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On Focus Position and Focus Marking in Bulgarian Questions¹

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Bulgarian is a relatively free word order language, with syntactic Topic and Focus constituents. In this paper I discuss the interaction of the clitic li with syntactic Focus. "Focus Marking" refers to suffixation of li, and my main concern is the position both of li itself and of the constituents to which it is suffixed. Li is traditionally treated as an interrogative element, a verbal question mark whose presence in a sentence makes it a yes-no question, and this is undoubtedly true for most instances of li.² I argue that in addition to this interrogative function, li is a marker of Focus and must discharge its Focus feature at S-structure. Since li is generated in C⁰, this normally requires movement of some constituent to either C⁰ or Spec of C to receive the Focus feature and thus license li. Apparent variation in the position of li is due to the interaction of several processes, including topicalization, wh-movement, Focus-fronting, and verb-fronting, as well as possible lowering of li. The analysis provides additional evidence for syntactically distinct Topics and Focus positions in Bulgarian, which I have argued for elsewhere on independent grounds, while also suggesting that Focus position in li clauses is not identical to that in other types of clauses.

Superficially, li can occur in several positions. In typical examples like those in (1), li attaches either to a verb, as in (1a-c), or a preverbal word or phrase, as in (d-g). All of these are roughly synonymous, but differ in emphasis and presuppositions, as indicated by the glosses.

- 1.a. Nameri li Ivan parite?
found li Ivan money-the
'Did Ivan find the money?'
- b. Ivan nameri li parite?
'As for Ivan, did he find the money?'
- c. Parite nameri li Ivan?
'As for the money, did Ivan find it?'
- d. Ivan li nameri parite?
'Did IVAN find the money?'
- e. Parite li nameri Ivan?
'Did Ivan find THE MONEY?'
- f. Ivan parite li nameri?
'As for Ivan, did he find THE MONEY?'
- g. Parite Ivan li nameri?
'As for the money, did IVAN find it?'

Later in the paper I will deal with more complex situations involving auxiliary verbs, negation, echo-like questions which involve focusing of an entire utterance, and other problematic data. First, however, I sketch an analysis based on the relatively simple examples in (1).

All of the sentences in (1) have the same D-structure, namely (2); li is in C and everything else is VP-internal:

2. [CP [C li] [IP [VP Ivan nameri parite]]]
+foc

At S-structure one or more constituents have fronted out of VP to positions preceding li, giving one of the structures in (3).

3.a. [CP (TOPIC) [CP [C V_i+li] [IP [VP ... e_i ...]]]]
+foc

b. [CP (TOPIC) [CP [Spec FOCUS_i] [C li] [IP e_i [VP ... e_i ...]]]]
+foc

In (3a) V-to-C raising allows li to incorporate V, which absorbs the Focus feature of li. This feature is then transmitted, through the trace of V, to its maximal projection, VP, thus accounting for the fact that the entire predicate is within the scope of interrogation when li is suffixed to V, as in (1a,b,c). In (1a) no further movement has taken place and the position marked (TOPIC) in (3a) is empty; in (1b,c) the Topic position is occupied by an NP. In the second S-structure, (3b) an NP has raised to Spec of C, to the position marked FOCUS. This constituent receives the Focus feature of li by Spec-Head agreement. Since NP is itself a maximal projection, it does not pass this Focus feature on to any higher projection, so only the phrase to which li is suffixed is focused and questioned in this construction. In (1d), for example, it is presupposed that someone found the money; the question is only whether the finder was Ivan or someone else. Once again, a Topic phrase may be present (1f,g) or absent (1d,e). I will discuss the trace in IP below.

The Focus phrase in the examples so far is NP, but it can in fact be any maximal projection; (4a) has a PP and (4b) an AdvP Focus, for example.

4.a. Prez ljatoto li šte dojde?
during summer-the li will come
'Will s/he come IN THE SUMMER?'

b. Skoro li šte dojde?
soon li will come
'Will s/he come SOON?'

The proposed analysis has several more or less independent parts, which I will discuss in sequence: (I) li is in C⁰ at D-structure; (II) li assigns a Focus feature; (III) li incorporates V at S-structure (if there is no Focus phrase); (IV) li assigns Focus to a phrase in Spec of C.

(I) li is in C⁰ at D-structure

Generation of li in C⁰ is suggested both by its semantics and by the fact that it does not cooccur with complementizers such as če 'that' or dali 'whether':

5. a. ^vSqumnjavam se če šte nameri (*li) parite.
doubt refl that will find li money-the
'I doubt that s/he will find the money.'

b. Interesno, dali šte nameri (*li) parite.
interesting whether will find li money-the
'I wonder whether s/he will find the money.'

In fact, as has frequently been noted (e.g. Rivero (1993), Rudin (1983)), formalizing a standard traditional notion, li can be seen as a morphologically bound variant of the interrogative complementizer dali. Li alternates with dali in the sense that all yes-no questions contain one or the other but not both. There is a slight meaning difference between the two in main clauses. Li is relatively neutral, while dali contributes a rhetorical-question flavor. Nonetheless, both are entirely normal questions. With li a fronted Focus phrase is very frequently present, however, note that dali also is not necessarily clause-initial (6d), so the fact that li is in clause second or third position does not militate against its being analyzed as a complementizer.

- 6.a. Pristignal li e vlaküt?
 arrived li is train-the
 'Has the train arrived?'
 b. Dali e pristignal vlaküt?
 whether is arrived train-the
 'Has the train arrived, I wonder?'
 c. Vlaküt li e pristignal?
 train-the li is arrived
 'Has THE TRAIN arrived?'
 d. Vlaküt dali e pristignal?
 train-the whether is arrived
 'As for the train, has it arrived, I wonder?'

In embedded questions both dali and li are normal; li is especially likely when the questioned item is contrastively stressed, as in (7c).

- 7.a. Pitat te dali e pristignal vlaküt.
 ask you whether is arrived train-the
 'They're asking you whether the train has arrived.'
 b. Pitat te pristignal li e vlaküt.
 ask you arrived li is train-the
 'They're asking you whether the train has arrived.'
 c. Pitat te vlaküt li e pristignal (ili reisa).
 ask you train-the li is arrived or bus-the
 'They're asking you whether THE TRAIN has arrived (or the bus).'

Given its ability to introduce both main and embedded interrogative clauses, I take it as a reasonable assumption that li is generated in C⁰.³

(II) li assigns a Focus feature

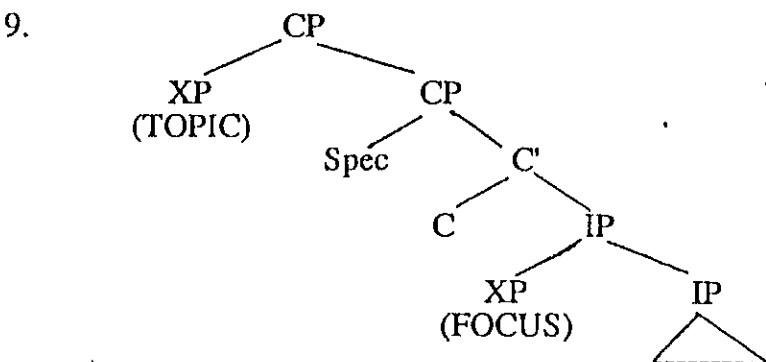
The main syntactic difference between li and dali is that li is never clause-initial. Traditional treatments simply state that li is a clitic, requiring a preceding host. I would like to argue that the clitic status of li is a consequence of the fact that it, unlike dali, contains a Focus feature, which it must discharge onto an appropriate constituent in an appropriate position. Before considering the mechanisms through which this feature discharge is accomplished, I first briefly demonstrate that li is in fact consistently associated with Focus. (For a much more detailed elaboration of this point see Rudin (1993). For discussion of focusing function with Russian li

which is similar but far from identical to its Bulgarian counterpart, see Chvany (1973), King (1993).)

I have argued elsewhere (Rudin 1986) that Bulgarian is what K. Kiss (p.c.) refers to as a "discourse configurational" language. Specifically, it has two preverbal XP positions, one which precedes complementizers and fronted wh words in linear order and contains a discourse Topic, and a second which follows the complementizer position and contains Focused material⁴. Topic and Focus phrases are differentiated by intonation and stress, as well as word order. An example of a sentence with filled Topic and Focus positions separated by a complementizer is given in (8) (compare (1g)).

8. [top Parite] dali [foc Ivan] nameri?
 money-the whether Ivan found
 'As for the money, did IVAN find it?'

I assume for purposes of this paper that the Topic and Focus constituents are adjoined to CP and IP respectively, as shown in (9).



There are good reasons to believe that Topic constituents are adjoined to CP rather than landing in Spec of C, particularly the fact that Topic can cooccur with (and always precedes) fronted wh words, which occupy the Spec position. Examples of this cooccurrence with both interrogative and relative wh words can be seen in (10).

- 10.a. [top Knigata] [specC koj] e kupil?
 book-the who is bought
 'Who bought the book?'
- b. Mžūt, [top knigata] [specC kojto] e kupil ...
 man-the book-the who is bought
 'The man who bought the book...'

Furthermore, if the structure proposed in (3b) is right, Topics also cooccur with and precede Focus phrases in Spec of C.⁵

The position of Focus is less certain; it may turn out to be in Spec of I rather than adjoined to IP, but this is not crucial for the analysis presented here. In either case the canonical Focus position is IP-initial, and follows C⁰. I assume that a Focus phrase moves through this position before fronting to Spec of C in li questions; this is the source of the trace in IP in (3b).

Looking back at the examples in (1), let us analyze them again in terms of Topic/Focus structure. (1a) has neither a Topic nor a Focus phrase. In (1b and c)

the preverbal NP is a Topic: as is normal for Topics, Ivan in (1b) and parite in (1c) are presupposed and would receive low stress and relatively flat intonation in speech. It is often stated that in yes-no questions with li the questioned element is placed before the verb, with li suffixed to it (e.g. Scatton 1984, Rudin 1986). It is obvious from these examples, however, that this is an oversimplification. Not all questions with a preverbal constituent place li after that constituent, nor is a fronted constituent always the questioned element. In fact, li is suffixed only to preverbal phrases which are Focus, not Topic. In (1d and e), the preverbal NP with suffixed li must be interpreted as Focus. Ivan in (d) and parite in (e) are the specifically questioned, definitely non-presupposed portion of their respective sentences, and would receive the strong stress and intonation peak characteristic of Focus phrases in speech.

The most interesting cases in (1) are those in (f) and (g), with two preverbal phrases. Here the first NP is Topic and the second is Focus. Crucially for our analysis li can only follow the second one, the Focus constituent. Sentences like (11a,b) are impossible regardless of stress, intonation, or context, providing strong evidence that li is associated with the syntactic Focus position, not simply pragmatic focus.

- 11.a. *Ivan li parite nameri? (compare (1f-g))
 b. *Parite li Ivan nameri?

A literary example of the same type is given in (12). Two phrases (not including the conjunction) precede the verb in this sentence, and as expected li attaches to the second of them, which is interpreted as the Focus.

12. Ami [top zemnata hubost] [foc djavolska] li e?
 but earthly beauty wicked li is
 'But is earthly beauty wicked?' (Stanev, quoted in Tilkov et al)

Attaching li to the first fronted phrase produces a thoroughly ungrammatical sentence, as predicted:

13. *Ami zemnata hubost li djavolska e?

The immediately following li forces interpretation of zemnata hubost as Focus -- but this is impossible, as the Focus position is filled by djavolska. The ungrammaticality of (13) clearly results from the conflict of the Focus-marking nature of li with its non-Focus position in this sentence.

In a sentence with only one NP the association of li with Focus holds just as well. Depending on the position of li, either the single NP or the predicate may be questioned.

- 14.a. Kafe šte pieš li?⁶
 coffee will drink li
 'Will you drink coffee?'
 b. Kafe li šte pieš?
 coffee li will drink
 'Is it COFFEE you're going to drink?'

In (14a) kafē has low stress and relatively low, flat pitch, while the verb is stressed. This is a normal invitation or offer; the topic is coffee, and the focus is on whether or not the other person will drink some. When li follows kafē, as in (14b), kafē must be the Focus and must bear main sentence stress.

Li is associated with Focus in constructions other than yes-no questions too. In sentences like (15), li occurs with wh words to form an emphatic question.

- 15.a. Kakvo li nameri?
what li found
'What on earth did s/he find?'
- b. Kūde li da otidem?
where li to go
'Where ever shall we go?'

In this construction we see the focus-marking function of li in pure form. It carries no strictly interrogative meaning here, interrogation being independently marked by the wh word.⁷

Li also occurs in structures that are not questions at all. One of these is the construction in (16), in which li indicates "prolonged action" (Čolakova) by focusing and repeating the verb. There is no interrogative meaning present; the function of li is entirely emphatic.

- 16.a. Vūrvi li vūrvi momičeto.
walk li walk girl-the
'The girl kept walking and walking.'

Furthermore, the use of li in phrases like edva li 'hardly', as in (17), can also be seen as a manifestation of its focusing function. Discussing the parallel construction in Russian, Payne (1985) points out that "inherently negative adverbs" like edva "crosslinguistically tend to associate with the focused elements in a sentence" (232).

17. Edva li imaše njakoj v seloto da spi. (Kirilov/14)
hardly li was anyone in village-the to sleep
'There was hardly anyone sleeping in the village.'

In short, it seems li is always suffixed to a focused element or to a verb, both in its usual interrogative use and in certain other constructions.

(III) li incorporates V at S-structure (if no Focus phrase)

Rivero (1993b) argues convincingly that Bulgarian has V-to-C movement, including "Long Head Movement" of non-finite V to C over I containing an auxiliary verb. Rivero further argues that V-to-C in Bulgarian, as in other "Long Head Movement" languages is a "last resort" rule, which applies only when needed to license functional heads whose morphological requirements would otherwise not be met. Thus V-to-C applies, for instance, to license the clitic functional heads in (18-19).

- 18.a. Namerila sŭm parite
 found am money-the
 'I have found the money.'
- b. *Sŭm namerila parite
 am found money-the
- c. Kaži, če sŭm namerila parite
 say that am found money-the
 'Say that I have found the money.'
- d. *Kaži, če namerila sŭm parite
 say that found am money-the

In (18), we see that the auxiliary sŭm cannot head an ungoverned IP, hence the ungrammaticality of (18b), but must be governed by an item in C⁰: a complementizer, as in (18c), or, in the case of a main clause with no complementizer, the fronted V, as in (18a). When the morphological support requirements of sŭm are met by a complementizer, V-to-C movement may not apply, so (18d), with both a complementizer and fronted V, is ungrammatical.

- 19.a. Nameri gi včera.
 found them yesterday
 'S/he found them yesterday.'
- b. *Gi nameri včera.
 them found yesterday
- c. Kaži, če gi nameri včera.
 say that them found yesterday
 'Say that s/he found them yesterday.'
- d. *Kaži, če nameri gi včera.
 say that found them yesterday

Similarly in (19), the clitic pronoun gi (which we can assume to be a functional head -- AGR or perhaps D) may not head an ungoverned projection (19b). It must be governed either by a complementizer (19c) or V-in-C (19a), but not both (19d).

I claim that V-to-C applies in li clauses in just the same way, as a "last resort" rule that licences li by satisfying its morphological requirements,⁸ specifically by allowing it to assign its Focus feature. Unlike the aux verbs and clitic pronouns in (81)-(19), li is itself in C, and therefore incorporates rather than being governed by the moved V. Since li never cooccurs with (other) complementizers one might expect that V-to-C would always apply, but as we have seen this is not the case, because li can also be licensed from Spec of C. If li is able to discharge its Focus feature onto a phrase in the Spec position, V raising is not needed to license it, and so it must not apply.

20. *Vlakūt pristignal li e, ili reisa?
 train-the arrived li is or bus-the

As we have seen, in sentences with li suffixed to V, a fronted constituent must be interpreted as Topic, not Focus. (e.g. (1b,c)). In (20), the contrast with

reisa 'the bus' forces interpretation of vlakūt as Focus, resulting in an ungrammatical cooccurrence of Focus and V-in-C. The Topic position is in some sense too far away to license li, and so can cooccur with V-in-C, but a Focus phrase in Spec of C does license li and therefore disallows V-in-C in the same clause.

In fact, other functional heads can be licensed by an item in Spec of C as well, for instance, a wh word, as in the examples in (21):

- 21.a. Kakvo sūm namerila?
 what am found
 'What have I found?'
 b. Koga gi nameri?.
 when them found
 'When did s/he find them?'

In short, the analysis of sentences like (1a through c) as an instance of V raising to C in case Spec of C is empty is quite well supported.⁹

(IV) li assigns Focus feature to a phrase in Spec of C

In a recent analysis of li questions without fronted phrases other than V, Rivero (1993a) claims that Bulgarian has two movement options to license li:

22. (1) V^o-raising (incorporation in C^o)
 a. [C Kupil_i li] si e_i knigata?
 bought li are book-the
 'Have you bought the book?'
 (2) li-hopping (lowering to I (first stressed element in I))
 b. e_i ne [I si li_i] kupil knigata?
 not are li bought book-the
 'Haven't you bought the book?'
 c. e_i ne [I ti li_i haresva] knigata?
 not you li pleases book-the
 d. e_i šte [I kupiš li_i] knigata?
 will buy li book-the
 'Are you going to buy the book?'
 e. e_i da [I ti donesa li_i] edno kafence?
 to you bring li a coffee
 'Shall I bring you a coffee?'

We have already seen the first of these options, raising of V to C. The second, which Rivero calls li-hopping, applies only when V-to-C raising is blocked by a NegP, ModalP, or da (which may also be a modal). When such a barrier to V-raising is present, li lowers to the first stressed word in I, which may be the finite verb or a stressed auxiliary or pronoun following ne¹⁰.

Let us provisionally accept the analysis in (22) and see how it can be extended to cover cases with a fronted Focus phrase. As must be clear by now, I am proposing to add a third option for licensing of li, namely, (3) Focus Movement (raising of IP-initial Focus to Spec of C). This has already been exemplified repeatedly (e.g. in (1d-g), with structure (3b)). Focus-movement is in fact the

preferred option for licensing li, in the sense that it always applies if possible; VO-raising applies only if Focus-Movement cannot, and li-hopping only if neither of the other movements is possible.

It is abundantly clear that li can be licensed by an immediately preceding Focus phrase, to which it assigns its Focus feature. However, it is far from clear that this phrase is in Spec of C. In fact, given the existence of the IP-internal Focus position in tree (9), which is well supported in non-li clauses, it is reasonable to wonder if li doesn't lower to this position instead of the Focus phrase raising. Instead of the structure in (3b), sentences with li and a Focus phrase might have structure (23):

23. [CP (TOPIC) [CP [C e_k] [IP [FOCUS_i li_k] [VP ... e_i ...]]]
+foc

If we accept Rivero's li-hopping (lowering) analysis of (22b-e), there is precedent for lowering of li into IP -- and in fact I am not fully convinced that such an analysis would be wrong.

However, at present I lean toward the Spec-of-C analysis, for several reasons. First, as we have seen (in (15)), li does attach to wh words, which I have argued at length elsewhere (1986, 1988) are in Spec of C. The wh words that host li have the same syntactic characteristics as "normal" wh words; for instance, they can be extracted from indefinitely deeply embedded clauses:

24. Kakvo_i li iskat [CP da kažeš [CP će sa napravili e_i]] ?
what li want to say that are done
'What on earth do they want you to say that they did?'

and they can participate marginally in multiple wh fronting constructions:

25. ?Koj li kogo e udaril?
who li whom is hit
'Who on earth hit who?'

I assume, therefore, that wh words with li are in Spec of C, like all other wh words, and that li in this construction assigns its Focus feature to Spec of C, exactly as in the structure proposed in (3b).

Second, there is in any case some kind of relation between Spec of C and Focus position. When the Spec position is filled, no Focus constituent may occur adjoined to IP. Sentence (26a), with a wh word in Spec of C and knigata 'the book' in IP-initial Focus position, is strongly ungrammatical, though variants of the sentence with knigata in a different position, either Topic or VP-internal, are fine.

- 26.a. *Koj knigata e kupil
who book-the is bought
('Who bought THE BOOK? ')
b. Knigata koj e kupil?
c. Koj e kupil knigata?

Somewhat unexpectedly, this is true not only with interrogative *wh* words, which are the semantic Focus of their clause, but also with relative pronouns, which are surely not the semantic Focus:

- 27.a. *Ženata, kojato knigata e kupila...
 woman who book-the is bought
 ('The woman who bought THE BOOK...)
 b. Ženata, knigata kojato e kupila...
 c. Ženata, kojato e kupila knigata...

It seems that any item in Spec of C prevents realization of IP-initial Focus, perhaps by absorbing a Focus feature that would otherwise be assigned to that position. While it is not entirely clear just what the relation of Spec of C and Focus assignment is, it is at least clear that they do have some connection, and it is thus reasonable that Focused elements might raise to the Spec of C position.

Third, raising to Spec of C seems to accommodate the utterance-final *li* construction in (28), the only major usage of *li* that we have not yet dealt with, better than lowering of *li* to a specific position within IP does.

- 28.a. Parite *li*?
 money-the *li*
 'The money?' (Is it true? Is that what you mean?)
 b. Nameri parite *li*?
 found money-the *li*
 'He found the money?'
 c. Ivan e dovolen, zaštoto nameri parite *li*?
 Ivan is happy because found money-the *li*
 'Ivan is happy because he found the money?'

In this construction *li* appears at the end of any sentence or fragment, giving something like an echo question. This may well be an instance of the entire IP complement of *li* moving to Spec of C (as Rivero suggests (pc)); intuitively, at least, this is more attractive than positing yet another syntactic option for *li*-placement and Focus marking, such as right-adjunction to CP or IP. There are also cases that involve Focusing of a whole CP, including a Topic (*Ivan* in (28c) as well as (29b)) or even a complementizer: *dali* in both examples in (29):

29. a. Dali e dovolen *li*?
 whether is happy *li*
 'Is he happy? (Are you asking me if he is happy?)
 b. Ivan dali e dovolen *li*?
 Ivan whether is happy *li*
 'Is Ivan happy? (Are you asking me if Ivan is happy?)'

It may seem odd to place an entire CP in Spec of C, but perhaps less so if we analyze *li* as the head of a higher CP. This construction is the only case in which *li* shares a clause with another complementizer, so it may in fact represent a totally different structure than other uses of *li*. Any argument based on it is necessarily tentative at this point. But still, the utterance-final *li* is at least compatible with an analysis of normal Focus phrases in Spec of C, and certainly does not support a lowering of *li* to the first constituent in IP.

Finally, consider one last construction, which again is problematic, but at least suggestive of an analysis in which Focus phrases with li are fronted to Spec of C. Under conditions that are not entirely clear to me, a single word, usually an adverbial intensifier, can precede li while the rest of the phrase follows it.

- 30.a. Tolkova li mnogo hora imaše?
 so li many people there-were
 'Were there SO many people?'
 b. Suvsem li nova roklja noseše?
 completely li new dress wore
 'Was she wearing a COMPLETELY new dress?'

A reasonable analysis of these is that an NP (e.g. tolkova mnogo hora) has been moved to the usual IP-internal Focus position, and then the initial adverbial element of NP has been fronted further, to Spec of C, leaving the rest of the phrase in IP.

31. [CP [Spec tolkova] [C li] [IP [e_i mnogo hora]_k [VP ... e_k ...]]]
 +foc

One might be tempted to analyze this as insertion of li within the NP. However, note that li normally may not follow the first word of a phrase, but must follow the whole maximal constituent.¹¹

- 32.a. *Nova li roklja noseše?
 new li dress wore
 b. Nova roklja li noseše?
 'Was she wearing a NEW DRESS?'
 33.a. ?*Mnogo li hora imaše?
 many li people there-were
 b. Mnogo hora li imaše?
 'Were there MANY PEOPLE?'

Apparently certain types of adverbials are able to be extracted from NP, while adjectives and quantifiers are not. I do not pursue any analysis of this here.¹²

None of the material presented in this section constitutes a conclusive argument -- but given the theoretically problematic nature of lowering, it seems best for the moment to assume that Focus constituents with li are indeed moved to Spec of C.

In conclusion, let me just summarize the analysis: li is a (usually interrogative) Focus marker, which must assign its Focus feature to a constituent which it either incorporates or is in a Spec-head relation with. In simple cases this means either a Focus phrase or wh word must be in the Spec position, or, if Spec is empty, a verb raises to C⁰ to license li. Constructions involving auxiliary verbs or negation may involve lowering of li to I, and the analysis of a few other constructions remains unclear. However, even in these cases li always follows either a verbal element of some sort or a preverbal phrase, and it always assigns

Focus to the constituent to which it is suffixed or, if this constituent is not X^{\max} , to the maximal projection of its trace.

NOTES

¹I would like to thank Marianna Williams for confirming some of the data and Maria Luisa Rivero for generous comments on an earlier paper and for sharing her unpublished work with me.

²For good traditional treatments with useful data, see Scatton (1984), Tilkov et al (1982).

³I argued in an earlier work (in Rudin (1986)) that li is not a complementizer, attributing its non-cooccurrence with complementizers to semantic incompatibility alone. However, the V-raising rule available in the present analysis invalidates the positional arguments of the earlier analysis.

⁴The exact definition of Topic and Focus is problematic. As used here Topic is a constituent which is "what the sentence is about"; it is usually presupposed or "old information". Focus is a constituent which is not presupposed and which is the most salient information given or requested by the sentence. For somewhat similar treatment of syntactic Topic and Focus positions see e.g. Kiss (1987) and Horvath (1986) on Hungarian.

⁵Nonetheless, the Topic is not "dislocated" in the sense of being completely external to the sentence. Bulgarian has a clear class of Left Dislocated phrases, which have properties quite distinct from those of Topics; they are always nominative NP, require a resumptive pronoun, and so on. (See Rudin 1986)

⁶(14a) is actually ambiguous in writing. In addition to the interpretation given it can be interpreted as an echo-like question "(Is it true) you're going to drink coffee?" On this reading the sentence is an instance of the utterance-final li construction in (28) below, rather than a topicalization structure as it is on the reading given in the text.

⁷Bulgarian grammarians, including Čolakova (1958), Dogramadžieva (1968), Andrejčin (1978), Mladenov (1979), and Tilkov et al (1982), have noted that li in the wh+li construction has an emphasizing function or that this construction tends to have a rhetorical question interpretation, much like the effect of wh+ever in English. There is also a separate question with wh+li+ne (negative), which however has very different properties than wh+li (Rudin 1986).

⁸Rivero (1993b, note 4) hints at such an analysis but does not develop it.

⁹As noted above, the verb in C does not itself "absorb" the focus, but transmits it to VP; the structural difference between (3a) and (3b) corresponds to a difference in interpretation. It's possible that V may actually be in Spec of C in cases where it is contrastively focused, in a sentence like Toj kupi li knjigata ili (ja) prodade? 'Did he BUY the book or SELL (it)?'

¹⁰Ne is intrinsically stressed, but this stress always shifts to the following word.

¹¹This is one of the major differences in the syntax of li questions between Bulgarian and Russian, where post-first-word position is normal (Chvany (1973), King (1993). Older stages of Bulgarian also had second-position li; structures like (32) are found "fossilized" in folk songs and proverbs, but are judged unacceptable in modern standard Bulgarian.

¹²The construction in (31) may be related to the only other type of case in which li seems to split a constituent: the marginally possible multiple wh construction in (25). (I have shown elsewhere (Rudin (1988)) that all the wh words do in fact form a constituent.) This construction too must involve either li attaching to first element in Spec of C or else fronting only one wh word to the Spec position and leaving the rest behind in some other, probably IP-initial, position.

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