

# On the Left Periphery of the Bulgarian sentence

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## 1. Introduction

On the basis of data from several Germanic and Romance languages, Rizzi (1997) proposes an analysis of the CP domain according to which the latter has a finer structure than previously thought and should be split into several CP projections, as illustrated in (1):

- (1)  $V_{\text{matrix}} \dots [_{\text{ForceP}} \text{Force} [_{\text{TopP}} \text{Topic} [_{\text{FocP}} \text{Focus} [_{\text{TopP}} \text{Topic} [_{\text{FinP}} \text{Finiteness} [_{\text{IP}} \dots ]]]]]]]]]$

The Force-Finiteness system marks the boundaries of the complementizer system. ForceP contains information about the type of complement (declarative, exclamative, relative, etc.), i.e. information pertaining to specification of (illocutionary) Force (Chomsky 1995) or clause type (Cheng 1991) and is a matter of selection by the matrix predicate. Fin(iteness)P is at the interface with IP and provides information which “faces the inside, the content of the IP embedded under it” (Rizzi 1997: 283). Its head, Finiteness, differentiates between finite and non-finite clauses and expresses distinctions which are related to tense, agreement and mood. Rizzi also mentions the possibility of a higher (possibly the highest) CP: SubordinatorP.

In previous work, based on Rizzi (1997), Krapova and Karastaneva (2002) arrived at a similar mutual ordering of CP elements in Bulgarian, with one difference, which I will address immediately. In this paper, I will propose certain refinements of the Bulgarian CP structure, concerning in particular the following issues:

- 1) the distribution of Topic and Focus in relation to different complementizers. This may provide evidence to locate the complementizers in different head positions, as well as for the possible movement of such complementizer heads.
- 2) the dissociation between the syntactic properties of Topic and Focus (namely whether they act as operators binding variables, or not) and their respective prosodic properties (such as contrastive intonation).
- 3) the order of Topic and Focus, based on their syntactic properties.

## 2. Complementizer movement in Bulgarian

Starting from the distribution of focus and topic phrases in Bulgarian, in the above mentioned work we proposed that it is worth subdividing Rizzi's ForceP (which was meant to convey information about clause type or illocutionary force), into two different heads – a declarative and an interrogative head. Like English, Bulgarian possesses a single lexical item for declaratives, the complementizer *če* 'that', which appears only in subordinate clauses. Bulgarian also disposes of an interrogative complementizer, *dali* 'whether', which unlike *če*, can appear both in embedded and main yes/no questions.

- (1)' Znaja *če* Ivan na Petăr knigite mu gi e dal včera.  
'(I)know that Ivan to Peter books-the him-cl them-cl has given yesterday'
- (2) Ne znaja Ivan na Petăr knigite dali mu gi e dal včera.  
'not (I)know Ivan to Peter books-the whether him-cl them-cl has given yesterday'

Since topics appear to follow *če* 'that', but to precede *dali* 'whether', we can establish a structure which looks like (3):

- (3) Force > Topic\* > Interrogative  
    *če*                                      *dali*

In more recent work, Rizzi (2001) reaches an apparently similar conclusion which leads him to posit an Int(errogative) head, occupied by the Italian complementizer *se* 'if', which is distinct from and lower than Force, as the following examples show:

- (4) a. Maria crede (\*il tuo libro) che il tuo libro lo potrà leggere per domani.  
 ‘M. believes (the your book) that the your book it will-be able to-read for tomorrow’
- b. Maria non sa il tuo libro se il tuo libro lo potrà leggere per domani.  
 ‘M. not knows the your book if the your book it will-be able to-read for tomorrow’

Since in Italian, Topics necessarily follow *che*, but may precede *se*, Rizzi arrives at the following structure of the relative ordering of the complementizers wrt Topic:

Force Topic\* Int (Topic\*)

The picture becomes more interesting and apparently inconsistent in the two languages with the above hierarchy when we consider the distribution of focused phrases. According to Rizzi, the position of the Focus phrase is below Int from which it can be separated by another topic.

Force Topic\* Int (Topic\*) Foc (Topic\*)

The first unpredicted fact which shows an inconsistency in the distribution of XPs wrt. Heads, is that in Bulgarian, but not in Italian a focused phrase can precede the Int head, cf. (5) and (6)a-b, taken from Rizzi (2001, 289):

- (5) Čudja se KNIGITE **dali** Ivan šte vzeme (ili spisanijata).  
 ‘(I)wonder BOOKS-the whether Ivan will take (or journals-the)’
- (6) a. Mi domando **se** QUESTO gli volessero dire (non qualcos’ altro)  
 ‘(I)wonder if THIS they wanted to say to him (not something else)’
- b. \*Mi domando QUESTO **se** gli volessero dire (non qualcos’ altro)  
 ‘(I)wonder THIS if they wanted to say to him (not something else)’

The apparent contrast, exemplified in the above examples, can be taken to show that the position of Focus is different in the two languages. However, instead of abandoning the appealing idea that the two languages share the same underlying CP structure, I will consider a way to reconcile this apparent mismatch between them.

The first thing to take into account is that Bulgarian also appears to allow a Foc phrase after the Int head *dali*:

- (7) Čudja se **dali** KNIGITE Ivan šte vzeme (ili spisanijata).  
 ‘(I) wonder whether BOOKS-the Ivan will (he)take (or journals-the)’

Judging from (5) and (7), one might conclude that Bulgarian has one Foc position before *dali* and another one after *dali*. The cross-linguistic difference between the two languages then will reduce to the number of Focus positions: one in Italian (after *se*) vs. two in Bulgarian. A more interesting alternative which could make the two structures identical would be to consider the possibility of raising the head around a single Foc projection. Thus, optional head movement will account for the Bulgarian order, obligatory head movement would account for the Italian order. In fact, there are speakers of Italian, who marginally allow a focused phrase also to precede the Int head *se*, exactly as in Bulgarian:

- (8) ?Mi chiedo DI QUESTO **se** siano veramente disposti a parlare  
 ‘(I) wonder ABOUT THIS if (they) are really willing to talk’

While it may seem unmotivated to posit a movement of a complementizer just for the sake of maximizing the similarities between the two languages, there appears to be corroborating evidence for such movement coming from the complementizer *če*. This complementizer introduces complements to both factive and non-factive verbs:

- (9) Mislja *če* Ivan šte dojde. *non-factive*  
 ‘(I) think that Ivan will (he)come’  
*I think that Ivan will come*
- (10) Sážaljavam *če* Ivan ne dojde. *factive*  
 ‘(I) regret that Ivan not (he)came’  
*I regret that Ivan didn’t come*

There is, however, a difference between the two cases: while with non-factives one or two topics resumed by a clitic (CLLD topics) can precede *če*<sup>1</sup>, in factive complements such phrases have to follow *če*:

- (11) a. Mislja knjigata **če** Ivan šte ja kupi utre.  
 ‘(I) think book-the that Ivan will it-cl buy tomorrow’  
 b. Mislja **če** knjigata Ivan šte ja kupi utre.  
 ‘(I) think that book-the Ivan will it-cl buy tomorrow’
- (12) a. \*Sžaljavam knjigata **če** Ivan šte ja kupi utre.  
 ‘(I) regret book-the that Ivan will it-cl buy tomorrow’  
 b. Sžaljavam **če** knjigata Ivan šte ja kupi utre.  
 ‘(I) regret that book-the Ivan will it-cl buy tomorrow’

It is reasonable to suppose that *če*, which checks the declarative feature, moves to check the factive feature on a higher head (cf. Watanabe 1993 who also proposes raising of factive *that* in English for the purpose of clause-typing). If, semantically, facts are declarative propositions presupposed true, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they are also structurally more complex (with the factive head taking the declarative proposition in its scope).

The same contrast reappears in (13) and (14) where the *če*-clause is a subject clause, respectively non-factive and factive:

- (13) [Ivan **če** ništo ne razbira] e jasno.  
 ‘Ivan that nothing not understands is clear’  
*That Ivan does not understand anything is clear*
- (14) a. \*[Ivan **če** ništo ne razbira] e žaljo.  
 ‘Ivan that nothing not understands is pity’  
 b. [Če Ivan ništo ne razbira] e žaljo.  
 ‘that Ivan nothing not understands is pity’  
*It’s a pity that Ivan does not understand anything*

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<sup>1</sup>. This fact has been noted first by Rudin (1986, 1994) and constitutes one of her main arguments for locating Topics in a CP, rather than IP, adjoined position.

These facts lead to the conclusion that factivity, rather than just selection, should be the crucial factor for the ungrammaticality of (12a) where the topical object precedes the declarative complementizer. An even better case in point is (15) where a factive *če*-subject clause in a non-selected context (e.g. subject of a non-unaccusative verb) must obey the same restriction, thereby forcing *če* to move to the highest C position.

- (15) **Če** Ivan (\***če**) ne e došal označava *če* ne e mogāl.  
 ‘that Ivan not has come means that not has managed’  
 (*The fact*) that Ivan has not come means that he has not managed to

The following structure exemplifies the generalizations arrived at so far, as well as the possible landing sites of *če*-movement.

- (16) C<sub>Fact</sub> TOP *če* TOP *če*  
 ↑           |           |

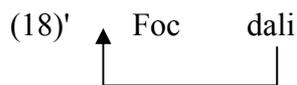
The structure in (16) predicts that in factive clauses all CLLD topics may follow the declarative complementizer, while in non-factives, they have the option of either following or preceding it. Indeed, (17) and (18) show that this is precisely the case:

- (17) Sāžaljavam **če** [Ivan] [knigite] [na Peter] ne mu gi e dal.  
 ‘(I) regret that Ivan books-the to Peter not him-cl them-cl has given’
- (18) a. Mislja **če** [Ivan] [knigite] [na Peter] mu gi dade včera.  
 ‘(I) think that Ivan books-the to Peter him-cl them-cl gave yesterday’  
 b. Mislja [Ivan] **če** [knigite] [na Peter] mu gi dade včera.  
 ‘(I)think Ivan that books-the to Peter him-cl them-cl gave yesterday’  
 c. (?) Mislja [Ivan] [knigite] **če** [na Peter] mu gi dade včera.  
 ‘(I)think Ivan books-the that to Peter him-cl them-cl gave yesterday’

The parallelism in (17) and (18a) with respect to the surface position of *če* can be captured in two ways. One is to suppose that C<sub>Fact</sub> is specified as plus or minus factive (and in that case *če* would move to the same position in both factive and non-factive subordinate clauses). Alternatively, *če* could be said to exploit a different position in

non-factives, SubordinatorP, which in Rizzi's (1997) framework is the highest CP projection.

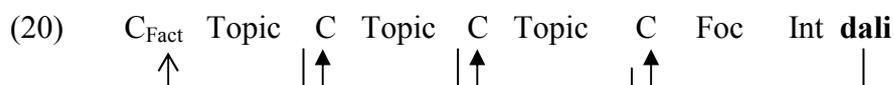
Given the plausible *če*-raising around the highest CLLD topic (obligatorily in certain contexts, factives, and optionally in others, non-factives), we might suppose that *dali*, around the Foc phrase, as shown in (18).



If this is true, the apparent difference between Italian and Bulgarian wrt the position of Focus and the Int head that we saw in (5), (6), (7) and (8) disappears. The raising analysis just suggested claims that the double position of Focus phrases, one above and one below *dali*, is actually an illusion created by the optional raising of *dali*, which is merged below the unique Contrastive Focus position. This happens in Bulgarian (5), as well as for some speakers in Italian, cf. (8).

In fact, if Foc is lower than the CLLD Topics, to which I will return in a moment, the fact that *dali* may also be found to the left of the highest CLLD topic, as well as interspersed between the various Topic positions, as illustrated in (19), may be taken to show that it can also raise leftward to the highest C.

- (19) a. Čudja se **dali** knjigite Ivan na Peter mu gi e dal včera.  
 '(I)wonder whether books-the Ivan to Peter him-cl them-cl has given yesterday'
- b. Čudja se knjigite **dali** Ivan na Peter mu gi e dal včera.  
 '(I)wonder books-the whether Ivan to Peter him-cl them-cl has given yesterday'
- c. Čudja se knjigite Ivan **dali** na Peter mu gi e dal včera.  
 '(I)wonder books-the Ivan whether to Peter him-cl them-cl has given yesterday'
- d. Čudja se knjigite Ivan na Peter **dali** mu gi e dal včera.  
 '(I)wonder books-the Ivan to Peter whether him-cl them-cl has given yesterday'



This suggestion, that Focus is lower than CLLD topics, as is commonly assumed and also shown for Bulgarian in our previous work (Krapova & Karastaneva 2002), needs to be looked at more carefully.

### **3. The Topic and Focus positions in the Left Periphery**

#### **3.1. Assumptions about the notion of Contrastive Focus**

One distinction is relevant for the purposes of this work: the distinction between Contrastive Focus and Information Focus, also called presentational Focus. Contrastive Focus is necessarily associated with a contextually determined set of alternatives, for which the predicate might actually hold, by pointing out the unique member (or subset) of that set for which the predicate actually holds and thus eliminating the other(s). To quote from Zubizarreta (1998): “Contrastive Focus makes a statement about the truth or correctness of (certain aspects of) the presupposition provided by its context statement.” (p. 10) “On the one hand, it negates the value assigned to a variable in the AS [assertion structure] of its context statement (as can be seen by the implicit or explicit negative tag associated with the contrastive focus), and on the other hand, it introduces an alternative value for such a variable” (ibid. 1998, 6).

Unlike Contrastive Focus, Information focus is the domain of new (non-presupposed) information and has been described as the new part, or what is being said about the topic or as the information of the sentence that makes contribution to the hearer’s knowledge store (Vallduví 1992, and in particular Arnaudova 2001).

The two types of focus are frequently associated with different representations. Thus, Kiss (1998) and others argue that only Contrastive Focus corresponds to a separate syntactic position and has operator properties. The contrastive Focus projection clearly has operator properties, since the focused phrase has to reach a designated scope position, from where it binds a variable. Kiss clearly distinguishes this quantificational projection from presentational (Information) focus, which is associated with the domain of new information and hence allows focus spreading rather than movement to a operator position. Information Focus has no operator properties and is instantiated in a canonical, base generated position.

Thus, if we look at the Bulgarian example (21a), we see that the Foc phrase affects the truth of the sentence by excluding the alternative value for which the predicate does

not hold, although it could, potentially, and by asserting the value for which it actually holds (Arnaudova 2001):

- (21) a. KOLA Ivana iska (ne kážta)  
 ‘car Ivana wants (not house)’  
*It is a car that Ivana wants, not a house*

The focused phrase is moved to take scope, which is also signaled prosodically, by emphasis (higher pitch). Of course, CF can be signaled just by prosodic marking, without movement.

- (21) b. Ivana iska KOLA (ne kážta).<sup>2</sup>

The pair in (21) already shows that prosodic marking is not enough to claim that there is a separate Foc projection in Bulgarian with quantificational properties. In this paper, I will be concerned only with the preverbal CF, i.e. Focus in the Left Periphery, which may have more stringent contextual conditions, yet to be determined more precisely. Below I will also show that in order for the postverbal constituent to receive a contrastive focus, certain syntactic conditions have to be met.

### 3.2. *The relative order of Topic and Focus positions*

Above we have seen that one or more Topic phrases can precede a Focus phrase.

- (22) a. [Parite] [na Ivan] MARIJA šte mu gi dade (ne Peter).  
 ‘money-the to Ivan Maria will him-dat them-acc(she) give(not P.)’  
**Top Top Foc CI CI V**
- b. Ne znam parite na Ivan dali MARIJA šte mu gi dade.  
 ‘not (I)know money-the to Ivan whether Maria will him-cl them-cl  
 (she)give’

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<sup>2</sup>. In the examples to follow focus constituents will appear in capitals, while contrastive Topics will appear in bold.

- c. Ne znam parite na Ivan MARIJA dali šte mu gi dade.  
 ‘not (I) know money-the to Ivan Maria whether will him-cl them-cl (she)give’

First, it should be noted that not all topics have to be clitic left dislocated. Thus, in the following example, we have, seemingly, two topics, only the second of which (in this case the direct object) is clitic left dislocated. Contrastive stress is on the subject.

- (23) Na Ivan parite MARIJA šte gi dade (ne njakoj drug)  
 ‘to Ivan money-the Maria will them-cl (she)give (not someone else)’  
*It is Maria that will give to Ivan the money*

Since the lower topic is resumed by a clitic, the higher one should also be a topic, considering that it is the subject *Marija*, which receives the emphatic/contrastive marking. But, as opposed to direct objects, indirect objects, especially if they are good topics, like proper names or definite descriptions do not need to be resumed by a clitic. Since Topic constituents serve to anchor the new information (the comment) to the previous context, they are expected to be outside of the domain of Focus. Apparently, however, one finds examples in Bulgarian, where the reverse ordering, namely *Foc > Top* seems possible, as can be inferred by the high pitch intonation of the first fronted constituent in (24).

- (24) **Biletite** Marija na Ivan štjala da (mu) gi prati (ne parite)  
 ‘tickets-the M. to Ivan (she)would (him-cl) them-cl (she)send (not money-the)’

As mentioned above, clitic resumption is obligatory with topicalized direct objects and only optional with topicalized indirect objects. Crucially, in (24) the apparent Focus phrase to the left of the two Topics (*Marija* and *na Ivan*) is itself resumed by a clitic. Therefore, it counts as a syntactic Topic, and not as a syntactic Focus. Since some contrastively focused phrases can in certain cases be resumed by a clitic in Bulgarian (definite direct and even more so indirect objects, restricted quantifier phrases, certain distributive quantifiers with referential use, etc. see below), it becomes important to distinguish between the notion of CLLD topic, which can be contrastively focused by intonation from the prototypical notion of a Focus phrase which from an Op position binds a gap which qualifies as a variable. The dissociation of prosodic and syntactic properties therefore becomes a necessary condition for establishing the syntactic

position of the various types of left-peripheral phrases. A similar case of intonative emphasis of topicalized phrases has already been noted for Italian by Beninca' (2001, 58f.). It thus seems that prosodic emphasis on a constituent is not what matters as a means of marking the constituent as Focus, but rather the existence of a separate Focus projection, different from and lower than Topic. CLLD Topics with a contrastive stress will be referred to here as *contrastive topics*.

Contrastive Topics can appear in embedded clauses, preceding or following the Int. head *dali* (26a/b), as well as following the declarative complementizer *če* 'that', (26).<sup>3</sup>

- (25) a Ne znam **kāštata** dali na Marija (i) ja e pripisal (ili samo kolata).  
 'not (I)know house-the whether to M. (her-dat-cl) it-cl has donated (or just car-the)'  
*I don't know whether he has donated the house to Maria (or just the car)*
- b. Ne znam dali **kāštata** na Marija (i) ja e pripisal bašta í.  
 'not (I) know whether house-the to M. (her-dat-cl) it-cl has donated father her'
- (26) Ne znaex *če* **kāštata** na Marija (i) ja e pripisal bašta í.  
 'not (I) knew that house-the to M. (her-dat-cl) it-cl has donated father her'

This distribution can be accommodated under our previous proposal that complementizer raising can leave Topic constituents behind, so that they appear to the right of the complementizer.

### 3.3. *Distinguishing between CLLD Topics and Operators*

#### 1) Clitic resumption

As opposed to D-linked specific indefinite or distributive quantifiers and wh-phrases, which can appear in CLLD structures, cf. (27), clear cases of wh-quantifiers (non D-linked wh-elements) and non-specific (bare) indefinites are incompatible with clitics (28).

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<sup>3</sup>. On the properties of the additional position preceding the complementizer *če* 'that', see below, section 3.6.

- (27) a. Njakoi (ot knigite) Ivan ne gi e pročel.  
 ‘some (of books-the) Ivan not them-cl has read’  
*Some of the books, Ivan hasn’t read*
- b. Koi ot tjax gi vidja i včera?  
 ‘who-pl of them them-cl saw also yesterday’  
*Which of them have you seen also yesterday?*
- c. Vseki pazient go pregleždam vnimatelno.  
 ‘every patient him-cl (I)visit carefully’  
*I visit carefully every patient*
- (28) a. Kakvo (\*go) vidja Ivan.  
 ‘what (it-cl) saw Ivan’
- b. Koj (\*go) vidja Ivan?  
 ‘who (him-cl) saw Ivan’
- c. Nešto (\*go) razbrax.  
 ‘something (it-cl) (I)understood’
- d. Ništo ne (\*go) razbrax.  
 ‘nothing not (it-cl) (I)understood’

## 2) Sensitivity to WCO

Wh-operators not resumed by a clitic (and only these) are also sensitive to WCO, namely they cannot cross a pronominal interpreted as bound by them.

- (29) \*Kogo nabi bašta mu?  
 ‘whom beat father his’

WCO effects disappear if the wh-phrase is resumed by a clitic, cf. (30).

- (30) Kogo go nabi bašta mu?  
 ‘whom him-cl beat father his’  
*Who did his father beat?*

The examples in (31) show that when focused phrase, as well as quantifiers are doubled, they give rise to new binding dependencies – a property, which also characterizes CLLD structures. In such cases, WCO effects are obviated, as can be seen

from the contrast between (31) and (32), containing a Focus operator, a negative quantifier and presumably, a weak quantifier.

- (31) a. \*IVAN bašta mu uvolni.  
 ‘Ivan father his fired’  
 b. \*Nikoj prijatelite mu ne ostavjat v trudni momenti  
 ‘nobody friends his not leave in difficult moments’  
 c. \*Vseki prijatelite mu ne ostavjat v trudni momenti.  
 ‘everybody friends his not leave in difficult moments’
- (32) a. Ivan<sub>i</sub> bašta mu<sub>i</sub> go<sub>i</sub> uvolni.  
 Ivan father his him-cl fired  
*Ivan, his father fired him*  
 b. Nikoj<sub>i</sub> prijatelite mu<sub>i</sub> njama da go<sub>i</sub> ostavjat v trudni momenti.  
 ‘nobody friends-the his will-not to him-cl leave in hard moments’  
*Nobody’s friends will leave him in hard times*  
 c. Vseki<sub>i</sub> prijatelite mu<sub>i</sub> šte go<sub>i</sub> spasjat v truden moment.  
 ‘everybody friends-the his will him-cl save in hard moment’  
*Everybody’s friends will come to their rescue in hard times*

The presence of the clitic and the absence of WCO effects show that elements which surface in CLLD positions do not act as operators, as opposed to quantificational elements.

Thus, we can conclude, with Rizzi (1997), that clitic resumption and lack of WCO are properties, identifying Topic–Comment structures, which are clearly to be differentiated from operator–variable structures.

### 3.4. *Operator focus cannot be higher than any CLLD Topic (\*Op Foc > CLLD Top)*

So far, we have seen that a contrastively stressed constituent, preceding a CLLD Topic must itself be resumed by a clitic, as we showed in (24) above. However, when a contrastively stressed phrase follows, rather than precedes, a CLLD Topic, then it is no longer the case that it must be resumed by a clitic.

- (33) Na Ivan KUFARA šte mu dam.  
 ‘to Ivan suitcase-the will him-dat-cl (I)give’  
*It is the suitcase that I will give to Ivan*

The linear order of the two left dislocated constituents in (33) suggests that the Op Foc position can only be lower than the CLLD Topic field, where the clitic resumed topics are located. Moreover, (34) shows that the Focus phrase cannot bind the pronominal variable inside the subject, a WCO effect.

- (34) \*Na Marija IVAN majka mu í predstaví t.  
 ‘to Marija IVAN mother his her-cl (she)introduced’  
*It is Ivan’s mother that introduced him to Maria*

We can thus conclude that the operator Focus position is lower than the CLLD Topic positions, as exemplified in (35).

- (35) CLLD Topic(s) > OP Foc

An Op focus, however, apparently allows for a following Topic phrase not resumed by a clitic (at least according to some speakers).

- (36) a. Ivan NA MARIJA dolarite dade (ne na Peter)  
 ‘Ivan to Maria dollars-the (he)gave (not to Peter)’  
*It was to Maria that Ivan gave the dollars (not to Peter)*  
 b. Ivan DOLARITE na Marija dade (ne evroto).  
 ‘Ivan dollars-the to Maria (he)gave (not euros-the)’  
*It was the dollars that Ivan gave to Maria (not the euros)*

The lack of clitic resumption can be taken to suggest that the Topic becomes part of (is assimilated to) the quantificational domain. Both the clitic-less Topic and the Focus are able to bind a variable, as confirmed by the WCO test exemplified in (37) below. (On the existence of two corresponding positions in Italian, cf. Beninca’ (2001, 59f) who argues that both are instances of Focus as a type of Focus attraction, and Belletti (2002, sect. 3.2.1, fn. 48) who suggests that the appearance of a clitic-less object in the left periphery is a special type of topicalization licensed by a preceding focalized constituent):

- (37) \*PARITE na Ivan majka mu dade t t  
 ‘money-the to Ivan mother his gave’

(37) shows that *na Ivan* acts like an OP, because it is unable to bind the subject variable. I will call it **OP(erator) Topic** (cf. Lambova 2001, who also proposes a lower (between CP and TP) position for Topics, but without differentiating English-type topicalization from Romance-type clitic left dislocation – a perspective which, according to us, plays a crucial role in determining the relative order of the full range of left peripheral positions). It seems therefore that an OP Topic may follow an OP Focus. Taken together with (35), this suggests the following relative order of left peripheral (preverbal) constituents.

- (38) CLLD Topic > OP Focus > OP Topic

### 3.5. *Contrastive Topics are part of the Topic field*

The supposed hierarchy in (38) predicts that if a contrastively stressed phrase precedes a CLLD Topic, the former will constitute part of the Topic field, regardless of its contrastive stress. This prediction is borne out, as the contrast between (39a) and (39b) shows: the direct object phrase following the clitic resumed and contrastively stressed indirect object is itself necessarily resumed by a clitic.

- (39) a. Ivan **na Marija** parite í gi dade.  
 ‘Ivan to Maria money-the her-cl them-cl gave’  
 b. \*Ivan **na Marija** parite í dade.  
 ‘Ivan to Maria money-the her-cl gave’

Note that even though contrastively focused indirect objects are more readily clitic-doubled than contrastively focused objects (cf. Beninca’ 2001 for Italian, Cornilescu 2000 for Romanian), the dative clitic in (39) is impossible, unless the direct object is also clitic resumed. In view of (39), we can conclude that if there is a prosodically marked focus resumed by a clitic (i.e. a contrastive topic), the following clitic-resumed material must also be part of the Topic field.

The fact that an Op focus binding a variable has to follow a CLLD Topic (as stated in (38)) not only shows that Topics are higher than Focus but also that the clitic of a CLLD Topic is obligatory. This would seem to imply that it is impossible to find a CLLD

Topic without a clitic. This is exactly what I am going to claim, despite some apparent counterevidence. Consider the following paradigm, where the clitic seems to be optional, with a preference for clitic resumption (the material in parenthesis shows that the same is true if the topic is dislocated long distance):

- (40) a. [<sub>Top</sub> Parite] (kaza če) Ivan (gi) e dal [<sub>Fna</sub> Marija].  
 ‘money-the ((he)said that) Ivan (them-cl) has given to Maria’  
*He/she said that the money Ivan has given to Maria*
- b. [<sub>Top</sub> Parite] (kaza če) (gi) e dal [<sub>F</sub>Ivan].  
 ‘money-the ((he)said that) (them-cl) has given Ivan’
- c. [<sub>Top</sub> Parite] (kaza če) na Marija (gi) e dal [<sub>F</sub>Ivan].  
 ‘money-the ((he)said that) to Maria (them-cl) has given Ivan’

However, one very interesting fact about (40) is that a postverbal narrow (Information) Focus is obligatory for the sentences to be grammatical. Cf. the contrast between (40) and (41):

- (41) a. [<sub>Top</sub> Parite] (kazaxa če) Ivan \*(gi) e dal.  
 ‘money-the ((they)said that) Ivan (them-cl) has given’
- b. [<sub>Top</sub> Parite] (kazaxa če) na Marija \*(gi) e dal  
 ‘money-the ((they)said that) to Maria (them-cl) has given’
- c. [<sub>Top</sub> Na Marija] (kazaxa če) parite \*(i gi) e dal.  
 ‘to Maria ((they)said that) money-the (her-cl them-cl) has given’

(41) shows that clitic resumption is required in the absence of a lower constituent carrying Information Focus. If no such constituent is present, focus is on the verb, by default, but then the clitic becomes obligatory (again). Clitic resumption therefore, is not at all an optional process, but is sensitive to the presence of a postverbal XP, carrying Information focus. The seeming optionality of clitic resumption in (40) might in fact conceal the existence of two different constructions: one, a CLLD construction (exemplified in 42a), and another, an OP Topic construction (42b). Only in the latter a lower Information Focus is required. In the CLLD construction, on the other hand, the presence of a postverbal constituent carrying Information Focus is optional; moreover, that constituent can also receive contrastive focus:

- (42) a. Parite (kazaxa če)                    gi    e    dal    ([<sub>IF/CF</sub> Ivan])                    CLLD  
           ‘money-the ((they)said that) them has given (Ivan)’
- b. Parite (kazaxa če)                    e    dal            [<sub>IF</sub> Ivan]                    OP Topic  
           ‘money ((they)said that) has given Ivan’  
           *(They said that) Ivan gave the money*

As expected, the CLLD construction passes the WCO test (i.e. it is not sensitive to WCO), while the OP Topic one is sensitive to WCO.

- (43) a. Ivan<sub>i</sub> majka mu<sub>i</sub> šte go<sub>i</sub> predstavi [<sub>Fna</sub> Petăr]  
           ‘Ivan mother his will him introduce to Peter’
- b. \*Ivan<sub>i</sub> majka mu<sub>i</sub> šte predstavi [<sub>Fna</sub> Petăr].  
           ‘Ivan mother his will introduce to Peter’

If in (42a) the fronted topic is a CLLD topic, then any constituent preceding it should also be clitic resumed, as part of the Topic field, while any constituent following it may fail to be clitic resumed, therefore acting as an OP Focus or an OP Topic.

These options are illustrated in (44):

- (44) a. [<sub>CLLD TOP</sub> Na Marija] [<sub>CLLD TOP</sub> parite] í    gi            dade [<sub>F</sub>Ivan]  
           ‘to Maria                    money-the    her-cl them-cl gave Ivan’
- b. [<sub>CLLD TOP</sub> Kăštata] [<sub>CLLD TOP</sub> na Marija] í    j    pripisa [<sub>F</sub>BAŠTA í] (ne majka í)  
           ‘house-the                    to Maria    her-cl it-cl donated father her (not mother her)’
- c. [<sub>CLLD TOP</sub> Na Marija] [<sub>OP</sub> PARITE/parite] í    dade    Ivan.  
           ‘to Maria                    MONEY-the    her-cl gave Ivan’

In (44a) and (44b) we have a sequence of two CLLD Topics, co-occurring with sentence final Focus (in this case, the subject), which probably is assigned after so-called evacuation for focus, allowing for the (re)selection of the sentence final constituent by the Focus rule (as in Arnaudova 2001).

### 3.6. Conclusion: The highest Topic position is a CLLD position

If clitic resumption is not an optional process, we can check whether the highest XP position in the CP is an operator or CLLD position. Recall that we saw above (section 2.) that the complementizer *če* ‘that’ in certain contexts (non-factive clauses) can be preceded by a Topic phrase. See (11a) repeated here as (45a). In view of our discussion of topics and operators in section 2, it is interesting to see whether this position is reserved for one of the two types.

- (45) Mislja knjigata *če* Ivan *šte* \*(ja) kupi utre.  
 ‘(I)think book-the that Ivan will (it) (he)buy tomorrow’

Recall also that the highest Topic position within the CP field (indicated as TOP1 in 46) has to be obligatorily resumed by a clitic – a fact, which we interpreted as due to the syntactic (CLLD) properties of this position. (The other Topics around which *če* raises are also part of the Topic field.)

- (46) C<sub>Fact</sub> TOP1 *če* TOP2 *če* TOP3 Op Foc Int dali  


Interestingly, there are restrictions on the possible types of elements that can be hosted by this position. For example, indefinite affirmative quantifiers with specific interpretation, D-linked universal/distributive quantifiers (like e.g. *vsičko* ‘everything’ in (47a)) can function as TOP1, but not negative quantifiers (like e.g. *ništo* ‘nothing’ in (47b)) and non-specific indefinites. The difference seems to be due to the semantic properties of the phrases (i.e. specific, referential, or partitive, cf. (47c,d)). Cf. also Enç (1991), de Hoop (1992) for a more general treatment of the role of specificity/partitivity in non-quantificational structures:

- (47) a. Mislja *vsičko* *če* si kazax.  
 ‘(I) think everything that refl said’  
*I think I gave all the correct answers*  
 b. \*Mislja *ništo*, *če* ne sām napravil.  
 ‘(I)think nothing that not (I) have done’  
*I think I haven’t done anything*

- c. Mislja vse            *nešto*            če sām spečelil.  
 ‘(I) think at least something that have gained’  
*I think I gained at least something*
- d. Mislja *vseki ot pacientite* če go pregležda vniatelno.  
 ‘(I)think each of patients that him (he)examines carefully’  
*I think he examines carefully each patient*

It is thus reasonable to suppose, following Beghelli and Stowell (1996,5), that the highest position, preceding the complementizer in certain contexts, may host only referentially independent elements which fulfil the function of subject of predication and are interpreted with widest scope relative to other scope-bearing elements. To give just one example, consider the pair in (48), which shows that the TOP1 constituent can only take wide scope (corresponding to the distributive interpretation in (48a) and the specific interpretation in (48b)):

- (48) a. Mislja *vseki čovek* če njakoj go običa.  
 ‘(I) thought every person that someone him (he)loves’  
*I thought that every person is loved by somebody*  
 for every x (x person), there is an y, such that y loves x.
- b. Čux *edin* če kacnal na lunata. (Jordan Radičkov)  
 ‘(I)heard one that (he)landed on moon-the’  
*I heard there is someone who has landed on the moon*  
 there is a specific x (x a person) and x landed on the moon

#### 4. Conclusion

In this paper, we have argued, based on evidence from Bulgarian, that the Left Periphery can be divided basically into two fields – a higher Topic field and a lower Focus field. We gave evidence for this from the distribution of complementizers, from obligatory clitic resumption, and from lack of WCO effects. The Topic field can be occupied by constituents which qualify as syntactic Topics (definite phrases, indefinite phrases with specific interpretation, D-linked elements). Apparent cases of contrastively focused constituents were shown to be in fact contrastive topics, i.e. clitic resumed phrases with contrastive intonation. Because they qualify as syntactic Topics, they do

not interfere with operators such as *wh*, focus and other operators which occupy the lower Focus field. This is the field targeted by focus constituents which do not allow clitic resumption – operator topics, non-D-linked quantifiers, negative operators. WCO effects have been shown to characterize these positions. Topics following the OP Focus position have been argued to have operator properties. Movements of XPs into the Left Periphery were argued to be movements targeting dedicated positions, and bearing a particular relation to the sentence and its interpretation. Additional (complementizer,  $X^{\circ}$ -type of) movements were argued to play a role in deriving the surface order and offering a wider empirical coverage of the observed freedom of constituents within the CP domain in Bulgarian.

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