

Spanish Clitic Left Dislocation as a Non-quantificational A'-movement*

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This paper argues that the Spanish Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) must be analyzed as a movement account, not as a base-generation one. Specifically, this study provides a novel analysis of the Spanish CLLD constructions by means of combining two explicit derivational steps: A-movement and A'-movement that take place successively throughout different phasal domains (ν P and CP). In the first step, A-movement is realized, and as a result of [+Case] and [+Specific/+Presuppositional] features checking between the DP constituent and the light verb ν , a reduplicated clitic is spelled-out. In the second step, the dislocated constituent, which is not a quantifier but a referential DP, moves up to the left periphery to check its [+Contrastive Topic] feature with the TopP. Our analysis gives a plausible explication of the issues involved in the Spanish CLLD, such as clitic reduplication, weak crossover effect, parasitic gap, syntactic island, etc., drawing on well-justified arguments. It is claimed that the CLLD is different from the typical A'-movement construction such as the Wh-question or the contrastive focus fronting, since the CLLD is not a quantificational movement that enters into the operator-variable configuration. Instead, CLLD in Spanish involves displacement of a referential DP to the left periphery of the sentence through its reduplicated pronominal clitic, characterizing this derivation as a non-quantificational A'-movement.

Keywords: left dislocation, focalization, reduplicated clitics, quantification, A'-movement, Spanish

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1. Introduction: Discussion Topics

The purpose of this study is to analyze the syntactic and semantic nature of the Spanish Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) within the framework of the generative grammar, as shown in the example (1). For that, we will focus on the informational aspects of speech by comparing the CLLD with other constructions such as the Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD) presented in (2), argumental clitic construction in (3), and focalization in (4).

(1) Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)

El boli lo dejé sobre la mesa.
 The pen CL.acc left on the table
 'The pen, I left on the table.'

(2) Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD)

Lo dejé sobre la mesa, el boli.
 CL.acc left on the table, the pen
 'I left it on the table, the pen.'

(3) Argumental Clitic Construction

Lo dejé sobre la mesa.
 CL.acc left on the table
 'I left it on the table.'

(4) Focalization (Focus Fronting: FF)

El BOLI dejé sobre la mesa.
 The pen left on the table.
 'THE PEN, I left on the table.'

Moreover, we will also pay attention to the syntactic nature of the clitic that is reduplicated to the left by the dislocated constituent. Our research question is as follows: is the reduplicated clitic in CLLD (cf. (1)) the same one as the argumental clitic (cf. (3))?¹⁾

2. The A'-movement

2.1. Types of A'-movement

First, we will show the different types of the A'-movement to compare the CLLD with other constructions:

(5) Clitic Left Dislocation

Estos tomates_i los compró María t_i en el mercado.
 these tomatoes CL.acc bought Mary in the market
 'These tomatoes, Mary bought (them) in the market.'

(6) Interrogative Phrase

¿A quién_i conoció María t_i en el bar?
 Acc whom knew Mary in the bar
 'Who did Mary meet in the bar?'

(7) Relative Pronoun (López, 2013: 71)

Ese es el hombre [a quien_i María prestó cien euros t_i]
 this is the man Acc whom Mary lent 100 euros
 'This is the man who Mary lent 100 euros to.'

(8) Focalization (López, 2013: 71)

¡EL QUIJOTE_i os dije que leyerais t_i! (... , no el Buscón)
 El Quijote CL.dat said that should-read not el Buscón
 'El QUIJOTE, I said that you should read! (... , not el Buscón).'

(9) Exclamative Phrase (López, 2013: 71)

¡Qué rápido_i corre el atleta keniata t_i!
 how quickly run the athlete Kenyan
 'How quickly the Kenyan athlete runs!'

1) In section 6 and 7, we will argue that the clitic of the CLLD in (1) is not the same as the argumental clitic of (3). We will assume that the clitic in example (3) is an argumental one, moved as CL^{min/max} (e.g., cliticization), while the clitic that reduplicates the dislocated DP to the left in (1), is not. Rather, it is a Spell-Out of the phi-features checking (Agree) between the ν and the object DP (as a result of the A-movement of the DP constituent) in its path towards the A'-movement to the left periphery.

- (13) **Las carpetas_i fueron archivadas t_i sin leer [e]_i.* (A-Movement)
 the folders were filed without reading
 'The folders were filed without being read.'

(López, 2013: 74-75)

Third, the A'-movement provokes Weak Crossover violation. This occurs when the displaced element crosses over a coindexed pronoun, as in (14b) and (15).²⁾ In contrast, the A-movement does not show this effect, allowing the crossover to happen as shown in (16):

- (14) a. *¿Quién_i t_i ama a su_i madre?*
 who loves his mother
 'Who loves his mother?'
 b. **¿A quién_i ama su_i madre t_i?*
 Acc whom loves his mother
 'Who does his mother love?'
- (15) a. **¿A cuántos chicos_i quiere su_i madre t_i!*
 Acc how many boys want their mother
 b. **¿A LOS CHICOS_i quiere su_i madre t_i!*
 Acc the boys want their mother

- (16) *Cada bebé_i le parece a su_i madre [t_i el más guapo].* (A-Movement)
 each baby CL.dat seems to his mother the most handsome
 'Each baby seems to his mother the most handsome.'

(López, 2013: 75)

2) As we can see in the example (ib), the constituent that c-commands the trace is *su madre*, not the possessive *su*. The example (ii) is a typical Weak Crossover configurational structure:

- (i) a. *¿Quién_i t_i ama a su_i madre?*
 Who loves his mother
 b. **¿A quién_i ama su_i madre t_i?*
 Acc whom loves his mother
 (ii) *Wh-Phrase_i ... [pron_i ...] ... t_i ...

The Weak Crossover is also applied at the Logical Form, as shown in (iii): (Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2008: 583)

- (iii) ??*Su_i madre ama a todo estudiante_i.*
 his mother loves Acc all students
 [Todo estudiante_i [su_i madre ama t_i]] (LF)

Fourth, the A'-movement shows subject-verb inversion, as seen in (17) and (18):

- (17) a. *¿Qué_i quieren esos dos t_i?* (Wh-Question)
 what want these two
 'What do these two want?'
 b. **¿Qué_i esos dos querían t_i?*
 what these two wanted
- (18) a. *ESE CAPÍTULO_i leyó por completo Josefina t_i.* (Contrastive Focus)
 that chapter read by complete Josefina
 THAT CHAPTER, Josefina read completely.
 b. **ESE CAPÍTULO_i Josefina leyó por completo t_i.*

Fifth, in A'-movement, there can only be one constituent XP in [Spec, CP]. In this case, the co-occurrence of a Wh-phrase with a focalized constituent is not possible in peripheral position, as shown in (19) and (20):

- (19) a. **¿Cuándo qué compró Juan?*
 when what bought Juan
 b. **AYER los TOMATES compró Juan.*
 yesterday the tomatoes bought Juan
- (20) a. **¿Cuándo las MANZANAS compraron?*
 when the apples bought
 b. **¿Las MANZANAS cuándo compraron?*
 the apples when bought

3. Hybrid Characteristics of the Clitic Left Dislocation

In this section, we will discuss the hybrid characteristics of the CLLD focusing on the movement and non-movement properties. We will begin with the latter ones. (In the subsection 3.3, we will briefly provide some properties of hanging topic which sharply contrast from those of CLLD.)

3.1. Non-movement Properties

(Insensitivity to the Weak Islands of CLLD)

The CLLD shows properties of non-movement because it does not require the typical characteristics of the A'-movement that we mentioned

in the previous section. First, as shown in the examples of (21) taken from Zagona (2002: 226), the subject-verb inversion is not obligatory in CLLD:

- (21) a. *Esos zapatos_i, Susana los compró t_i.* (XP, S CL-V)
 those shoes, Susana CL.acc bought
 'Those shoes, Susana bought them.'
 b. *Esos zapatos_i, los compró t_i Susana.* (XP, CL-V S)

Second, the CLLD does not show Weak Crossover Effect, therefore, the CLLD can move over a coindexed pronoun, as in (22):

- (22) a. *A Carlos_i, su_i madre lo quiere mucho t_i.*
 Acc Carlos his mother CL.acc loves a lot
 'Carlos, his mother loves (him) a lot.' (López, 2009: 227)
 b. *A María_i no la deja salir su_i padre t_i.*
 Acc Mary not CL.acc lets go out her father
 'Mary, her father does not let (her) go out.' (Escobar, 1997: 264)

Third, the CLLD does not license parasitic gaps (cf. Cinque, 1990). As we can see from the example (23a), the trace of the CLLD does not permit the parasitic gap '[e]':

- (23) a. **A una candidata_i, el jefe la descartó t_i sin entrevistar [e].*
 Acc one candidate the boss CL.acc scrapped without interviewing
 b. *A una candidata_i, el jefe la descartó t_i sin entrevistarla.*
 'One candidate, the boss scrapped her without interviewing her.'
 (Suñer, 2006: 137)

Fourth, there can be multiple CLLD in the peripheral position of the sentence, as seen in (24):

- (24) *A mi hermana_i, este reloj_i, mis padres se lo compraron t_i t_j en el aeropuerto.*
 to my sister this watch my parents CL.dat CL.acc bought in the airport
 'To my sister, this watch, my parents bought in the airport.'

3.2. Movement Properties (Sensitivity to Strong Islands of CLLD)

Until now, we have considered the syntactic properties of the CLLD where the left dislocation has not been realized by the A'-movement. Nevertheless, the following data from Zubizarreta (1994: 193) provides evidence that the CLLD does have movement properties since they are sensitive to the corresponding strong island, such as the complex NP island in (25), the adjunct island in (26), and the sentential subject island in (27):

- (25) *A *Carlos*_i, Pedro conoce [a la persona [que lo visitó *t*_i]].
 Acc Carlos Pedro knows Acc the person that CL visited
- (26) *A *María*_i, Juan se marchó [antes de que Pedro la hiciera entrar *t*_i].
 Acc Mary John went-away before that Pedro CL made.SUBJ. enter
- (27) *A *María*_i, [el que Juan la haya saludado *t*_i] no significa nada.
 Acc Mary the (fact) that John CL have greeted not means nothing

3.3. Hanging Topic: Base-generation

The following hanging topic examples (28), (29), and (30) differ from those of CLLD because the hanging topic constituents are not sensitive to the strong islands constraint. Hence, the hanging topic can be considered as a base-generated construction without movement:

- (28) (En cuanto a) *Carlos*, te hablaré solo de [la persona que *lo* odia].
 'As for Carlos, I will talk to you only about the person that hates him.'
 [Complex NP Constraint]
- (29) (En cuanto a) *Carlos*, María se marchó [antes de que (*él*) llegara].
 'As for Carlos, Mary left before he arrived.'
 [Adjunct Constraint]
- (30) a. (En cuanto a) *Carlos*, [el que María *lo* haya saludado] no significa nada.
 'As for Carlos, the fact that María greeted him does not mean anything.'
 b. (En cuanto a) el Sr. Gonzales, [que María *lo* haya invitado] sorprendió a todo el mundo. [Sentential Subject Constraint]
 'As for Mr. Gonzales, that María invited him surprised everyone.'
 (Zubizarreta, 1998: 188)

So far, we have seen that the CLLD has hybrid syntactic characteristics since it shows properties of movement (e.g. sensitivity to strong islands) and non-movement properties (e.g. insensitivity to weak islands) simultaneously. Hence, there has been a lot of debate among generative grammar linguists. In the following section, we will discuss some of the previous literature about the CLLD.

4. Previous Studies about CLLD

- 4.1. Non-movement CLLD Analysis (Base-generation): Hernanz & Brucart (1987), Cinque (1990), Contreras (1991), Anagnostopoulou (1997), Zagona (2002), Suñer (2006)

Some of the linguists who have evaluated CLLD as base-generation are: Hernanz & Brucart (1987), Cinque (1990), Contreras (1991), Anagnostopoulou (1997),³⁾ Zagona (2002), Suñer (2006), etc. Cinque (1990), for example, assumes that the left dislocated constituent is generated from the base (external merge) without contemplating any type of null operators. The dislocated element is connected with the clitic through the binding chain, which is subject to a condition on representation rather than one on movement, as shown in (31):

$$(31) \left[{}_{CP} \text{ CLLD}_i \text{ (base-generated)} \left[{}_{IP} \text{ clitic}_i \text{ V --- } t_i \right] \right]$$



Binding Chain

This base-generation analysis on CLLD has an another apparent advantage: it allows to analyze the reduplicated clitic with fewer problems. That is, the reduplicated clitic can be treated as an argumental clitic moved from the argumental position. On the other hand, the insensitivity to

3) Anagnostopoulou (1997) assumed that what licenses CLLD in languages like Italian and Greek is predication and the clitic head a predicate variable chain, claiming that CLLD involves an adjoined left dislocated phrase associated with an operator-variable (clitic) chain. That is, the detached XP in CLLD, as the subject of predication in the sense of Williams (1980), is a base-generated adjunct in its surface position.

the weak islands can be explained because this analysis assumes that the dislocated constituent has not moved, but rather, that it has been base-generated.

However, at the same time, there are some problems. First, the sensitivity to the strong islands is not explained. We have seen that the CLLD is not the same as the hanging topic regarding movement properties.

Second, the A'-movement constructions (Wh-Question) with the clitics show the same syntactic effects as the CLLD.⁴⁾ According to Cecchetto (2000: 15), Wh-phrases with duplicated clitics in Rioplatense Spanish are insensitive to the Weak Crossover effect:

- (32) ¿[A cuáles de ellos]_i no *(los) aguanta ni su_i madre t_i?
 Acc which of them not CL.acc stand even their mother
 'Which of them are not endured even by their own mothers?'

Hence, the insensitivity of the CLLD to Weak Crossover Effect cannot be considered as base-generation evidence since the Wh-phrase movement with duplicated clitic does not show this effect either. As shown in example (32), the presence of the duplicated clitic in the A'-movement construction is the key to avoid Weak Crossover Effects.⁵⁾

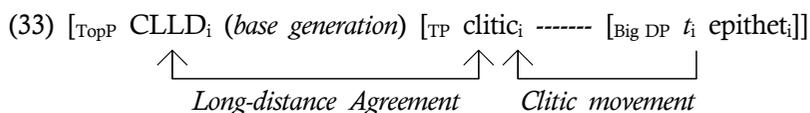
Third, if the dislocated constituent is base-generated from the left periph-

4) In addition, the fact that the CLLD does not license parasitic gaps cannot be considered as the crucial evidence in favor of non-movement (base generation). According to López (2009: 225-226), some Wh-phrases, like CLLD, do not legitimize parasitic gaps, as shown in the example (i), while other CLLD does permit parasitic gaps as a typical A'-movement construction, as shown in (ii):

- (i) a. *¿A quién has buscado durante meses sin encontrar e? (Wh-Question)
 Acc whom have looked for during months without finding
 b. *A Juan lo he buscado durante meses sin encontrar e. (CLLD)
 Acc Juan CL.acc have looked for for months without finding
 (ii) a. Los libros los he guardado sin leer. (CLLD)
 The books CL.acc has put-away without read
 'The books I put away without reading.'
 b. ¿Qué has guardado sin leer? (Wh-Question)
 'What did you put away without reading?'

5) As previously mentioned in footnote 1, we consider the presence of the duplicated clitic in CLLD (also in Wh-Question in (32)) as an evidence for A-movement in its path towards the derivation of the A'-movement. Therefore, these constructions do not show Weak Crossover Effect because of their first A-movement step. We will discuss this in detail in section 6 and 7.

ery, the following question arises: how can the connectivity between the dislocated and duplicated clitic be explained? The Binding Chain, as an interpretive representational condition, is not enough to explain this connection because the concept is vague and abstract. In the line of base-generation analysis, Suñer (2006) assumes that the connectivity effects can be explained with long-distance agreement between the clitic and CLLD in TopP, without resorting to an explicit movement of left dislocated constituent. This is shown in the example (33):



However, Suñer's analysis also has the following problems. First, is it possible to apply the feature checking mechanism, *Agree*, to the CLLD? This doubt arises, for we do not consider the dislocated constituent as a functional head that checks the uninterpretable feature through *Agree*. If we consider the clitic as a probe, this does not c-command the goal, which is the dislocated DP, so we cannot apply the *Agree* mechanism to CLLD. Second, Suñer's account that long distance agreement between the dislocated constituent and the clitic can explain the CLLD's strong island sensitivity remains unclear. Consequently, for the reasons mentioned above, this paper will not accept the analysis that the CLLD is derived by base-generation (non-movement).

4.2. CLLD Analysis as Movement: Cinque (1977), Dobrovie-Sorin (1990), Kayne (1994), Escobar (1997), Villalba (2000), López (2003, 2009) and Lee (1996, 2006, 2008)

In the generative grammar literature, authors such as Cinque (1977), Dobrovie-Sorin (1990), Kayne (1994), Villalba (2000), López (2003, 2009), and Lee (1996, 2006, 2008) have proposed that the CLLD is a product of movement, as seen in (34):

$$(34) [DP_i [\text{clitic}_i \text{ --- } t_i]]$$

The advantage of this analysis is that the sensitivity to the strong islands of CLLD can be properly explained. Nonetheless, this proposal has also its disadvantages. First, if the dislocated constituent moves from the base position to the left peripheral of the sentence, how can we analyze the non-movement properties (e.g. A'-movement's insensitivity to the weak islands)? Yet, as we have discussed in the previous section, the insensitivity of Weak Crossover Effect of the CLLD by itself cannot be enough evidence in favor of the base-generation, because in a construction with Wh-movement with the presence of a duplicated clitic, the Weak Cross Effect does not show either. Thus, in this study, we will approach the CLLD as a movement analysis.

To explain the CLLD as a movement result, we still have to answer the following question: How can the appearance of the duplicated clitics in CLLD be explained? To solve this clitic duplication problem in constructions such as clitic doubling and CLLD, many linguists following Uriagekera (1995) have assumed the analysis of the Big DP where the double DP as well as the clitic are generated in the same phrase.⁶⁾

$$(35) [_{\text{Big DP}} \text{Double} [D' [D \text{ clitic}] \text{ pro}]]$$

Nevertheless, in the present study, we will not consider the Big DP analysis because it seems to be an *ad hoc* stipulation within the theoretical framework. However, one seeming advantage of the Big DP analysis is that it can account for the dative clitic doubling constructions (without dislocation) where the dative clitic appears with the double DP indirect object *in situ*, such as the sentence *Le pedí permiso al profesor* 'I asked (him) permission to the professor'. Nevertheless, in standard Spanish, accusative clitic doubling constructions (without dislocation) are not common, nor productive (**Juan la vio a María* 'John saw (her) Mary' or **Mi hermano las compró las manzanas en el mercado* 'My sister bought (them)

6) Besides the Big DP analysis, a more popular one to solve clitic reduplication is considering clitics as the head of a functional category, like Agr-O. These analyses treat all the clitics in the same manner, independent of the presence of double DP. That is, they analyze all clitics as functional heads in order to encompass the clitic duplication constructions as well.

the apples in the market'). Only Rioplatense Spanish permits them if and only if the sentence complies with the specificity and animacy condition.

Second, the Big DP hypothesis analyzes the clitics in a uniform way without considering their different semantic and pragmatic properties depending on the type of construction with clitics. As we can see from the examples below (in the next section, we will treat them in detail), the clitics have different semantic and pragmatic features according to the discourse context. First, in standard Spanish, as well as in Rioplatense Spanish, it is natural to replace the already mentioned direct object DP (the given information) with an atonic pronoun (clitic) whenever answering a question (cf. (36B)), without generating clitic doubling constructions (cf. (36B')):

- (36) A: ¿Quién odia a María?
 whom hates Acc Mary
 'Who hates Mary?'
 B: La odia Juan.
 CL.acc hates John
 'John hates her.'
 B': *La odia a María Juan.
 CL.acc hates Acc.Mary John

The clitic doubling constructions in Rioplatense Spanish (cf. (37B')) occurs only when the double DP (direct object) is a new information, as we can observe from the following dialogue.

- (37) A: ¿A quién odia Juan?
 Acc whom hates John
 'Who does John hate?'
 B: Odia a María. (Standard Spanish)
 hates Acc Mary
 'He hates Mary.'
 B': La odia a María. (Rioplatense Spanish)
 CL.acc hates Acc Mary
 'He hates (her) Mary.'

On the other hand, as far as the CLLD is concerned, the clitic in left dislocated constructions appears in contrastive contexts, with the pre-suppositional and specific feature (e.g. referential DPs, already mentioned objects from the previous question):⁷⁾

- (38) A: ¿Qué te pasó con estas chicas?
 what CL.dat happened with these girls
 ‘What happened to you with these girls?’
 B: A María la aprobé, pero a Carmen la suspendí.
 Acc Mary CL.acc approved, but Acc Carmen CL.acc failed
 ‘Mary, I approved her, but Carmen, I failed her.’
 (CLLD: [+Contrastive/+Presuppositional/+Specific])

From the previous dialogues, we can notice that not all clitics belong to the same semantic and pragmatic nature. Therefore, we do not accept the Big DP hypothesis that analyzes all clitics in a uniform way without considering their different pragmatic and semantic properties depending on the discourse contexts.

In this study, we consider that the clitic in CLLD is a result of the Spell-Out of the phi-feature checking (Agree) between the light verb ν and the object DP (as a consequence of A-movement of the DP constituent) in its path to A'-movement to the sentence periphery (we will discuss the specific CLLD derivations in section 7). In the following sections, though the CLLD and the focalization are derived from the same A'-movement, we will argue that the fundamental syntactic difference between the CLLD and the focalization (e.g. contrast in Weak Crossover Effect) resides in the presence of reduplicated clitics: clitic left dislocation does require the presence of clitics, while focalization does not.

7) Following Zubizarreta (1994) and Escobar (1997), we assume that the topics in CLLD are constrained by a ‘specificity condition’. It is argued that next to the definite ones, only specific indefinites can function as topics in CLLD. Thus, the example in (i) is well-formed, but (ii) is not. The specificity of (i) is indicated by the indicative mood in the relative clause, while the non-specificity of (ii) is shown by the subjunctive mood:

- (i) A una secretaria que sabe hablar inglés, Pedro la está buscando
 Acc a secretary that speaks(ind) English, Pedro CL.acc is looking for
 (ii) *A una secretaria que sepa hablar inglés, Pedro la está buscando.
 Acc a secretary that speaks(subj) English, Pedro CL.acc is looking for
 (Escobar, 1997: 235)

5. Different Semantic and Pragmatic Interpretations of the Clitic Constructions

In this section, following the idea of López (2003, 2009) from the Catalan examples, we will introduce different semantic and pragmatic interpretations regarding the Spanish clitic constructions to distinguish CLLD from other A'-movement construction.

5.1. Left Dislocation (CLLD): [+Presuppositional], [+Contrastive]

First, consider the following contexts that require CLLD as an answer:

- (39) [Context: ¿Qué hiciste con *estos muebles?*]

What did you do with this furniture?

Estas mesas las traje por la mañana, pero aquellas sillas las traje por la noche.
 these tables CL brought in the morning, but those chairs CL brought in the evening
 'These tables I brought in the morning, but those chairs I brought in the evening'

- (40) [Context: ¿Qué hiciste con *estas novelas?*]

What did you do with these novels?

El Quijote lo leí, pero La Celestina no la he leído todavía.
 El Quijote CL read, but La Celestina not CL have read yet
 'El Quijote I read, but La Celestina I have not read yet.'

As we can observe from the examples (39) and (40), when a constituent is dislocated to the left, the CLLD carries a contrastive feature, opening a [+Presuppositional/+Specific] given set of alternatives. Consequently, we assume that the element dislocated to the left has the [+Presuppositional/+Specific] and [+Contrastive] features.⁸⁾

- 8) There are some cases where the left dislocated element does not necessarily carry a contrastive feature. In literature, three topic types are distinguished: the aboutness-shift topic, the contrastive topic, and the familiarity topic. For example, in the following text, taken from the newspaper *El País* from Colombia (7-22-1997; consult CREA), the underlined phrase is a familiarity topic that marks the continuity of the discourse topic.
- (i) El pasado 25 de noviembre fue dejado en libertad luego de permanecer 330 días detenido en la cárcel de Villahermosa. Al músico lo investigaban por enriquecimiento ilícito y testaferrato.
 'He was released on November 25 after spending 330 days in Villahermosa jail. The musician was being investigated for illicit enrichment and straw purchase.'

In this study, on the basis of the discourse context, we will focus only on the contrastive topics.

5.2. Argumental Clitic Construction: [+Presuppositional], [-Contrastive]

Now, consider the following discourse contexts:

- (41) [Context: ¿Qué hiciste con *el boli*?]
 What did you do with the pen?
 a. *Lo* dejó sobre la mesa. (Argumental Clitic Construction)
 CL.acc left on the table
 ‘I left it on the table.’
 b. #*El boli lo* dejó sobre la mesa. (CLLD)
 ‘The pen, I left on the table.’
- (42) [Context: ¿Quién leyó *esta novela*?]
 Who read this novel?
 a. *La* leyó Juan. (Argumental Clitic Construction)
 CL.acc read John
 ‘John read it.’
 b. #*Esta novela la* leyó Juan. (CLLD)
 this novel CL.acc read John
 ‘This novel, John read.’

The examples (41) and (42) show that in Spanish, the unmarked order of words is not ‘old information’ (Theme/Topic) plus ‘new information’ (Rheme/Focus) (cf. Contreras, 1983), but rather, only the new information is described without repeating the already mentioned phrases. These given phrases are substituted by pronominal clitics. Therefore, CLLD is not pragmatically adequate in these contexts since the dislocated element requires a contrastive feature.⁹⁾

9) According to J. M. Brucart (personal communication), in the context ¿*Dónde has comprado esta novela*? (‘Where have you bought this novel?’) the most natural response is when the DP is not repeated, *La compré en la librería de la universidad* (‘I bought it at the university bookstore.’). The answer without DP dislocation is more natural since in the question it is already indicated that the answer should limit to *the novel* mentioned in the context. If the question was ¿*Dónde has comprado estas novelas*? (‘Where have you bought these novels?’), the response could include CLLD when the speaker wants to show different shopping places for each one of the novels: *Esta la compré en la librería de la universidad y esta otra en una librería de Madrid* (‘This one I bought

5.3. Clitic Right Dislocation (CLRD): [+Presuppositional], [-Contrastive]

Here, we will discuss briefly the Clitic Right Dislocation:

- (43) [Context: ¿Qué hiciste con *los muebles?*]

What did you do with the furniture?

#*Las* traje por la mañana, *las mesas*, pero *las* traje por la noche, *las sillas*. (CLRD)

CL brought in the morning, the tables, but CL brought in the evening, the chairs

'I brought the tables in the morning, but I brought the chairs in the evening'

- (44) [Context: ¿Qué hiciste con *el boli?*]

What did you do with the pen?

Lo dejé sobre la mesa, *el boli*. (CLRD)

CL left on the table, the pen

'I left the pen on the table.'

As we can see from the example (43), the right dislocated constituent is not pragmatically adequate in a contrastive context. The CLRD, as shown in (44), is naturally used when there is an identity relation between the clitic and the antecedent, while the CLLD is used when the antecedent refers to a given set and extracts a member from it for the purpose of giving contrast between them. Thus, the main difference between the CLLD and CLRD is that the latter (CLRD) is not made from a given set of alternatives. In consequence, the right dislocated constituent has the [+Presuppositional] but [-Contrastive] features.

5.4. Focalization: [+Contrastive], [-Presuppositional]

And finally, consider the context where focalization (Focus Fronting) is required:

- (45) [Context: Pedro leyó el *Buscón* y *La Celestina*.]

'Pedro read el *Buscón* and *La Celestina*.'

No. ¡*EL QUIJOTE* leyó Pedro! (... no el *Buscón*, ni *La Celestina*...)

'No. *EL QUIJOTE*, Pedro read! (... not el *Buscón*, nor *La Celestina*...)

it in the college bookstore, but that one in the bookstore of Madrid'). Therefore, the CLLD would be added if and only if the speaker wished to express contrast with other novels (as a contrastive topic).

As shown in (45), the focalization construction is derived by preposing the focus constituent [new information] in order to give contrast with other elements within the open set of alternatives. The difference between CLLD and Focus Fronting is that in the former (CLLD), the set of alternatives is given, while in the latter (FF: Contrastive Focus), the set of alternatives is open. Therefore, we can assume that the focalized element has the [+Contrastive] but [-Presuppositional] features.

6. The Syntactic Nature of CLLD

6.1. Two types of A'-movement: Quantification vs. Non-quantification

In the previous section, we discussed the different semantic and pragmatic interpretations that exist in various constructions, such as the CLLD and focalization. We suppose that these two constructions can be accounted for assuming two types of A'-movement: one with quantification and the other one without quantification.

In the first place, the Wh-phrases and focalization with the [-Presuppositional] feature are derived from A'-movement with quantification. The Wh-phrase (cf. (46)) and the contrastive focus (cf. (47)), as quantifiers, move to the left periphery of the sentence [Spec, CP], forcing to consider an open set of alternatives. As we can see from the Logical Form of the examples of (46) and (47), the quantifier (e.g. Wh-phrase and Focalized constituent) works as an operator that has scope throughout the sentences and binds the variable as non-argument:

- (46) a. *¿Qué novela leyó Juan?*
 'What novel did John read?
 For which x , x is a novel, John read x . [LF]
- b. *¿Quién me dijiste que te lo había dicho?*
 'Who did you say that had told you that?'
 For which x , x is a person, you said to me that x has told you that. [LF]

- (47) [Context: Pedro leyó el *Buscón* y *La Celestina*.]
 'Pedro read el *Buscón* and *La Celestina*.'
 No. *EL QUIJOTE* leyó Pedro! (... no el *Buscón*, ni *La Celestina*...)
 'No. *EL QUIJOTE*, Pedro read! (... not el *Buscón*, nor *La Celestina*...)'
 For which x , x is a novel, Pedro read x . [LF]

The contrastive focus in (47) evokes a [-Presuppositional] open set of alternatives 'Pedro read *x*' that can be substituted by a [+Contrastive] focalized constituent: {Pedro read *El Quijote*, Pedro read el *Buscón*, Pedro read *La Celestina...*}.

In the second place, the CLLD, with the [+Presuppositional]/+Specific and [+Contrastive] features, is derived by an A'-movement without quantification, as we can see from the Logical Form of (48):

- (48) [Context: ¿Qué hiciste con *estas novelas*?]
 'What did you do with these novels?'
El Quijote, lo leí. (... pero el *Buscón* no lo he leído.)
 'El Quijote, I read. (... but el *Buscón* I have not read)'
 [_{DP} for which *x*, *x* is *El Quijote* (not el *Buscón*)] I read it. [LF]

The CLLD does not constitute an operator-variable configuration. The dislocated constituent does not work as a quantifier that binds its variable; rather, it functions as a dislocated referential DP that binds its duplicated clitic pronoun. The dislocated constituent moves to the left periphery and forces to consider the [+Presuppositional] given set of alternatives, along with the [+Contrastive] pragmatic feature. Therefore, in the CLLD, the dislocated element always relates with the pronoun because of its presuppositional feature in the discourse. So, in the CLLD, the presence of a duplicated clitic pronoun is obligatory, while in focalization, the clitic is not necessary.

6.2. Empirical Evidence of Two Types of A'-Movement:

Two Types of Wh-phrases in Romanian (Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990)

In Dobrovie-Sorin (1990), we can find empirical evidence in favor of two types of A'-movement. In Romanian, there are two types of Wh-phrases, one works as a quantifier and the other one as a non-quantifier.

In the first place, we will consider the Wh-phrase as quantifier (bare quantifier). The Wh-phrase *cine* 'whom' of example (49), being a quantifier, binds its variable as an operator that has the whole sentence as its scope:

- (49) Pe cine_i ai vāzut e_i?
pe whom_i have (you) seen e_i
 For which x , x is a human, you saw x . [LF]
 (Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990: 360)

On the other hand, consider the Romanian Wh-phrase as a non-bare quantifier. As we can see from its Logical Form of example (50), in contrast of *cine*, *care* ‘which’ works as an adjective inside the noun phrase. Thus, the scope of *care* in (50) is limited to the NP, and this entire phrase binds the coindexed pronoun. It is not possible for *care* to have an interpretation as an operator (quantifier) that binds its variable. The obligatory presence of the accusative clitic indicates that the Romanian *care* does not work as a syntactic quantifier that has the whole sentence as its scope:

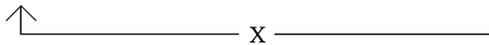
- (50) a. Pe care baiat l-ai vāzut?
pe which boy him-have (you) seen
 [NP_i for which x , x is a boy] you saw him_i. [LF]
 b. Pe care l-ai vāzut?
pe which (one) him-have (you) seen
 [NP_i for which x , x is e] you saw him_i. [LF]
 (Dobrovie-Sorin, 1990: 360-361)

6.3. CLLD as A'-movement without quantification

The hybrid characteristics of CLLD between the properties of movement and non-movement that we discussed in section 3 can be explained by the supposition that the CLLD is derived through A'-movement without quantification.

In the first place, the CLLD as an A'-movement can explain the sensitivity to the strong islands. As we can see from the example (51), a constituent cannot be dislocated to the left, infringing a movement constraint.

- (51) *A Carlos_i, Pedro conoce [a la persona [que lo_i visitó t_i]]. (CNPC)



‘Carlos, Pedro knows the person who visited him.’

In the second place, the analysis of CLLD as a non-quantificational A'-movement can explain the insensitivity to the weak islands of this construction, if we follow the idea of Lasnik & Stowell (1991) and Rizzi (1997), where they describe that only the quantificational derivation is subject to the weak island constraint. According to these authors, the adjunct sentences of (52) do not show weak island effects (e.g. Weak Crossover) since they are not a quantificational structure. These sentences do not have a quantificational operator within the adjunct sentence, so the trace *e* is not a real variable:

- (52) a. Who_i t_i will be easy for us [to get [his_i mother] to talk to e_i].
 (*Tough Construction*)
 b. Who_i did you stay with t_i [before [his_i wife] had spoken to e_i].
 (*Parasitic Gap*)

(Lasnik & Stowell, 1991: 691)

As we can see from the examples of (53) and (54), taken from Suñer (2006: 137), the CLLD does not show Weak Crossover effect, nor license parasitic gaps, which strongly supports the idea that the CLLD does not constitute a real quantification:¹⁰

- (53) A Teresa_i, su_i madre la_i quiere mucho t_i.
 Acc Teresa her mother CL.acc loves a lot
 ‘Teresa, her mother loves her a lot.’
- (54) A una candidata_i, el jefe la_i descartó t_i sin entrevistar*(la).
 Acc one candidate, the boss CL.acc scrapped without interviewing*(her)
 ‘One candidate, the boss scrapped her without interviewing her.’

10) In Shim (2014), it is argued that CLLD is insensitive to the WCO effect since, in the CLLD derivation, there is a null operator movement which is different from the Wh-operator or the quantifier movement.

In consequence, the insensitivity to the weak islands of CLLD can be explained with the idea that the trace of CLLD is not a real variable bound by the quantificational operator. In other words, only the traces produced by the quantification movement function as a real variable, being subject to weak islands, such as the Weak Crossover effect. Moreover, in (54), the trace in CLLD does not license the parasitic gap because it is not a real variable bound by the quantificational operator.

By the way, as discussed in Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach (2008), our consideration of CLLD not being a real quantification is related to the specificity feature of this construction. These authors consider that the presence of the reduplicated clitics in the A'-movement constructions plays a crucial role in the elimination of Weak Crossover effect, taking into consideration the following Rioplatense Spanish examples of Suñer (1988):

- (55) a. ¿A cuál de ellos lo vio su madre?
 Acc which of them CL.acc saw his mother
 'Which one of them did his mother see?'
 b. *¿A quién lo vio su madre?
 Acc who CL.acc saw his mother
 'Whom did his mother see?'
- (56) a. Su madre lo ama a cada uno de los estudiantes.
 his mother CL.acc loves Acc each one of the students
 'His mother loves each one of the students.'
 b. ?Su madre lo ama a cada estudiante.
 His mother CL.acc loves Acc each student

(Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2008: 586)

In (55), the Wh-word *cuál* 'which' forces the specific interpretation, and in the example (56), the partitive phrase *cada uno de los estudiantes* 'each one of the students' is more specific than *cada estudiante* 'each student'. Therefore, we can see that the nonspecific feature of the Wh-pronoun *quién* 'who' in the example (55b) makes it incompatible with the reduplicated clitic *lo*. Hence, the appearance of the clitic in (55a) and (56a), as a Spell-Out of the [+Specificity] feature checking, can be considered as a crucial factor in the elimination of the Weak Crossover effects. We consider that the specificity feature checking of the dislocated phrase,

to the left periphery of the sentence, [Spec, CP (or TopP)], thus showing strong islands sensitivity. This derivation is an A'-movement motivated to check the [+Contrastive] feature of the dislocated constituent (within the given set of alternatives in the discourse) and it is not related to the operator-variable configuration such as Wh-question or Focus Fronting, since the CLLD does not have a semantic interpretation of quantification. So, the CLLD does have an A'-movement, but it is a displacement without quantification.¹⁴⁾

By contrast, the Focus Fronting (cf. (58a)) is a typical derivation of quantificational A'-movement, constituted by the operator and a variable, without any presence of the clitic. This idea is shown in (58b):¹⁵⁾

14) The reconstruction phenomenon of the CLLD can be an empirical evidence in our favor. Consider the following examples of Zubizarreta (1994: 122):

- (i) a. *A su_i hijo_i lo acompañará cada madre_i el primer día de escuela.
 Acc her child CL.acc accompany each mother the first day of school
 b. A su_i hijo_i cada madre_i lo acompañará el primer día de escuela.
 Acc her child each mother CL.acc accompany the first day of school
 'Her child, each mother will accompany (him/her) on the first day of school.'

If we consider that the reconstruction is applied only in A'-movement construction, we can explain the grammaticality contrast between these two sentences, because in CLLD we have an A-movement derivation: the dislocated phrase moves to the [Spec, ν P] where the duplicated clitic is spelled-out between the preverbal and the postverbal subject. Then, in (ia), the quantifier *cada* 'each' of the postverbal subject cannot bind the coindexed pronoun in the phrase *a su hijo* 'her child' since this phrase is reconstructed in the outer Spec position [Spec, ν P], in front of the postverbal subject. On the other hand, the quantifier *cada* 'each' in the example (ib) can bind the coindexed pronoun in *a su hijo* 'her child' since this is reconstructed in the [Spec, ν P] position, after the preverbal subject.

15) As a reviewer pointed out, given Chomsky's (2001) Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), the Focus Fronting (as the typical A'-movement) must move to the phasal edge position, [Spec, ν P], before going up to the CP phase. In the quantificational A'-movement (cf. (58b)), this paper has not specified this phasal edge movement for the purpose of derivational simplification. In the case of CLLD, we have assumed the traditional A-A' movement feeding relation. Therefore, this paper analyzes the Spanish CLLD constructions by combining A-movement and A'-movement that take place successively throughout different (phasal) domains (ν P and CP). Then, the only difference between the CLLD and the Focus Fronting resides in the fact that only the CLLD has an A-movement effect at the phasal edge position, where the clitic is spelled-out as a result of [+Case] and [+Specific/+Presuppositional] feature checking of the dislocated constituent with the light verb *v*. In contrast, the quantificational A'-movement, such as Wh-question or Focus Fronting, does not show the A-movement effect at the phasal edge position, since in these constructions, the clitic does not appear as an evidence for the [+Case] and [+Specific/+Presuppositional] feature checking process.

- (58) a. *El QUIJOTE* leyó Pedro. (... no el *Buscón*, ni *La Celestina*...)
 'El QUIJOTE, Pedro read. (... not el *Buscón*, nor *La Celestina*...)'
 b. [_{CP} (FocusP) Focus Fronting; (operator) [_{TP} T [_{vP} *v* ----- *t_i* (variable)]]
- 

 Quantificational A'-Movement
- [+Operator] and [+Contrastive] feature checking

To conclude, our proposal in this study has the following advantages. First, there is no need to resort to the 'Big DP' hypothesis for the CLLD. The clitics in CLLD are the results of the Spell-Out of the [+Case] and [+Specific/+Presuppositional] feature checking of the dislocated constituent with the light verb *v*. Therefore, we can discard any *ad hoc* stipulation such as the 'Big DP' to generate both DP and the duplicated clitic in the sentence. More importantly, our analysis can account for the different semantic and pragmatic properties between the various clitic constructions in Spanish.

Second, our analysis can explain the sensitivity to the strong islands of CLLD since it is assumed basically that the construction involves a syntactic movement.

Third, we can explain the insensitivity to the weak islands of CLLD, such as Weak Crossover, since we do not consider CLLD as a quantificational A'-movement in which the operator binds the variable. According to Lasnik & Stowell (1991), we assume that only the quantificational derivation (operator-variable), such as the contrastive Focus Fronting of (58), is subject to the weak island constraints.

Fourth, we can also explain why CLLD does not license parasitic gaps. That is because these type of gaps are only permitted in operator-variable configurations. Since CLLD starts with A-movement and is related to a referential DP, this construction does not have any real variable, not being able to license the parasitic gap.

Fifth, since the dislocated constituent to the left periphery of the sentence is not a quantifier entering into the operator-variable configuration, it is possible to build multiple (recursive) dislocations to the left. Instead, in the partial interrogative (Wh-Question), Focus Fronting or exclamative sentences, only one Wh-phrase or one contrastive focused element can

move to the left periphery of the sentence because these constituents function as a sentential operator that must bind its variable, as shown in (58b).

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