.)
 should.3SG before ask.INF-3PL.DAT directly to them
 [Quanto ao Zandinga], esse conheço¹⁰ [...]
 as for.the Zandinga this know.1SG
 'Look, I don't know either one or the other, so before you should first ask directly to
 them. Regarding Zandinga, I know him...'

- (18) [Pensar o impossível...] nisso creio que o Sr. Alegre
 think.INF the impossible... of.this believe.1SG that the Mr. Alegre
 acertou em cheio¹¹.
 guessed.3SG in full
 'Thinking the impossible: I believe that, regarding this, Mr. Alegre guessed fully right.'

Notice that the DP in (17) includes the topic introducer *quanto a* ('as for'), which is a typical feature of hanging topics. In (18), the initial phrase does not show the preposition *em*, thus lacking case connectivity with the D-pronoun, where *em* is affixed as *n-*. For the moment, I will consider this type of example separately, leaving an examination regarding whether it may receive a unified analysis with the D-construction for section 4.3.

⁸ <http://www.adams.es/foros/viewtopic.php?f=152&t=11115> [15 January 2017]

⁹ I adopt a simpler definition of hanging topic that encompasses all those elements lacking syntactic connectivity (to a resumptive) or semantic connectivity (it means, lack of a gap), as in:

- (i) O Zandinga, não conheço ninguém tão entusiasmado.
 the Zandinga NEG know.1SG no.one so enthusiastic
 'As for Zandinga, I do not know anyone so enthusiastic.'

In this sense, the term *hanging topic* as used here encompasses the more specific terms "free topic", "hanging topic" and "attached topic" in Nolda (2004).

¹⁰ <http://alvitrandoblogs.sapo.pt/beja-a-ferro-e-fogo-2720748?thread=6472428> [15 February 2016]

¹¹ <http://portugaldospequenos.blogs.sapo.pt/2973140.html> [15 February 2016]

3.3. Synchronic intuition data

I have informally observed from the corpus data that the D-construction seems to convey a contrastive topic, expressed by the initial DP. Nevertheless, since the distinction between contrastive focus (CF) and contrastive topic (CT) is a delicate one, I adopt Lee's (2003) proposal according to which the first comes from a conjunctive question, whereas the second answers an alternative question. Observe the examples below, from Lee (2003):

- (19) A: — What did Bill's sisters do?
 B: — [Bill's youngest sister]_{CT} kissed [John]_F.
- (20) A: — Did the baby pick a bill or (did she pick) a pen?
 B: — [A pen]_{CF} (she picked).

According to this proposal, the contexts provided by the respective questions show that the options must have been offered beforehand in the case of CF, whereas with CT speaker B “deviates” from speaker A's presupposition regarding the potential topic¹². Another way to explore this difference involves observing the implicatures conveyed. In (19B), the implicature means epistemically “I don't know what Bill's other sisters do”, whereas the implicature in (20B) means epistemically “The baby did not pick a bill”, i.e. it includes the denial of the alternative.

By applying this framework for the cases at hand, we can observe that the contexts where the D-construction are found are similar to the one in (19A), i.e. a question that is more general than what the current speaker has to say — what Lee (2003) calls a conjunctive question. Observe the following Galician examples¹³:

- (21) A: — Que lles fixeches aos primos?
 what 3PL.DAT did.2SG to.the cousins
 ‘What have you done to the cousins?’
 B: — [Xoán], a este prendino no cuarto.
 Xoán to DEM.M locked.1SG-3SG in.the bedroom
 ‘(As for) Xoán, I have locked him in the bedroom.’
- (22) A: — Que escolliches, a pluma ou o lapis?
 what chose.2SG the pen or the pencil
 ‘What did you choose, the pen or the pencil?’
 B: — a.* [O lapis], ese escollino.
 the pencil DEM.M chose.1SG-3SG
 ‘(As for) the pencil, I chose it.’
 b. (Escollín) o lapis (, non a pluma).
 chose.1SG the pencil not the pen
 ‘I chose the pencil, not the pen.’

¹² For a more traditional explanation regarding the distinction between CF and CT, cf. Krifka (2007), according to whom contrastive focus refers to the coding of information that is contrary to the presuppositions of the interlocutor, whereas contrastive topic indicates alternative aboutness topics, which together define a set.

¹³ The Galician examples were tested with two informants, both aged more than 30 years old and holding a university degree. Two other informants did not accept the D-construction as in (21B) at all; they used Clitic Left Dislocation instead:

- (i) A Xoán, prendino no cuarto.
 to Xoan locked.1sg-3sg in.the bedroom
 ‘(As for) Xoán, I have locked him in the bedroom.’

I do not see this as a problem for the analysis; it may reflect an Spanish interference, because the informants preferring this form happened to live outside Galicia, in Brazil or in Spain. For the use of *a*-case-marking in Spanish that may be useful to understand the Galician pattern in connexion with left dislocation, cf. Bouzouita (2014).

The difference is clear: contrastive topics do not have quantificational properties and only need to be opposed (explicitly or not) to some other topic¹⁴. The results for the same tests in Portuguese are presented below:

- (23) A: — Que fizestes aos teus irmãos?
 what did.2SG to.the your.PL siblings
 ‘What have you done to your siblings?’
 B: — [O João], a esse prendi(-o) no quarto.
 The João to DEM.M locked.1SG(-3SG) in.the bedroom
 ‘(As for) Xoán, I have locked him in the bedroom.’
- (24) A: — Que escolheste, a caneta ou o lápis?
 what chose.2SG the pen or the pencil
 ‘What did you choose, the pen or the pencil?’
 B: — a.* [O lápis], esse escolhi(-o).
 the pencil DEM.M chose.1SG(-3SG)
 ‘(As for) the pencil, I chose it.’
 b. (Escolhi) o lápis (, não a caneta).
 chose.1SG the pencil not the pen
 ‘I chose the pencil, not the pen.’

4. THE D-CONSTRUCTION IDENTITY

In this section I examine the question of whether the D-construction should be subsumed under a pre-existing instantiation of a marked construction. There are three constructions studied in the left dislocation family: *Clitic Left Dislocation* (CLLD), *Contrastive Left Dislocation* (CLD) and *Hanging Topic Left Dislocation* (HTLD), which are analysed in the following.

Before continuing I explain why I consider a unified analysis for the D-construction in Galician and Portuguese. From the general syntactic and pragmatic facts observed, the only noticeable difference between these languages is related to the obligatory presence of a resumptive clitic inside the clause in Galician—the enclitic *no* in (21B)—whereas this element is optional (and indeed lacking in most examples) in Portuguese, as it is clear in (23B) and, alternatively, from a comparison of the naturally occurring data in (15) and (17) in section 3.2. Once the two languages share the structure with a resumptive clitic inside the clause, I consider this element as part of the analysis, abstracting away from the alternative derivation with a gap in Portuguese for a while, returning to this issue in section 5.3.

4.1. The D-construction is not a case of Clitic Left Dislocation

CLLD has been extensively studied in the Romance languages (Cinque 1990; Rizzi 1997; Suñer 2006; López 2009, a.o.), although it exists in other language families (Villalba 2000). The main features of CLLD are listed below and are respectively illustrated with Portuguese examples ((25a-b) adapted from López 2009: 3ff; (25c-d) from Mateus *et al.* 1983 apud Villalba 2000: 47ff; (25e) adapted from Raposo 1998):

- the presence of an unstressed clitic as the resumptive, attached to the verb;
- CLLDed phrases can be any type of XP, provided that a corresponding clitic is available;
- CLLDed XPs can be stacked;
- CLLDed XP can be embedded;
- CLLD can span across selective (weak) islands.

¹⁴The informal comparison with Portuguese CF data suggests that these do not show an L boundary tone instead of an Hp one, as it was the case with the D-construction cases.

- (25) a. [_{PP} À Maria] não *lhe* enviarei nenhum pacote.
to.the Maria NEG 3SG.DAT send.FUT.1SG no package
'(To) Maria I won't send (her) a package.'
- b. [_{CP} Que o João é inteligente], já o disse.
that the João is intelligent already 3SG said.1SG
'I already said that João was intelligent.'
- c. [O queijo], [ao corvo], a raposa roubou-*lho*.
the cheese to.the raven the fox stole-3SG.DAT+3SG
'The fox stole the cheese from the raven.'
- d. E depois a avó contou que, [ao corvo],
and afterwards the grandmother told.3SG that to.the raven
a raposa *lhe* tinha roubado o queijo.
the fox 3SG.DAT had.3SG stolen the cheese
'And afterwards the grandmother told that the fox had stolen the cheese from the raven.'
- e. [Esse livro], lamento que o tenhas mostrado à Maria.
this book regret.1SG that 3SG has.SBJV.2SG shown to.the Maria
'This book, I regret that you have shown (it) to Maria.'

The following Portuguese examples demonstrate that if the same criteria are applied to the D-construction, they give unacceptable or marginal results:

- (26) a.* [À Maria], *a essa* eu não (*lhe*) enviarei o pacote.
to.the Maria to DEM.F. I NEG (3SG.DAT) know.FUT.1SG the package
*?'To Maria, I will not send her the package.'
- b.? [_{CP} Que o João é inteligente], *isso* já disse eu.
that the João is intelligent DEM.N already said.1SG I
?'Regarding the fact that João is intelligent, I already said that.'
- c.* [O queijo], *esse*, [aos alunos], *a esses*, eu dei
the cheese DEM.M to.the students to DEM.M.PL I gave.1SG
(-lhos).
(-3SG.DAT+3PL)
*?'For the cheese, it holds that to the students, I gave it to them.'
- d.* O homem disse que [os miúdos], *esses* não encontrou.
the man said.3SG that the children DEM.M.PL NEG met.3SG
*?'The man said that he did not meet the children.'
- e.* [Os miúdos], lamento que, *esses*, não tenhas encontrado.
the children regret.1SG that DEM.M.PL NEG have.2SG met.PTCP
*?'The children, I regret that you haven't met (them).'

Regarding its pragmatic status, it has been frequently stated that CLLD conveys some sort of contrast, a fact that may suggest a common analysis with the D-construction regarding this aspect. Although some cases of the D-construction may be pragmatically equivalent to cases of CLLD, the opposite does not seem to be true:

- (27) A: — Compraste os móveis?
bought.2SG the.PL furniture.PL
'Did you buy the chairs?'
- B: — As cadeiras comprei (-as), mas o sofá, não.
the chairs bought.1SG -3PL but the sofa NEG
'The chairs I bought, but not the sofa.'
- B': — #As cadeiras, essas comprei (-as), mas o sofá, não.
the chairs DEM.F.PL bought.1SG -3PL but the sofa NEG

The contextual difference between this example and other ones explored above is that the predicate *comprar* ('buy') was already salient in the context. This suggests that informational focus scopes over the whole clause following the initial elements in the D-construction.

The interim conclusion is that the D-construction cannot be an instance of CLLD, although I will argue later that CLLD is involved as the first step of the derivation of the former. In the following, other types of marked syntactic constructions are considered.

4.2. The D-construction is not an instance of Contrastive Left Dislocation

This section pinpoints crucial similarities and differences between the D-construction and Germanic CLD. The basic form of CLD is as shown below (cf. Grohmann 2003: 134):

- (28) [Diesen Mann], *den* kenne ich nicht.
 DEM.M.ACC man DEM.M.ACC know.1SG I NEG
 'This man, I don't know him.'

The main features of CLD are listed below and illustrated with German examples ((29c) from Bayer 2001: 24; (29d-e) from Grohmann 2003: 163; 143):

- the presence of a D-pronoun as the resumptive, possibly after the verb¹⁵;
- CLD triggers V3 word order, V4 being forbidden;
- CLDed XPs may be embedded in the complement of bridge verbs;
- CLDed XPs cannot be stacked;
- CLD cannot span across strong islands.

- (29) a. [Diesen Mann], ich kenne *den* nicht.
 DEM.M.ACC man I know.1SG DEM.M.ACC NEG
 'This man, I don't know him.'
- b.* [Diesen Mann] *den* ich kenne nicht.
 DEM.M.ACC man DEM.M.ACC I know.1SG NEG
 *'This man, I don't know him.'
- c. Ich glaube [den Hans], *den* kennt er kaum.
 I believe the.ACC Hans DEM.M.ACC knows he barely
 'I think he barely knows Hans.'
- d.* [Dem Alex]_i, [der Wagen]_j, [seine Mutter]_k,
 the.M.DAT Alex the.M.NOM car his.F mother,
*dem*_i hat *sie*_k *ihn*_j gestern geschenkt.
 DEM.M.DAT has she 3 SG.ACC yesterday gifted.PTCP
 *'Alex, the car, his mother, she gave it to him yesterday.'
- e.* [Den Martin], *den* hat Anna die Tatsache
 the.M.ACC Martin DEM.M.ACC has Anna the.F.ACC fact
 geglaubt, mögen alle
 believed.PTCP like.INF all.PL.NOM
 *'Martin, Anna believed the fact (that) everyone likes.'

¹⁵ According to my informant, (29a) conveys contrast on *ich* ('I'). Besides variation regarding the position of the resumptive (cf. also den Dikken / Surányi 2016), the resumptive may be a personal pronoun if a D-pronoun is not available for independent reasons, such as those related to paradigmatic restrictions (cf. (i) below, from Ott 2014: 273, fn7). In other cases, exchanging the D-pronoun in the left-peripheral position for a personal pronoun is possible for many speakers, but is a marked option.

(i) [Dir und mir], *uns* sollten die mal lieber helfen!
 2SG.DAT and 1SG.DAT 1PL.DAT should.1PL DEM.PL.NOM PRT rather help.INF
 'They should rather help you and me!'

The following examples show that that the same criteria applied to the D-construction give opposite results for Portuguese¹⁶:

- (30) a.* [Os filmes de Hitchcock], os alunos conhecem essas.
 the movies of Hitchcock the students know.3PL DEM.M.PL
 *(As for) Hitchcock's movies, the students know them.'
- b. [Os filmes de Hitchcock], essas os alunos conhecem.
 the movies of Hitchcock DEM.M.PL the students know.3PL
 '(As for) Hitchcock's movies, the students know them.'
- c.* Eu acho que [o Pedro], esse não comprou o carro.
 I think.1SG that the Pedro DEM.M NEG bought.3SG the car
 *'I think that Pedro, he didn't buy a car.'
- d. [O Pedro]_i, [o carro]_j, esse_j ele_i comprou.
 the Pedro the car DEM.M he bought.3SG
 '(As for) Pedro, the car, he didn't buy it.'
- e. [O Manel], esse o Pedro odeia o facto (de) que a
 the Manel DEM.M the Pedro hates the fact (of) that the
 Maria (o) tenha beijado.
 Maria (3SG) has.SBJV.3SG kissed.PTCP
 '(As for) Manel, Pedro hates the fact that Maria has kissed him.'

Most of the criteria prevent one from identifying the D-construction with a case of CLD, even though the first two differences may be attributed to independent typological differences between German and Portuguese. While German has a weak D-pronoun paradigm that allows greater positioning freedom for the D-pronoun in the clause, in Portuguese such elements are strong forms that cannot stay in focal positions¹⁷. Second, V3 word order is enforced in German because the initial DP occupies a position before the prefield, which is taken up by the D-pronoun, followed by the verb; on the other hand in Portuguese there is no ban on V4 sentences, because it is not a V2 language. Nevertheless, the three remaining criteria cannot be independently explained, and seem to be important evidence against a CLD analysis for the D-construction.

Further relevant features of Germanic CLD considered in Grohmann (2003) are the lack of an intonational break and the informational marking of contrast. The former also consists of a piece of evidence against a CLD analysis for the D-construction. In the following German examples adapted from Grohmann (2003: 145), a CLDed sentence about Martin—(31Bc)—appears as a possible answer to a question about Anna¹⁸, together a sentence with marked focus of *den Martin* and an unmarked sentence—cf. (30Bb) and (30Ba), respectively:

- (31) A — Hast du gestern die Anna getroffen?
 have.2SG you yesterday the.F.ACC Anna met.PTCP
 'Did did you meet Anna yesterday?'
- B — a. Nein. Ich habe gestern den Martin getroffen.
 no I have.1SG yesterday the.M.ACC Martin met.PTCP
 'No, I met Martin yesterday.'
- b. Nein. DEN MARTIN habe ich gestern getroffen.
 no the.M.ACC Martin have.1SG I yesterday met.PTCP
- c. Nein. Den Martin, den habe ich gestern getroffen.
 no the.M.ACC Martin DEM.M.ACC have.1SG I yesterday met.PTCP

¹⁶ V3 word order is found only with a 1st or 2nd person subject, as in (i) below. These represent instances of a residual V2 grammar, according to de Andrade (2015).

(i) [Os filmes de Hitchcock], esses conheço eu.
 the movies of Hitchcock DEM.M.PL know.1SG I
 'Hitchcock's movies, these I know.'

¹⁷ In German, D-pronouns (*der / die / das*) are expressed by weak forms, similar to articles. D-adjectives (*dieser / dieses / diese*) are strong forms and must be followed by nouns, except in the case of *dies*.

¹⁸ This is possible if both Martin and Anna are in the common ground, i.e. in the discourse model of the interlocutors.

The problem is that, from the observation made together with (27) above, the most adequate construction for a similar context in Portuguese and Galician is CLLD, not the D-construction. Therefore, not even informational contrast favours identifying CLD with the D-construction. However, the two share an important feature: the presence of a resumptive D-pronoun in a left-peripheral position of the clause. For this reason, in the following section I consider some tests to distinguish between CLD and HTLD.

4.3. The D-construction is an instance of Hanging Topic Left Dislocation

According to den Dikken / Surányi (2016), the only firm diagnostics to distinguish between CLD and HTLD are those related to connectivity, given that neither the form of the resumptive as a D-pronoun nor its position in the left periphery of the clause are privative of CLD (cf. also Ott 2014). However, from Grohmann (2003) it is also possible to identify another factor, related to the form of the HTLDed XP. Therefore, there are three features of HTLD that may distinguish it from CLD:

- HTLDed DPs may lack case connectivity with their resumptive pronouns¹⁹;
- HTLD lacks binding connectivity;
- HTLDed XPs must be DPs (marked with default Case)²⁰.

The following examples illustrate these characteristics in German HTLD constructions. Notice that binding connectivity is tested for both principle A of the binding theory (cf. Chomsky 1981) and for variable binding—where only the referential reading of the pronoun is available — ((32a-c) is from Grohmann 2003: 144; 150; 149; (32d) was adapted from Grohmann 2003: 142):

- (32) a. [Dieser Mann], *den* habe ich noch nie gesehen.
 DEM.M.NOM man DEM.M.ACC have.1SG I yet never seen.PTCP
 ‘This man, I’ve never seen him before.’
- b.* [Freunde von einander]_i, *denen* erzählen Herforder_i selten Lügen.
 friends.DAT of each.other DEM.PL.DAT tell.3PL Herfordians rarely lies
 *‘Friends of each other, Herfordians rarely tell lies (to).’
- c.* [Sein_i Vorgarten], *den* glaubt jeder Herforder,
 his.M.NOM lawn DEM.M.ACC believes every Herfordian
 kann er schön halten.
 can.3SG he pretty keep.INF
 *‘His lawn, every Herfordian believes he can keep it pretty.’

¹⁹ Regarding this issue, den Dikken / Surányi (2016) present an example with an opposite judgment to (32a), classified as a case of CLD. I tend to think that this is a case of HTLD whose ungrammaticality is due to the presence of a quantified subject that undergoes Quantifier Raising:

- (i) * [Dieser Doktorand], *den* wird jeder Linguist helfen
 DEM.M.NOM doctoral.student DEM.M.ACC will every linguist help.INF
 ‘This doctoral student, every linguist will help (him).’

²⁰ According to Grohmann (2003: 142), CLD may show any XP in initial position, such as in (i), whose corresponding sentences are not acceptable in Portuguese, according to my informants. On the other hand, infinitival predicates (VPs/IPs) are possible in the D-construction — see (ii). I attribute this to the nominal character of the infinitival phrase.

- (i) a. [_{PP} An seinen Freund]_i, *an den* hat Martin
 at his.M.ACC friend at DEM.M.ACC has Martin
den ganzen Tag gedacht.
 the.M.ACC whole day thought.PTCP
 ‘Of his friend, Martin thought all day.’
- b. [_{AP} Glücklich]_i, *das* war der Martin schon lange nicht mehr.
 happy DEM.N.ACC was the.M.NOM Martin already long NEG more
 ‘Happy, Martin hasn’t been in a long time.’
- (ii) [_{VP/IP} Falar a verdade]_i, *isso* eles não queriam.
 speak.INF the truth DEM.N they NEG wanted.3PL
 ‘To speak the truth, they didn’t want.’

- d.* [An seinen Freund], *den* hat Martin den ganzen Tag
 at his.M.ACC friend DEM.M.ACC has Martin the.M.ACC whole day
 gedacht
 thought.PTCP
 *'Of his friend, Martin thought all day.'

The following tests assess the same criteria in Portuguese, except the first one, where a topic introducer is used instead, since the lack of Case-marking prevents one from testing Case connectivity in this language²¹:

- (33) a. [Quanto aos alunos], (*a*) esses eu não culpo.
 how.much to.the students to DEM.M.PL I NEG blame.1SG
 'As for the students, I don't blame them.'
- b.* [Amor por si próprios], esse os candidatos, não deviam ter.
 love for themselves DEM.M the candidates NEG should.3PL have.INF
 *'Love for themselves, the candidates should not have.'
- c.* [O seu, nome], esse todo, português aprecia.
 the his name DEM.M every Portuguese appreciates
 *'(As for) his name, every Portuguese appreciates (it).'
- d.* [Aos que se comportaram bem], esses dei os
 to.the.PL that REFL behaved.3PL well DEM.M.PL gave.1SG the
 reuçados.
 sweets
 *'To the well-behaved (kids) I gave the sweets.'

These tests show that the initial DP in the D-construction does act as a hanging topic, which allows me to consider a unified analysis of the examples with apparent connectivity and those in (17) and (18) (cf. Grohmann 2003 and den Dikken / Surányi 2016 for the fact that HTLD does not preclude case connectivity).

Regarding the pragmatic usage of HTLD, some scholars have proposed that it consists of a strategy of topic introduction (Geluykens 1992), whereas some others claim that it serves to shift the discourse topic to an aspect of the more general textual supertopic (Costa / Andrade 2015). These features are compatible with what has been said here about the D-construction, but combined with the requirement of contrast.

The interim conclusion for this section is that the D-construction is an instance of HTLD. Notice that there are grounds to believe that this is a specific construction exemplar, what Grohmann (2003) dubs *HTLD I*, a structure with a D-pronoun resumptive in a left-dislocated position but without obligatory case connectivity with the dislocated DP, as in (34a). On the other hand, the more common type of left dislocation, which is the one referred whenever Romance languages are considered, is called *HTLD II*, where the resumptive is a personal pronoun usually occurring in the middle field, as in (34b) (German examples from Grohmann 2003: 144):

- (34) a. Der Martin, *den* habe ich gestern getroffen.
 the.M.NOM Martin DEM.M.ACC have.1SG I yesterday met.PTCP
 'As for Martin, I have met (him) yesterday.'
- b. Der Martin, ich habe *ihn* gestern getroffen.
 the.M.NOM Martin I have 3SG.ACC yesterday met.PTCP

Compare (34b) with the following English and Spanish examples showing HTLD II (from Casielles-Suárez 2004: 73; 78):

²¹ I am aware that a further distinction between dislocations with a topic introducer and HTLD is made in some works (e.g. Villalba 2000) and it is relevant for prosody (cf. Feldhausen 2016). Nevertheless, I treat them together for ease of presentation.

- (35) a. John, I saw *him* yesterday.
 b. Juan, hablé *con él* ayer.
 Juan talked.1SG with him yesterday
 '(As for) Juan, I talked to him yesterday.'

The marked construction *HTLD I* is therefore the counterpart of CLD without connectivity. The interesting issue is that CLD seems to not exist in modern Galician or Portuguese; nevertheless, they exhibit both HTLD II and HTLD I, the latter corresponding to the D-construction.

5. A FORMAL ANALYSIS FOR THE D-CONSTRUCTION

In this section I develop a formal analysis for the D-construction taking into account the existing literature on HTLD and CLLD. From there I analyse the remaining issue regarding the mentioned difference between Galician and Portuguese related to the use of a resumptive clitic inside the clause. Before getting to the bulk of the analysis, I discuss the syntactic status of the DP and of the D-pronoun occurring in the D-construction.

5.1. The syntactic status of the initial phrases

In the previous sections the initial DP has been characterised as a hanging topic with a contrastive reading. This is unexpected in view of some cartographic proposals for the left periphery of the clause, where contrast is connected to a specific projection where a criterial [+contrast] feature is checked (e.g. Frascarelli / Hinterhölzl 2007): the problem, in other words, is that in the data examined there is no one-to-one relation between pragmatic functions and syntactic positions. In order to account for the fact that a hanging topic may receive a contrastive meaning, I adopt Leonetti's (2013) inferential approach to contrastive topics, which depends on the type of topical constituent and the context. However, for space reasons I do not specify why contrast is enforced in this specific construction.

This solution is also necessary in view of the fact that the D-pronoun itself does not convey contrast. It refers to the hanging topic referent, thus having no special prosodic salience. In other words, it fits Frascarelli / Hinterhölzl's (2007) proposal as a familiar topic. At this point, a possible question is why a strong personal pronoun cannot be used instead of a demonstrative pronoun. Evidence from Germanic languages, where the distinction between D-pronouns and personal pronouns is clearly grammaticalised, shows that there is a connexion between the former and the topic position (cf. Travis 1984; Grohmann 2003; German examples from Wiltschko 1998: 177ff, who notices that the form *ihn* is only possible if focalised):

- (36) a. Den Peter, {den/ *ihn} habe ich nicht gesehen.
 the.M.NOM Peter DEM.M.ACC/ 3SG.ACC have I NEG seen
 'Peter, I haven't seen him.'
 b. {Den/ ?*ihn} habe ich nicht gesehen.
 DEM.M.ACC / 3SG.ACC have.1SG I NEG seen
 'I haven't seen him.'

Wiltschko (1998) analyses the D-pronoun in German as an instance of D + an elliptical NP. Romance D-pronouns are clearly not pure instances of D, although they may represent complex heads. Considering that D-pronouns in German, Galician, and Portuguese share similar syntactic environments, I will also assume that the D-pronoun involves a DP with an elliptical NP.

The D-pronoun cannot be an instance of CF, because focus fronting does not allow a resumptive to appear in Portuguese²². Besides, the following tests for the identification of CFs in this lan-

²² However, see Gupton (2014) for a description of focus fronting in Galician that is significantly different from other languages.

guage (cf. Costa / Martins 2011) present opposite judgments when applied to the D-construction²³. This happens because topics: 1) do not trigger subject-verb inversion ((37), repeated from (30b-a) or proclisis ((38)), going against a focus fronting diagnostic; but consistently with this construction, allow quantifier floating ((39); and do not license relative clause extraposition ((40))²⁴:

- (37) a. [Os filmes de Hitchcock], esses os alunos conhecem.
 the movies of Hitchcock DEM.M.PL the students know.3PL
 '(As for) Hitchcock's movies, the students know them.'
- b.* [Os filmes de Hitchcock], os alunos conhecem esses.
 the movies of Hitchcock the students know.3PL DEM.M.PL
- (38) a. Os filmes de Hitchcock, esses deram-me de presente.
 the movies of Hitchcock DEM.M.PL gave.3PL-1SG.DAT of gift
 'Hitchcock's movies, they gave these to me as a gift.'
- b.* Os filmes de Hitchcock, esses me deram de presente.
 the movies of Hitchcock DEM.M.PL 1SG.DAT gave.3PL of gift
- (39) a. Dos filmes de Hitchcock, [esses todos] conheço.
 of.the movies of Hitchcock DEM.M.PL all.PL know.1SG
 'Among Hitchcock's movies, all of these I know.'
- b. Os filmes de Hitchcock, esses conheço [todos].
 the movies of Hitchcock DEM.M.PL know.1SG all.PL
- (40) a. Dos filmes de Hitchcock, [aqueles que foram produzidos
 of.the movies of Hitchcock those that were produced
 por Selznick] conheço.
 by Selznick know.1SG
 'Among Hitchcock's movies, those that were produced by Selznick I know.'
- b.* Os filmes de Hitchcock, aqueles conheço [que foram
 the movies of Hitchcock those know.1SG that were
 produzidos por Selznick].
 produced by Selznick

This description of the facts leads me to dismiss a "Big DP" style of account for the D-construction, given that it would imply that the initial DP is moved, having the D-pronoun as its double, an assumption that is incompatible with a hanging topic characterisation (cf. Boeckx 2003, Grewendorf 2008 and the references in Suñer 2006 for some references assuming the "Big DP" hypothesis). Virtually all authors agree that the topic in HTLD is a clausal orphan (cf. López 2009: 9).

5.2. A unified account for the D-construction

It is a consensus in the literature that HTLD involves the base-generation of a DP in topic position, that is interpreted to be coreferent to some element (strong pronoun, or epithet) inside the main clause. This helps to explain the lack of connectivity between dislocate and resumptive. Another common assumption is that the topic in HTLD occurs in a very high projection in the left periphery, which is projected only in root clauses, or clauses with root properties. According to Benincà / Poletto (2004), this position is included in the FrameP area (also adopted in Fernán-

²³ Three other tests applied in Costa / Martins (2011) have been left out: one, cleft-like interpretation, can be questioned because not all clefted elements are necessarily contrastively focused (Vercauteren 2015); two other ones, the use of quantified NPs in preposed position and PP-preposing, because they would change a basic feature of the construction, namely, the presence of a D-pronoun.

²⁴ In this case it was necessary to adjust the example to include a demonstrative relative clause, which in this case is better represented by a form of the distal paradigm (*aquela / aquela / aquilo*).

dez-Rubiera 2009)²⁵. The main areas in the CP field are presented as projections below, for ease of presentation:

$$(41) \left[\text{ForceP} \left[\text{FrameP} \left[\text{DP} \left[\text{TopicP} \left[\text{FocusP} \left[\text{FinP} \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right]$$

A less consensual analysis relates to the derivation of CLLD, which corresponds to the second part of the derivation of the D-construction, including the elements D-pronoun and clitic. I adopt a base-generation analysis of CLLD, following Cinque (1990), Frascarelli (2000) and Suñer (2006). Therefore, I propose the structure with the three coreferential phrases involved in the D-construction to be like in (42a), with a corresponding Galician example in (42b)—see (21B):

$$(42) \text{ a. } \left[\text{ForceP} \left[\text{FrameP} \left[\text{DP}_i \text{Frame}^0 \left[\text{TopicP} \left[\text{D-pronoun}_i \text{Top}^0 \left[\text{FocusP} \left[\text{FinP} \left[\text{IP} \left[\text{verb} + \text{clitic}_i + [\text{I}^0] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right]$$

$$\text{ b. } \left[\text{FrameP} \left[\text{TopicP} \left[\text{Xoán} \left[\text{IP} \left[\text{a este} \left[\text{IP} \left[\text{prendino no cuarto} \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right]$$

Following Suñer (2006), I consider that a chain *D-pronoun...clitic* is formed by long distance agreement holding between these two constituents²⁶. This assumption is able to account for the connectivity and reconstruction effects that usually serve as evidence for movement-based approaches.

An important piece of evidence against a movement approach to CLLD consists of the different distribution of clitic doubling and CLLD, which suggests that the former cannot be the starting point from which the latter is derived. This is correct for both Galician and Portuguese (cf. Dubert / Galves 2016: 434): in the former, doubling seems to be obligatory only with dative complements, accusative tonic pronouns and some quantifiers; in the latter, it is optional and restricted to tonic pronouns and some quantifiers.

$$(43) \text{ a. } \begin{array}{llllll} \text{Deille} & \text{un regalo} & \{a \text{ Xoán}/ & \{a \text{ el}. & & \text{(Galician)} \\ \text{gave.1SG-3SG.DAT} & \text{a gift} & \text{to Xoán} & \text{to him} & & \\ \text{'I gave Xoán a gift.'} & & & & & \end{array}$$

$$\text{ b. } \begin{array}{llllll} \text{Dei-lhe} & \text{um presente} & \{*\text{ao João}/ & \{a \text{ ele}. & & \text{(Portuguese)} \\ \text{gave.1SG-3SG.DAT} & \text{a gift} & \text{to.the João} & \text{to him} & & \\ \text{'I gave João a gift.'} & & & & & \end{array}$$

On the other hand, either dative or accusative complements may appear in CLLD, both nominal or pronominal.

The final part of the analysis has to consider clitic placement, and the related issue of subject position. Notice that in (43) the clitic is postverbal (i.e. an enclitic), which is the most common case in Galician and Portuguese. Regarding this issue, Raposo / Uriagereka's (2005) proposal states that enclisis results from a last resort operation, which consists in verb movement to a left-peripheral F head. Such a movement occurs whenever there is no element inside the clause, i.e. inside IP. However, once non-focalised subjects trigger enclisis, in these authors' view the subject must be external to the clause. This is relevant for the present analysis because if the D-pronoun is an object topic, it is naturally mapped to the CP field; if it is a subject, its position will depend on the theoretical assumptions.

In this proposal I consider that preverbal subjects are not dislocated in Western Iberian, following the experimental evidence in Gupton (2014). Nevertheless, this author, as well as Fernández-Rubiera (2009), concedes that preverbal subjects may be dislocated, basically in the same

²⁵ Adapting Frascarelli / Hinterhölzl's (2007) proposal without a specific position for contrastive topics and Krifka's (2007) notion of delimiter, which includes hanging topics, would give (i). Nevertheless, notice that this structure predicts that familiar topics should occur before focused phrases, which does not seem to be correct (?**O João NA ESCOLA esse quero ver* 'João, I want to see (him) IN THE SCHOOL.'). Thus I interpret that FamP in (i) should be a lower projection of the TopicP field.

(i) $\left[\text{ForceP} \left[\text{DelimP} \left[\text{DP} \left[\text{ShrIP} \left[\text{D-pronoun} \left[\text{FocusP} \left[\text{FamP} \left[\text{FinP} \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right] \right]$

²⁶ In Polinsky / Potsdam's (2001) presentation of long distance agreement in Tsez, a language of the Nakh-Dagestanian family, this phenomenon is triggered by a topic constituent.

contexts where enclisis is triggered in Western Iberian languages, considering a syntactic-based account for clitic placement in the line of Raposo / Uriagereka (2005). Another possible way to interpret Gupton's evidence supposes that preverbal subjects are never dislocated, by adopting a morphophonological account for clitic placement (cf. Galves / Sandalo 2012). As a consequence, the structures for an object D-pronoun and a subject D-pronoun would be as in the following structures (using Portuguese examples):

- (44) a. [_{FrameP} A visita, [_{TopicP} *essa* [_{ip} eu desconheço]]]
 the visit DEM.F.SG I ignore.1SG
 'The visit I ignore it.'
- b. [_{FrameP} A visita, [_{ip} *essa* veio em boa hora]]
 the visit DEM.F.SG came.3SG in good hour
 'The visit, it came in good time.'

For Galves / Sandalo (2012), the clitic is a mere phi-feature bundle that moves to the left of the verb in the syntax, enclisis being the result of a postsyntactic movement of the clitic to the right of the verb, whenever the CP periphery is not activated²⁷. This proposal is consistent with the empirical observation related to the more frequent occurrence of a structure of the type in (44b) if compared to (44a): marked structures (i.e. with more elements in dislocated position) tend to be less frequent than unmarked ones.

5.3. Accounting for a difference between Galician and Portuguese

A noticeable difference between Galician and Portuguese regarding the D-construction consists of the possible lack of the clitic in the main clause of the latter, as already mentioned. I see this as an expected consequence of the fact that Topicalisation is available in this language together with CLLD. Therefore, the task in this section is to show how Topicalisation is derived in the first step of the D-construction instead of CLLD, and to account for why this is only possible in Portuguese.

There are at least three main approaches to Topicalisation in Portuguese. For Raposo (1986), the topic phrase in Topicalisation is base-generated and coindexed to a null operator that moves from the thematic position. On the other hand, for Duarte (1987), the topic phrase itself moves from its thematic position. A third proposal, Raposo (1998), proposes a unified analysis for Topicalisation and CLLD, around the idea that clitics are realisations of D⁰, together with the fact that this head is frequently silent in Portuguese, generating bare nouns.

I dismiss the first and the third proposals in view of the way they handle the variation between CLLD and Topicalization. Adopting Raposo's (1986) classical account, Rizzi (1997) distinguishes these on the basis of the type of chain (*operator...variable*, instead of *clitic...constant*). This is uninformative regarding the crosslinguistic restriction. Besides, the empirical evidence related to the existence of referential null objects in Portuguese is not useful given that some languages (e.g. English and German) have Topicalisation but lack null objects:

- (45) a. This man, I saw yesterday.
 b.* I saw yesterday.

Second, dealing with Topicalisation versus CLLD in terms of the optional expression of D⁰, as in Raposo (1998), is indeed more promising, in view of the possible use of bare nouns in the base position of the topic, as in (46). Nevertheless, in order to account for the CLLD cases, the proposal becomes problematic in the derivation of the D-construction, because demonstrative and article cannot co-occur in the Portuguese DP, as in (47):

²⁷ Cf. Galves / Torres Morais / Ribeiro (2005) for a detailed review of different clitic placement proposals, focusing on Portuguese. Notice also that, if a syntactic-based account for clitics is adopted, TopicP should accept multiple specifiers, as it is the case with the Double Fce projection (DFceP) in Gupton (2014).

- (46) a. Piscina eu tenho.
 swimming.pool I have.1SG
 'I have a swimming pool.'
- b. Eu tenho piscina.
 I have.1SG swimming.pool
- (47) a. Essa piscina tenho-a.
 DEM.F swimming.pool have.1SG-3SG
 'This (swimming pool) I have it.'
- b.* Tenho -[a piscina essa].
 have.1SG -3SG swimming.pool DEM.F
 *'I have this (swimming pool).'

Therefore I adopt Duarte's (1987; 2003) proposal for Topicalisation in Portuguese, where the movement of the topic itself leaves a variable. Working in the Government and Binding framework, Duarte (1987) proposes that Topicalisation may move the relevant constituent to become an adjunct to IP. Working in the same line, I consider that the topic in Topicalisation is in fact an IP-scrambled constituent, moving to the outer specifier of IP in (48a), with a corresponding Portuguese example in (48b):

- (48) a. [_{ForceP} [_{FrameP} DP_i Frame⁰ [_{TopicP} [_{FocusP} [_{FinP} [_{IP} D-pronoun_i [_{IP} (subj) [verb]+clitic_i+[[⁰]]]]]]]]]]]]
 b. [_{FrameP} O João [_{IP} esse [_{IP} prendi no quarto]]]

This is compatible with Wiltschko's (1998) view of D-pronouns, which need to move because they are operators whose range is provided by the ellipted NP.

In fact, Barbosa (2001) has a similar view. According to her, a preverbal subject in Portuguese may be sandwiched between two fronted DPs, showing that Spec,IP may be an A' position (in this case, the subject is considered to be in an outer specifier of IP; cf. Barbosa 2001: 40):

- (49) Nem ao seu melhor amigo a Maria ALGUMA AJUDA ofereceu!
 Nor to.the her best friend the Maria some help offered
 'Some help, Maria did not offer not even to her best friend!'

As a second indirect evidence, I refer to Costa / Martins's (2009) work on the IP-scrambling of locatives in European Portuguese, which must be preceded by a proclisis trigger such as the complementiser *que* in (50a) below (Costa / Martins 2009: 229):

- (50) a. Ela diz que lá vai amanhã.
 she says that there goes tomorrow
 'She says that she will go there tomorrow.'
- b. Ela diz que amanhã lá vai.
 she says that tomorrow there goes

I leave an explanation for the different distribution between topics and locatives in IP for further research. I assume that the requisite reported in Costa / Martins (2009) is not typical of scrambling configurations. Be that as it may, IP-scrambled locatives provide independent evidence that IP-scrambling is available in Portuguese.

Thinking now more specifically on the consequences of IP-scrambling for the D-construction, a natural consequence of this proposal is that Topicalisation and CLLD should be distinct regarding an interaction with a focalised phrase, which seems to be correct (Portuguese examples adapted from Barbosa 2001: 40):

- (51) a. POUCO AFECTO, aos meus fillos, nunca (*lhes) darei!
 little affection to.the my children never 3SG.DAT give.FUT.1SG
 'I will never give little affection to my children.'
- b. Aos meus fillos, POUCO AFECTO nunca *(lhes) darei.
 to.the my children little affection never 3SG.DAT give.FUT.1SG

The examples above suggest that CLLD is possible if and only if the topic is connected to a topic above the focus phrase, as shown in (51b).

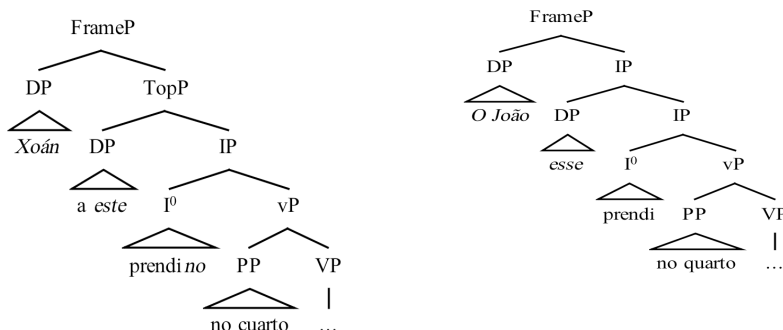
The unavailability of Topicalisation in Galician is thus a consequence of the fact that IP-scrambling is not available in this language, together with the fact that topics cannot move into the CP area; the only topic constituents are base-generated in the left periphery. This is a consequence of the phase theory model called "phase extension" (see den Dikken 2007; Gallego 2010). According to den Dikken, the position into which a phase head moves determines the limits of a syntactic phase. Therefore, since the verb moves to I⁰, Spec,IP becomes the phase edge, as in (52b):

- (52) a. [CP [IP {PhaseEdge [VP V+V [VP V]}]]]
 b. [CP {PhaseEdge [IP V+V+I [VP V+V [VP V]}]]]

Pesetsky (2007) considers that any movement triggered by I⁰ in (52b) counts as an A' movement, which is taken as a property of phasal heads. Considering that the subject has a [+topic] feature, by Relativized Minimality only a focus phrase can move over it into the phase edge, heading to the left periphery. This explains why in German CLD there is no resumptive pronoun in the main clause: the D-pronoun moves by Topicalisation inside the same phase, i.e., the CP.

These are the derivation outputs foreseen by this proposal for a minimal D-construction pair with Galician and Portuguese examples, the former with CLLD, and the latter with Topicalisation:

- (53) a. Xoán, a este prendino no cuarto. (Galician) b. O João, esse prendi no quarto. (Portuguese)



In pragmatic terms, Topicalisation is more common than CLLD in Portuguese (cf. Andrade 2015), which is reflected on a simpler phrase marker for the former, in the sense that there is no clitic.

6. FINAL REMARKS

This paper analysed what I have called the D-construction in Galician and (European) Portuguese, contradicting a previous analysis according to which the initial DP and D-pronoun form a single constituent, the latter being an appositive element with respect to the former. The D-construction was characterised as an instance of HTLD that is found in Germanic languages (HTLD I in Grohmann 2003). This identification is relevant because it keeps a minimal array of marked

syntactic constructions crosslinguistically, suggesting that they may be associated with some specific pragmatic functions (Birner / Ward 1998).

The D-construction seems to be more marked than HTLD II because it involves a previous step, connecting the D-pronoun to the main clause, by either (long distance) agreement or by movement (leaving a variable). This is compatible with the pragmatic function of this construction, which promotes a topic at the same time that it contrasts it to another discourse topic.

I have put forward a unified proposal to derive the D-construction in Galician and Portuguese, whenever there is a clitic in the main clause: the initial DP is base-generated in Spec, FrameP and the D-pronoun, in Spec, TopP; a clitic must appear in the main clause, and undergo agreement with the D-pronoun. On the other hand, in the Portuguese variant of the D-construction without a clitic, the D-pronoun undergoes movement to Spec, IP, being in fact similar to a case of Topicalisation.

Many points could not be properly handled in this first presentation of the construction. Some immediate questions for a synchronic analysis are, among others²⁸:

- i. why is it that the use of the D-construction is so much limited among Romance languages, whereas its corresponding construction (HTLD I) is found in almost all Germanic languages?
- ii. how is it possible to properly account for the contrastive feature that seems to be natural to D-pronouns?

Although there are still many questions, with the present study I hope to have provided some convincing preliminary elements for an analysis of the D-construction as a marked syntactic construction in its own terms.

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²⁸ A reviewer has suggested that the double-subject construction of Neapolitan (cf. Ledgeway 2010) is similar to the D-construction. I doubt it, in view of: its restriction to subjects; the fact that the demonstrative usually occurs before the DP; the fact that the DP may occur separated from the demonstrative, in a lower position; the use of a distal demonstrative, as shown in (i):

(i) Chella_i s'è rotta [DP 'a fibbia].
that-one.F self=IS broken the.F buckle.F
'The buckle has broken.'

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