Word order and information structure in New Testament Greek

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Chapter 4. Non-neutral word orders and the left periphery

1 Introduction

This chapter examines the non-neutral word orders that I identified in Chapter 2, namely OVS, OSV and SOV. The main goal of the chapter is to determine the possible derivations for these word orders. Assuming canonical V to T movement, O-initial and SOV clauses involve left peripheral arguments. For example, in the OVS example in (1a), the object *toûton tòn Ie:soûn* occurs preceding the verb and subject. The object consists of the proper name "Jesus" (along with the definite article), and a demonstrative. As shown by the context in (1b), the referent has been previously introduced. This makes it salient in the discourse, and it serves a 'resumptive' topic function.

(1) a. OVS clause

toûton	tòn	Ie:soûn
this.ACC.SG.M	D.ACC.SG.M	Jesus.ACC.SG.M

anéste:sen	ho	tʰeós
raise.up.3SG.AOR.IND.ACT	D.NOM.SG.M	God.NOM.SG.M

'God raised up this Jesus, (of which we are all witnesses).'

τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν ὁ θεός, (οὗ πάντες ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν μάρτυρες.) (A 2:32)

b. Context:

Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τούτους·Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον, ἄνδρα ἀποδεδειγμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς δυνάμεσι καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις οἷς ἐποίησεν δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν, καθὼς αὐτοὶ οἴδατε,'Men of Israel, listen to these words: "Jesus the Nazarene, a man attested to you by God with miracles and wonders and signs which God performed through him in your midst, as you yourselves know."' (A 2:22)

Although the object is clearly dislocated to the left periphery, it is in fact very difficult to determine whether it is a topic or a focus. In this language, there is no access to intonation, which is a very useful tool in identifying topic and focus in living languages. Second, both topicalization and focusing involve movement, and the surface string is not immediately indicative of what is topic and what is focus. Diagnostics such as clitic resumption versus lack thereof (see for example, Cinque 1990; Rizzi 1997; Benincà & Polletto 2004; Frascarelli 2004 concerning Italian) are not applicable. The strategy I take to distinguish topics from foci is to examine particular constructions that are associated with topic and focus in living languages. For example, additive particles such as "also" and "too" are associated with focus, and so I examine constituents preceded by the additive particle *kaí* "also", treating them as foci. Corrective constructions such as "*x* and not *y*", or "not *x* but *y*" are

associated with contrastive focus, therefore I examine these constructions in detail.

Recent studies on the left periphery suggest that there are multiple Topic projections therein (Rizzi 1997; Benincà & Poletto 2004), and some have argued that these Topic projections are strictly ordered. Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) argue for the hierarchy of left peripheral discourse projections in (2).

(2) Shifting topic > Contrastive topic > Focus > Familiar topic

The pragmatic division of labour in sentences in which there are two or three preverbal constituents is, to an extent, indicative of this order of Topic and Focus projections in NT Greek. Many SOV examples in the NT corpus show the order Shifting topic > Familiar topic, Shifting topic > Focus, and Focus > Familiar topic, therefore supporting the order Shifting topic > Focus > Familiar Topic. What is lacking however, is clear evidence for two distinct Topic projections, hosting shifting and contrastive topics respectively, preceding the Focus projection. Although at times, shifting topics and contrastive topics can be distinguished from one another, there are no examples that strongly suggest the presence of both of these. I therefore conclude that there is only one Topic projection preceding the Focus projection, which hosts constituents that fit the descriptions of shifting as well as contrastive topics. The structure of the clause is represented in (3) in tree format, where the discourse projections occur above TP. This illustrates the full potential discourse projections, but that they are only projected in a given derivation if there is a discourse feature in the Numeration to activate them.
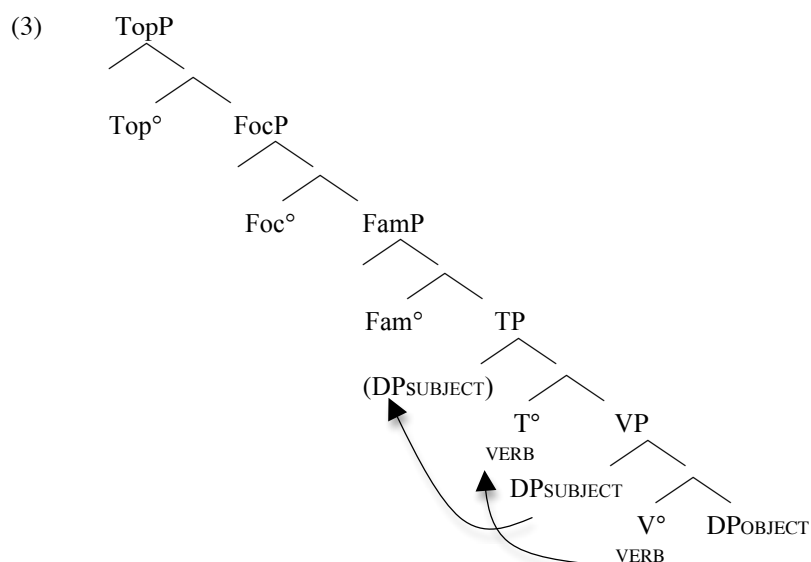
Recalling that the arguments are first merged in the lexical domain, VP and that verbs raise to T in the default case, in principle, any one of the four discourse projections can be activated to host objects in OVS clauses, and any two of them can

be activated in SOV and OSV clauses. In the case of OSV, recalling that there is some support for the Spec-T subject position, OSV clauses may also involve subject movement to Spec,T, with topicalization or focusing of only the object. As I discuss below, SOV clauses are the most indicative of the hierarchy of discourse projections in (3).

The rest of the chapter is organized as follows. In the next section, I distinguish topic and focus constructions. I first illustrate thematic and contrastive topics in NT Greek. In the realm of focus, I single out new information focus, contrastive focus and additive focus. In Section 3 I illustrate the order of topic projections in Italian proposed by Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007), and show that this order is reflected in some NT Greek examples with multiple topics, and with topics in combination with foci. In Section 4 I turn to SOV orders, and show that this order of topics and focus projections also gives the right results in terms of the information structure in these clauses. Section 5 deals with the position of dislocated quantifier arguments, as I introduced in Chapter 3, and 6 provides the conclusion.

2   Identifying topic and focus

2.1   Topic

A sentence topic is what a given sentence is about, and invokes knowledge that is shared by the speaker and hearer(s) (Strawson 1964; Reinhart 1981). Krifka (2007: 41) defines a topic constituent as in (4).

> (4) The topic constituent identifies the entity or set of entities under which the information expressed in the comment constituent should be stored in the CG content.

The CG content refers to Common Ground, information that is known to both the speaker and hearer, and which is constantly being expanded through discourse (Reinhart 1981). These types of topics, which are often called aboutness topics or thematic topics, may be marked with "as for", "about" or "concerning" in English, as in (5).

> (5) As for Mary, she's doing a good job.

These kinds of topics are often called aboutness topics, or thematic topics. These do not undergo dislocation, but are base-generated in their surface positions.

In NT Greek, the preposition *perí* introduces nominal and clausal topics, similarly to "as for" or "concerning". Complements of *perí* occur in the genitive case. *Perí* introduces both nominal, and possibly clausal topics. In (6), *perí* takes the DP *tê:s hairéseo:s taúte:s* "this chosen opinion", or "this sect" as its complement, and this DP is the topic of the sentence "it is known to us that it is spoken against everywhere". Notice that two second position particles, *mén* and *gár* intervene between the preposition and its complement.

(6)   *perí* > nominal topic
       perì   mèn gàr tê:s   hairéseo:s   taúte:s
       about PCL PCL D.GEN.SG.F sect.GEN.SG.F this.GEN.SG.F
       gno:stòn   he:mîn   estin   hóti …
       known.NOM.SG.N us.DAT.PL be.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT that…
       '(But we want to hear from you what your views are.) For, concerning
       this sect, it is known to us that (it is spoken against everywhere).'
       (ἀξιοῦμεν δὲ παρὰ σοῦ ἀκοῦσαι ἃ φρονεῖς,) περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς
       αἱρέσεως ταύτης γνωστὸν ἡμῖν ἐστιν (ὅτι πανταχοῦ ἀντιλέγεται.)
                                                            (A 28:22)

In (7), the preposition *perí* introduces the clausal topic "the fact that the dead
rise". The 'subject' of this clause, *tô:n nekrô:n* "the dead" raises to a position
preceding the complementizer *hóti*, and receives genitive case from the
preposition.[44]

(7) *perí* > clausal topic
    perì   dè   tô:n   nekrô:n
    concerning PCL D.GEN.PL.M dead.GEN.PL.M
    hóti egeírontai
    that raise.3PL.PRES.IND.MID
    'And concerning the fact that the dead rise: (haven't you read in the book of
    Moses, about the bush, how God spoke to him, saying, "I am the God of
    Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?")'
    περὶ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ὅτι ἐγείρονται (οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ
    Μωϋσέως ἐπὶ οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ Μωϋσέως ἐπὶ τοῦ βάτου πῶς
    εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς λέγων, Ἐγὼ ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ [ὁ] θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ
    [ὁ] θεὸς Ἰακώβ;)   (Mk 12:26)

Aboutness topics in NT Greek are sometimes left-dislocated and resumed with
demonstratives, as shown in the example in (8b) below. (8b) contains three copular
sentences, that are stated following the statement in (8a).

(8) a. ho   speíro:n
        D.NOM.SG.M   sow.NOM.SG.M.PRES.PART.ACT
        tò   kalòn   spérma   estin
        D.ACC.SG.N   good.NOM.SG.N   seed.NOM.SG.N   be.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT
        ho   huiòs   toû   antʰró:pou
        D.NOM.SG.M   son.NOM.SG.M   D.GEN.SG.M   man.GEN.SG.M
        'The one who sows the good seed is the son of man.'
        Ὁ σπείρων τὸ καλὸν σπέρμα ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
                                                            (Mt 13:37)

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[44] Another possible interpretation is that the subordinate clause is appositional to the
     DP *tô:n nekrô:n* "the dead", i.e., "concerning the dead, (namely) the fact that
     they rise".

(8) b. ho   dè   agrós   estin
        D.NOM.SG.M PCL field.NOM.SG.M be.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT
        ho   kósmos
        D.NOM.SG.M   world.NOM.SG.M
        tò   dè   **kalòn**   **spérma**
        D.NOM.SG.N PCL good.NOM.SG.N   seed.NOM.SG.N
        hoûtoí   eisin   hoi   huioì
        this.NOM.PL.M be.3PL.PRES.IND.ACT D.NOM.PL.M   son.NOM.PL.M
        tê:s   basileías
        D.GEN.SG.F   kingdom.GEN.SG.F
        tà   dè   zizániá   eisin
        D.NOM.PL.N PCL weed.NOM.PL.N be.3PL.PRES.IND.ACT
        hoi   huioì   toû   pone:roû
        D.NOM.PL.M   son.NOM.PL.M   D.GEN.SG.N   evil.GEN.SG.N
        'And the field is the world; and as for the good seed, these are the sons of
        the kingdom; and the weeds are the sons of evil.'
        ὁ δὲ ἀγρός ἐστιν ὁ κόσμος· τὸ δὲ καλὸν σπέρμα, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ υἱοὶ
        τῆς βασιλείας· τὰ δὲ ζιζάνιά εἰσιν οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ
                                                                (Mt 13:38)

In the metaphoric statement in (8a), *tò kalòn spérma* "the good seed" is introduced. In (8b), the metaphor is expanded on, and three copular statements are made. In the second of these, the topic *tò kalòn spérma* "the good seed" occurs preceding the demonstrative *hoûtoi*, which is the grammatical subject of the clause. Notice that this is a metaphorical statement, and the topic and demonstrative subject do not agree in gender and number. The demonstrative subject agrees with the predicative noun *hoi huioí* "the sons", which is ordinary usage. Demonstrative resumption is the typical kind of resumption in topicalization in NT Greek.[45] However, it does not always occur with topicalization, and on the whole, topicalization is more common with no resumption.

Notice that the particle *dé* occurs in all three statements in (8b). In previous literature (Bakker 1993), the Greek particle *dé* has been associated with topicality. According to Bakker (1993), the use of *dé* corresponds to shifts in topics of discourse, and marks discourse boundaries. The particle is an adversative connective particle, or conjunction, which was originally an adverb meaning "however" or "on the other hand" (Kuhner-Gerth 1904: 261ff; Smyth 1984: 644). At least in the NT, it usually follows the first word of the sentence. For example in (8), it follows the articles of each of the three topic constituents, therefore intervening between the articles and nouns.[46]

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[45] There are also some instances of resumption with the strong pronominal *autós* in anacoluthic relative clauses (see Maloney 1979).

[46] In relatively few cases, *dé* follows two words. In many of these cases, one of the words is lacking in pitch accent. For example, certain prepositions such as *apó* occur alongside relative pronouns, preceding *dé*. In this case, the final vowel of the preposition is elided and the final *p* consonant becomes aspirated by

Although it is quite frequent to see topic constituents occurring with *dé*, many other types of words precede *dé* other than topic constituents or sub-parts of topic constituents. For example, *dé* occurs in *wh*-questions (see chapter 5), in conditionals and subordinate clauses and therefore occurs following *wh*-words and conjunctions. It is therefore not a reliable diagnostic for topicality, even though it sometimes occurs with topic constituents.

2.1.1   Contrastive topic

While contrast is typically a notion that is tied to focus, there is a variety of topics that have a contrastive property. This category of topics is defined as further specifying the referent of a salient item in the discourse, and inducing alternatives that are salient in the discourse (see Kuno 1976; Büring 1997; Krifka 2007; Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007; Vermeulen 2008; Neeleman *et al*, 2010). The following example from Krifka (2007: 44) illustrates contrastive topics.[47]

(9) a.   What do your siblings do?
    b.   <u>My sister</u> studies medicine, and <u>my brother</u> is working on a freight ship.

The topic constituents, "my sister" and "my brother" further specify the salient discourse entity "siblings", and each of these topics is individually predicated in (9b).

In many languages, such as English, Italian and NT Greek (also Modern and Classical Greek), contrastive topics may occur fronted in the clause, in preverbal position. Example (10), from Benicà & Poletto (2004: 67) illustrates fronted contrastive topics in Italian.[48] The context makes the objects "the fruit" and "the vegetables" salient in the discourse. The objects are out of their canonical object position, and fronted to the left periphery.

(10)   Context: a farm producing a set of goods that are known to the people
       involved in the conversation.
       <u>La frutta</u> la regaliamo, e <u>la verdura</u>   la vendiamo.   ITALIAN
       the fruit it$_{CL}$ give for free and the vegetables it$_{CL}$ sell
       'The fruit we give for free, and the vegetables we sell.'

Contrastive topics are also fronted in NT Greek. In example (11), there are two sentences, each of which contains two conjoined clauses. These clauses contain the preverbal objects "the one" and "the other". As shown in the context below, these have just been introduced as being two masters.

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assimilation with the aspiration of the relative pronoun, i.e. *ap^h hê:s dé* .

[47] In the Functional Grammar approach, contrastive topics are called sub-topics, or inferable entities (Dik 1989).

[48] These authors refer to these kinds of topics as List Interpretation topics.

(11)   Contrastive topics
    [è: gàr   <u>tòn   héna</u>   misé:sei
    either PCL D.ACC.SG.M one.ACC.SG.M hate.3SG.FUT.IND.ACT
    kaì   <u>tòn   héteron</u>   agapé:sei   ]
    and D.ACC.SG.M other.ACC.SG.M love.3SG.FUT.IND.ACT
    [è: <u>henòs</u>   ant^{h}éxetai
    or   one.GEN.SG.M hold.3SG.FUT.IND.MID
    kaì   <u>toû   hetérou</u>   katap^{h}roné:sei   ]
    and D.GEN.SG.M other.GEN.SG.M look.down.on.3SG.FUT.IND.ACT
    '(No house-servant can serve two masters;) either he will hate one and love the other. Or, he will be devoted to one and look down on the other.'
    (Οὐδεὶς οἰκέτης δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν·) ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσει καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει, ἢ ἑνὸς ἀνθέξεται καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει.   (Lk 16:13, Mt 6:24)

In summary, aboutness or thematic topics in NT Greek may be preceded by the preposition *perí* "concerning", or left-dislocated with demonstrative resumption. Contrastively topicalized objects often occur in preverbal position, with no form of resumption. Although the conjunctive particle *dé* has been associated with topicality, it is not a reliable diagnostic for identifying topic constituents.

2.2   Focus

2.2.1   New information focus

Traditionally, the role of focus has been identified in constituent question-answer pairs. The constituent that answers the questioned constituent is focus material, as in the question-answer pair in (12) below, adapted from Krifka (2007: 14). Here, capitals signal Focus stress, and F stands for focus.

(12)   a. What did John show Mary?
        b. John showed Mary [the PICtures]F
        c. #[JOHN]F showed Mary the pictures.
        d. #John showed [MAry]F the pictures.

In the Alternative Semantics view, focus points out the existence of alternatives that are relevant for a particular linguistic expression (Rooth 1985). In (b) 'the pictures' is evaluated with respect to the possible things which John could have bought. Answers to *wh*-questions are known as new information foci. English new information foci are pronounced with focus stress. In (b), the focus stress is on the constituent that answers the question, and as (c) and (d) show, if the focus stress does not occur on this constituent but on another constituent the result is infelicitous.

New information focus in NT Greek seem to occur in preverbal position, however there is only one example of a question answer pair in which the answer contains a verb, given in (13). The question in (a) is a "what" question. In the

answer in (b), the demonstrative pronoun *toûto*, which answers the question, occurs preverbally.

(13)   a.   Tí   poié:so:
            what.ACC.SG.N   do.1SG.FUT.IND.ACT
            'What will I do, (because I have nowhere to store my fruit)?'
            Τί ποιήσω, (ὅτι οὐκ ἔχω ποῦ συνάξω τοὺς καρπούς μου;)

       b.   Toûto   poié:so:
            this.ACC.SG.N   do.1SG.FUT.IND.ACT
            '(And he said,) "This is what I'll do. (I'll pull down my barns, and build greater ones; and I will store my fruits and goods there".'.)'
            (καὶ εἶπεν,) Τοῦτο ποιήσω· (καθελῶ μου τὰς ἀποθήκας καὶ μείζονας οἰκοδομήσω, καὶ συνάξω ἐκεῖ πάντα τὸν σῖτον καὶ τὰ ἀγαθά μου,)   (Lk 12:17-18)

Notice that the question-answer pair is not ideal, as the poser and the answerer are the same person. It is therefore not a true information seeking question. The speaker rhetorically sets up this answer.

In Modern Greek, new information foci may occur either in pre- or postverbal position, as the examples in (14) from Gryllia (2008: 11-12) show. In this, I-FOC stands for information focus.

(14)   a.   Ti   harise   metaksi alon   o   Yanis   MODERN GREEK
            what give.3SG among other.GEN the.NOM John.NOM
            stin   Ilektra?
            to.the.ACC Ilektra.ACC
            'What, among other things, did John give to Ilektra?'

       b.   Harise   [ena   vivlio]I-FOC stin   Ilektra.
            Give.3SG a.ACC book.ACC   to.the.ACC Ilektra.ACC

       c.   [Ena   vivlio]I-FOC harise   stin   Ilektra.
            a.ACC book.ACC   give.3SG to.the.ACC Ilektra.ACC
            'John gave [a book]I-FOC (among other things) to Ilektra.'

The question in (a) seeks new information only, not an exhaustive answer, as witnessed by *metaksi alon*, "among other things"). The answer to the question posed in (a) contains a focused object, since the question seeks to know what John bought. The question can be answered with the object either postverbal (b) or preverbal (c). Gryllia (2008, Chapter 5) shows that the different positions correspond to different intonation patterns of foci.

In summary, there is evidence from NT Greek that new information foci undergo movement. With only one example of a question answer pair in which the answer contains a verb, we can't say whether new information foci also occur postverbally, as in Modern Greek.

2.2.2   Additive focus

Additive particles such as English "also" are focus sensitive, meaning that different realizations of focus stress result in different truth conditions. An example is given in (15).

(15)   a.   John also showed Mary the PICtures
        b.   John also showed MARY the pictures

While (a) means that John showed Mary the pictures, in addition to showing her other things, (b) means that John showed Mary the pictures, in addition to showing the pictures to at least one more person. In other words, clauses containing additive particles such as "also" entail those same clauses in the absence of the particle, and they presuppose that (at least) one of the alternatives in the context satisfies the denotation of the predicate (König 1991: 61-68).

As I have mentioned in Chapter 2, the particle *kaí* is a focus particle, used both additively like "also", and also as "even". The particle does not have a stable position in the clause, but directly precedes the constituent that it 'emphasizes' (Denniston 1954: lix-lx). An example of a fronted object preceded by *kaí* is given in (16), where the clause is the apodosis of a conditional. The object *tòn patéra mou* "my father" precedes the verb and the modal particle *án*.

(16)   *Kaí* O > V
        [ei emè   é:deite   ] kaì   tòn
         if   me.ACC.SG   know.2PL.PLPF.IND.ACT   also   D.ACC.SG.M
        patéra   mou   àn   é:deite
        father.ACC.SG.M   my.GEN.SG   PCL   know.2PL.PLPF.IND.ACT
        'If you had known me, you would also have known my father.'
        εἰ ἐμὲ ᾔδειτε, καὶ τὸν πατέρα μου ἂν ᾔδειτε.   (Jn 8:19)

In the protasis of the conditional, the pronominal object *emé* "me" is fronted to preverbal position. This object is directly contrasted with the focused object of the main clause. The pronoun *emé* is an alternative that has already been asserted as satisfying the denotation of the main clause verb, since the main and the embedded clause verbs are identical.

Additive foci preceded by *kaí* also occur postverbally. One example is given in (17), where the focused object *kaì tè:n allè:n* "also the other", referring to the other cheek, occurs postverbally.

(17)   V > I.O. > *kaì* O
        strépson   autô:i
        turn.2SG.AOR.IMPV.ACT   him.DAT.SG.M
        kaì   tè:n   allè:n
        also   D.ACC.SG.F   other.ACC.SG.F
        '(But, whoever should slap your right right cheek), turn the other to him, too.'

(ἀλλ᾿ ὅστις σε ῥαπίζει εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα [σου]), στρέψον αὐτῷ
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην·   (Mt 5:39)

In summary, additive foci preceded by *kaí* are found both pre- and postverbally.

2.2.3 Contrastive focus

Contrastive foci are evaluated within a set of alternatives that possibly satisfy the denotation of the predicate. Contrastive focus is often represented by corrective constructions, as in (18).

(18)   I want RICE, (and) not potatoes.

In English, contrastive foci often occur in-situ, like new information foci, and are pronounced with focus stress. The focused constituent is evaluated within a contrasting set of alternatives, and the corrective "and not" phrase removes one of these alternatives.

In Modern Greek and Italian, contrastive foci may be fronted in the clause (Gryllia 2008; Rizzi 1997, respectively). In (19), adapted from Rizzi (1997:290), the direct object focus "your book" is fronted ahead of the verb.

(19)   IL TUO LIBRO   ho   comprato (non il suo)
        the your book   have.1sg bought   (not the your)
        'YOUR BOOK I bought, (not his).'

It is useful to examine these constructions in NT Greek since there is no ambiguity as to what is being focused. The "and not" phrase tells us whether the focus on on a particular constituent of the main clause, or on the VP, or on the proposition. To find the examples, I used digital searches of the three forms of negation, *ou*, *ouk* and *ouk^h*, directly following *kaí* "and".[49] It was not feasible to examine every instance of negation, it's possible that I've missed some corrective constructions that do not include *kaí*.

In NT Greek, contrastive foci are found in both pre- and postverbal position, as (20) and (21) show. In (20), the preverbal object *éleos* "mercy" is corrected by *t^husían* "sacrifice".

(20)   éleos   t^hélo: kaì ou   t^husían
        mercy.ACC.SG.N want.1SG.PRES.IND.ACT and NEG sacrifice.ACC.SG.F
        'I want mercy, and not sacrifice.'
        Ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν·   (Mt 9:13, 12:7)

In (21), the postverbal PP *ek písteo:s K^hristoû* "from the faith of Christ" is corrected

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[49] When a non-aspirate (soft-breathing) vowel follows this NEG, the NEG comes out with a final kappa (*ouk*), and when an aspirate (rough breathing) vowel follows, it has a final chi (*ouk^h*).

by the PP *ex érgo:n nómou* "from the works of the law". The two prepositions are the same, the surface difference (*ek* versus *ex*) is determined by the phonological properties of the following word.

(21) hína dikaio:tʰô:men   ek   písteo:s   Kʰristoû
      that set.right.1PL.AOR.SUBJ.PAS from faith.GEN.SG.F Christ.GEN.SG.M
      kaì ouk ex   érgo:n   nómou
      and NEG from work.GEN.PL.N law.GEN.SG.M
      '(even we have believed in Christ Jesus,) so that we may be justified by faith in Christ and not by the works of the Law,'
      (καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπιστεύσαμεν,) ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου,   (Gal 2:16)

According to É.Kiss (1998), the notion of contrastive focus involves the exhaustive identification out of the set of possible alternatives. In contrast to new information focus, she calls exhaustive focus identificational focus (see Brody 1990). In Hungarian, identificational foci are obligatorily moved to the Focus field (the left periphery), while new information foci remain preverbal. This is shown in (22), from É.Kiss (1998: 249).

(22) a. Mari egy kalapot nézett ki magának.   HUNGARIAN
        Mary a   hat.ACC picked out herself.ACC
        'It was a hat that Mary picked for herself.'
      b. Mari ki nézett   magának egy kalapot
        Mary out herself.ACC picked   a   hat.ACC
        'Mary picked for herself A HAT.'

In (a), the interpretation is that Mary picked out a hat for herself, and nothing else. The exhaustive interpretation is not present in (b). The focus corresponds only to new information, which is indicated by small caps on "a hat".

In English, exhaustive, or 'identificational' foci are often clefted to the beginning of the sentence, with a copular verb and a relative clause, as in (23) below. In (a) a set of people are given, who were presumably involved in a crime. In (b) a single member is picked out as having performed the shooting, excluding the possibility that any of the other members took part in this action. Another alternative is to use the exhaustive adverb "only" preceding the focused phrase, as in (c).

(23) a. The police have arrested Anna, Benjamin and Catherine.
      b. It was ANna who pulled the trigger.
      c. Only ANna pulled the trigger.

NT Greek does not appear to display a cleft strategy for exhaustive focus. A digital search of the forms of the copular verb in combination with relative pronouns or the complementizer *hóti* gives no cleft constructions. One way to express exhaustivity is with the adverbial *mónon* "only". For example, in the corrective construction in (24), the PP *eis heautón* "about himself" is followed by *mónon*

"only".[50] The whole constituent is fronted ahead of the object *kaúk^{h}e:ma* and the verb *héxei*. The PP is corrected with *kaì ouk eis tòn héteron* "and not about another".

(24) kaì tóte eis   heautòn   mónon kaúk^{h}e:ma
      and then about self.ACC.SG.M only   boast.ACC.SG.N
      héxei   kaì ouk eis   tòn   héteron
      have.3SG.FUT.IND.ACT and NEG about D.ACC.SG.M other.ACC.SG.M
      ('But each one must examine his own work,) and then he will boast about
      himself only, and not about another.'
      (τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἑαυτοῦ δοκιμαζέτω ἕκαστος,) καὶ τότε εἰς ἑαυτὸν
      μόνον τὸ καύχημα ἕξει καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἕτερον·   (Gal 6:4)

The presence of *mónon* indicates that the moved focus constituent *eis heautón* is an exhaustive focus.

It may also be shown that fronted constituents in corrective constructions are not necessarily exhaustive. If *mónon* occurs in the canceled "and not" phrase, that indicates that the focused constituent is not exhaustive. For example, in (25) the fronted PP *ex érgo:n* cancels the PP *ek písteo:s mónon* "by faith only", implying that a man is indeed justified by faith, but not only by faith. This implies that the fronted PP is not exhaustive.

(25) ex   érgo:n   dikaioûtai   ánt^{h}ro:pos
      from work.GEN.PL.N set.right.3SG.PRES.IND.MID man.NOM.SG.M
      kaì ouk ek   písteo:s   mónon
      and NEG from faith.GEN.SG.F only
      '(You see that) a man is justified by works, and not by faith alone.'
      (ὁρᾶτε ὅτι) ἐξ ἔργων δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος καὶ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως
      μόνον.   (1 Jac 2:24)

In summary, contrastive foci occur either pre- or postverbally in NT Greek. Contrastive foci that are preverbal sometimes seem to express exhaustive identification, but this is not always the case.

2.2.4   Contrastive focus under negation

Another corrective construction illustrating contrastive focus shows the negation preceding the focus, in the shape "not *x*, but *y*". This focus construction differs from the ones seen in the last subsection in that negation takes scope over the focused phrase, not the canceled phrase. This type of focus is referred to as bound focus in

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[50] There is an additional complication here. The adverb *mónon* does not decline, but the related adjective *mónos* "alone" does. The adverbial is identical in form to the nominative/accusative neuter singular and the accusative masculine singular forms of the adjective. Therefore, in some instances, such as (24), it is unclear whether the form is an adverb, or whether it is an instance of secondary predication.

the literature (see Herburger 2000; Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria 2008), since negation takes scope over the focus.[51] An example is shown in (26).

(26)   Sascha didn't visit MontMARTRE, (but PiGALLE)
        (what Sascha visited was not Montmartre)

A digital search of the forms of negation within two lines preceding *allá* "but" reveals that canceled objects occur both pre- and postverbally. The canceled object is directly preceded by the negative morpheme, as shown in (27).

(27)   kaì   [hòs   emè   dék^{h}e:tai   ]
        and   REL.NOM.SG.M   me.ACC.SG   receive.3SG.FUT.IND.MID
        ouk   **emè**   dék^{h}e:tai
        NEG   me.ACC.SG   receive.3SG.PRES.SUBJ.MID
        allà tòn   aposteílantá   me
        but   D.ACC.SG.M   send.ACC.SG.M.AOR.PART.ACT   me.ACC.SG
        'And whoever should receive me will not receive me, but (he will receive) the one who sent me.'
        καὶ ὃς ἂν ἐμὲ δέχηται, οὐκ ἐμὲ δέχεται ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.
                                                        (Mk 9:37)

The 'subject' of (27) is the free relative clause, "whoever should receive me", and it is initial in the string. The object *emé* "me" is directly preceded by the negative marker *ouk*. This places narrow focus on the object, which is witnessed by the fact that the object is corrected in the following *alla* "but" clause/ phrase, by the substantivized participial clause *tòn aposteílantá me* "the one who sent me".

An example of a postverbal object that is focused under the scope of negation is shown in (28). As in (27), the negation is preverbal, but the object *dikaíous* "the righteous ones" is postverbal. It is clear that there is focus on the object, because it is corrected by the object *hamarto:loús* "the sinners".

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[51] The converse scope relation is called free focus (and this reading is represented by the same clause in (26), tagged with an "and not" expression.

(i) Sascha didn't visit MontMARTRE, (and not PiGALLE)
     (i.e., what Sascha didn't visit was Montmartre)

I illustrate only bound foci, in the absence of found examples of free foci. I did a digital search of the forms of negation within two lines of direct sequences of *kaí*, "and" and the forms of negation, however I found no examples of the scope ordering in (i).

(28) ou   gàr   ê:lt^hon   kalésai
      NEG PCL come.1SG.AOR.IND.ACT   call.AOR.INFIN.ACT
      dikaíous   allà hamarto:loús
      righteous.ACC.PL.M   but   sinner.ACC.PL.M
      'For, I came not to call the righteous, but the sinners.'
      οὐ γὰρ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς.
                                        (Mt 9:13; Mk 2:17; Lk 5:32)

2.3   Summary

In this Section, I introduced topic and focus, and showed how these notions can be applied to the NT Greek data. Topics generally show an aboutness property, and are either thematic or contrastive. Some thematic topics in NT Greek are introduced with the preposition *perí* "concerning", and some are resumed with demonstratives. Contrastive topics tend to occur preverbally, with no resumption.

The core notion of focus is evaluation with respect to possible alternatives. There are a few different varieties of focus that I illustrated in NT Greek: new information focus, contrastive and exhaustive focus, and additive focus. Most of these foci are found both pre- and postverbally, the exception being new information focus, of which only the preverbal variety is attested. There is, however, only example of a question-answer pair, which is the context in which new information focus can be found.

3   A hierarchy of Topic and Focus projections

In some languages, topic and / or focus particles occur overtly in the Left Periphery. In the example in (29) below, from Aboh (2004: 291), the topicalized constituent directly precedes the topic marker *yà*, in the Specifier of TopP. The focused constituent directly precedes the focus particle *wɛ́*, following the topicalized constituent and topic marker.

(29) ún   ɖɔ̀   ɖɔ̀ [dàn lɔ̀]   yà,   GUNGBE
      1SG say.PERF that snake SPF[+def] Top
      [Kòfí] wɛ́ ún   hù   - ì   ná
      Kofi Foc 1SG kill.PERF.3SG for
      'I said that, as for the specific snake, I killed it for KOFI.'

As I mentioned in the introduction, within the cartographic approach, these topic and focus particles are taken to be heads of Topic and Focus projections, which contain Topic and Focus features that trigger movement of a constituent with the same kind of feature. The moved constituents end up in the Specifier of the designated functional projection. Only in some languages the functional heads are overt; in languages without topic or focus particles, the head is assumed to be null.

In Italian, multiple topics are grammatical, and there may be potentially any

number of topics in the left periphery (Cinque 1990; Rizzi 1997). Sequences of multiply fronted foci, on the other hand, are ungrammatical. The examples in (30) and (31), adapted from Rizzi (1997:290), illustrate the possibility of multiple topics but not multiple foci.

(30) Il libro, a Gianni, domani, glieglo   darò   senz'   altro
the book to John tomorrow to-him$_{CL}$-it$_{CL}$ give.1SG.FUT without other
'The book, to John, tomorrow, I'll give it to him for sure.'

(31) *A GIANNI IL LIBRO darò   (non a Pirio, l'articulolo)
TO JOHN THE BOOK give.1SG.FUT, (not to Piero, the article
'I'll give the BOOK to JOHN, (not the article to Piero).

When topics co-occur with a focus, they can occur preceding or following the focus, as shown in (32), from Rizzi (1997:291).

(32) A Gianni, QUESTO, domani, gli   dovrete   dire
To John, THIS,   tomorrow to-him$_{CL}$ should.2PL.FUT tell
'To John, tomorrow, you should tell him THIS.'

In Rizzi's (1997) hierarchy of the left periphery, the Topic Phrase (TopP) is recursive, as signaled by the asterisk, meaning that it has an unlimited number of instantiations, while there is only one Focus Phrase (FocP) per clause. These discourse projections occur between the Force Phrase (ForceP), which specifies the illocutionary force of an utterance, and the Finiteness Phrase (FinP), which is the boundary with the IP, or Tense domain, as I introduced in Chapter 1. This is re-illustrated in (33).

(33) ForceP…TopP*…FocP…TopP*…FinP…IP/TP

More current research has suggested that TopP is not recursive (for example, Benincà & Poletto 2004, Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007). Recent work by Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) distinguishes three subtypes of topics, which have different functions as well as different intonational contours. They argue that the different types of topics consistently occur in designated Topic projections, and that the order of these Topic projections is fixed in a language. Italian shows the hierarchy in (34).

(34) Shifting topic [+aboutness] > Contrastive topic > Focus > Familiar topic

Shifting topics are characterized according to one of the properties of Givon's (1983:9) chain initial topic. This definition is given in (35).

(35) Shifting topic: A newly introduced, newly changed or newly returned topic.

A shifting topic always has an aboutness property. The Italian example in (36) from Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007: 96) illustrates a shifting topic.

(36)   per esempio <u>il CD-rom</u> invece   ITALIAN
        for example the CD-rom instead
        non l'   avevo   mai visto
        not it (CL) have.PAST.1SG never seen
        'So, for instance, I had never seen a CD Rom before.'

Shifting topics are characterized by the 'L* + H' contour, which is a complex low tone followed by a high tone. At the onset of the tonic syllable, the low tone rises sharply, and falls sharply again. The constituent forms its own intonational unit (see Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007: 91 for an illustration of the contour).

Below the projection hosting shifting topics, is the projection dedicated to contrastive topics. Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007: 92) show that the intonational contour of a contrastive topic is different from that of shifting topic in Italian. Contrastive topics in Italian are associated with the 'H*' intonation contour, which shows a different pitch alignment from the L* + H contour. The example in (37) illustrates a contrastive topic in Italian.

(37)   Invece <u>a lei</u> non l'   ha   presa come speaker
        instead to her not her-CL have.3SG taken as   speaker
        'On the contrary he didn't choose her to be the speaker.'

The lowest Topic projection Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) propose hosts so-called familiar topics. Familiar topics are given or accessible from the discourse, where given-ness is evaluated according to Chafe (1976). Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007: 96) give the following Italian example.

(38)   Io francamente <u>questa attività particolare</u>   ITALIAN
        I frankly   this   activity particular
        non me   la   ricordo.
        not to.me(CL) it(CL) remember.1SG
        'Frankly, I don't remember that particular activity.'

The topic *questa attivita particolare* is just mentioned, or is somehow salient in the discourse, which in this case corresponds to the presence of the demonstrative pronoun *questa*. Familiar topics are characterized by the L* intonational contour: a low tone on the tonic vowel, but slightly higher than the lowest tone of the utterance, which occurs right before the topicalized constituent.

The fragment in (39), adapted from Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007: 88) demonstrates the order of topics in Italian. Note that there is no punctuation in the example, since it comes from a recording of running speech.

(39)   ITALIAN

La situazione è questa: l'insegnante come ho detto **ai ragazzi** è in maternità ha una gravidanza difficile e sta usufruendo di quella legge particolare della maternità anticipata per ora ha avuto un mese io penso che non tornerà però lei m'ha detto ah di non dirlo ancora **ai ragazzi** perché per motivi suoi- comunque io signora penso di chiudere l'anno *[…]* **questo** comunque **io ai ragazzi** non l'ho detto direttamente.

'This is the situation: the teacher, as I told the students, is pregnant, she's having a difficult pregnancy and she is now having benefits from that specific law that allows early maternity-leave. So far, she has been given one month. I don't think she is coming back, however she told me not to tell the students yet, because- well, she has her reasons. However, I think I will keep the class till the end of the year […] This, however, I haven't told the students directly.'

Questo,	io	ai	ragazzi	non	l'	ho	detto	direttamente.
this	I	to.the	boys	not	it(CL)	have.1SG	told	directly

'I did not tell this [fact] to the students directly.'

In the sentence in question, the direct object *questo* precedes the subject pronoun *io*, which precedes the indirect object *ai ragazzi* (the adverb *comunque* intervenes between *questo* and *io*). *Questo* is a shifting topic (which is an aboutness topic), and it is doubled with a clitic. The pronoun *io* is reported to have the intonational contour of a contrastive topic, which corresponds to the fact that it is being contrasted with the referent in the preceding discourse, *l'insegnante* "the teacher". *Ai ragazzi* "the boys", or in this case "the students" is familiar in the discourse, having been mentioned twice in the context given, and is classified as a familiar topic.

3.1   Topic sub-types in NT Greek

The different topic sub-types identified by Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) can also be identified in NT Greek, and they seem to reflect the same order. As I mentioned above, shifting topics carry an aboutness property, and are either newly introduced topics or newly returned to topics. The passage in (40) illustrates shifting and familiar topics. In (a), there is a shifting topic that is newly introduced. There is a shifting topic that is newly returned to in (c), and there is a familiar topic in (b). The whole passage is given in Greek and English in (d).

(40)   a.

gunè:	dè	tis	onómati	Márt^{h}a
woman.NOM.SG.F	PCL	INDEF.NOM.SG.F	name.DAT.SG.N	Mart^{h}a

hupedéxato	autón
receive.3SG.AOR.IND.MID	him.ACC.SG.M

'And a certain women named Martha received him.'

  b. kaì   tê:de   ê:n   adelpʰè:
      and   this.DAT.SG.F   be.3SG.IMPF.IND.ACT   sister.NOM.SG.F
      kalouméne: Máriam
      call.NOM.SG.F.PRES.PART.MID   Mary   ….
      'And to her there was a sister called Mary.'

  c. hè: de   Mártha   periespâto
      D.NOM.SG.F   PCL   Martha   trouble.3SG.IMPF.IND.MID
      perì   pollè:n   diakonían
      about   much.ACC.SG.F   serving.ACC.SG.F
      'But Martha was troubling with a lot of serving.'

  d. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς κώμην τινά·
      γυνὴ δέ τις ὀνόματι Μάρθα ὑπεδέξατο αὐτόν. καὶ τῇδε ἦν
      ἀδελφὴ καλουμένη Μαριάμ, [ἣ] καὶ παρακαθεσθεῖσα πρὸς τοὺς
      πόδας τοῦ κυρίου ἤκουεν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ. ἡ δὲ Μάρθα
      περιεσπᾶτο περὶ πολλὴν διακονίαν· ἐπιστᾶσα δὲ εἶπεν, Κύριε, οὐ
      μέλει σοι ὅτι ἡ ἀδελφή μου μόνην με κατέλιπεν διακονεῖν; εἰπὲ
      οὖν αὐτῇ ἵνα μοι συναντιλάβηται.
      'And during their journey, he entered a village. And a certain woman
      named Martha received him. And she had a sister called Mary, who
      sitting at the feet of the lord, heard his word. But Martha was busy
      with much serving. And coming up, she said "Lord, do you not care
      that my sister has left me alone to serve? Then tell her that she should
      help me.'   (Lk 10:40)

In (a), the constituent "a certain woman by the name of Martha" is the preverbal
subject. This is the first time in the story that she is introduced. The constituent
contains the specific indefinite *tis*, which as I discussed in Chapter 2 is typical of
topicalized constituents. In (b), the demonstrative pronoun *tê:de* "to her" refers to
Martha, thus is a familiar topic. This pronoun is a possessive dative in a
presentational sentence that introduces Martha's sister Mary. Notice that the newly
introduced constituent "a sister called Mary" is postverbal, presumably in the VP, or
in a vP internal Focus projection. In (c), the topic of discourse is shifted back to
Martha.

    The example in (41) illustrates a familiar topic that is a full DP constituent. As
shown by the previous context, the speaker has just mentioned that he has authority
(ἐξουσίαν, *exousían*). The fronted object *taúte:n tè:n entolè:n* "this command"
refers to the aforementioned authority.

  (41)   Familiar topic
         taúte:n   tè:n   entolè:n   élabon
         this.ACC.SG.F   D.ACC.SG.F   comandment.ACC.SG.F   take.1SG.AOR.IND.ACT
         parà   toû   patrós   mou
         from   D.GEN.SG.M   father.GEN.SG.M   my.GEN.SG
         '(For, I have the authority to lay it down, and I have the authority to take
         it back.) This commandment I took from my father.'

(ἐξουσίαν ἔχω θεῖναι αὐτήν, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω πάλιν λαβεῖν αὐτήν·)
ταύτην τὴν ἐντολὴν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου.   (Jn 10:18)

Examples of contrastive topic objects in NT Greek were shown above in (11). In (42) below, contrastive topic subjects are illustrated with two parallel clauses. The contrastive topic subjects are the pronouns *humeîs* "you-PL" and *egó:* "I". The predicates are also contrastive, consisting of prepositional phrases with the copula. These prepositional phrases precede the copulas in both instances. It is possible that the PPs are contrastive foci, but the main point of focus here is the initial contrastive topics.

(42)   Contrastive topics
<u>Humeîs</u>   ek   tô:n   káto: esté,
you.NOM.PL from D.GEN.PL.M below be.2PL.PRES.IND.ACT
<u>egò:</u>   ek   tô:n   áno: eimí
I.NOM.SG from D.GEN.PL.M above be.1SG.PRES.IND.ACT
'You are from those beneath, I am from those above.'
Ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῶν κάτω ἐστέ, ἐγὼ ἐκ τῶν ἄνω εἰμί· (Jn 8:25)

Lacking intonational evidence, it is often difficult to distinguish contrastive topics from shifting topics. This is due to the fact that newly returned to topics (classified as shifting topics) are often inferable as belonging to a set that is given in the discourse. For example, consider the example in (43) below, in which the topicalized element is the direct object *tòn sîton* "the corn". This example occurs in a parable about the kingdom of heaven, in which it is compared to a man sowing a good seed, which grows into wheat. During the story, it is mentioned that weeds (*tà zizánia*) also grew in the man's field. The servant of the man suggests that they tear up the weeds, and the man responds with the text in (43).

(43)   <u>tòn</u>   dè   <u>sîton</u>   sunagágete
D.ACC.SG.M PCL corn.ACC.SG.M gather.2PL.PRES.IMPV.ACT
eis   tè:n   apot^hé:ke:n   mou
into D.ACC.SG.F barn.ACC.SG.F my.GEN.SG
'(No, lest while gathering up the weeds, you might uproot the wheat together with them. Let them both grow together until harvest, and in the time of the harvest, I will say to the reapers, "Gather first the weeds and bind them in bundles to burn them up.) And the wheat, gather it into my barn."'
(Οὔ, μήποτε συλλέγοντες τὰ ζιζάνια ἐκριζώσητε ἅμα αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον. ἄφετε συναυξάνεσθαι ἀμφότερα ἕως τοῦ θερισμοῦ· καὶ ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ θερισμοῦ ἐρῶ τοῖς θερισταῖς, Συλλέξατε πρῶτον τὰ ζιζάνια καὶ δήσατε αὐτὰ εἰς δέσμας πρὸς τὸ κατακαῦσαι αὐτά,)
τὸν δὲ σῖτον συναγάγετε εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην μου.   (Mt 13:30)

The object *tòn sîton* "the wheat" has been previously mentioned, and can be described as a newly returned to topic. It is also contrasted with *tà zizánia* "the

weeds". Notice further that familiarity in the discourse is the hallmark of a familiar topic. There is therefore some overlap in the properties that the different topics display. Shifting and contrastive topics are often familiar in the discourse. If they display no contrastive or aboutness property in addition to being familiar in the discourse, I consider them to be familiar topics.

3.2   The order of topics in NT Greek

With no access to intonation, it is not possible to distinguish topics based on their pitch contours. However, strings of multiple topics seem to occur in a consistent order, based on which properties they display (aboutness, contrast and familiarity). The two passages I illustrate in (44) and (45) below show the order Shifting topic > Familiar topic, and Contrastive topic > Familiar topic.

The example in (44) shows that the shifting topic *tô:i Abraám* "Abraham" precedes the familiar topic *di' epangelías* "by command", which precedes the verb and postverbal subject. The initial shifting topic is more precisely a newly returned to topic, as the context of the example, given in (b), shows. I classify *di' epangelías* "by command" as a familiar topic, since it has been mentioned many times in the previous discourse, and does not itself carry contrast, and does not display the aboutness property.

(44)   a.   Shifting topic > Familiar topic
            tô:i   dè   Abraàm   di' epangelías
            D.DAT.SG.M PCL Abraham by   command.ACC.PL.F
            kekʰáristèai   ho   tʰeós
            say.3SG.PERF.IND.MID D.NOM.SG.M god.NOM.SG.M
            'But to Abraham God gave it by command.'   (Gal 3:18)

       b.   Ἀδελφοί, κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω· ὅμως ἀνθρώπου κεκυρωμένην διαθήκην οὐδεὶς ἀθετεῖ ἢ ἐπιδιατάσσεται. τῷ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐρρέθησαν αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ. οὐ λέγει, Καὶ τοῖς σπέρμασιν, ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐφ' ἑνός, Καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου, ὅς ἐστιν Χριστός. τοῦτο δὲ λέγω· διαθήκην προκεκυρωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ μετὰ τετρακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονὼς νόμος οὐκ ἀκυροῖ, εἰς τὸ καταργῆσαι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ νόμου ἡ κληρονομία, οὐκέτι ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας· τῷ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ δι' ἐπαγγελίας κεχάρισται ὁ θεός.
            'Brothers, I speak in terms of human relations: even though it is only a man's covenant, yet when it has been ratified, no one sets it aside or adds conditions to it. To Abraham the commands were spoken, and to his seed. He does not say, "And to seeds," as referring to many, but rather to one, "And to your seed," that is, Christ. What I am saying is this: the Law, which came four hundred and thirty years later, does not invalidate a covenant previously ratified by God, so as to nullify the command. For if the inheritance is based on law, it is no longer based on a command; But to Abraham God granted it by command.'
                                                                (Gal 3:15-18)

The example in (45) illustrates a contrastive topic preceding a familiar topic, which in turn precedes the verb. In this example, there is another constituent between the contrastive and the familiar topics, whose status is less clear. I have tentatively suggested that this constituent is focused, however it does not show any of the available diagnostics for focus shown in Section 2.

(45)   a. Contrastive topic > (Focus?) > Familiar topic > Verb
            <u>Egò:</u>   polloû   kepʰalaíou
            I.NOM.SG   large.GEN.SG.N   sum.GEN.SG.N
            <u>tè:n   politeían   taúte:n</u>
            D.ACC.SG.F   citizenship.ACC.SG.F   this.ACC.SG.F
            ekte:sáme:n
            acquire.1SG.AOR.IND.MID
            'I acquired this citizenship with a large sum of money."
        b. Contrastive topic > verb
            <u>Egò:</u>   dè   kaì   gegénne:mai
            I.NOM.SG.M   PCL   even   beget.1SG.PERF.IND.MID
            'But I was even born [Roman].'   (A 22:28)
        c. προσελθὼν δὲ ὁ χιλίαρχος εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Λέγε μοι, σὺ Ῥωμαῖος εἶ;
            ὁ δὲ ἔφη, Ναί. ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ὁ χιλίαρχος, <u>Ἐγὼ πολλοῦ κεφαλαίου</u>
            <u>τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην</u> ἐκτησάμην. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἔφη, <u>Ἐγὼ</u> δὲ καὶ
            γεγέννημαι.
            'And the chief captain came and said to him, "Tell me, you are a
            Roman?" And he said, "Yes." And the chief captain answered, "<u>I</u>
            acquired <u>this citizenship</u> with a large sum of money." And Paul said,
            "But <u>I</u> was even born Roman".'

In the conversation in (45), the speaker in (a), the chief captain, has just heard that the speaker in (b), Paul, is a Roman. After confirming this fact from Paul directly, the chief captain states the clause in (a). The pronoun *egó:* precedes the genitive phrase *polloû kepʰalaíou* "with a large sum", referring to a sum of money, which precedes the object *tè:n politeían taúte:n* "this citizenship", referring to the Roman citizenship. By saying this, the chief captain seems to imply the question of how Paul acquired this citizenship. The first constituent *egó:* "I" is a contrastive topic, since the chief captain is comparing his Roman citizenship with Paul's. The direct object *tè:n politeían taúte:n* "this citizenship" is a familiar topic, since it refers to the Roman citizenship, which has just been mentioned. The status of the instrumental phrase *polloû kepʰalaíou* "with a large sum" is less clear. Based on the context, it seems likely that it is emphatically focused, but this can't be tested.

In Paul's response in (b), the pronoun *egó:* "I" is a contrastive topic, as he is contrasting himself with the chief captain, with respect to how he acquired the Roman citizenship, which was by birth, not purchase.

3.3   Summary

In summary, in this section I have illustrated the hierarchy of Topic and Focus projections in the left periphery of the Italian clause, as proposed by Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007). These authors distinguish various sub-types of topics based on different intonational contours, which occur in designated Topic projections in the left periphery. A shifting topic has an aboutness property, and is newly introduced or newly returned to. A contrastive topic is inferable from the discourse, and carries contrast, and a familiar topic is highly salient in the discourse. The projections hosting these Topics are ordered such that shifting topics precede contrastive topics, contrastive topics precede foci and foci precede familiar topics.

Without intonational facts, it is much more difficult to distinguish topic sub-types, since dislocated constituents often show properties of more than one kind of topic. For example, shifting topics and contrastive topics are often familiar in the discourse, which is the hallmark of a familiar topic. I classify topics as familiar topics if they are familiar in the discourse, but do not have an aboutness or contrastive property. Furthermore, newly returned to topics, which are shifting topics, often carry contrast as well as aboutness (see example (43) above). This makes it difficult to distinguish contrastive from shifting topics. However, in my examination of the NT Greek data, I found that there is evidence for the fact that shifting topics precede familiar topics, and that contrastive topics precede familiar topics. There is an indication that a focused constituent intervenes between the contrastive topic and the familiar topic in (45a) above, however this can't be tested. Evidence for the order Shifting topic > Contrastive topic is lacking. As I show in the next section, evidence for this order is also lacking in SOV clauses, while they provide support for the orders Shifting topic > Familiar topic, Shifting topic > Focus, Contrastive topic > Familiar topic, Focus > Familiar Topic.

4   SOV orders

SOV and OSV clauses, in which there are two preverbal constituents allow for further evaluation of the ordering of left peripheral elements. In general, OSV is a very infrequent order (see Chapter 2), and most of the examples contain quantifier arguments. In this section, I discuss SOV orders, and in the next section, I focus on the position of preverbal quantifier arguments. There I discuss some OSV sentences.

I have found SOV clauses in which the two preverbal constituents are either two topics, or a topic and a focus. Both the orders Topic > Focus and Focus > Topic are found. More specifically, I find a contrastive topic preceding a familiar topic, a shifting topic preceding a contrastive focus, a shifting topic preceding an additive focus, and an additive focus preceding a familiar topic. There is also one example with three preverbal constituents, in which the order Shifting topic > Focus > Familiar topic is suggested.

4.1 Contrastive topic > Familiar topic

In the SOV clause in (46), the subject *Mariám* precedes the object *tè:n agat^hè:n merída* "the good part", which precedes the finite verb *exeléxato* "chose".

(46) Contrastive topic > Familiar topic
Mariàm gàr tè:n agat^hè:n merída
Maria.NOM.SG PCL D.ACC.SG.F good.ACC.SG.F part.ACC.SG.F
exeléxato
choose.3SG.AOR.IND.MID
'(And Jesus answered and said unto her, "Martha, Martha, you are careful and troubled about many things. But one thing is necessary). And Maria chose the good part (which will not be taken from her)".'
(ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῇ ὁ κύριος, Μάρθα Μάρθα, μεριμνᾷς καὶ θορυβάζῃ περὶ πολλά, ἑνὸς δέ ἐστιν χρεία) Μαριὰμ γὰρ τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα ἐξελέξατο (ἥτις οὐκ ἀφαιρεθήσεται αὐτῆς.)   (Lk 10:42)

This sentence occurs in a dialogue between Martha and Jesus, as shown in the context. The larger context can be found in example (40) above. Martha has just been complaining that her sister Maria has left her to do all of the serving. She suggests that Jesus tell Maria to help her. The response of Jesus is given in the context of (46), where he states that Martha is troubled about many things, but that there is only one thing that should be troubled over. The fronted object, *tè:n agat^hè:n merída* "the good part" refers to this one thing, and I therefore classify it as a familiar topic. The subject *Mariám* seems to be a contrastive topic, since Jesus is contrasting Martha, the addressee who is troubled over many things, with her sister Mary, who has chosen the good part to be troubled with.

4.2 Shifting topic > Contrastive focus

As I mentioned in Section 2, corrective constructions contain contrastively focused phrases. The SOV sentence in (47) below contains a focused object that is under the scope of negation (a "bound focus"), directly following the negative morpheme. The object *tò pneûma toû kósmou* "the spirit of the world" is corrected by *tò pneûma tò ek toû t^heoû* "the spirit of God" In this instance, the pronominal subject *humeîs* "you-PL" precedes the focused phrase (in bold) and the negative morpheme. This pronoun corresponds to a newly returned to topic, and is therefore a shifting topic.

(47)   Shifting topic > Contrastive focus
        he:meîs   dè   ou   **tò**   **pneûma**   **toû**
        we.NOM.PL PCL NEG D.ACC.SG.N spirit.ACC.SG.N D.GEN.SG.M
        kósmou   elábomen   allà tò   pneûma
        world.GEN.SG.M take.1PL.AOR.IND.ACT but D.ACC.SG.N   spirit.ACC.SG.N
        tò   ek   toû   theoû
        D.ACC.SG.N   from D.GEN.SG.M   god.GEN.SG.M
        'Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the spirit of God.'
        ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κόσμου ἐλάβομεν ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ
        τοῦ θεοῦ   (1 Cor 2:12)

The sentence in (47) provides support for the order Shifting topic > Focus. However, one remaining question is what the position of negation is.

As I mentioned above, contrastive foci that are under the scope of negation (or "bound foci") occur both pre- and postverbally. In most cases, the focused constituent is either preverbal, directly preceded by the negative morpheme (as in (47), and also (27) above), or it is postverbal, with the negative morpheme in preverbal position (as in (28) above). These are summarized in (48), where XP is the focused constituent.

(48)   a.   NEG > XPFOC > V
        b.   NEG > V > XPFOC

Friberg (1982:179) categorizes the NEG-*x* but *y* construction in terms of syntactic markedness (see Chapter 2, Section 3 for a discussion of Friberg (1982)). He states, "Negative markers precede the verb, and cause the preverbal placement of the object in certain circumstances. When the object itself contains the negative marker, it must be fronted". This analysis implies that the canonical preverbal position of negation is the driving force for movement of the object. Like Friberg, I have found no instance of V-NEG-O. When negation directly precedes a direct object, the object is fronted, as in (27) and (47). However, negation is occasionally found postverbally, with contrastively focused PPs. An example is given in (49).

(49)   V > NEG > PP
        kaì ê:lthon   ou   dià tòn
        and come.3PL.AOR.IND.ACT NEG for D.ACC.SG.M
        Ie:soûn   mónon
        Jesus.ACC.SG.M   only
        'and they came not only for Jesus, (but so that they might also see Lazarus, whom he had raised from the dead)'.
        καὶ ἦλθον οὐ διὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν μόνον (ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον
        ἴδωσιν ὃν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν.)   (Jn 12:9)

In this example, the PP *dià tòn Ie:soûn mónon* "for Jesus only" is postverbal, directly preceded by the negative morpheme *ou*. This PP is corrected by a clause headed by *hína*, which contains the additively focused phrase *kaí tòn Lázaron* "in

order that they might also see Lazarus".[52]

Although the canonical position for sentential negation is directly preverbal, the crucial fact is that negative morphemes do occur postverbally in corrective constructions. This means that the preverbal position of negation is not the driving force for movement of corrected objects. It suggests rather that the negation in (27), (47) and (49) is constituent negation rather than sentential negation (see Jackendoff 1972; Payne 1985; Horn 1989). From a semantic perspective, the difference is in scope. If the whole sentence falls under the scope of negation, it is sentential negation, and if only a constituent falls under the scope of negation, it is constituent negation (Zeijlstra 2004: 47).

The difference in scope corresponds to a difference in position of the negative morpheme in NT Greek. In constituent negation, the negative morpheme directly precedes the negated constituent, and in sentential negation, the negative morpheme directly precedes the predicate. I propose that in NT Greek constituent negation, the negative morpheme adjoins to the constituent in its base position, prior to potential extraction. This is the standard analysis of English constituent negation (see Ernst 1992; Embick & Noyer 2001; Kim & Sag 2002). Adjunction of the negative morpheme to the negated PP in (50) is shown in (50).

(50)

        DP
       / \
   NegP   DP
   ou   △
        dià tòn Ie:soûn mónon
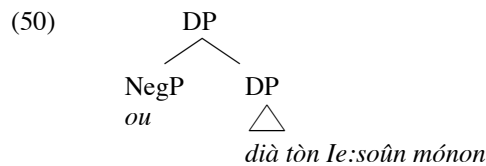
I assume that the negative morpheme adjoins to the object, and that the object is subsequently moved to Spec,FocP. I do not take a stand as to the status of postverbal corrected constituents such as those in (28) above. It is possible that they move to a *v*P-internal Focus projection (see Belletti 2001), or remain in their VP-internal base positions.

In summary, I have illustrated an example of an SOV sentence in which the subject is a shifting topic, and the object a contrastive focus. I have argued that the negative morpheme adjoins to the constituent prior to its extraction to Spec,FocP. This accounts for the fact that when a corrected object is fronted, the negative morpheme directly precedes it, interrupting it from the finite verb, while in a pragmatically neutral clause, negation is directly preverbal. It also accounts for examples such as (49), where the cancelled constituent as well as the negative morpheme are preverbal. In this case, focus movement does not apply, however the

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[52] There is an additional complication with this example, that the in situ focused PP contains the exhaustivity adverb *mónon*, thus "not only for the sake of Jesus". The purpose clause that corrects this PP contains an additively focused phrase, *kaí tòn Lázaron* "also Lazarus", thus "not only for the sake of Jesus, but in order that they see Lazarus also". Notice that this focused phrase *kaí tòn Lázaron* is fronted within the corrective subordinate clause. The example is intended to show only that constituent negation does occur postverbally, albeit rarely.

reason why not is uncertain. This analysis differs from Friberg's (1982) view that the preverbal position of sentential negation is the force driving displacement of corrected objects.

4.3   Additive focus > Familiar topic

In Chapter 2 I noted that the SOV order commonly has reflexive, or 'identity anaphoric' objects. These objects include constituents made up of, or containing *hò autós* "the same". In the SOV example in (51), the pronominal subject *humeîs* "you-PL" precedes the object *tè:n autè:n énnoian*, which contains *hò autós*.

(51)   Additive focus > Familiar topic
  kaì   humeîs   <u>tè:n</u>   <u>autè:n</u>   <u>énnoian</u>
  and   you.NOM.PL   D.ACC.SG.F   same.ACC.SG.F   mind.ACC.SG.F
  hoplísast^he
  make.2PL.AOR.IMPV.MID
  '(Being that Christ has suffered in the flesh), you too, be of the same
  mind, (because he who has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin).
  (Χριστοῦ οὖν παθόντος σαρκὶ) καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔννοιαν
  ὁπλίσασθε, (ὅτι ὁ παθὼν σαρκὶ πέπαυται ἁμαρτίας,)   (1 Pet 4:1)

The clause is initiated with *kaí*, and as such, *kaí* is ambiguous between the conjunction "and" and the additive particle "also". In this instance, however, the context, given below the example, indicates that *kaí* is an additive focus particle. The object constituent is anaphoric, referring back to manner in which Christ has suffered in the flesh. In this sense, the object is a familiar topic in the discourse.

Another example of a constituent focused with *kaí* that precedes a familiar topic is shown in (52), taken from (31) in Chapter 2. In this instance, the object consists entirely of *tò autò* "the same", meaning "the same thing". This same thing being referred to is introduced in the previous discourse, doing good for those who do good for you.

(52)   Focus > Familiar topic
  kaì   hoi   **hamarto:loì**
  even   D.NOM.PL.M   sinner.NOM.PL.M
  <u>tò</u>   <u>autò</u>   poioûsin
  D.ACC.SG.N   same.ACC.SG.N   do.3PL.PRES.IND.ACT
  '(And if you do good for those who do good for you, what kind of grace
  do you have?) Even sinners do the same thing'.
  (καὶ [γὰρ] ἐὰν ἀγαθοποιῆτε τοὺς ἀγαθοποιοῦντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν
  χάρις ἐστίν;) καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν.   (Lk 6:33)

As I mentioned in Section 2, objects preceded by the focus particle *kaí* have a strong tendency to occur preverbally, but are also found postverbally. The fact that constituents preceded by the particle are found both pre- and postverbally indicates

that *kaí* adjoins to the focussed phrase prior to movement of the focussed phrase, as I argued above for constituent negation. It also indicates that movement of the focused phrase is optional in NT Greek, in constructions with focus-sensitive *kaí*.

4.4   Shifting topic > Focus > Familiar topic

An SOV clause with three preverbal constituents is shown in (53), which occurs in a speech made by Jesus, wherein he argues that the testinomy that John has given about him is the truth.

(53)   Shifting topic > Focus > Familiar topic
egò: dè   ou   parà   ant^hró:pou
I.NOM.SG PCL NEG from   man.GEN.SG.M
tè:n   marturían   lambáno:
D.ACC.SG.F testimony.ACC.SG.F take.1SG.PRES.IND.ACT
'(If I testify about myself, my testimony is not true. There is another who testifies about me and I know that the testimony he gives about me is true. You sent to John, and he testified to the truth.) But I, not from a human being do I receive testimony, (but I say this so that you may be saved).'
(ἐὰν ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ, ἡ μαρτυρία μου οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθής· ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ οἶδα ὅτι ἀληθής ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία ἣν μαρτυρεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ. ὑμεῖς ἀπεστάλκατε πρὸς Ἰωάννην, καὶ μεμαρτύρηκεν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου τὴν μαρτυρίαν λαμβάνω, (ἀλλὰ ταῦτα λέγω ἵνα ὑμεῖς σωθῆτε.)   (Jn 5:34)

In the preceding context, Jesus states that he is not the only one to provide testimony about himself. He states that there has been another true testimony about him. He then specifies that this was given by John. Then, he shifts the topic of discourse back to himself, stating that for him, testimony from man is not crucial (later he states that the true testimony comes from the deeds of his father, which he carries out). The subject pronominal *egó:* "I" is in initial position, a shifting topic. The phrase *parà ant^hró:pou* "from man" is directly preceded by negation, which suggests that it is under focus, since it is constituent negation rather than sentential negation. The direct object *tè:n marturían* "testimony" is salient in the discourse, already having been mentioned several times.

4.5   Summary

In summary, SOV clauses are suggestive of the order Shifting / Contrastive topic > Focus > Familiar topic > Verb. I have shown examples of a contrastive topic preceding a familiar topic, a shifting topic preceding a contrastive focus, additive foci preceding familiar topics and one example of a shifting topic preceding a contrastive focus, preceding a familiar topic. There is one order that I have not

found, namely a shifting topic preceding a contrastive topic. As I mentioned in Section 3, it is especially difficult to distinguish shifting topics from contrastive topics, and furthermore, there is no evidence for of these co-occurring.

I have not found instances of more than one focus in an SOV clause, or in fact in any clause, which is consistent with the hierarchy of discourse projections proposed by Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007), as well as Rizzi (1997) in Italian. The data are consistent with all types of foci occuring in the same projection, between the two Topic projections.

At face value, Focus movement seems to be optional, since additive foci and contrastive foci are found postverbally. I have argued that constituents that are focused with *kaí* and bound contrastive foci in the NEG-*x* but *y* construction undergo focus movement following adjunction of the negative morpheme or the additive particle to the focused constituent. Therefore, it is not the canonical preverbal position of negation that causes displacement of contrastively focused objects. Rather, it is Focus movement of a constituent that is directly under the scope of negation.

5   The position of preverbal quantifier arguments

As I showed in Chapter 3, negative quantifier subjects have similar distributions to negative quantifier objects, and are not likely in the Spec,T subject position. For example, arguments are found intervening between negative quantifier subjects and verbs. The example in (54) is repeated from (75) in Chapter 3. The negative quantifier subject is followed by the indefinite *pote*, "ever" and the object *tè:n heautoû sárka* "his own flesh", with the verb last in the string.

(54)   oudeìs   gár   pote   tè:n   heautoû
        no-one.NOM.SG.M   PCL   ever   D.ACC.SG.F   self.GEN.SG.M
        sárka   emíse:sen
        flesh.ACC.SG.F   hate.3SG.AOR.IND.ACT
        'For, no-one ever hated his own flesh.'
        οὐδεὶς γὰρ ποτε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα ἐμίσησεν,   (Ep 5:29)

Universal or 'strong' quantifiers such as πᾶς (*pâs*) "all", "every" in NT Greek also frequently occur in the left periphery. Similarly, the distributive strong quantifier ἕκαστος (*hékastos*) "each" occurs as the subject of quite a few SOV sentences, as shown in Chapter 2. As I show below in 5.2, their distribution is similar that of negative quantifiers, and I treat them as structurally similar categories.

5.1   Universal quantifiers and negative words in Modern Greek

Modern Greek is a language in which universal quantifiers and negative words may

occur in the left periphery.[53] As I mentioned in Chapter 3, strong quantifiers such as "all" and "every" and negative quantifiers, or negative words such as "nobody" and "nothing" are often ungrammatical as topics. The examples in (55), from Giannakidou (2006: 350) show that bare strong quantifiers and negative words can't be dislocated and resumed with a clitic in Modern Greek, which is a standard test for topicalization in this language.

(55) a. *Kathena,   ton idha   MODERN GREEK
           everybody, him saw.1SG
           '*Everybody, I saw him.'
      b. *KANENA, dhen ton   idha
           nobody   not him saw.1SG
           '*Nobody, I didn't see him.'

Notice that the negative quantifier in (b) is in upper case. This corresponds to the fact that it is pronounced with emphatic stress (see also Puskás 1998 for similar facts in Hungarian). These are known as emphatic negative words, or n-words in the literature (see note 53).

Bare n-words in Modern Greek require a gap, i.e., the absence of a clitic; compare (56) from Tsimpli & Roussou (1996: 58) with (55b) above.

(56)   KANENA, dhen idha
       nobody   not   saw.1SG
       'I saw nobody'

Tsimpli & Roussou (1996) and Tsimpli (1995) argue that Modern Greek preverbal n-words undergo Focus movement, similarly to what Brody (1990) argues for Hungarian.

Others have shown that referential strong quantifiers, as well as referential negative words, may be dislocated and resumed with clitics. This is illustrated in (57) from Gainnakidou (2006: 350) (see also Giannakidou 1998, 2000; see Cinque 1990 for Italian).

(57) a. Kathena dhema to paradhosa   ston   paralipti tu   MODERN GREEK
           every   parcel it delivered.1sg in-the recipient its
           'As for every parcel, I delivered it to its recipient.'
      b. KANENA apo ta vivlia dhen to agorasa telika
           no   from the books not   it bought finally
           'I bought none of the books after all.'

The crucial fact is that the quantifiers and negative words have to be linked to the

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[53] Negative words such as "nobody" and "nothing" in Modern Greek are polarity items, rather than negative quantifiers, forming a contrast with NT and Classical Greek. Following Giannakidou (2006), I use the term negative words (n-words) when referring to "nobody" and "nothing" in Modern Greek.

discourse, satisfying the referentiality condition (Anagnostopoulou & Giannakidou 1995). In (57), the quantifier is Discourse-linked through the NP *dhema* "parcel", and the negative word is linked through the partitive *apo ta vivlia* "from the books".

In summary, strong quantifiers in Modern Greek can be topics if they are referential. Negative words such as "nobody" either under focus movement, or topicalization in the case that they are referential. Notice that in both cases, the negative words are pronounced with emphatic stress. The stress does therefore not necessarily correspond to focus stress (Giannakidou 2006: 331, and references there).

5.2   Universal and negative quantifier fronting in NT Greek

The distribution of preverbal universal quantifiers is very similar to that of negative quantifiers in NT Greek. They are each found as subjects and as objects in SOV strings. Following Giannakidou (2006), I assume that a quantifier that is referential can undergo topicalization, and one that is not cannot. If a non-referential quantifier is found in dislocated position (preverbal position at least in the case of oblique quantifier arguments), I will assume that it moves to the Focus projection, following Tsimpli & Roussou's (1996) analysis of Modern Greek n-word fronting.

However, one interesting complication with the NT Greek data is that in many instances, quantifiers that are linked to the discourse through modifiers are fronted, but the modifiers are stranded in postverbal position. The two examples in (58) and (59) illustrate this. The example in (58) is an OSV clause, of which the subject is the negative quantifier, and the object the DP *tè:n glô:ssan* "the tongue". The quantifier subject has a genitival complement, *ant^{h}ró:po:n* "of men", which is stranded in postverbal position.

(58)   tè:n   dè   glô:ssan   oudeìs
        D.ACC.SG.F PCL tongue.ACC.SG.F no-one.NOM.SG.M
        damásai   dúnatai   ant^{h}ró:po:n
        overpower.AOR.INFIN.ACT can.3SG.PRES.IND.MID man.GEN.PL.M
        '(And the tongue is fire, the world of inequity, the tongue is set out among our members, and it defiles the entire body, and sets on fire the course of nature and is set on fire by hell. For, every kind of beasts and birds and reptiles and sea creatures is tamed, and has been tamed by the species of man.) But the tongue no man can tame.'
        (καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα πῦρ, ὁ κόσμος τῆς ἀδικίας, ἡ γλῶσσα καθίσταται ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν, ἡ σπιλοῦσα ὅλον τὸ σῶμα καὶ φλογίζουσα τὸν τροχὸν τῆς γενέσεως καὶ φλογιζομένη ὑπὸ τῆς γεέννης. πᾶσα γὰρ φύσις θηρίων τε καὶ πετεινῶν ἑρπετῶν τε καὶ ἐναλίων δαμάζεται καὶ δεδάμασται τῇ φύσει τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ· τὴν δὲ γλῶσσαν οὐδεὶς δαμάσαι δύναται ἀνθρώπων·   (Jac 3:8)

The previous context shows that the object *tè:n glô:ssan* "the tongue" is familiar in the discourse, and is also under contrast, with animals, birds, etc. in that unlike

them, it is unable to be tamed. It also fits the description of a shifting topic, since it is a newly returned to aboutness topic. Given that there is contrast and aboutness present, it is either a shifting or a contrastive topic. The quantifier subject can be seen as referential, since it has a genitive complement, i.e., "no-one of men" or "of humankind". Furthermore, the species of mankind is just mentioned in the previous discourse. The example could thus represent the order Shifting / Contrastive topic > Familiar topic. It is also, of course possible that the quantifier undergoes focus movement. Both of these scenarios are consistent with the order of Topic and Focus projections shown above.

The example in (59) illustrates an SOV clause in which the proper name *he: Mariám* is initial, and the universal quantifier follows. This object quantifier is part of a larger constituent, containing a determiner, an NP and a demonstrative. The quantifier is preverbal, and the other elements are stranded in postverbal position.

(59)   he: dè   Mariàm   pánta   suneté:rei
       D.NOM.SG.F PCL Mary.NOM.SG.F all.ACC.PL.N keep.3SG.IMPF.IND.ACT
       tà   rʰémata   taûta
       D.ACC.PL.N   thing.ACC.PL.N this.ACC.PL.N
       '(And all of those who heard it marveled at those things which were told to them by the shepherds.) But Mary kept all these things, (pondering in her heart.)
       (καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀκούσαντες ἐθαύμασαν περὶ τῶν λαληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν ποιμένων πρὸς αὐτούς·) ἡ δὲ Μαριὰμ πάντα συνετήρει τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα (συμβάλλουσα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς.)   (Lk 2:19)

As shown by the context, the subject *he: Mariám* "Mary" is contrasted with the other people in the discourse, who were wondering, or marveling about the things that they had just heard. Mary, on the other hand, kept them internalized. The constituent *he: Mariám* is then a contrastive topic (or possibly a shifting topic). Similarly to example (58) above, the quantifier in (59) strands the material that makes it referential, in this case the determiner, noun and demonstrative.

The significance of the stranding of referential material is a very complicated issue; first of all, it is not totally clear if the stranded material is sufficient to satisfy the referentiality condition on topicalization. Second, if the referential material is stranded, does that indicate that the quantifier does not undergo topic movement? These issues require a detailed examination of stranding and constituency in the DP, which is not feasible here. I thus leave the status of the fronted quantifiers in (58) and (59) open, pointing out only that contrastive or shifting topics precede quantifiers that are either familiar topics, or foci. These are both consistent with the order of Topic and Focus projections given above.

The example in (60) also shows the pattern of a negative quantifier stranding its modifier. In this case, the negative quantifier is the PP *par' oudení* "from no-one", and the modifier is the PP *en tô:i Israé:l* "in Israel".

(60)   Contrastive topic / Focus > Familiar topic
     par'   **oudenì**   tosaúte:n   pístin
     from   no-one.DAT.SG.M   such.ACC.SG.F   faith.ACC.SG.F
     en tô:i   Israè:l   heûron
     in   D.DAT.SG.M   Israel   find.1SG.AOR.IND.ACT
     '(Truly I say to you,) in no-one in Israel have I found such faith.'
     (Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν,) παρ' οὐδενὶ τοσαύτην πίστιν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ
     εὗρον.   (Mt 8:10)

Notice that it is not completely clear that the second PP modifies the first PP, since the object *tosaúte:n pístin* "such faith" occurs between the two. In principle, it is possible that the second PP modifies this object, i.e., "such faith in Israel". However, in the preceding context, a centurion has just informed Jesus that his servant did whatever he told him to do. The object, "such faith" then likely refers back to the faithful nature of the servant, which would make the rendition where the locative PP modifies the direct object implausible. Importantly, the direct object is clearly a familiar topic. Therefore, the example still supports a hierarchy of projections in which the Familiar Topic projection follows the other Topic projection and the Focus projection.

In summary, there are many examples in which it is far from trivial to determine whether the dislocated quantifiers are referential topics that undergo topicalization stranding the elements that make them referential, or whether they are dislocated through Focus movement. However, we can still observe from (58) – (60) the fact that familiar topics are relatively low in the sequence of projections, and that shifting or contrastive topics are high. In the next subsection I provide some SOV examples in which the status of the quantifiers is more clear.

5.2.1   Quantifier[top] > Contrastive focus

The SOV sentence in (61) illustrates a universal quantifier topic subject, followed by a contrastively focused object. In this case, the quantifier is preceded by the definite article, which reinforces the "they all" or "all of them" referential reading. This instance is not the most straight-forward, since the quantifier refers to an abstract group of members, which has been established as containing nobody comparable to Timothy. Nonetheless, the quantifier is referential, in this case evidenced by the presence of the determiner. It is most accurately described as a shifting topic, since it is newly introduced, or a contrastive topic, since a contrast is being made between "all of them" and Timothy.

(61)   Shifting / Contrastive topic > Contrastive focus
     hoi   pántes   gàr **tà**   **heautô:n**
     D.NOM.PL.M   every.NOM.PL.M PCL D.ACC.PL.N self.GEN.PL.M
     ze:toûsin   ou   tà   Ie:soû
     seek.3PL.PRES.IND.ACT NEG D.ACC.PL.N Jesus.GEN.SG.M
     Kʰristoû
     Christ.GEN.SG.M

'(But I hope in the Lord Jesus to send Timothy to you shortly, so that I also may be encouraged when I learn of your condition. For I have no one comparable who will have genuine interest in the things that concerns you.) For all of them seek their own interests, not those of Jesus Christ. (But you know his worth, that he served with me in the furtherance of the gospel like a child serves his father.)'

(Ἐλπίζω δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Τιμόθεον ταχέως πέμψαι ὑμῖν, ἵνα κἀγὼ εὐψυχῶ γνοὺς τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν. οὐδένα γὰρ ἔχω ἰσόψυχον ὅστις γνησίως τὰ περὶ ὑμῶν μεριμνήσει,) οἱ πάντες γὰρ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ζητοῦσιν, οὐ τὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. (τὴν δὲ δοκιμὴν αὐτοῦ γινώσκετε, ὅτι ὡς πατρὶ τέκνον σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐδούλευσεν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.)

(Ph 2:21)

The object of this SOV sentence *tà heautô:n* "their own things / interests" is a contrastive focus, which cancels the alternative *tà Ie:soû Kʰristoû* "the things of Jesus Christ". This example therefore illustrates the order Shifting topic > Contrastive focus, or Contrastive topic > Contrastive focus, which is consistent with the ordering of topics and foci seen so far.

5.2.2   Quantifier[foc] > Familiar topic

The example shown in (62), already introduced above in (54), represents an instance of a non-referential negative quantifier preceding a familiar topic.

(62)   Focus > Familiar topic
    oudeìs   gár   pote   <u>tè:n</u>   <u>heautoû</u>
    no-one.NOM.SG.M   PCL   ever   D.ACC.SG.F   self.GEN.SG.M
    <u>sárka</u>   emíse:sen
    flesh.ACC.SG.F   hate.3SG.AOR.IND.ACT
    '(Thus, also men ought to love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his own wife, loves himself.) For, no-one ever hated his own flesh.'
    (οὕτως ὀφείλουσιν καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἀγαπᾶν τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ὡς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα. ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἑαυτὸν ἀγαπᾷ,)
    οὐδεὶς γὰρ ποτε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα ἐμίσησεν,   (Ep 5:29)

The object is familiar in the discourse, as it has just been mentioned that men should love their wives as they love their own bodies. The quantifier is non-referential and therefore not a viable topic, so it must be a focus. This is consistent with the ordering of topic and focus projections outlined above. The position of the adverb *pote* "ever" is unclear. Note that it is a clitic, and therefore there may be many factors affecting its placement.

5.2.3   Contrastive topic > Quantifier[foc]

An example of a negative quantifier preceded by a topic is shown in (63), repeated from (71) in Chapter 3. The quantifier object *oudén* is fronted, along with the adjective *átopon* "wrong". The subject demonstrative *hoûtos* precedes this constituent.

(63)   Contrastive topic > Focus
<u>hoûtos</u>   dè   **oudèn**   **átopon**
this.NOM.SG.M   PCL   nothing.ACC.SG.N   wrong.ACC.SG.N
épraxen
do.3SG.AOR.IND.ACT
'(And we are rightly so, for we receive things which are worthy of what we have done.) But this one did nothing wrong'
(καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν δικαίως, ἄξια γὰρ ὧν ἐπράξαμεν ἀπολαμβάνομεν· οὗτος δὲ οὐδὲν ἄτοπον ἔπραξεν.   (Lk 23:41)

As shown in the context below the example, the demonstrative subject, which refers to Jesus, is being contrasted with the speaker himself, along with another criminal, all of whom are about to be crucified. The speaker states that he and the other criminal deserve this punishment, but Jesus does not. The demonstrative is therefore most consistent with the notion of contrastive topic. The quantifier, although it is specified with the adjective *átopon* "wrong", is not referential, and therefore not a topic but a focus.

5.3   Summary

In summary, universal and negative quantifiers in NT Greek have similar distributions. They both occur string-initially with one argument to the right, preceding the finite verb. Preverbal quantifiers are found preceded by one constituent.

I have argued that both universal quantifiers and negative quantifiers in NT Greek can in principle be either topics or foci. To be topics, they must be referential (Giannakidou 2000, 2006). When they are not referential, I suggest that they undergo focus fronting, as has also been argued for Modern Greek (Tsimpli & Roussou 1996; Tsimpli 1995). I noted that it is still difficult in some instances to tell whether the quantifiers are referential or not, and it is unclear what the significance of stranded modifiers that make the quantifiers referential is. However, in cases where it is more straightforward to tease apart topic quantifiers from foci, I have shown that that the order of preverbal constituents is consistent with the order found in SOV clauses. Namely, shifting and contrastive topics precede foci, and foci precede familiar topics.

6   Conclusion

To conclude, although it is very difficult to make claims about discourse structure in the language of the NT, it is possible to identify at least some kinds of topics and foci. For example, examining corrective constructions and sentences containing the additive particle *kaí* allows for the identification of at least some types of foci. In some cases, the context of the examples provides sufficient evidence to identify various sub-types of topics.

One conclusion from the chapter is that the hierarchy of Topic and Focus projections in the left periphery of the NT Greek clause is as in (64).

(64)   Shifting/Contrastive topic > Focus > Familiar topic

This is similar to the one proposed by Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) for the Italian clause, the difference being that there is no clear evidence in NT Greek for the fact that shifting topics precede contrastive topics, since there are no examples that clearly show both of these elements in the same clause.

In terms of the derivation of O-initial and SOV clauses, OVS clauses are the counterparts of VSO clauses, with additional movement of the object, to either a Topic or Focus projection. OSV clauses have many potential derivations. It is possible that only objects move to the left periphery, since neutral subjects can theoretically move to Spec,T as discussed in Chapter 3. Some OSV clauses involve a derivation in which both arguments are in the left periphery. Most of the OSV clauses I have encountered in the NT contain one quantifier argument. Since preverbal quantifiers occur in the left periphery, as concluded in Section 5 (see also Chapter 3), an OSV clause in which the subject is a quantifier indicates that both elements are in the left periphery. In SOV clauses, both arguments are in the left periphery, and examination of these clauses has provided support for the order of projections in (64).