TOPIC AND FOCUS IN BULGARIAN*

CATHERINE RUDIN

1. Introduction

Like Hungarian, Bulgarian is a relatively "free" word order language whose constituent order is determined by functional/discourse factors rather than by grammatical categories such as subject and object. Bulgarian grammarians tend to treat word order in terms of theme-rheme analysis, elaborating the role of functional considerations but not dealing with the configurational structure of the sentence. For instance, Ivančev (1978) accounts for the distribution of pronouns and pronominal clitics by means of a tripartite segmentation of the sentence into theme, transit, and rheme, defined in terms of old and new information rather than position. Similarly, Leafgren (1991) describes the conditions on reduplication of object NPs in terms of "communicative dynamism" rather than syntactic configuration.

The interaction of configurational structure with functional categories is the main issue addressed in this paper. I begin by demonstrating the existence of two grammaticalized, function-linked positions near the beginning of the clause: a Topic position preceding C^0 and a Focus position following C^0 but preceding the verbal complex. Later sections deal with the syntactic status of these two positions, related issues of the degree of configurationality of the Bulgarian IP, and some comparisons between Bulgarian and other languages, particularly Omaha (Siouan) and Hungarian, in the treatment of Focus and Topic.

The analysis of Bulgarian presented here owes a great deal to work on Hungarian Topic and Focus structures by K. É. Kiss and J. Horvath. Like

Bulgarian, Hungarian places Topic and Focus phrases in two structurally distinct preverbal positions, with Topic to the left of Focus. In spite of their overall syntactic and pragmatic parallelism, however, the Bulgarian Topic and Focus differ from those of Hungarian in some significant details. I conclude with a discussion of some of these differences and similarities and possible reasons for them.

2. Bulgarian word order

Constituent order is very free in Bulgarian, particularly in the spoken language. In simple sentences like those in (1–2), all logically possible word orders are acceptable, and even in more complex sentences the major constituents scramble quite freely.

(1)(a) Deteto   nameriha.
        child-the found-3p
        'They found the child.'

   (b) Nameriha deteto. (same as (1a))

(2)(a) Rada poluči   pismo.
        Rada received letter
        'Rada recevied a letter.'

   (b) Poluči pismo Rada. / Pismo poluči Rada. / Rada pismo poluči. /
        Poluči Rada pismo. /Pismo Rada poluči. (all same as (2a))

However, as might be expected, the various version of a sentence like (1) or (2), while broadly synonymous, are quite different in terms of emphasis and discourse function. In particular, as we shall see below, preverbal constituents are strictly limited and have specific functions. In addition, in more complex sentences it becomes clear that there are some elements which appear in fixed positions in the sentence. These fixed elements, which include complementizers, wh-phrases, and various kinds of clitics, provide clues to Bulgarian phrase structure.

2.1. The Topic and Focus XPs

Let us start by looking at preverbal NPs and their functions. A clause or sentence with a single preverbal NP, like (1a), has two potential readings, disambiguated by intonation in speech. With little stress and flat intonation

on *deteto* 'the child' the NP is interpreted as a non-focused Topic (3a), while with stronger stress and an intonation peak on *deteto* it is interpreted as Focus (3b).[1]

(3)(a) Detêto namériha.
child-the found-3p
'As for the child, they found it.'

  (b) Detéto namĕriha.
'It was the child that they found.'

"Topic" as used here is the constituent that the clause is "about" in an intuitive sense; it is presupposed, not strongly stressed, and usually definite (i.e. generally "old information"). "Focus", in contrast, is the constituent which is the essential piece of information; it is non-presupposed, carries main sentence stress, and may be indefinite ("new information").

Though Topic and Focus appear to occupy the same linear position in (3), when the sentence or clause contains a complementizer it is clear that their positions are distinct. In (4a) and (5a), *deteto* precedes the complementizer, is pronounced with low stress and flat intonation, and interpreted as a Topic. In (4b) and (5b), on the other hand, *deteto* follows the complementizer, is pronounced with an intonation peak, and interpreted as Focus.

(4)(a) Detêto dali nameriha?
child-the whether found-3p
'As for the child, (I wonder) did they find it?'

  (b) Dali detéto nameriha?
whether child-the found-3p
'(I wonder) was it the child that they found?'

(5)(a) Mislja, detêto če nameriha.
think-is child-the that found-3p
'I think that as for the child, they found it.'

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[1] In these and subsequent examples, ʻ marks rather strong stress and pitch accent and ˉ marks lack thereof. Topics are usually glossed with 'as for' and Focus with 'it was' in this paper, despite the slight awkwardness of the resulting English, to give some sense of the difference in meaning between them.

(b) Mislja, če detéto nameriha.
     'I think that it was the child that they found.'

All of the examples in (3) through (5) contrast with a neutral reading, in which the object is postverbal, as in (6). The situation is somewhat different when the NP involved is a subject, as we shall see below.

(6)(a) Nameriha deteto   (cf. (3))
        'They found the child.'

   (b) Dali nameriha deteto?   (cf. (4))
        '(I wonder) did they Find the child?'

   (c) Mislja če nameriha deteto.   (cf. (5))
        'I think that they found the child.'

Both the Topic and the Focus positions may be filled in a single sentence. Some examples with lexical material in both the Topic and Focus positions are given in (7). Here we see that the Topic (the NP preceding the complementizer *dali*) cannot easily be treated as contrastive, while the Focus (the NP following the complementizer) can. Note also that the Topic must be definite (*pismoto* 'the letter' in (7a) could not be replaced with the indefinite *pismo* 'a letter'), while the Focus may be either definite or indefinite (*pismo* in (7c)). The auxiliary verb *šte* and the pronoun *ni* are clitics attached to the verb.

(7)(a) Pismôto   dali   Ráda šte ni donese (ili Vjaral)?
        letter-the whether Rada will us bring-3s or Vjara
        'As for the letter, (I wonder) is it Rada who will bring it to us
                                                        (for Vjaral)?

   (b) *Pismôto dali Râda šte ni donese (ili telegrama)?
                                                    telegram-the

   (c) Râda   dali   pismó šte ni donese (ili telegram)?
        Rada   whether letter will us bring   or telegram
        'As for Rada, I wonder is it a letter that she will bring us
                                                        (or a telegram)?'

   (d) *Râda dali pismó šte ni donese (ili Vjara)?

Another way to distinguish Topic and Focus is through their interaction with the interrogative enclitic *li*. Questioned constituents are always Focus,

never Topic.[2] In (8a), Ivan is presupposed (Topic); the question is whether or not he will come. In (8b), with *li* suffixed to *Ivan*, *Ivan* is the Focus. The examples in (9) demonstrate that when one of two preverbal NPs is questioned, it must be the second one, since Topic always precedes Focus.

(8)(a)   Ivan šte   dojde li?
         Ivan will come Q
         'As for Ivan, will he come?'

   (b)   Ivan li šte dojde?
         'Is it Ivan who will come?'

(9)(a)   Ivan kafe   li šte pie?
         Ivan coffee Q   will drink
         'As for Ivan, is it coffee that he will drink?'

   (b)   'Kafe Ivan li šte pie?
         'As for coffee, is it Ivan that will drink it?'

   (c)   *Ivan li kafe šte pie?
   (d)   *Kafe li Ivan šte pie?

To sum up thus far, Bulgarian has two distinct preverbal positions, one preceding and the other following C^0, which may contain NPs functioning as Topic and Focus, respectively. The surface word order of both main and subordinate clauses is as shown in (10), where X* represents a variety of postverbal material.

(10)   [Topic] [C^0] [Focus] [clitics+V] [X*]

2.2. Some complications

Before presenting arguments for the hierarchical structure of the string in (10), it will be useful to present a few additional descriptive details concerning Bulgarian word order and the Topic and Focus positions.[3]

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[2] Cf. Sadock–Zwicky (1985) for discussion of "focused yes–no" questions and interrogative clitics in Latin and other languages.

[3] For a fuller presentation of the details of Topic and Focus constructions in Bulgarian, see Rudin (1986).

First, it should be noted that Topic and Focus are not always NP. The following sentences contain PP, AdvP, or VP[4] as Topic or Focus. Additional examples can be found later in the paper. It appears that Topic and Focus may be any maximal projection.

(11)(a)   Kazvat če   na pejkata   sedeše babata.
          say-3p   that on bench-the sat   old-woman-the

          'They say that it's on the bench that the old woman sat.'

   (b)   Ne znam utre   sutrinta dali   šte dojdat.
          neg know tomorrow morning whether will com-3p

          'I don't know whether they will come tomorrow morning.'

   (c)   Da govori taka dali   ne mu   e prijatno?
          to talk   thus whether neg to-him is pleasant

          'As for talking like that, (I wonder) does he not enjoy it?'

Second, both Topic and Focus positions can be doubly filled, although it is much more common for them to contain no more than one constituent each.

In sentence (12a) both *ot bazata* 'from the base' and *jadene* 'food' are Topics, while in (12b) *ot neja* 'from her' and *ništo* 'nothing' are both Focused.

(12)(a)   Ot   bazata jadene dali   šte ni   donesat?
          from base-the food   whether will to-us bring-3p

          '(I wonder) will they bring us food from the base?'

   (b)   Toj se primirjava s   misŭlta,   če ot   neja ništo
          he self calmed   with thought-the that from her nothing
          ne   može da se skrie.
          neg can   to self hide

          'He calmed himself with the thought that from her nothing
          can be hidden.'

Third, in some constructions either a Topic or a Focus phrase is awkward at best. For instance, in resultative clauses like those (13–14), no Topic is

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[4] It is possible that the phrase *da govori taka* in (9c) should be analyzed as IP or CP rather than VP, but in any case it is a non-NP maximal projection.

possible. A Focus phrase can occur (*vodata* 'the water' in (13a), *Ivan* in (14a)), but this phrase cannot be shifted into the pre-complementizer Topic position.

(13)(a) Beše tolkova studeno če   vodata   zamrŭzna.
          was so   cold   that water-the froze
          'It was so cold that the water froze.'

    (b) *Beše tolkova studeno, vodata če zamrŭzna.

(14)(a) Govoreše tolkova bŭrzo, če   Ivan da ne razbere   ništo.
          spoke   so   fast   that Ivan to neg understand nothing
          'She spoke so fast that Ivan couldn't understand anything.'

    (b) *Govoreše tolkova bŭrzo, Ivan če da ne razbere ništo.

Similarly, no focus is possible in a clause with an interrogative or relative wh-word or the conjunction *kato* 'as':

(15)(a) A   toj kakvo pravi?
          and he what does
          'And as for him, what does he do?'

    (b) *A kakvo toj pravi.

(16)(a) Ne ti   li e strah, v samolet kogato pŭtuvaš?
          neg to-you Q is fear   in airplain when   travel-2s
          'Aren't you afraid when you travel by plane?'

    (b) *Ne ti li e strah, kogato v samolet pŭtuvaš?

(17)(a) Po Connecticut Avenue kato trŭgvaš   šte karaš   napravo
          on   as   set-out-2s will drive-2s straight
          do Chevy Chase Circle.
          to
          'Setting out on Connecticut Avenue, you'll drive straight
          to Chevy Chase Circle.'

    (b) *Kato po Connecticut Avenue trŭgvaš, šte karaš napravo
        do Chevy Chase Circle.

Such restrictions are probably due to the semantics of the constructions involved. The *tolkova ... če* 'so ... that' construction in (13–14) already has an implied topic, namely the degree of coldness or speed, so it makes sense that a syntactic Topic would be unacceptable. Similarly, interrogative wh-words like *kakvo* in (15) are themselves the pragmatic focus of the clause, and so naturally discourage the presence of a(nother) Focus constituent.[5] This is less clear for the relative wh-words and *kato*, which formally resemble the interrogative wh-forms[6] but are presumably not the semantic or pragmatic focus of their clause.

And in fact, the prohibition on lexical material in Focus position is weaker in relative than interrogative clauses. Specifically, Bulgarian speakers sometimes accept a subject (but no other constituent) in the Focus position of a relative clause. In the following example, from a recent novel, *decata* 'the children' follows the relative pronoun.

(18) Trjabvalo da se izkopae tunel, prez   kojto decata   da
      must   to self.dig   tunnel through which children-the to
      izpŭlzjat na otkrito.
      crawl-3p to open

      'There had to be dug a tunnel, through which for the children to
      crawl out into the open.'

Fourth, this leads us to the point that subject are exceptional in some ways. In particular, a subject in "Focus" position is not always focuslike. In addition to sometimes following a relative wh-word, immediately preverbal subjects are sometimes unstressed and pragmatically neutral. In (19), *Ivan* may carry the main sentence stress—but it may just as well not.

(19) Kazvat, če   Ivan šte čete   doklad.
      say-3p   that Ivan will read-3s report

      'They say that Ivan will read a report.'

Fifth, and finally, let us note that although Topic normally has little stress, it can sometimes take contrastive stress. This is apparently possible only when

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[5] On this point, see Sadock–Zwicky (1985, 185).

[6] Bulgarian wh-words all start with *k* or etymologically related *č*. Relative wh-words differ from their interrogative counterparts in the presence of a suffix *-to*, identical to the neuter definite article: e.g. *koj* 'who (interrogative)' but *kojto* 'who (relative)'.

C^0 is *če* 'that', *ako* 'if', or *zaštoto* 'because' and the Focus position is empty. The pronouns *ti* in (20a) and *az* in (20b) are contrastively stressed.

(20)(a) Ivan znaeh. če šte hodi no ti če šte hodiš, ne znaeh.
Ivan knew-1s that will go-3s but you that will go-2s neg knew-is

'I knew that Ivan would go, but I didn't know that you would go.'

(b) No az ako se nešto razboleja, koj šte sgotvi mandžata.
but I if self something get-sick who will cook meal-the

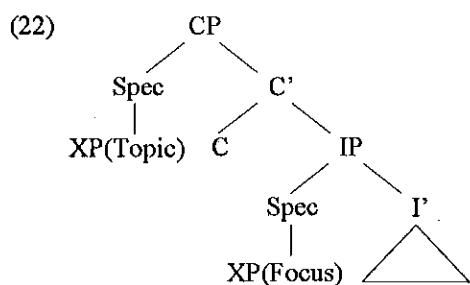'But if I come down with something, who will cook the meal?'

3. Bulgarian phrase structure

We are now ready to consider the structural status of the Topic and Focus positions. From what we have seen so far, the surface structure of the Bulgarian clause is roughly as in (21):
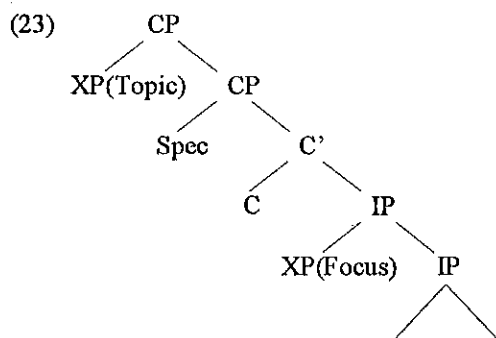
(21)
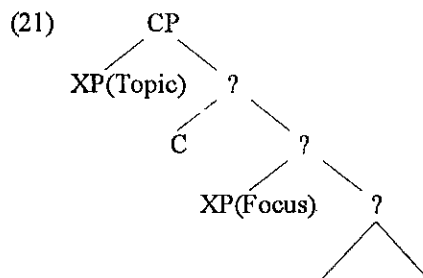
Both the nodes dominating Topic and Focus and the internal structure of the remainder of the sentence remain to be specified. At first glance it seems reasonable to identify the Topic position with SpecCP and the Focus position with SpecIP:[7]

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[7] I do not consider the possibility that Focus might be located lower in the tree, in SpecVP or even within V', as Horvath suggests for Focus in Hungarian. In Bulgarian the Focus phrase precedes all elements of a rather complex infl, including negation, tense, modal particles, and so on. It thus seems clear that Focus is at least outside of I'. (See Rivero (1988) for very interesting discussion of the structure of the infl system in Bulgarian and other Balkan languages.)

(22)

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                CP
              /    \
          Spec      C'
           |       /  \
      XP(Topic)   C    IP
                      /  \
                   Spec   I'
                    |     /\
                XP(Focus)/__\
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However, this analysis runs into problems. I opt below for an analysis in which Topic and Focus are adjoined to CP and IP, respectively, as in (23). As for the internal structure of PP, it remains problematic. Two main issues are involved here: the D-structure position of the subject and the configurationality of IP (and VP). Arguments bearing on these issues are sketched below.

(23)

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            CP
           /  \
   XP(Topic)   CP
             /   \
         Spec     C'
                 /  \
                C    IP
                    /  \
             XP(Focus)  IP
                        /\
                       /__\
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3.1. Topic and Focus as adjunction

Wh-phrases are in SpecCP at S-structure in Bulgarian.[8] As we have seen ((15–16) above), a Topic phrase can cooccur with (and always precedes) either an interrogative or a relative wh element. More examples follow; *muzeja* 'the museum' is the topic in both the question and the relative clause in (24), as is *filma* 'the film' in (25).

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[8] For arguments that all wh-phrases are in SpecCP in Bulgarian, unlike in some other Slavic languages, which have certain wh-phrases adjoined to IP, see Rudin (1988).

(24)(a) Muzeja   kŭde se namira?
museum-the where self finds

'As for the museum, where is it located?'

(b) Živee na ulicata, muzeja   kŭdeto se namira.
lives on street-the museum-the where self finds

'She lives in the street where the museum is located.'

(25)(a) Filma koj gleda?
film-the who watches

'As for the film, who is watching it?'

(b) Poznavaš li učenika   filma   kojto gleda?
know-2s Q student-the film-the who watches

'Do you know the student who is watching the film?'

Since SpecCP is filled by the wh-word, the Topic must be in some other position, and the obvious choice is that it is adjoined to CP. Multiple filling of Spec does occur in multiple wh-constructions in Bulgarian (Rudin 1988), but if the Topic and the wh-word in the above examples are both in Spec, it will be difficult to account for the strict ordering of Topic before Focus. Adjunction rather than substitution into SpecCP also accomodates the possibility of multiple topics, as in (12a).

The argument from cooccurrence with wh-words is not available for Focus phrases, since as we have seen Focus does not occur with wh-phrases. Other arguments for or against SpecIP as the position of Focus are largely dependent upon the D-structure position of subjects. If subjects are generated in SpecIP, presumably nominative case is assigned to that position, and movement of Focus phrases bearing non-nominative case to that position will be problematic, suggesting that Focus phrases too are adjoined.

3.2. Subject position and configurationality

Unfortunately, the underlying position of subjects is far from clear. Traditional and pedagogical grammars have always treated Bulgarian as SVO, and in fact lexically expressed subjects do most commonly precede the verb. This is probably due to the fact that subjects tend to be topical (cf. Scatton 1984; Rudin 1986) and that a subject which is neither Topic nor Focus would usually be non-lexical (i.e. *pro*). However, it is also true, as we have seen ((18–19) above), that subjects are not always semantically focused when immediately prever-

bal; unlike objects, preverbal subjects often seem quite unmarked. (Postverbal subject, however, are also relatively neutral.) There is some evidence from superiority effects that subject and object are not sisters in Bulgarian:

(26)(a)   Koj kakvo iska?
          who what wants
          'Who wants what?'

   (b) *Kakvo koj iska?

Such evidence suggest that the subject asymmetrically c-commands the object, but is consistent with either SpecVP or SpecIP as subject position (Woolford 1991). A subject in either of these positions might be expected to be able to cooccur with a preceding Focus phrase if Focus is adjoined to IP. Such a construction is in fact not possible:

(27)(a) *Mislja   če   knígite   Ivan šte kupi.
          think-is that books-the Ivan will buy-3s

         'I think that it's the books that Ivan will buy.'

   (b)   Dnes li šte dojde Ivan?
         today Q will come Ivan

         'Is it today that Ivan will come?'

   (c) *Dnes li Ivan šte dojde?

This might be taken as indicating that Focus and subject occupy the same position, probably SpecIP. However, this argument is very weak, given the tendency for subjects to be Topic, Focus, or null, and the fact that subjects also do not cooccur with wh-phrases and the conjunction *kato* 'as', which quite clearly are not in SpecIP. I know of no fully convincing arguments for a specific underlying subject position in Bulgarian.[9] The internal structure of VP also remains uncertain. Postverbal constituent order appears to be entirely unconstrained, suggesting a flat structure, but once again superiority effects

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[9] In earlier work on Bulgarian I have sometimes assumed D-structure subject to be postverbal (Rudin 1986) and sometimes SpecIP (Rudin 1988). Both are consistent with other aspects of the grammar. Rivero (1988) states that a preverbal subject in all the Balkan languages is either SpecIP or an adjunct of IP, but specifically declines to "decide whether this NP is in basic [or] derived position"

seem to indicate some degree of configurationality. For example, it seems that a VP adjunct asymmetrically c-commands the direct object:

(28)(a)   Koga kakvo e   kupil?
          when what has bought

          'When did he buy what?'

   (b)   ?Kakvo koga e kupil?

Of course, the strength of this argument depends on whether superiority is an ECP effect and on the exact definition of ECP. Bulgarian word order and Topic/Focus syntax is in many ways similar to that of Hungarian, which is described by Horvath (1986) as a configurational language with VP-external subject, and by É. Kiss (1981; 1987) as a nonconfigurational language with postverbal subject. As this disagreement indicates, it is not always clear how to describe the structure of a language with relatively free order. Woolford (1991) suggests that even languages widely accepted as nonconfigurational may actually be configurational, but with VP-internal subjects. I do not re- solve the configurationality issue for Bulgarian VP here, but simply note that the Bulgarian clause is configurational at least to the level of I'. In the follow- ing schema SpecIP may or may not represent underlying subject position; I includes Neg, Tns, Modals, and Agr.

(29)   [$_{CP}$ [Topic] [$_{CP}$ [Spec] [$_{C'}$ [C] [$_{IP}$ [Focus] [$_{IP}$] [Spec] [$_{I'}$ [I] [$_{VP}$ clitics+V
       $\cdots$]]]]]]]

3.3. Clitic doubling and pronominal arguments

Given that Topic and Focus NPs are adjoined as in (23), in A' positions, they must be coindexed with θ- and Case-marked positions within IP in order to receive Case and θ-roles. In Bulgarian the coindexed position may be empty or filled by a clitic pronoun ("clitic doubling") if the Topic/Focus is an accusative, dative, or genitive NP. In the following example (from Leafgren 1991) the Focus phrase in each clause is linked with a coreferential clitic.

(30)   ... ako *tova nešto*$_i$ *go*$_i$ narisuva njakoj hudožnik, šte mu   kažat,
          if   this thing it draws   some artist   will to-him say-3p
       če   e kič   a   *na prirodata*$_j$ ne možeš da *i*$_j$ kažeš če
       that is kitsch but to nature-the neg can-2s to to-her say-2s that

e   sŭzdala njakoj kič . . .
has created some   kitsch

'. . . if some artist draws this thing they'll tell him that it's kitsch,
but you can't tell nature that it has created some kind of kitsch . . . '

    I have avoided using examples with doubling clitics in most of this paper
for the sake of simplicity, but they are quite common, particularly with Focus
NPs. The clitic is optional.[10] When an NP is moved to the Topic or Focus
position of a higher clause, a doubling clitic may again appear prefixed to the
verb of the clause in which the NP originated:

(31)   *Knigata*$_i$ čuh   če   (*ja*$_i$) e   kupil.
       book-the heard-is that it   has bought

     'I heard that it was the book that he bought.'

    Sentences like this, in which the Topic/Focus is in a higher clause (see
also (20a)) incidentally provide evidence that Topic and Focus phrases are
moved. The following set of examples (adapted from Penčev 1973) show that
this movement obeys subjacency (extraction from a complex NP is impossible)
and that a coindexed clitic does not improve subjacency violations, as might
be expected if the clitic were a true resumptive pronoun.

(31)(a)   Mislja (za tova) če   šte otide pri nego.
         think-is of   this   that will go-3s by him

       'I'm thinking (of the fact) that she will go to this place.'

  (b)   Pri nego mislja (*za tova) če šte otide.

(32)(a)   Čuh   (novinata) če   e   kupil   knigata.
         heard-is news-the   that has bought book-the

       'I heard (the news) that he bought the book.'

  (b)   Knigata čuh (*novinata) če e kupil.

  (c)   Knigata$_i$ čuh (*novinata) če ja$_i$ e kupil.

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[10] Clitic doubling is obligatory in some idioms and highly preferred in a few other con-
structions, but is generally optional. There are no subject clitics, so Topic/Focus subjects
always bind an empty argument position.

I assume that the coreferential clitic in a Topic or Focus construction, when present, is bound by the Topic/Focus NP in exactly the same way as a trace. It behaves like a trace syntactically, the only difference being that it has phonological content. This analysis of clitic doubling, while unorthodox, is not novel: cf. Berent's (1980) analysis of Macedonian clitics as "audible traces".

The clitic or trace functions as an argument at S-structure, while the Topic/Focus NP itself is an adjunct. Since most Bulgarian sentences do have Topic and/or Focus NPs, this proposal has the effect of making Bulgarian S-structures look similar to those of "pronominal argument" languages (e.g. Navajo as analyzed by Jelinek), in which all arguments are pronominal agreement prefixes on V and all lexical NPs are adjuncts. The similarity is only partial, however, since non-Topic/Focus NPs are presumably not adjuncts in Bulgarian.

4. Topic and Focus in Omaha

The broad outlines of the Topic/Focus system described in this paper are not unique to Bulgarian. As has already been hinted, Hungarian is quite similar. In particular, it has clause initial Topic and pre-V Focus positions, very much like Bulgarian, although the two languages do differ in many details. (For instance, Topic follows rather than precedes relative wh-words in Hungarian, and Horvath (1986) claims that subject position precedes Focus and Focus is within VP.) In this section I briefly discuss another language which, although completely unrelated to either Bulgarian or Hungarian, is also somewhat similar in its treatment of Topic and Focus.

Omaha is a Siouan language spoken in Nebraska. As a V-final language, it is typologically as well as genetically distant from Bulgarian. So it is particularly striking that in Omaha too Topics are clause-initial, preceding wh-words, while Focus tends to be immediately preverbal.

A typical question in Omaha has a Topic phrase, a wh-word, a verb, and an optional interrogative complementizer *a*, in that order:

(33)(a)   Bertha akha įdadą dąbe   a?
       Bertha the   what she-sees-it Q

       'What does Bertha see?'

(b)   Hąegačedi įdadą uðahą?
      at-morning what you-cook-it

      'What did you cook this morning?'

(c)   Waxe waʔu   ðįkhe athąkki wedaðettaðįkhe   a?
      white woman the   when   she-will-give-birth Q

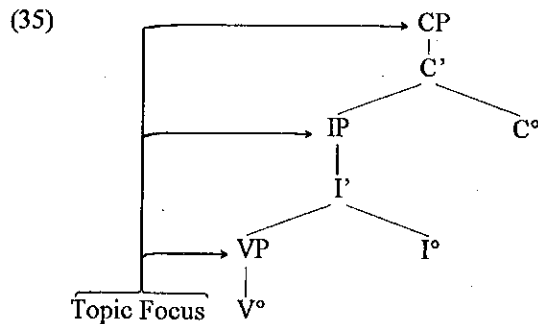   'When will the white woman have her baby?'

A sentence with focused material usually has a very similar order: Topic–
Focus–Verb. In (34a) the Focus phrase is *įdadą udą* 'something good', and in
(34b) it is *žįga ittušpa wiwitta ðįkhe* 'my little granddaughter'.

(34)(a)   Ąba wį   įdadą   udą   škaɣe.
          day one something good you-do-it

          'One day you did something good.'

(b)   Mązeska žįga akkigðaąðįge   žįga ittušpa   wiwitta
      money   small what-they-have small my-grandchild my
      ðįkhe i.
      the   they-give-it-to-her

      'Whatever little bit of money they had, they gave it to my little
      granddaughter.'

Omaha constituent order and structure have been very little studied, as
indeed is the case for Siouan syntax in general.[11] It is not clear to me whether
Focus phrases and interrogative wh-phrases occupy the same syntactic position
or not, although it appears superficially that they do. Both Focus phrases
and wh-phrases tend to be immediately preverbal in other Siouan languages
too (David Rood, p.c.). Relative clauses in Omaha are internally headed and
contain no wh-word, so arguments based on the position of relative wh-words
are lacking, but it is noteworthy that the internal head, which is by definition
the Topic of the relative clause, is virtually always clause-initial (occasionally
it is preceded by an adverb, but this is very rare).

Omaha is quite a consistent head-final language. C^0 and I^0 are both to
the right of their complements, as is V^0. I know of no good evidence for Spec
of CP or IP, but SpecNP is to the right of N, suggesting (albeit rather weakly)
that all Specifiers may follow their heads. Thus in Omaha as in Bulgarian it
seems most likely that the Topic and Focus are adjoined, although at what
level is not clear. VP, IP, and CP are all possible adjunction sites:

[11] Among the very few available works on Omaha, only Koontz (1984) and Rudin (1991a;
1991b) are modern linguistic studies, and none of these treats constituent order in any detail.

(35)

```
                                    CP
                                    |
                                    C'
                              _____/_____
                             IP             C°
                             |
                             I'
                        _____/\_____
                       VP          I°
                       |
   _____    V°
   Topic  Focus
```

In fact, all lexical NPs in Omaha are probably generated as adjuncts. Omaha is arguably a pronominal argument language: lexical NPs are optional adjuncts linked to pronominal "agreement" elements in V, and are thus structurally parallel to Topic and Focus NPs in Bulgarian. What is of interest in the context of this paper is that in case a sentence contains two of these lexical adjuncts, one with Topic function precedes one with Focus function.

5. Conclusion

Topic–Focus–V–X surface word order is rather common crosslinguistically. This general type of word order is found not only in Bulgarian, Hungarian, and Omaha, but also in such diverse languages as Basque and Aghem (Horvath 1986), and some Mayan languages. England (1991) argues that the basic word order of Proto-Mayan was "TOPIC FOCUS [V O S] REORDERED O", and that preverbal Topic and/or Focus positions are manifested in several modern Mayan languages. An immediately preverbal Focus position is found in Turkish, Hindi, Armenian, Arabic, and may other languages (see Rudin 1986, 90 and references cited there).

However, as we have seen above, similar word order does not necessarily mean identical structure. Although Bulgarian superficially looks very similar to Hungarian as described by É. Kiss and Horvath, the two languages differ in many details, probably including the structural position of Focus and definitely including the relation of Focus and Topic phrases to wh-phrases. Omaha also has similar surface word order, but is structurally very different. Apparently preverbal Topic and Focus are desirable for reasons at least partly independent of other structural considerations, and this constituent order is achieved in different ways by different grammars. These reasons are probably both functional and grammatical in nature. It makes considerable sense from a

functional perspective for Topic in particular to be at or near the beginning of a sentence. But the very common association of Focus with immediately preverbal position supports Horvath's (1986) suggestion of a tendency for Focus phrases to require an adjacent V^0 or perhaps I^0 governor in languages with grammaticalized Focus.

As a final note, let me emphasize that the Bulgarian Topic and Focus discussed in this paper are syntactic phenomena. Although rather similar pragmatic effects can be achieved in a variety of ways in Bulgarian, including left and right dislocation and the use of phrases like "as far as X is concerned", I do not treat such devices here. The syntactic Topic and Focus phrases are indentified not only by their discourse function, but also by linear and hierarchical position, intonation, and relation to other syntactic elements such as coreferential clitic pronouns and the particle *li*.

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Address of the author: Catherine Rudin
Wayne State College
Division of Humanities
Wayne, NE 68787
USA
crudin @ wscgate. wsc. edu