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Word order and information structure in New Testament Greek

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Chapter 5. Word order in questions

1 Introduction

The focus of the last three chapters has been on word order in declarative clauses, and the ordering of elements in the left periphery. This chapter is about word order in questions, both questions that look for an answer that is "yes" or "no", and questions that look for content about a questioned phrase, a "*wh*-phrase". Example (1) illustrates a yes-no question, and the one in (2) seeks a contentful answer concerning the object.

(1) Yes-no question
Ârá ge ginó:skeis
Q PCL understand.2SG.PRES.IND.ACT
hà anaginó:skeis?
REL.ACC.PL.N read.aloud.2SG.PRES.IND.ACT
'Do you understand what you are reading?'
Ἆρά γε γινώσκεις ἃ ἀναγινώσκεις; (A 8:30)

(2) Object *wh*-question
tí poié:so:men kaì he:meîs?
what.ACC.SG.N do.1PL.AOR.SUBJ.ACT also we.NOM.PL
'And the soldiers also asked him, saying,) "What should WE do?"'
(ἐπηρώτων δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ στρατευόμενοι λέγοντες,) Τί ποιήσωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς; (Lk 3:14)

In the yes-no question in (1), the particle *âra* occurs in initial position. This particle is unique to yes-no questions. It is recorded with a pitch accent that is distinct from the inferential or illative particle *ára*, which I introduced in Chapter 3, and which I discuss further below. In (2), the object *wh*-phrase occurs in initial position, while the normal canonical object position is postverbal (Chapter 2).

There are two main goals in this chapter. First, I attempt to determine whether the same derivations are available in questions as in declarative clauses. Second, I try to determine where *wh*-interrogatives and question particles fit into the structure of the left periphery outlined in Chapter 4. To do this, I examine question particles and *wh*-interrogatives with respect to the left peripheral elements identified so far. These include fronted constituents associated with topicality or focus, as discussed in Chapter 4, and the inferential / illative particle *ára*, as introduced in Chapter 3.

With respect to the first question, I show below that similar word order variation is found in questions as in declarative clauses. Yes-no questions are found in SVO, VSO, SOV and OSV orders. This indicates that there is no movement operation that is unique to questions. As for *wh*-questions, some display similar word order variation as declarative clauses. Adjunct *wh*-questions such as "how" and "why" questions show a fairly even mix of *wh*-SVO and *wh*-VSO orders, and also allow

wh-SOV orders. Among object questions, for example "whom" and object "what" questions on the other hand, there is a strong trend for *wh*-VS orders. *Wh*-SV is very marginally attested. At first glance, this might suggest that V to C movement takes place in object *wh*-questions, in parallel with verb movement in *wh*-questions in Germanic and Romance languages (Rizzi 1996, among others). However, when more data are considered, it is shown that there is left peripheral material between *wh*-interrogatives and verbs, indicating that verb movement terminates at T in *wh*-questions, like in declarative clauses.

With respect to the second question, where question particles and *wh*-words appear in the left periphery, I propose that the structure arrived at in Chapter 4 be modified as in (3).

(3) TopP > ForceP > EvidP > FocP > (Fam)TopP

The projection ForceP in (3) is the landing site for *wh*-interrogatives, and is also the projection that question particles and complementizers head. Support for this claim comes from the fact that at most one topicalized constituent occurs preceding question particles, *wh*-interrogatives, and complementizers. To the right of question particles and *wh*-interrogatives, up to two preverbal constituents are found. In many cases, it is not clear whether they constitute topic or focus material. In some cases, however, it is clear that we are dealing with focus material following *wh*-interrogatives. Furthermore, NT Greek displays multiple *wh*-fronting. This means that when there are two interrogatives in a single question, they both undergo movement. The data shown in Section 5 suggest that they move to distinct projections. I argue that the first one moves to Spec,CP and the second to Spec,FocP in (3). This is what has been argued for some cases of Serbo-Croatian multiple *wh*-fronting (see Bošković 2002, 2003).

The remainder of the chapter is broken down as follows. I first provide background on question formation in NT Greek. Section 3 focuses on constituent order in yes-no questions, and Section 4 on constituent order in argument and adjunct *wh*-questions. In Section 5, I evaluate the position of question particles and *wh*-interrogatives with respect to the position of topic and focus material, arriving at the hierarchy in (3).

2 Background on question formation

2.1 Yes-no questions

Many interrogative sentences look the same as declarative statements. Robertson (1934:1175) points out that in many cases, it is difficult to tell an interrogative from a declarative sentence. First of all, NT Greek yes-no questions are not distinct morphologically from regular declarative statements. There is no obligatory question particle or morpheme. For example, the question in (4) is distinguished from a declarative statement based on the context.

(4) Suné:kate taûta pánta
understand.2PL.AOR.IND.ACT this.ACC.PL.N all.ACC.PL.N
'Do you understand all these things? (And they said to him, "Yes".)'
Συνήκατε ταῦτα πάντα; (λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Ναί.) (Mt 13:51)

Jesus has just spoken a list of parables to the disciples. In the context following, the disciples answer positively. Although this does not necessarily mean that the example is a question, it is an indication.

In NT Greek, particles sometimes occur in questions. Robertson (1934:1175) states that the majority of questions do not occur with particles. The ones attested in NT Greek are *ou*/*ouk*/*ouk*^{h}*í*, *mé:*/*mé:ti* and *âra*. Other particles used in Classical Greek, such as *ê:* are not found in the text (see Robertson 1934:1175-1176, Blass, Debrunner & Funk 1961: 226). The particles add a speaker-oriented opinion as to the expected answer, similarly to in Classical Greek. They usually occur in rhetorical questions.

Ou/*ouk*/*ouk*^{h}*í* and *mé:*/*mé:ti* are negative morphemes. The first ones, which I introduced in Chapter 4, are used with the indicative mood, and the second are used with non-indicative moods. In questions, *ou*/*ouk*/*ouk*^{h}*í* occur when the expected answer is positive, and *mé:*/*mé:ti* when the expected answer is negative. For example, in (5) the speaker poses the question and subsequently answers it negatively.

(5) **mè** he: apistía autô:n tè:n
Q D.NOM.SG.F disbelief.NOM.SG.F their.GEN.PL D.ACC.SG.F
pístin toû t^{h}eoû katargé:sei?
faith.ACC.SG.F D.GEN.SG.M god.GEN.SG.M nullify.3SG.FUT.IND.ACT
'(What if some did not believe?) Their disbelief won't nullify the faith of God, will it? ([No], let it not be.)'
(τί γὰρ εἰ ἠπίστησάν τινες;) μὴ ἡ ἀπιστία αὐτῶν τὴν πίστιν τοῦ θεοῦ καταργήσει; (μὴ γένοιτο·) (Rm 3:3)

In (6), the particle *ouk* occurs in a question that seems to anticipate a positive response. The speaker asks whether or not he is an apostle, and following this, states, "If to others I am not, at least I am to you", suggesting that he is of the opinion that he is an apostle.

(6) **Ouk** eimì apóstolos?
Q be.1SG.PRES.IND.ACT apostle.NOM.SG.M
'Aren't I an apostle? (Haven't I seen Jesus our lord? Aren't you my work in the lord? If to others I am not an apostle, at least I am to you; for you are the seal of my apostleship in the lord).'
οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος; (οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἑώρακα; οὐ τὸ ἔργον μου ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν κυρίῳ; εἰ ἄλλοις οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος, ἀλλά γε ὑμῖν εἰμι·) (1 Cor 9:1)

These question particles are distinct from negation in declarative clauses and in *wh*-questions through their position. In neutral declarative clauses, and in *wh*-questions, sentential negation directly precedes the verb (or the mood particle *ân*, which is directly preverbal when present) but is not necessarily string initial. In yes-no questions, the negative particles are string-initial, apart from conjunctions like "and" and "or", and as I show below, at most one topic constituent. In some cases, the position of negation appears to be the same as that of the question particles, such as in (6) above, since the clause only consists of the negation particle and a predicate. In (5), on the other hand, the negative morpheme precedes the subject as well as the object, initiating an SVO string. In this example it is clear that the negative morpheme occupies a high position in the structure.

The particle *âra* is considered to be strictly an interrogative particle in NT Greek (Robertson 1934: 1176) and Classical Greek (Smyth 1984).[54] It does not necessarily expect an affirmative or negative answer, but "denotes interest on the part of the speaker" (Smyth 1984: 598, §2650). An example from NT Greek is given in (7), where the questioner answers the question himself, negatively. Note that the verb in this clause is an unexpressed copular, or in other words, this is a nominal predicate.

(7) **âra** K^{h}ristòs hamartías diákonos?
Q Christ.NOM.SG.M sin.GEN.SG.F minister.NOM.SG.M
'(But if, while we seek to be justified by Christ, we ourselves are sinners,) is Christ then a minister of sin? (Let it not be.)'
(εἰ δὲ ζητοῦντες δικαιωθῆναι ἐν Χριστῷ εὑρέθημεν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁμαρτωλοί,) ἆρα Χριστὸς ἁμαρτίας διάκονος; (μὴ γένοιτο.) (Gal 2:17)

In summary, NT Greek has no obligatory question morpheme in yes-no questions, but particles may occur in questions, at times adding an indication of expected response, or the level of interest. Two of these particles are synonymous with the negative adverbs; however when these particles occur in questions, they occur in a high position in the left periphery, unlike negation in declarative clauses.

2.2 *Wh*-questions

NT Greek *wh*-questions are characterized by *wh*-interrogative, occurring in the left periphery of the clause. This is typical of both Classical and Modern Greek. The system of interrogatives and indefinites in the NT Greek system resembles that of Classical Greek more than Modern Greek. Many significant changes have happened

[54] The particle *âra* is distinct from the inferential / illative particle *ára* discussed in Chapter 3. Orthographically, they are distinct through their different accents (corresponding to the length of the first alpha), however as Robertson (1934: 1176) points out, at times it is doubtful whether the acute or the circumflex is the correct accent (for example, he cites Galatians 2:17, given above in (7)), and it is a question of editing. One distributional difference is that *ára*, but not *âra* is found in *wh*-questions. The latter is found only in yes-no questions.

during or since the Koine period. For example, split *wh*-phrases are typical of Classical and NT Greek, and very limited in Modern Greek (Matheiu & Sitaridou 2005). Another difference is that while Modern Greek allows *wh*-in-situ, it is unfound in Classical and NT Greek. Furthermore, NT and Classical Greek display multiple *wh*-fronting, while this is not possible in Modern Greek (Roussou 1998).

2.2.1 Interrogative (*wh*-) words

The *wh*-words summarized in Table 1 are found in the NT (Robertson 1934: 735-41).

tís	*who*, *what*, *which*
poîos	*what sort*, *which*
pô:s	*how*
póte	*when*
poû	*where*
pót^{h}en	*from where*
pósos	*how much*, *how great*, *how many*
pe:líkos	*how great*
potapós	*what sort*

Table 1: NT Greek interrogative words

The last three interrogatives in Table 1 are rarely attested in the NT, and I will not discuss them in what follows. The first two entries, *tís* and *poîos* are declining interrogatives. They can be subject or object interrogatives (corresponding to nominative and accusative / dative / genitive case, respectively), or adjunct *wh*-phrases, if they occur in an oblique case, and/ or are preceded by prepositions. One common example of an adjunct *wh*- is *dià tí*, "why", which is composed of the preposition *diá*, "through" / "on account of" and the neuter form of *tís*. The interrogatives *pô:s*, *póte*, *poû* and *pót^{h}en* are always non-declining adjunct *wh*-phrases.

The *tís* paradigm is far more common than the *poîos*, and *poîos* has undergone some changes in use from the Classical period. One significant change is that it is sometimes used synonymously with *tís*, while it was previously strictly qualitative, meaning "what sort of" (see Robertson (1934: 740).[55]

The *tís* and *poîos* interrogatives may occur alone, as bare *wh*-phrases or in full *wh*-phrases, either with partitive genitive DPs, or NPs that agree with the *wh*-s in gender, number and case. These options are illustrated in (8) – (10). The example in (8) shows two instances of *tís* as bare *wh*-phrases.

[55] The *poîos* stem has become the main interrogative paradigm in Modern Greek, with *tí* only the surviving neuter accusative form from the *tís* paradigm (Mathieu & Sitaridou 2005).

(8) Bare *wh*-phrase
Tís estin he: mé:te:r
who.NOM.SG.M be.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT D.NOM.SG.F mother.NOM.SG.F
mou
my.GEN.SG
kaì **tínes** eisìn hoi adelp^{h}oí
and who.NOM.PL.M be.3PL.PRES.IND.ACT D.NOM.PL.M brother.NOM.PL.M
mou?
my.GEN.SG
'Who is my mother, and who are my brothers?'
Τίς ἐστιν ἡ μήτηρ μου, καὶ τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ ἀδελφοί μου; (Mt 12:48)

The one in (9) shows *tís* in a full *wh*-phrase, followed by a partitive DP initiated with *ek*, "from".

(9) Partitive *wh*-pharse
tís **ek** **tô:n** **dúo** epoíe:sen
who.NOM.SG.M from D.GEN.PL.M two do.3SG.AOR.IND.ACT
tò t^{h}éle:ma toû patrós?
D.CC.SG.N will.ACC.SG.N D.GEN.SG.M father.GEN.SG.M
'Which of the two did the will of his father?'
τίς ἐκ τῶν δύο ἐποίησεν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός; (Mt 21:31)

In (10) *tís* occurs in a full DP *wh*-phrase, where the *wh*-interrogative agrees in gender, number and case with the NP *se:meîon* "sign".

(10) Full DP *wh*-phrase
Tí **se:meîon** deiknúeis he:mîn
what.ACC.SG.N sign.ACC.SG.N show.2SG.PRES.IND.ACT us.DAT.PL
'What sign do you show us, (that you do these things)?'
Τί σημεῖον δεικνύεις ἡμῖν, (ὅτι ταῦτα ποιεῖς;) (Jn 2:18)

2.2.2 *Wh*-movement

All *wh*-words appear consistently towards the left edge of the clause, regardless of their grammatical status, as in Classical Greek (Kuhner-Gerth 1904, Vol II: 515). For example, consider the object *wh*-phrase in (10) above. The *wh*-phrase *tí se:meîon* "what sign" is the object of the finite verb in both, and but occurs in initial position, out of its canonical postverbal position (see Chapter 2). This phenomenon is known as *wh*-movement (Chomsky 1977; Cheng 1991). NT Greek seems to be a consistent *wh*-movement language. No *wh*-in-situ is found.

An NP associated with a *wh*- may be pied-piped with the *wh*-, as in (10) or it may be 'stranded' in-situ, as in (11), resulting in a split *wh*-phrase. In this respect it patterns with Classical rather than Modern Greek, in which split *wh*-phrases are more restricted (see Mathieu & Sitaridou 2005 for details on split *wh*-phrases in Classical versus Modern Greek).

(11) *Wh*-movement with NP stranding
Tí oûn poieîs sù
what.ACC.SG.N then make.2SG.PRES.IND.ACT you.NOM.SG
se:meîon
sign.ACC.SG.N
'Then what sign do you make, (so that we may see, and believe you)?'[56]
Τί οὖν ποιεῖς σὺ σημεῖον, (ἵνα ἴδωμεν καὶ πιστεύσωμέν σοι;)
(Jn 6:30)

While pied-piping is optional with NPs, it is obligatory with prepositions, contrasting with English, for example. An adjunct *wh*-phrase that is headed by an overt preposition always pied-pipes the preposition when it moves. This is shown in (12) for the preposition *prós*, "to" / "toward".

(12) Preposition pied-piping
Kúrie **pròs tína** apeleusómet^{h}a?
lord.VOC.SG.M to who.ACC.SG.N go.1PL.FUT.IND.MID
'Lord, who should we go to?'
Κύριε, πρὸς τίνα ἀπελευσόμεθα; (Jn 6: 68)

Wh-movement also occurs without exception in indirect questions. For example, in the indirect question in (13), the *wh*-object *tí* occurs at the left edge of the interrogative clause, rather than in postverbal position.

(13) *Wh*-movement in an indirect question
hóti ho doûlos ouk oîden
because D.NOM.SG.M slave.NOM.SG.M NEG know.3SG.PERF.IND.ACT
[**tí** poieî
what.ACC.SG do.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT
autoû ho kúrios]
his.GEN.SG D.NOM.SG.M master.NOM.SG.M
'because the servant does not know what his master does'
ὅτι ὁ δοῦλος οὐκ οἶδεν τί ποιεῖ αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος· (Jn 15:15)

Another relevant fact about *wh*-movement is that in questions in which there is more than one *wh*-interrogative, both of them are fronted to the left periphery. This is shown in the indirect question in (14), where the subject interrogative *tís* and the object interrogative *tí* occur preceding the verb.

[56] It is not completely clear what the interpretation of the NP should be; it may have a "what for" reading, as in English "What do you show for a sign…?" or the Dutch "wat voor" equivalent. Another similar possibility is that the NP has a predicative reading similar to "What do you show as a sign…?". In any case, these are all considered to be split constructions.

(14) Multiple *wh*-fronting
tís **tí** áre:
who.NOM.SG.M what.ACC.SG.N take.3SG.AOR.SUBJ.ACT
'(And they crucified him, and they divided his garments, casting lots upon them), as to who should take what.'
(καὶ σταυροῦσιν αὐτὸν καὶ διαμερίζονται τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, βάλλοντες κλῆρον ἐπ' αὐτὰ) τίς τί ἄρῃ. (Mk 15:24)

This phenomenon is known as multiple *wh*-fronting in the literature (see Dayal 2006). I discuss it below in Section 5.

2.2.3 The interrogative / indefinite system

As is very common cross-linguistically, the NT Greek *wh*-interrogatives have the same morphological shape as indefinites (this is also true of Classical Greek). The two paradigms are distinguished through pitch accen, as shown in Table 2. *Wh*-interrogatives always carry a pitch accent. If bi-syllabic, the accent is on the first syllable. Indefinites carry no pitch accent.

***wh*-interrogative**	**indefinite**
tís, tí : *who, what, which*	*tis, ti* : *someone /thing, anyone /thing*
pô:s : *how*	*po:s* : *somehow*
póte : *when*	*pote* : *sometime*
poû : *where*	*pou* : *somewhere*
dià tí / tí : *why*	*diá ti* : *for some reason*

Table 2: NT Greek *wh*-interrogatives and indefinites

Notice that there are two forms for "why": *dià tí* and *tí*. As I mentioned above, *dià tí*, is composed of the accusative assigning preposition *diá*, "through" / "because of" and *tí*, "what". In many cases the short form *tí* is found without the preposition, where the interrogative may not be interpreted as an object, but has to be an adjunct meaning something like "why".

The clitic indefinites in Table 2 are free choice items or polarity items, for example, "someone" / "something", "anyone" / "anything", and so forth.[57] This is also true of Classical Greek (Roussou 1998; Roberts & Roussou 1999). Clitic indefinites occur following the modal particle *án*, if it is present, as shown in (15).

(15) *án* > indefinite
kat^{h}óti án tis k^{h}reían eîk^{h}en
REL PCL indef.NOM.SG.M need.ACC.SG.F have.3SG.IMPF.IND.ACT
'(And they were selling their property and sharing them with everyone,) inasmuch as anyone had need.'
(καὶ τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις ἐπίπρασκον καὶ διεμέριζον αὐτὰ πᾶσιν) καθότι ἄν τις χρείαν εἶχεν· (A 2:45)

[57] As we saw in Chapter 3, *tis* is also a specific indefinite, meaning "a certain".

Wh-interrogatives, on the other hand, appear in a pre-*án* position as in the direct question in (16) and the indirect question in (17).[58]

(16) *wh- > án*
Tí àn t^{h}éloi ho
what.ACC.SG.N PCL want.3SG.PRES.OPT.ACT the.NOM.SG.M
spermológos hoûtos légein?
babbler.NOM.SG.M this.NOM.SG.M say.PRES.INFIN.ACT
'What would this babbler want to say?'
Τί ἂν θέλοι ὁ σπερμολόγος οὗτος λέγειν; (A 17:18)

(17) *wh- > án*
kaì dieláloun pròs allé:lous
and discuss.2PL.IMPF.IND.ACT to each.other.ACC.PL.M
[**tí** ἂν poié:saien
what.ACC.SG.N PCL do.3PL.AOR.SUBJ.ACT
tô:i Ie:soû]
the.DAT.SG.M Jesus.DAT.SG.M
'But they were filled with rage), and they discussed with each other what they might do to Jesus.'
αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπλήσθησαν ἀνοίας, καὶ διελάλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τί ἂν ποιήσαιεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ (Lk 6:11)

In (16) and (17), the *wh*-interrogatives have the acute accent typical of *wh*-interrogatives as shown in Table 2. The typical pattern for oxytonic words, which have a high pitch (acute accents) on the final syllable, is that the acute accent comes out grave when the oxtyone is followed by another word in the same sentence (Smyth 1984: 37, § 154). What is special about oxytonic *wh*-interrogatives, such as *tís*, is that this acute accent is retained in the presence of a following word (Smyth 1984: 95 §334). Thus, oxytonic *wh*-interrogatives do not conform to the normal processes of phonological pitch changes in speech.

In a few cases in the NT, the indefinite clitic *tis* comes out with the acute accent typical of the *wh*-interrogative. This is limited to when this pronoun is followed by an enclitic, and this is the typical pattern in Classical Greek (Smyth 1984: 42, § 183a). An example is given in (18).

[58] As I mentioned in Chapter 3, the particle *án* shows second position effects in the NT. The fact that indefinites and interrogatives occupy distinct positions can also be shown with the particle *ára*, which does is not a second position particle in NT Greek. Namely, *wh*-interrogatives precede it (for example (41) below), and indefinites follow it (see Mk 11:13 for an example of the latter).

(18) Stressed indefinite
hína tís se ero:tâi
that INDEF.NOM.SG.M you.ACC.SG.M ask.3SG.PRES.SUBJ.ACT
'(Now we know that you know all things and you don't need) that anyone ask you.'
νῦν οἴδαμεν ὅτι οἶδας πάντα καὶ οὐ χρείαν ἔχεις ἵνα τίς σε ἐρωτᾷ·
(Jn 16:30)

In (18), the enclitic pronominal *se* "you", has no pitch accent, and directly follows the indefinite pronoun. In this case, the indefinite is a polarity or free choice item, not an interrogative, yet it shows the accent of a *wh-*. The phonological process by which the pitch on the indefinite in (18) becomes high is distinct from the process that makes the interrogatives in (16) and (17) retain high pitch. The high pitch of *wh*-interrogatives corresponds to their syntactic position and their status as interrogatives, while the high pitch on indefinite clitics followed by clitics is only a phonological process.

In summary, pitch accentuation on indefinite pronouns and their position preceding the mood particle *án* or the inferential particle *ára* corresponds to their status as *wh*-interrogatives. The pitch accentuation of *wh*-interrogatives is not subject to the regular rules of pitch accentuation in Greek. Namely, oxytonic *wh*-interrogatives such as *tís* retain high pitch when followed by other words. This can be seen as a phonological reflex of the interrogative feature on the relevant C head, corresponding to question force.[59] In cases such as (18), where the pronoun is not a *wh*-interrogative although it has a rising pitch accent, there is no relationship established between a *wh*-feature on the relevant C head and the pronoun. This phonological reflex is only a bi-product of the phonological deficiency of the following enclitic.

2.2.4 Summary

In summary, the majority of *wh*-words attested in the corpus are the interrogative counterparts of clitic indefinite pronouns: *tís* "who", *pô:s* "how", *poû* "where" and *póte* "when"). "Why" interrogatives are composed of the neuter singular accusative form of *tís*, preceded by the preposition *día*, and on occasion *prós* or *eis*, in a parallel fashion to causal indefinites. In many cases, the "what" form occurs with no preposition, in contexts where the question can't be construed as a "what" question, but appears to be an adjunct reason question. Some *wh*-s, namely instances of *tís*, carry pitch accents that are not subject to the regular rules of pitch changes.

Wh-interrogatives undergo movement to the left periphery in both direct and indirect questions. If the *wh-* occurs in a full *wh*-phrase, the NP or the genitival complement is either pied-piped with the *wh-*, or stranded in a position that appears to be in-situ in its base position. Prepositional pied-piping with adjunct *wh*-phrases,

[59] The fact that oxytonic *wh*-interrogatives retain the high pitch could suggest that *wh*-s are focused indefinites, however it would be far from trivial to argue this.

on the other hand, is obligatory. In instances of two *wh*-interrogatives, both of them undergo movement.

3 Constituent order in yes-no questions

There is significant word order variation in yes-no, similarly to in declarative clauses as discussed in Chapter 2. In questions, VSO, SVO, SOV and OSV are all attested. The examples in (19) – (22) illustrate this variation. All of the examples are initiated with a variant of the question particle *ou*, which anticipates expects a positive answer, or *mé:*, which anticipates a negative answer. The canonical VSO order following the question particle *ouk^{h}í* is shown in (19).

(19) *ouk^{h}í*>VSO
ouk^{h}ì emó:ranen ho t^{h}eòs
Q make.foolish.3SG.AOR.IND.ACT D.NOM.SG.M god.NOM.SG.M
tè:n sop^{h}ían toû kósmou?
D.ACC.SG.F wisdom.ACC.SG.F D.GEN.SG.M world.GEN.SG.M
'Hasn't God made the wisdom of the world foolish?'
οὐχὶ ἐμώρανεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ κόσμου; (1 Cor 1:20)

In (20), the question particle *mé:ti* occurs preceding the subject, a fronted PP, the verb and the object.

(20) *mé:ti*>S(PP)VO
mé:ti he: pe:gè: ek tê:s autê:s
Q D.NOM.SG.F fountain.NOM.SG.F from D.GEN.SG.F same.GEN.SG.F
opê:s brúei tò glukù
hole.GEN.SG.F burst.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT D.ACC.SG.N sweet.ACC.SG.N
kaì tò pikrón?
and D.ACC.SG.N bitter.ACC.SG.N
'A fountain doesn't send out sweet and bitter water from the same hole, does it?'
μήτι ἡ πηγὴ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὀπῆς βρύει τὸ γλυκὺ καὶ τὸ πικρόν;
(Jac 3:11)

In the SOV example in (21), the particle *kaí* occurs directly preceding the subject. In Chapter 4, I discussed its use as an additive focus particle in detail. In the case of (21), it is not additive like "also", but more like the focus particle "even". Notice further that the direct object consists of the substantivized pronominal *autós*, meaning "the same thing". In this instance, it refers to a deed which has just been discussed, namely loving those who love you.

(21) *ouk^{h}í*>SOV
ouk^{h}ì kaì hoi telô:nai
Q even D.NOM.PL.M publican.NOM.PL.M
tò autò poioûsin?
D.ACC.SG.N same.ACC.SG.N do.3PL.PRES.IND.ACT
'Don't even the publicans do the same thing?'
οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ τελῶναι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; (Mt 5:46)

In the OSV example in (22), the object and subject are pragmatically marked. The object *toùs éso:* "the ones inside" (referring to those inside the church) is in contrast to *toùs éxo:* "the ones outside", which is mentioned in both the preceding and following sentences. The pronominal subject *humeîs* "you" is also in contrast to God, who is mentioned explicitly in the next line.

(22) *ouk^{h}í*>OSV
ouk^{h}ì toùs éso: humeîs krínete?
Q D.ACC.PL.M inside you.NOM.PL judge.2PL.PRES.IND.ACT
'(For, why is it up to me to judge those who are outside?) Don't you judge those who are inside? (And those who are outside, God judges them).'
(τί γάρ μοι τοὺς ἔξω κρίνειν;) οὐχὶ τοὺς ἔσω ὑμεῖς κρίνετε; (τοὺς δὲ ἔξω ὁ θεὸς κρινεῖ.) (1 Cor 5:12)

The examples in (19) – (22) indicate that similar derivations are possible in yes-no questions as in declarative clauses. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, Section 3, Modern Greek allows V to C movement in yes-no questions and verb focusing constructions (Roussou & Tsimpli 2006), however it is not obligatory in questions. Modern Greek interrogative sentences are distinct from declarative clauses only in intonation (Arvaniti 2002; Baltazani 2003). It is possible that V to C movement occurs sometimes in NT Greek questions, but there is no clear evidence showing this.

In Chapter 3 I used the relative position of verbs and the inferential or illative particle *ára* to distinguish V to T from V to C movement. If the verb precedes *ára*, it has moved to a projection of C. Among questions, I find no example of a verb preceding the particle *ára*. When this particle occurs in questions, the verb occurs following it. If a question particle is present, this question particle precedes *ára*. For example, in (23) below the question particle *mé:ti* precedes *ára*, while the verb is last in the string, following *ára* as well as the oblique constituent *tê:i elap^{h}ríai* "with lightness".

(23) [toûto oûn boulómenos] **mé:ti** ára
this.ACC.SG.N PCL want.NOM.SG.M.PRES.PART.MID Q PCL
tê:i elap^{h}ríai ek^{h}re:sáme:n
D.DAT.SG.F lightness.DAT.SG.F proclaim.1SG.AOR.IND.MID
'And so, when I was wanting this, I didn't proclaim it with lightness, did I?'

τοῦτο οὖν βουλόμενος μήτι ἄρα τῇ ἐλαφρίᾳ ἐχρησάμην; (2 Cor 1:17)

Notice that the participial clause *toûto boulómenos* "wanting this" precedes the question particle *mé:ti*. The particle *oûn*, which takes scope over the whole sentence, occurs as the second word of the sentence, therefore falling between the two elements of the initial constituent, in this case, the participial clause.

There is no example of a yes-no question in which the verb precedes the particle *ára*. There is therefore no firm evidence for V to C movement in yes-no questions. The fact that constituents occur between question particles and verbs further suggests that verbs move to T in yes-no questions, at least in the neutral case. Note that there are few instances of *ára* in yes-no questions, and it is possible that the string V-*ára* was grammatical in questions.

In summary, yes-no questions show similar word order variation as declarative clauses. The language makes use of particles that occur at or near the left edge questions, however they are not obligatory. I conjecture that the questions are interpreted as such through intonation. VSO, SVO and SOV are all significantly attested. This indicates that no verb movement operation takes place in yes-no questions that is distinct from verb movement in declarative clauses. Note that there is no clear distributional evidence for V to C movement, it is not ruled out as a theoretically possible derivation.

4 Constituent order in *wh*-questions

4.1 Object and adjunct *wh*-questions

Table 3 below shows the distributions of the relative orders of subjects and verbs in direct *wh*-questions in the NT. I include only the interrogatives that have indefinite counterparts in this survey. This includes the adjunct *wh*-s *pô:s* "how", *poû* "where" and *póte* "when", and the interrogatives from the *tís* stem, of which there are the object *wh*-s *tí*, "what" and *tína*, "whom", and the "why" (adjunct) interrogatives, *dià tí,* and the short form *tí*. Notice that the adjunct *tí* and the argument *tí* are homonymous, and therefore ambiguities are possible in principle. However, I have not found an example in the clauses included in the table in which there is any plausible ambiguity. The table includes both local and long distance *wh*-questions, but excludes local questions with copular verbs. However, I include long-distance questions in which the embedded verb is copular (for example (27) below). Note that the *wh*-VS column includes questions in which there are phrasal elements intervening between the subject and verb. This is also true of the *wh*-SV column.

		***wh*-VS**	***wh*-SV**	**total**
object	*what*	15	2[60]	17
	whom	4	0	4
adjunct	*how*	15	8	23
	why	3	15	18
	where	0	1	1
	when	0	0	0

Table 3: Word orders in object & adjunct *wh*-questions

The table shows that there is a strong tendency for *wh*-VS orders in object questions. There are a significant number of "what" questions with overt subjects and non-copular verbs, seventeen to be precise. Of these, only two show the *wh*-SV order, and as I show below, one of these involves a textual ambiguity. There are only four "whom" questions, and they all show the VS order. There are significant numbers of "how" and "why" questions. There are more *wh*-VS than *wh*-SV "how" questions and more *wh*-SV than *wh*-VS "why" questions. The tendency for *wh*-SV in "why" questions is actually quite strong. There is only one viable "where" clause, which shows the *wh*-SV order, and there are no viable "when" questions. The examples in (24) – (29) illustrate the patterns in Table 3.

In (24), the canonical *wh*-VS order among object *wh*-questions is shown.

(24) *what*>VS
allà **tí** légei
but what.ACC.S.N say.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT
he: graphʰé:?
D.NOM.SG.F scripture.NOM.SG.F
'But what does the scripture say? ("Cast out the bondwoman and her son, for the son of the bondwoman will inherit with the son of the free one.")
ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή; (Ἔκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσει ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.)
(Gl 4:30)

One of the two *wh*-SV "what" question involves a discrepancy across editions. The *wh*-SV version appears in the Nestle-Aland edition, as given in (25). In the Westcott-Hort edition, the question shows a S-*wh*-V order as shown in (26).

[60] There is actually only one unambiguously *wh*-SV "what" question. One of these two is recorded as a *wh*-SV clause in the Nestle-Aland edition, but not in the Westcott-Hort edition (see (25) and (26) below).

(25) *what*>SV (N-A)
tí sù légeis perì
what.ACC.SG.N you.NOM.SG say.2SG.PRES.IND.ACT about
autoû hóti e:néo:ixén
him.GEN.SG because open.3SG.AOR.IND.ACT
sou toùs op^{h}t^{h}almoús?
your.GEN.SG the.ACC.PL.M eyes.ACC.PL.M
'(So they said to the blind man again,) "What do you say about him, given that he has opened your eyes?" (And he said, "He is a prophet.")'
λέγουσιν οὖν τῷ τυφλῷ πάλιν, Τί σὺ λέγεις περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἠνέῳξέν σου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς; ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι Προφήτης ἐστίν. (Jn 9:17)

(26) *what*>VS (W-H)
sù **tí** légeis …
you.NOM.SG what.ACC.SG.N say.2SG.PRES.IND.ACT
'You, what do you say…)'

In the Westcott-Hort S-*wh*-V version, the subject pronoun is fronted around the *wh*-, as is commonly found in the NT (see Section 4.2 below). Note that the subject is pragmatically marked, and this seems to correspond to emphatic focus, or contrastive topic. In the previous context, the Pharisees have not been able to come to a consensus among themselves, and so they asked the blind man again what he thought, since it was him who Jesus had apparently healed. In both of the construals in (25) and (26), the subject could potentially occupy a focus or contrastive topic projection. The relevant issue here is that under the Nestle-Aland version, a fronted constituent occurs between the *wh*- and the verb.[61]

There are not very many "whom" questions with overt subjects and non-copular verbs in the corpus, and all four of them show the *wh*-VS order. Three of the four attestations are constructions like the question in (27).

(27) *whom* >VS
Tína me légousin
whom.ACC.SG.M me.ACC.SG.M say.3PL.PRES.IND.ACT
hoi ánt^{h}ro:poi eînai?
D.NOM.PL.M man.NOM.PL.M be.PRES.INFIN.ACT
'Whom do men say that I am?'
Τίνα με λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι; (Mk 8:27)

[61] From the point of view of textual criticism, the Nestle-Aland version (*wh*-SV) is the most plausible reading, since it is the minority across manuscripts. The rule of *lectio difficilior potior* "the more difficult reading is stronger" asserts that when many manuscripts conflict, the more difficult or noncanonical is likely the original. The original is likely attested least frequently in manuscripts, since it would have been hypercorrected.

Example (27) is a long-distance question, in which the *wh*-interrogative is the predicate of an embedded copular infinitive. The subject of this infinitive is the clitic pronoun *me* "me". Both of these show accusative case marking. This is what is traditionally referred to as the accusative plus infinitive construction. In other words, this is an instance of Exceptional Case-Marking. The clitic pronoun is the subject of the embedded infinitival *eînai* "be", but shows accusative case marking from the matrix verb *légousin* "say". Notice that the clitic pronoun intervenes between the *wh*-interrogative and the verb, in Wackernagel position (second position). I will not be able to provide an account of clitic placement in the NT in this thesis, but the high position of the clitic is consistent with clitic movement to a C projection, as proposed in Cardinaletti & Starke (1999).

In the *wh*-SV column in Table 2, there are significant attestations of "how" and "why" questions. There are also significant attestations of these in the VS column. Examples of *wh*-VS and *wh*-SV "why" and "how" questions are given in (28) – (31).

(28) *why* >VSO
dià tí eplé:ro:sen ho Satanâs
why fill.3SG.AOR.IND.ACT D.NOM.SG.M Satan.NOM.SG.M
tè:n kardían sou
D.ACC.SG.F heart.ACC.SG.F your.GEN.SG
'Why did Satan fill your heart (to lie to the holy spirit, and to keep back part of the price of the land)?'
διὰ τί ἐπλήρωσεν ὁ Σατανᾶς τὴν καρδίαν σου (ψεύσασθαί σε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ νοσφίσασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ χωρίου); (A 5:3)

(29) *why* >SV>PP
kaì **dià tí** dialogismoì anabaínousin
and why thoughts.NOM.PL.M arise.3PL.PRES.IND.ACT
en tê:i kardíai humô:n?
in the.DAT.SG.F heart.DAT.SG.F your.GEN.PL
'(Why are you troubled?) And why do thoughts arise in your hearts?'
(Τί τεταραγμένοι ἐστέ,) καὶ διὰ τί διαλογισμοὶ ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν; (Lk 24:38)

(30) *how* >VS
Pô:s [oûn] e:neó:ik^{h}t^{h}e:sán sou
how so open.3PL.AOR.IND.PASS your.GEN.SG
hoi op^{h}t^{h}almoí?
the.NOM.PL.M eye.NOM.PL.M
'So, how were your eyes opened?'
Πῶς [οὖν] ἠνεῴχθησάν σου οἱ ὀφθαλμοί; (Jn 9:10)

(31) *how* > SV
kaì **pô:s** he:meîs akoúomen hékastos
and how we.NOM.PL hear.1PL.PRES.IND.ACT each.NOM.SG.M
tê:i idíai dialékto:i he:mô:n
D.DAT.SG.F own.DAT.SG.F language.DAT.SG.F our.GEN.PL
'And how do we each hear in our own language, (with which we were born)?'
καὶ πῶς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν ἕκαστος τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ ἡμῶν (ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννήθημεν;) (A 2:8)

There is only one example of a "where" question with an overt subject and non-copular verb. As shown in (32), it shows the *wh*-SV order.

(32) *where* >SV
Poû hoûtos méllei poreúest^{h}ai
where this.NOM.SG.M will.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT go.PRES.INFIN.MID
'Where will this man go, (that we will not find him)?'
Ποῦ οὗτος μέλλει πορεύεσθαι (ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐχ εὑρήσομεν αὐτόν); (Jn 7:35)

In summary, the generalization is that adjunct questions, particularly "why" and "how" questions, show a fairly even mix of *wh*-VS and *wh*-SV orders. In the case of "where", there is only one example with an overt subject and non-copular verb, and it shows the *wh*-SV order. Object questions, on the other hand, show a very strong tendency for *wh*-VS orders. There is one possible counter-example, given in (26) above. There is also one indisputable counter-example, which I discuss below in Section 4.4 (see example (42) therein).

4.2 A V to C account for object questions

At first glance, the trend for *wh*-VS orders among object questions suggests that verb movement proceeds all the way to C (see Kirk 2012). This kind of derivation has been proposed to account for obligatory inversion in Romance (see Torrego 1984; Rizzi & Roberts 1989; Uriagereka 1995), and in English *wh*-questions (Rizzi 1996). In Standard Italian and many other Romance dialects, the canonical order in argument *wh*-questions is *wh*-VS.[62] The example in (33) shows that the *wh*-SV order is ungrammatical and the *wh*-VS grammatical in Standard Italian.

[62] This is a bit of an over-simplification. There is a lot of variation among Romance languages (see, for example, the papers in Hulk & Pollock 2001). Spandard Spanish shows obligatory inversion only with argument *wh*-s (Torrego 1984), while Standard Italian shows inversion with all *wh*-questions apart from "why" questions (Rizzi 1999). Furthermore, there is a lot of dialectal variation. I am also leaving aside the issue of Discourse-linked (D-linked) *wh*-phrases, which behave rather differently from bare *wh*-s (see Pesetsky 1987).

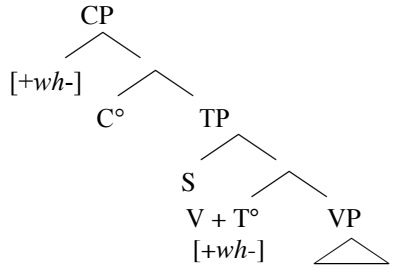
(33) a. *Che cosa Maria ha detto? STANDARD ITALIAN
what Mary has said?
b. Che cosa ha detto Maria?
what has said Mary
'What did Mary say?'

This is similar to English *wh*-questions, where inversion or "do"-support is obligatory, as shown in (34). This is not true of subject questions, as I discuss below around (39).

(34) a. *What Mary has said?
b. What has Mary said?
c. What did Mary say?

May (1985), and Rizzi (1996) propose the *wh*-criterion to account for obligatory inversion. Rizzi's version of the criterion states that a *wh*-operator must be in a Spec-head configuration with a head that bears a [+*wh*-] feature, and that a head bearing a [+*wh*-] feature must be in a Spec-head configuration with a *wh*-operator. The assumption is that [*wh*-] features are licensed in an IP (i.e., T) projection. These features move to C° to create the necessary Spec-head configuration with the [*wh*-] feature there. The verb, which has adjoined to T° is moved along to C°, as shown in (35).

(35)

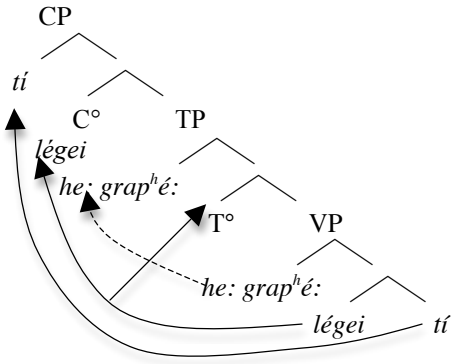


Since the *wh*-interrogative and the verb are in a Spec-head configuration, elements may not intervene between these two. Subjects surface following verbs, in Spec,T. An object question such as (24) above, repeated below as (36), has the configuration in (37) under this analysis.

(36) *what* > V > S
allà tí légei
but what.ACC.S.N say.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT
he: grap^{h}é:?
D.NOM.SG.F scripture.NOM.SG.F
'But what does the scripture say?'
ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή; (Gl 4:30)

As shown in (37), the verb moves through the T head, to the C head, and the subject either moves to Spec,T or stays in-situ in the VP, as discussed in Chapter 3. This option is shown with a dashed arrow.

(37)



Concerning adjunct questions, Kirk (2012) argues that "why" interrogatives do not undergo *wh*-movement at all, but are first merged in their left peripheral position, following Rizzi (1999) and Ko (2005). Furthermore, it is argued that this position is distinct from the one in which object *wh*-interrogatives occur, and it is higher in the structure (Rizzi 1999). This is extended to "how" questions, many of which are not means or manner questions, but "how come" questions, very similar semantically to "why" questions. This accounts for why "how" and "why" questions allow SV orders; there is space between the position of the *wh*- and the verb, namely a Topic projection or the Spec,T position intervenes, hosting preverbal subjects.

The V to C movement approach to object *wh*-questions easily derives the strong tendency for *wh*-VS orders in object questions, and is consistent with what has been argued for in many Germanic and Romance dialects. However, this analysis does not seem to be able to account for some further data, as I present below.

4.3 A lack of adjacency between *wh*- and V in argument questions

One prediction that the V to C analysis presented in the last subsection makes is that no elements should intervene between argument *wh*-phrases and verbs. That is, it does not only block the SV order, but any order where an element intervenes between the *wh*- and the verb. This prediction does not seem to be borne out, as elements other than subjects are occasionally found intervening between object interrogatives and verbs.

One example is given in (38). In this double object construction, the reflexive object pronoun *seautòn* intervenes between the object *wh*- and the verb.

(38) *wh*->OV
Tína seautòn poieîs?
whom.ACC.SG.M self.ACC.SG.M make.2SG.PRES.IND.ACT
'(Are you then better than our father Abraham, who died? The prophets died, too). Who are you making yourself out to be?'
(μὴ σὺ μείζων εἶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ, ὅστις ἀπέθανεν; καὶ οἱ προφῆται ἀπέθανον·) τίνα σεαυτὸν ποιεῖς; (Jn 8:53)

By this rhetorical question, the Jews are accusing Jesus of making himself out to be something he is not. They state that Jesus had claimed that anyone who kept to his sayings would be exempt from death, and then point out that both Abraham and the prophets died. It is difficult to say what the information structural status of the pronoun is in this instance. There seems to be contrast, between the addressee and Abraham and the prophets, but lacking intonational evidence it is unclear whether the constituent is topic or focus material. Whatever the status of the pronoun is, it indicates that the verb does not move to the head of the projection hosting the *wh*-interrogative.

Subject questions are also argument questions, although there are certain asymmetries among subject and object questions in some languages such as English. One unique property of English subject questions is that they don't allow "do"-support (i.e., **Who did come*? with neutral intonation on *did*). It has been argued that subject *wh*-phrases do not move to Spec,CP like other *wh*-s, but stay in the IP subject position, avoiding what is called Vacuous Subject Movement (George 1980; Chomsky 1986b). It has also been argued that subject *wh*-phrases undergo the same movement to Spec,CP as other *wh*-interrogatives, and that this is due to their status as *wh*-interrogatives, which move to Spec,CP in order to check the interrogative feature on the C head (Cheng 1991: 31-32). Agbayani (2000) proposes that while the *wh*-feature occurs in Spec,C, the *wh*-interrogative itself does not move higher than Spec,IP.

As shown in Chapters 2 and 3, NT Greek is not a strict SVO language, but VSO is a neutral word order. Movement of the subject *wh*- to Spec,CP would not be vacuous movement in a VSO language. Furthermore, topic constituents are found between *wh*-interrogatives and finite verbs. An example of this is in (39), where the pronominal object *he:mas* "us" intervenes between the *wh*- and the verb.

(39) *wh*->O>V
tís he:mâs k^{h}o:rísei
who.NOM.SG.M us.ACC.PL.M separate.3SG.FUT.IND.ACT
apò tê:s agápe:s toû K^{h}ristoû?
from D.GEN.SG.F love.GEN.SG.F D.GEN.SG.M Christ.GEN.SG.M
'(Who is the one who condemns? Christ [Jesus], who has died, or rather who was risen, who also is at the right side of God, who also intercedes for us.) Who will separate us from the love of Christ?'
(τίς ὁ κατακρινῶν; Χριστὸς [Ἰησοῦς] ὁ ἀποθανών, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐγερθείς, ὃς καί ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ

ἡμῶν.) τίς ἡμᾶς χωρίσει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ;
(Rm 8:35)

As shown by context below the example, the object pronoun *he:mâs* "us" is salient in the discourse, and was just mentioned. This fits the description of a familiar topic, as discussed in Chapter 4. It is also possible that it is under focus, but this can't be tested.

In Chapter 3, I used the relative position of verbs and the inferential or illative particle *ára* to identify configurations where the verb was in C (see also the discussion of verb movement in yes-no questions in (23) above). In Chapter 3 I noted that *ára* occurs in the left periphery, preceded by elements such as *wh*-words and question particles. Verbs were also found preceding this particle, indicating they had moved to C. The pattern in *wh*-questions is that the verb follows *ára*, as in the subject question in (40) below.

(40) *wh->ára>*V

tís	ára	dúnatai	so:t^{h}ê:nai?
who.NOM.SG.M	PCL	can.3SG.PRES.IND.MID	save.AOR.IND.ACT

'Then who can be saved?'
Τίς ἄρα δύναται σωθῆναι; (Mt 9:25)

Wh-interrogatives precede *ára* without exception in the corpus. There is no example of both a *wh*- and the verb preceding *ára*. Such an attestation would allow us to say with some certainty that verbs can move to C in *wh*-questions, and by analogy with declarative clauses, for focus. In the absence of such data, it is uncertain whether verbs can move to C in *wh*-questions in NT Greek. That is to say, the lack of attestation of *wh*->V>*ára* could be taken to indicate that focus movement of the verb and *wh*-movement are mutually exclusive, or the sequence could be accidentally unattested, but grammatical.

In summary, argument questions do not show a strict adjacency between the *wh*-interrogative and the verb. This indicates that there is no spec-head configuration established between the *wh*- and the verb.

4.4 A V to T account

Another possible explanation for the strong tendency for VS in object *wh*-questions is simply that verbs raise to T, and in the majority of examples, subjects stay in-situ, yielding *wh*-VS orders. In Chapter 2, I claimed that both VSO and SVO orders are found in neutral contexts in declarative clauses (see examples (16) and (17) in Chapter 2). I concluded in Chapter 3 that verb movement ends at T in the neutral case, and that the Spec,T position is in fact available for neutral subjects that are preverbal. There is a near minimal pair of *wh*-questions, one of which was already shown in (24) above, as an example of a *wh*-VS clause. The *wh*-VS version is repeated in (41), and the *wh*-SV version is shown in (42).

Aside from the difference in word order, there is one other difference. In (41) the conjunction *allá* "but" occurs, and in (42) the second position particle *gár*, this difference being relevant to the larger discourse structure.

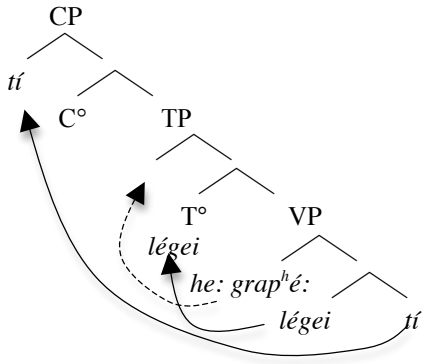
(41) *what*>VS
allà **tí** légei
but what.ACC.S.N say.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT
he: graphʰé:?
D.NOM.SG.F scripture.NOM.SG.F
'But what does the scripture say? ("Cast out the bondwoman and her son, for the son of the bondwoman will inherit with the son of the free one.")
ἀλλὰ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή; (Ἔκβαλε τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, οὐ γὰρ μὴ κληρονομήσει ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης μετὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας.) (Gl 4:30)

(42) *what*>SV
tí gàr he: graphʰè:
what.ACC.SG.N PCL the.NOM.SG.F scripture.NOM.SG.F
légei?
say.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT
'Nevertheless, what does the scripture say? ("Abraham believed God, and it was credited to him as righteousness.")'
τί γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ λέγει; (Ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.) (Rm 4:3)

Both of these questions are found in Paul's letters, and both ask what the scripture says. Paul answers both immediately, giving an account of what the scripture says. These are therefore not true information seeking questions, which is the case for many of the questions in the NT. The similarity in terms of content between these examples is rather striking, and is reminiscent of the declarative SVO – VSO near minimal pair in Chapter 3 (see examples (16) and (17) therein).

I argue that the structure of these *wh*-questions is the same as the structure of the neutral declarative clauses. The verb moves to T in both cases, and in (42) but not (41) the subject moves to Spec,T, as indicated by the dashed arrow in (43).

(43)



Canonical V to T movement in *wh*-questions has also been proposed for Modern Greek (Kotzoglou 2006). In Modern Greek, *wh*-SV orders are ungrammatical in argument questions. There are two possible positions for subjects in argument questions: to the left of the *wh*-interrogative, or in postverbal position. The examples in (44) from Kotzoglou (2006:95) illustrate this.

(44) a. Pjon aghapai i maria? MODERN GREEK
who.ACC love.3SG the Maria.NOM
b. I maria pjon aghapai?
the Maria.NOM who.ACC love.3SG
c. *Pjon i maria aghapai?
who.ACC the Maria.NOM love.3SG

Based on the assumption that all preverbal subjects in Modern Greek declarative clauses are left-dislocated topics (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998; see Chapter 3 for discussion of this proposal), Kotzoglou (2006) and Anagnostopoulou (1994) propose that *wh*-SV orders are a violation of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990). Informally speaking, this is a prohibition on extraction of the *wh*- in the presence of A' movement, i.e., topicalization. So in argument *wh*-questions topicalization to a preverbal, post-*wh*-position through syntactic movement is not employed. Rather, topics in these questions may appear to the left of the *wh*-, or in a postverbal position. Under this view, topics appearing to the left of *wh*-s must be considered to be base-generated in this position.

NT Greek seems to behave slightly different from Modern Greek, in that *wh*-VS orders are attested, and furthermore, (non-subject) topics are found between *wh*-interrogatives and verbs ((38), (39) above). The fact that *wh*-s are found preceding topics indicates that Minimality as defined by Rizzi (1990), Anagnostopoulou (1994) and Kotzoglou (2006), among others, can be violated in NT Greek, a fact which is also apparent from word orders in relative clauses. The fact that seemingly neutral subjects are found intervening between *wh*-s and verbs in NT Greek further re-inforces the conclusion from Chapter 3, that NT Greek, unlike Modern Greek, has a Spec,T position available for subjects.

In a V to T account of object *wh*-questions, the asymmetry in word order among object and adjunct questions is largely co-incidental. The adjunct questions that are attested involve additional movement of subjects, either to Spec,T or to a left peripheral position, while the majority of object questions have subjects in-situ. It is worth mentioning that most object questions that I investigated in 4.1 contain only a verb, a *wh*- and a subject. If the subject is in-situ, and there are no other constituents that could possibly intervene between the *wh*- and the verb, then *wh*-interrogatives and verbs will be string adjacent, but this of course does not mean that they are adjacent in the syntax, occupying the same projection. In adjunct questions, on the other hand, there are potentially (non-*wh*-) subjects as well as objects present, and indeed many "why" and "how" / "how come" questions contain subjects, verbs and objects. It is not very surprising that these questions display left-dislocated arguments intervening between *wh*-interrogatives and verbs more often than object questions.

4.5 Summary

In terms of the relative position of subjects and verbs in *wh*-questions, there is a very strong tendency for *wh*-VS orders in object questions, and *wh*-SV is marginally attested. In adjunct questions, on the other hand, similar word order variation is found as in declarative clauses and yes-no questions. If one isolates the object questions, one possible account of the lack of significant attestations of *wh*-SV in among these is to propose that verb movement proceeds to C in these questions. In this configuration, there is no position available for subjects that is higher than the C head which the verb occupies, and lower than the position where *wh*-interrogatives sit.

However, I took the view that verb movement typically ends at T in all types of *wh*-questions for the following two reasons. For one, (non-subject) constituents that appear to be topics or foci are found intervening between object *wh*-interrogatives and verbs (see (38) above). Second, in subject questions, which are also argument questions, left peripheral constituents are found between the *wh*-s and verbs (see (39)). Furthermore, the diagnostic that is based on the relative position of verbs and the inferential particle *ára* suggests that there are no instances of V to C movement to the pre-*ára* position. It is possible that V to C movement occurs in *wh*-questions, in instances where this particle is not present, but just as in declarative clauses, the canonical position for the verb in all *wh*-questions seems to be T.

5 The position of *wh*-s and question particles in the left periphery

In this section, I examine the position of *wh*-interrogatives and question particles in yes-no questions, with respect to the left peripheral elements, such as topics and foci. I also investigate the relative position of the inferential / illative particle *ára*. In the last chapter I identified the Topic and Focus projections in the NT Greek left periphery in (45a). The first Topic projection hosts shifting and contrastive topics, and the second one familiar topics.

(45) a. TopP > FocP > (Fam)TopP
b. ForceP > (TopP) > FocP > (TopP) > FinP

As I introduced in Chapter 1, Section 3, Rizzi (1997) argues that discourse projections occur between ForceP and FinP in (45b). ForceP is associated with the specification of force of the utterance and FinP is associated with finiteness.

Assuming a split CP, there are a couple of possible landing sites for *wh*-interrogatives. One possibility is that *wh*-s target a projection associated with the specification of Force, corresponding to the clause having the force of a question. In this case, we would expect that *wh*-interrogatives occur in the Specifier of the projection that hosts question morphemes in yes-no questions, and complementizers in subordinate clauses. Another possibility, as many have argued, is that *wh*-movement targets a Focus projection (see Tsimpli 1995 and references therein).

Based on the data found in the NT, there is support for both of these hypotheses.

As I show in 5.1 and 5.2, there is indirect support for the hypothesis that *wh*-movement targets a projection higher than Focus. Namely, in yes-no questions and subordinate clauses, a maximum of one topic constituent is found preceding the question particles and complementizer. In *wh*-questions too, there is a maximum of one topic constituent preceding the *wh*-interrogative. Since topicalization around *wh*-interrogatives is so common in the NT, one might expect to find an instance of two topics preceding a *wh*-, if that were possible. There is also a parallel among yes-no and *wh*-questions in terms of what follows question particles and *wh*-interrogatives. Both of these are found followed by up to two preverbal constituents. In many instances, it is difficult to tease apart topics from foci, in the absence of the particular topic and focus diagnostics discussed in Chapter 4. However, there is support for the order Topic> Focus lower than the question particles, and similarly lower than *wh*-interrogatives. This also suggests that wh-interrogatives move to a projection higher than Focus.

The language also displays multiple *wh*-fronting, as introduced in Section 2. There is only example of this, therefore I discuss some supplementary data from Epictetus as well as older Classical Greek texts. The multiple fronting data suggest that one *wh*- moves to the higher Force projection, and one to the lower Focus projection.

5.1 *Wh*-interrogatives

5.1.1 Material preceding *wh*-s

In single questions, *wh*-interrogatives are found preceded by a maximum of one constituent, possibly in combination with one conjunction or second position particle. The preceding constituents are topics, many of them seem to be contrastive topics, or shifting topics. There seems to be no asymmetry among argument versus object questions in this regard. Most of the *wh*-s are found with preceding topics, but there is no example of *póte* "when" with a preceding topic.

In (46), the subject topic *hoi huioì humô:n* "your sons" precedes the adjunct *wh*-phrase *en tíni* "by whom".

(46) Topic > adjunct *wh*-phrase
ei dè egò: en Beelzeboùl ekbállo:
if PCL I.NOM.SG by Satan cast.out.1SG.PRES.IND.ACT
tà daimónia [hoi huioì humô:n
D.ACC.PL.N devil.ACC.PL.N D.NOM.PL.M son.NOM.PL.M your.GEN.PL
en tíni ekbállousin?]
by who.DAT.SG.M cast.out.3PL.PRES.IND.ACT
'And if I cast out devils by Satan, by whom do your children cast them out?'
εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια, οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τίνι ἐκβάλλουσιν; (Lk 11:19)

The interrogative clause is the apodosis of a conditional sentence. The question is rhetorical, and the speaker is using it as an argument for the fact that he does not cast out devils through Satan. The argument is if the speaker casts out devils through Satan, there is nothing else by which the addressees' own sons could cast out devils. The word orders in the protasis and the *wh*-clause apodosis are both Topic > PP > Verb, and the topics are contrastive.

The example in (47) shows a direct object topic composed of the DP *tòn kairón* and the demonstrative *toûton*. This constituent precedes the *wh*-interrogative *pô:s* "how", in a rhetorical question.

(47) Topic > adjunct *wh*-phrase
tò prόso:pon tê:s gê:s kaì toû
D.ACC.SG.N face.ACC.SG.N D.GEN.SG.F earth.GEN.SG.F and D.GEN.SG.M
ouranoû oídate dokimázein
sky.GEN.SG.M know.2PL.PERF.IND.ACT discern.PRES.INFIN.ACT
tòn kairòn dè toûton **pô:s** ouk
D.ACC.SG.M time.ACC.SG.M PCL this.ACC.SG.M how NEG
oídate dokimázein?
know.2PL.PERF.IND.ACT discern.PRES.INFIN.ACT
'(Hypocrites,) the face of the earth and the sky you know how to discern; but this time, how do you not know how to discern it?
(ὑποκριταί,) τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν, τὸν καιρὸν δὲ τοῦτον πῶς οὐκ οἴδατε δοκιμάζειν;
(Lk 12:56)

In this case, the topicalized constituent is the object of the infinitival *dokimázein* "to discern". In the preceding line, the speaker mentions that the addressees can discern the face of the earth and the sky, but expresses surprise by the fact that they cannot discern this time. In the preceding line, the object "the face of the earth and sky" is also fronted to preverbal position. The pre-posed constituents are contrastive topics.

The example in (48) shows a "why" interrogative preceeded by the prepositional phrase topic *perì endúmatos*, "about clothes", which carries contrast.

(48) Topic > adjunct *wh*-phrase
kaì perì endúmatos **tí** merimnâte?
and about clothing.GEN.SG.N why care.2PL.PRES.IND.ACT
'And why do you care about clothes?'
'(Therefore I say to you, Take no thought for your life, as to what you will eat, or what you will drink; nor for your body, what you will wear. Isn't life more than meat, and the body more than dress? Consider the birds of the air: for they don't sow nor reap, nor gather into barns; nonetheless your heavenly father feeds them. Are you much better than them? Which of you, by taking thought, can add one cubit to his height?) And about clothes why do you care?'
(Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν, μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν τί φάγητε [ἢ τί πίητε], μηδὲ τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν τί ἐνδύσησθε· οὐχὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πλεῖόν ἐστι

τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος; ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὅτι οὐ σπείρουσιν οὐδὲ θερίζουσιν οὐδὲ συνάγουσιν εἰς ἀποθήκας, καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τρέφει αὐτά· οὐχ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον διαφέρετε αὐτῶν; τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν δύναται προσθεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ πῆχυν ἕνα;) καὶ περὶ ἐνδύματος τί μεριμνᾶτε; (Mt 6:28)

The first line of the context of (47) establishes the topic of conversation as being the level of concern that one should have, on the one hand, about sustaining one's life with aliment, and on the other hand, about dressing one's body with clothes. Jesus, the speaker, commands the listeners not to take thought over what they eat and drink, or what they wear. He then elaborates on the first of these, food and drink. He compares the listeners to birds, who do not take pains to plan their meals, but are nonetheless fed. Later on, he switches the topic to clothes, with the example (47). This is an example of a shifting topic, more precisely a newly returned to topic.

It is not clear whether the topicalized PP is selected by the matrix verb *merimnâte* "take thought" / "care", or whether it is an "as for" topic with *perí*, as I showed in Chapter 4. The verb *merimnáo:* does occur in the NT with PP objects headed by *perí* (see Lk 12:26), which suggests that the verb selects an object headed by *perí*. However, this verb also occurs with genitive objects without the preposition (see Mk 4:19), and accusative objects (see Ph 2:20). It also occurs with indirect questions such as in the first line of the context of (48), where the complement is "what you will eat", and also occurs with no object, as in the instance of the participial in the sixth line of the context below (48).

In the "why" question in (49), the preceding constituent is the dative pronominal object *he:mîn* "on us".

(49) Topic > adjunct *wh*-phrase
è: <u>he:mîn</u> **tí** atenízete
or us.DAT.PL why stare.2PL.PRES.IND.ACT
'(Men of Israel, why are you so shocked by this?) Or, why are you staring at us (as though by our own power or holiness we had made this man walk?)'
(Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, τί θαυμάζετε ἐπὶ τούτῳ,) ἢ ἡμῖν τί ἀτενίζετε (ὡς ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ εὐσεβείᾳ πεποιηκόσιν τοῦ περιπατεῖν αὐτόν;) (A 3:12)

In the preceding context, a man was healed by Peter and John, and the people around were amazed. As shown in the context below the example, Peter then asks them why they are so shocked, and why they were staring at himself, and John. The dative pronoun *he:mîn* "on us" shifts the discourse to Peter and John, and is therefore best described as a shifting topic.

The example in (50) is very similar to the one in (48) above, where the *wh*-question is the apodosis of a conditional statement. In this instance, the interrogative *poû* "where" is preceded by the conjoined subject topic *ho asebè:s kaì hamarto:lós,* "the ungodly and the sinner", here being used generically.

(50) Topic > adjunct *wh*-phrase
ho asebè:s kaì hamarto:lòs
the.NOM.SG.M ungodly.NOM.SG.M and sinner.NOM.SG.M
poû p^{h}aneîtai?
where appear.3PL.FUT.IND.MID
'(And if the righteous scarcely be saved), the ungodly and the sinner, where will they appear?'
(καὶ εἰ ὁ δίκαιος μόλις σῴζεται,) ὁ ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς ποῦ φανεῖται; (1 Pt 4:18)

The topic subject is in contrast to a referent in the protasis: the righteous man. Note that this constituent is also preverbal in its clause. These seem to be best described as contrastive topics.

In (51) below the object *wh*-interrogative *tína*, "whom" is preceded by the topic *humeîs*, "you".

(51) Topic > argument *wh*-
Humeîs dè **tína** me légete
you.NOM.PL PCL who.ACC.SG.M me.ACC.SG.M say.2PL.PRES.IND.ACT
eînai?
be.PRES.INFIN.ACT
'("Who do men say is the Son of man?" And they said, "Some say John the Baptist; some, Elija; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets." And he said to them,) "And you, who do you say that I am?"'
(Τίνα λέγουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν, Οἱ μὲν Ἰωάννην τὸν βαπτιστήν, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἠλίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ Ἰερεμίαν ἢ ἕνα τῶν προφητῶν. λέγει αὐτοῖς,) Ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνα με λέγετε εἶναι; (Mt 16:15; Mk 8:29; Lk 9:20)

In the preceding context, Jesus asked his disciples who men are saying the son of man is, that is, who he himself is. After they reply, Jesus inquires of the disciples who they say that he is. This seems to be an instance of a shifting topic, since it shifts the perspective from what others say about him to what the adressees themselves say.

The example in (52) shows a subject *wh*-interrogative preceded by the direct object topic *tò ale:t^{h}inòn* "the true", here referring to true wealth. The interrogative is followed by the preverbal indirect object pronoun *humîn* "to you".

(52) Topic > argument *wh*- > Topic/Focus
tò ale:t^{h}inòn **tís** humîn
D.ACC.SG.N true.ACC.SG.N who.NOM.SG.M you.DAT.PL
pisteúsei?
entrust.3SG.FUT.IND.ACT
'(Therefore, if you have not been faithful in the unrighteous wealth,) who will commit to your trust that which is true? (And if you have not been

faithful in what is another's, who will give you what is your own?)'
(εἰ οὖν ἐν τῷ ἀδίκῳ μαμωνᾷ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε,) τὸ ἀληθινὸν τίς ὑμῖν πιστεύσει; (καὶ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ὑμέτερον τίς δώσει ὑμῖν;) (Lk 16:11)

Like (46) and (50) above, the question in (52) is the apodosis of a conditional sentence, and is rhetorical.[63] The statement asserts that if one is not faithful to unjust wealth, then there is no one who will put true wealth into his trust. In the protasis, the PP *en to:i adiko:i mamo:nai* "in unjust wealth" is fronted to preverbal position, in parallel with *tò ale:t^{h}inòn* "the true". I therefore consider these to be contrastive topics. As for the post-*wh*-, preverbal pronominal, the context suggests that it is under focus, but this can't be tested without access to intonation.

Fronting of one constituent ahead of the *wh*-interrogative is possible in indirect questions. In (53), the PP topic *en Elíai*, "in Elija" occurs preceding the argument *wh*-interrogative *tí* "what". This PP modifies the embedded *wh*-clause.

(53) Topic > argument *wh*-

è:	ouk	oídate	[en	Elíai
or	Q-POS	know.2PL.PERF.IND.ACT	in	Elias.DAT.SG.F
tí		légei	he:	graphé:]
what.ACC.SG.N		say.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT	D.NOM.SG.F	scripture.NOM.SG.F

'or don't you know what the scripture says in the passage about Elias?'
ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε ἐν Ἠλίᾳ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή; (Rm 11:2)

There are a couple of different renditions of (53) across translations. Some take the fronted PP to mean "about Elija", as a complement of the embedded verb *légei*, "says". Others take the PP to mean "in the passage about Elija". This rendition seems more plausible, since the preposition *en* does not normally mean "about" or "concerning", but often has a locative meaning. Regardless of which is more accurate, the PP modifies the embedded clause, and is fronted to initial position in this clause, preceding the *wh*-.

In summary, both argument and adjunct *wh*-interrogatives are found preceded by a maximum of one topic constituent. Topic constituents are subject and DPs, PPs and indirect objects. Topicalization around *wh*-s is also found in indirect questions.

5.1.2 Material following *wh*-s

Each of the *wh*-interrogatives is found with at least one fronted constituent following it, in preverbal position. Most of the examples show only one fronted constituent, and I have found a maximum of two. In most instances, it is difficult to tease apart topics from foci, as most of the clauses do not contain the elements that

[63] Following this conditional statement is a parallel conditional statement, given in the context below the example. The protasis and the apodosis of this conditional statement also host contrastive topics, the one in the apodosis being a *wh*-clause.

were shown to be focus related in Chapter 4, for example, focus particles and corrective constructions. However, there are some examples in which constituents focused with *kaí* occur. In many other instances, the constituents are under contrast, or are familiar in the discourse. However, it is very difficult to make claims as to the status of these, lacking intonational evidence. I am able to show that there are two projections between the projection hosting the *wh*-interrogative and the one hosting the verb, T in the default case. It is fairly certain that one of these is a Focus projection, and that one is a Topic.

The "why" question in (54) shows the object demonstrative pronoun *toûto* "this" directly following the interrogative and preceding the finite verb.[64]

(54) *wh*->O>V
Tí toûto akoúo: perì soû?
why this.ACC.SG.N hear.1SG.PRES.IND.ACT about you.GEN.SG
'Why am I hearing this about you?'
Τί τοῦτο ἀκούω περὶ σοῦ; (Lk 16:2)

In the context preceding (54), a story is being told about a rich man's house servant. Someone has informed the master that his servant had been stealing goods from him. The master approaches the servant and asks the question in (54). What is referred to by the demonstrative *toûto* is therefore information that is known in the discourse. This fits the description of what I have been calling a familiar topic in Chapter 4.

In the *wh*-SVO "why" question in example (55), the subject is the pronoun *humeîs* "you", directly preceded by the focus particle *kaí*.

(55) *wh*-> *kaí*S>V>O
Dià tí kaì humeîs parabaínete
why also you.NOM.PL transgress.2PL.PRES.IND.ACT
tè:n entolè:n toû t^{h}eoû
the.ACC.SG.F commandment.ACC.SG.F the.GEN.SG.M god.GEN.SG.M
dià tè:n parádosin humô:n?
through the.ACC.SG.F tradition.ACC.SG.F your.GEN.PL
('Then came to Jesus scribes and Pharisees, which were of Jerusalem, saying, "Why do your disciples transgress the tradition of the elders? For they don't wash their hands when they eat bread". But he answered and said to them,) "Why do you also transgress the commandment of God by your tradition?"'
(Τότε προσέρχονται τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων Φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς λέγοντες, Διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταί σου παραβαίνουσιν τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων; οὐ γὰρ νίπτονται τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν

[64] This could also be construed as a "what" question with an elided copular, and an elided relative morpheme, i.e., "What is this (that) I hear about you?". However, in the NT, I haven't seen any instances of relative pronoun (or complementizer) deletion, making this rendition of the structure less plausible.

ὅταν ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς,) Διὰ τί καὶ ὑμεῖς παραβαίνετε τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν; (Mt 15:3)

The question in (55) is itself the response to the question, 'Why do your disciples transgress the tradition of the elders?'. This, along with the presence of the focus particle indicates that the constituent is focused.

The example in (56) is a "how" question in which the object precedes the verb. The question is not strictly a manner or means "how" question, but more like a rhetorical question, asserting "it is not possible that".

(56) *wh*->O>V
Pô:s toîs emoîs r^{h}é:masin pisteúsete?
how the.DAT.PL.N my.DAT.PL.N word.DAT.PL.N believe.2PL.FUT.IND.ACT
'(For, if you believed Moses, you would believe me: for he wrote of me. But if you don't believe his writings,) how will you believe my words?"
(εἰ γὰρ ἐπιστεύετε Μωϋσεῖ, ἐπιστεύετε ἂν ἐμοί, περὶ γὰρ ἐμοῦ ἐκεῖνος ἔγραψεν. εἰ δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνου γράμμασιν οὐ πιστεύετε,) πῶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς ῥήμασιν πιστεύσετε; (Jn 5:47)

This rhetorical question concludes chapter 5 of the Gospel of John. It is the apodosis of a conditional sentence. Directly preceding this conditional statement, the speaker states another condition, 'If you believed Moses, you would believe me', and indicates that the reason is that Moses wrote about him. Following this, Jesus asserts that if the listeners do not believe in these things that Moses wrote about him, there is no way that they will believe his own words. There is explicit contrast between the two objects "the writings of Moses" and "my words", and both of them are fronted to preverbal position in their respective clauses. They could potentially be contrastive topics, or contrastive foci.

The example in (57) is a "how" question in which the subject and the object follow the *wh*-, and precede the verb.

(57) *wh*->S>O>V
Pô:s hoûtos grámmata oîden
how this.NOM.SG.M letter.ACC.PL.N know.3SG.PERF.IND.ACT
'How does this man know how to read, (not having learned)?'
Πῶς οὗτος γράμματα οἶδεν (μὴ μεμαθηκώς); (Jn 7:15)

The subject is a demonstrative pronoun, referring to Jesus, who had just begun to teach in the temple. The speaker is surprised that Jesus knows how to read (literally that he knows the letters). The fact that the demonstrative subject refers to someone who is salient in the discourse could indicate that it is a topic constituent. Of course, it could also be a focus constituent. The status of the object *grámmata*, "letters" is also unclear.

In summary, a maximum of two fronted constituents are found following *wh*-s and preceding verbs. In most cases, only one constituent is found there. The

discourse status of these constituents is often unclear, in the absence of intonation. However, in some instances such as (55), it is fairly clear that the preverbal constituent is a focus. The data then suggest that *wh*-s do not occupy the Focus projection in (45) above.

5.2 Yes-no questions

There are relatively few examples of topicalization in questions in which one of the question particles is present. A maximum of one constituent (excluding second position particles) is found preceding the question particle. Fronting of two constituents is observed to a position between the question particle and the verb.

5.2.1 Material preceding question particles

In the yes-no question in (58), the topic constituent *hai adelp^{h}aì autoû* "his sisters" precedes the question particle *ouk^{h}í*, which expects a positive response.

(58) Top > QPCL
kaì hai adelp^{h}aì autoû
and D.NOM.PL.F sister.NOM.PL.F his.GEN.SG
ouk^{h}ì pâsai pròs he:mâs eisin?
Q all.NOM.PL.F with us.ACC.PL be.3PL.PRES.IND.ACT
'(Isn't this man the carpenter's son? Isn't his mother called Mary? And his brothers Jacob, Joseph and Simon and Judas?) And his sisters, aren't they all with us?'
(οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱός; οὐχ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ λέγεται Μαριὰμ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωσὴφ καὶ Σίμων καὶ Ἰούδας;) καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαὶ αὐτοῦ οὐχὶ πᾶσαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰσιν;
(Mt 13:56)

In the context preceding the example, a crowd of people are astonished by the teachings of Jesus, and they are seeking to know where he got such wisdom, and they ask the series of rhetorical questions in (58). The first states that, to the best of the speakers' knowledge, Jesus is the carpenter's son. The second states that, to the best of the speaker's knowledge, Jesus' mother is called Mary, and also lists the names of his brothers. The text following is the glossed example, in which the constituent *hai adelp^{h}aì autoû* "his sisters" occurs preceding the question particle. This constituent is a shifting topic, or possibly a contrastive topic. Notice that the particle *kaí* occurs preceding this constituent. I take it to be a conjunction rather than a focus particle.

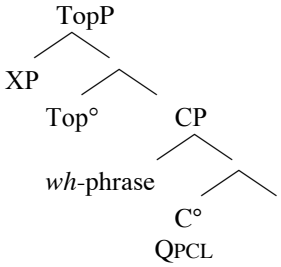
In example (59), one constituent and one second positon particle precede the question particle *mé:ti*. In this instance, the preceding constituent is a participial clause, consisting of a participle and an object. The particle *oûn* surfaces between the participle and its preceding object.

(59) [toûto oûn boulómenos] **mé:ti** ára
this.ACC.SG.N PCL want.NOM.SG.M.PRES.PART.MID Q PCL
tê:i elap^{h}ríai ek^{h}re:sáme:n
D.DAT.SG.F lightness.DAT.SG.F proclaim.1SG.AOR.IND.MID
'And so, when I was wanting this, I didn't proclaim it with lightness, did I?'
τοῦτο οὖν βουλόμενος μήτι ἄρα τῇ ἐλαφρίᾳ ἐχρησάμην; (2 Cor 1:17)

It is a typical property of Ancient Greek for participial clauses to precede main clauses, giving a temporal reference point (see Buijs 2005 for details on clause combining in Ancient Greek narratives). Regarding the grammatical structure, the participial clause seems to occupy the same projection as the DP topic constituent in (58).

In summary, a maximum of one topic constituent is found preceding question particles in the NT. In this respect, there is a parallel with *wh*-interrogatives, which are found preceded by a maximum of one topic constituent. A structure in which the question particle occurs in the head of the projection to which *wh*-interrogatives are moved captures this parallelism. This is shown in (60).

(60)



The tree in (60) shows that if a *wh*-phrase occupies Spec,CP and a question particle C°, one topic constituent will precede both of these, in the one available Topic projection. Although the question particle occupies the head of CP and the *wh*-phrase the Specifier, and therefore a phrase could potentially occur in Spec,CP in a yes-no question, it is not expected to be a topic constituent, given the assumptions that I adopt in Chapter 1, Section 3. The fact that only one topic constituent occurs to the left of question particles and *wh*-s therefore suggests that these elements occupy the projection directly below the highest Topic Phrase, which is ForceP in (45).

Topicalization is possible to a position preceding the complementizer in subordinate clauses. These examples fall under the term prolepsis in classical grammars (see Smyth 1984:488, §2182). An example is given in (61), where the fronted constituent is accusative, in an accusative + infinitive construction.

(61) Topic > *that*
légo:n [tòn huiòn toû
say.NOM.SG.M.PRES.PART.ACT D.ACC.SG.M son.ACC.SG.M D.GEN.SG.M
ant^{h}ró:pou hóti deî [paradot^{h}ê:nai]]
man.GEN.SG.M that be.necessary.3SG.IMPF.IND.ACT deliver.AOR.INFIN.PAS
'(Remember how he spoke to you while he was still in Galilee,) saying that the son of man must be delivered (into the hands of sinning men, and be crucified, and on the third day rise again.)'
(μνήσθητε ὡς ἐλάλησεν ὑμῖν ἔτι ὢν ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ,) λέγων τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτι δεῖ παραδοθῆναι εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ σταυρωθῆναι καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστῆναι.
(Lk 24:7)

The larger bracketed clause in (61) is embedded under the participial *légo:n*, "saying". The complementizer *hóti* does not immediately follow, but is interrupted by the fronted constituent *tòn huiòn toû ant^{h}ró:pou* "the son of man". This constituent shows accusative case, as the object of the embedded impersonal verb *deî* "it is necessary". This constituent is the subject of the embedded infinitival *paradot^{h}ê:nai* "to be delivered", thus "it is necessary that the son of man be delivered". The crucial point is that the object of *deî*, (or the subject of *paradot^{h}ê:nai*) is fronted ahead of the subordinator.

The fact that topics are found preceding complementizers indicates that a Topic projection precedes the C head position occupied by complementizers. It would therefore be consistent to propose that *wh*-interrogatives occupy the Specifier of this same C projection.

5.2.2 Material following question particles

As I showed above in Section 3.4.2 (example (40)), *wh*-interrogatives precede the inferential / illative particle *ára*. Question particles are found consistently preceding the particle *ára*, and no example of the reverse is attested. In (62) below, the particle *ouk*, which expects a positive answer, occurs preceding *ára*. The subject pronominal *sú* "you" occurs directly following *ára*, preceding the copular verb.

(62) Q > *ára*
ouk ára sù eî
Q PCL you.NOM.SG be.2SG.PRES.IND.ACT
ho Aiguptios
D.NOM.SG.M Egyptian.NOM.SG.M
'Aren't you rather the Egyptian (who before these days made an uproar and led four thousand men that were murderers out into the wilderness)?'
οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος (ὁ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναστατώσας καὶ ἐξαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν σικαρίων;) (A 21:38)

A captain poses this question to Paul after he has heard Paul speaking Greek. He expresses surprise that Paul speaks Greek, apparently because he had been under the impression that Paul was the Egyptian who did the actions listed in the example. The subject pronominal is overt, which suggests that carries pragmatic information, but it is unclear whether it is a topic or a focus.

In the SOV example in (63), it is more clear what the division of pragmatic labour is. This example closely resembles the SOV examples seen in Chapter 2, Section 4.4, and discussed further in Chapter 4.

(63) SOV

ouk^{h}ì	kaì	hoi	et^{h}nikoì
Q	even	D.NOM.PL.M	publican.NOM.PL.M
tò		autò	poioûsin?
D.ACC.SG.N		same.ACC.SG.N	do.3PL.PRES.IND.ACT

'Don't even the publicans do the same thing?'

οὐχὶ καὶ οἱ ἐθνικοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; (Mt 5:47)

The subject is preceded by the focus particle *kaí*, and the object is anaphoric, consisting of the substantivized pronominal: *tò autò* "the same". In this case it refers to a deed that was under discussion, greeting your brothers only. This is suggestive of the order focus > familiar topic, following the question morpheme.

In summary, up to two preverbal constituents are found in yes-no questions, in a position following question particles. The order Question particle > Focus > Familiar topic is consistent with a structure in which question particles head the higher CP projection.

5.3 Interim summary

In the last two subsections I have compared fronting in *wh*-questions, yes-no questions and subordinate clauses. A maximum of one constituent is found preceding both argument and adjunct *wh*-interrogatives. In yes-no questions, a maximum of one topic constituent is found preceding the question particle, if one is present. In subordinate *hóti* clauses, a maximum of one topicalized constituent is found preceding the complementizer *hóti*. These data are consistent with the idea that the landing site for *wh*-s is the same in direct and indirect questions, and with the idea that *wh*-s move to the CP (Force) projection hosting the complementizer "that", rather than a Focus projection.

Preverbal material is found following *wh*-interrogatives and question particles. Most often, there is only one preverbal constituent following the *wh*- but in some instances there are two (see the SOV example in (57) above). In yes-no questions, there is clear evidence for the order Question particle > Focus > Familiar topic in SOV strings ((63) above).

The inferential / illative particle *ára* follows both *wh*-interrogatives and question particles. The reverse order is unattested. Fronted constituents are found following this particle, suggesting that it occurs between the CP projection hosting the

question particle / *wh*-interrogative and the discourse projections. The preliminary version of the left periphery given in Chapter 4 may then be modified as in (64) below. I refer to the projection headed by complementizers and question particles as CP.

(64) TopP > CP > EvidP > FocP > (Fam)TopP > TP

5.4 Multiple *wh*-fronting

There is only one example of multiple fronting in the NT corpus, repeated here as (65). This question appears to be indirect. Unfortunately there are no other co-occurrences of two uncoordinated *wh*-interrogatives in one clause in the NT.

(65) Indirect question: Subject > Object
tís **tí** **áre:**
who.NOM.SG.M what.ACC.SG.N take.3SG.AOR.SUBJ.ACT
'(They divided his garments, casting lots upon them), as to who should take what.'
(καὶ σταυροῦσιν αὐτὸν καὶ διαμερίζονται τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, βάλλοντες κλῆρον ἐπ' αὐτὰ) τίς τί ἄρῃ. (Mk 15:24)

As discussed above in Section 2, overt *wh*-movement suffices to check the [*wh*-] feature on C in movement languages, which signals that the clause is a question (Cheng 1991). Fronting of one *wh*- is enough to type the clause as a question. Multiple fronting can be taken to indicate that more than one goal can move to a single target position by implementing multiple specifiers (Richards 1997, Pesetsky 2000), or that the *wh*-interrogatives have a requirement of their own that they be fronted. This movement is often taken to be Focus fronting, in languages where a left peripheral Focus projection is available (i.e., where Focus is marked through movement) (Bošković 1997, 2002; Stjepanović 2003; Roussou 1998). As was also shown in Section 2, many of the interrogatives are distinct from indefinite pronouns only through their positions and pitch accents. In Section 2 I assumed that indefinites are variables that must move to the left periphery to obtain quantificational force and be interpreted as interrogatives (as also argued by Roussou 1998 for Classical Greek). I conclude below that this can be achieved through movement to SpecCP as identified in Section 4, or to the lower Spec,FocP.

5.4.1 Supplementaty data from Classical Greek and Epictetus

As Roussou (1998) discusses, multiple *wh*-fronting is found in Classical Greek texts (see also Smyth 1984: 597, §2646; Kühner-Gerth 1904: 522), but is absent in Modern Greek (Sinopoulou 2008). I show below that multiple *wh*-fronting is also found in Arrian's *Discourses* of Epictetus, from a similar time period (first to second centuries AD). Some multiple fronting examples from Classical Greek are given in (66) - (70).

In (66), the subject interrogative *póteros*, "which" and the object interrogative *póteron*, "which" both precede the verb. The clause is initiated with the topic constituent *díduma tékea* "the two children", to which the two interrogatives refer. The first interrogatives follow, and are interrupted from one another by the particle *ára*.

(66) Direct question: Subject > Object CLASSICAL GREEK
díduma tékea **póteros** ára
two.fold.NOM.PL.N child.ACC.PL.N which.NOM.SG.M PCL
póteron haimáxei?
which.ACC.SG.M draw.blood.from3SG.FUT.IND.ACT
'Out of the two children, which will draw blood from the other?'
(Euripides *Phoenissae* 1288) (K-G II, 1904: 522)

In the indirect question in (67), the *wh*-clause is the subject of the main clause, and occurs preceding the predicate. The sentence is initiated by the topic constituent *apò toúto:n*, "from these", referring to some letters which are previously established in the discourse. Notice that the particle *gár* disrupts this constituent, following the first word of the sentence. In the *wh*-clause, the two fronted *wh*-interrogatives, *tís* "who" and *tínos* "for what" are both fronted to a position preceding the copular predicate *aítiós esti* "is responsible".

(67) Indirect question: Subject > Adjunct CLASSICAL GREEK
apò gàr toúto:n **tís** **tínos**
from PCL this.GEN.PL.N who.NOM.SG.M who.GEN.SG.M
aítiós esti
responsible.NOM.SG.M be.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT
gené:setai p^{h}anerón
become.3SG.FUT.IND.MID clear.NOM.SG.N
'From these, it will become clear who is responsible for what.'
ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων τίς τίνος αἴτιός ἐστι γενήσεται φανερόν.
(Demosthenes 19,73) (Roussou 1998, ex. 5c)

In the direct question in (68), the object *wh- tínas* and the adjunct *wh*-phrase *hupò tíno:n* are both fronted to preverbal position. The second position particle *oûn* directly follows the first *wh-*. The parenthetical *ep^{h}é:* "he said" also intervenes between the two *wh*-phrases.

(68) Direct question: Object > Adjunct CLASSICAL GREEK
tínas oûn ep^{h}é: **hupò** **tíno:n**
who.ACC.PL.M PCL say.3SG.IMPF.IND.ACT by who.GEN.PL.M
heúroimen àn meízo:
find.1PL.AOR.OPT.ACT PCL greater.ACC.PL.M
eue:rgete:ménous
do.good.ACC.PL.M.PERF.PART.MID
'Whom, he said, would we find more benefitted by whom, (than children

by their parents?)'
τίνας οὖν, ἔφη, ὑπὸ τίνων εὕροιμεν ἂν μείζω εὐηργετημένους (ἢ παῖδας ὑπὸ γονέων;)
(Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.2.3) (Roussou 1998: ex. 5a)

The examples in (69) and (70) show multiple fronting in Arrian's *Discourses* of Epictetus, recorded between the 1st and 2nd Centuries AD.[65] This is close to the time frame of the composition of the NT.

Example (69) shows two instances of multiple *wh-* fronting. In each, there is one subject interrogative (*tí*) and one dative marked interrogative (*tíni*). In both questions, the subject interrogative precedes the oblique.

(69) Direct question: Subject > Object/Adjunct[66] EPICTETUS' GREEK
tí **tíni** akolouthεî
what.NOM.SG.N what.DAG.SG.N follow.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT
tí **tíni** mákhetai
what.ACC.SG.N what.DAG.SG.N fight.3SG.PRES.IND.MID
è: anomologoúmenón estin
or inconsistent.NOM.SG.N be.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT
è: asúmpho:non?
or disharmonious.NOM.SG.N
'What follows what? What contradicts, or is out of agreement or harmony with what?'
τί τίνι ἀκολουθεῖ, τί τίνι μάχεται ἢ ἀνομολογούμενόν ἐστιν ἢ ἀσύμφωνον; (*Discourses* 2:24:14)

In (70), the subject interrogative *tína* and the adjunct interrogative *tíno:n* are both fronted.

(70) Direct question: Subject > Adjunct EPICTETUS' GREEK
Tína **tíno:n** antikatallaktéon?
what.NOM.PL.N what.GEN.PL.N exchange.NOM.PL.N.FUT.PART.MID
'What things should be exchanged for what things?'
Τίνα τίνων ἀντικαταλλακτέον; (*Discourses* 4:3:t1)

In summary, in Classical texts as well as Arrian's *Discourses* of Epictetus, multiple fronting is found regularly. I have not come across any instances of multiple questions in which both interrogatives do not front. Although there is only one multiple question in the NT corpus, I assume that multiple fronting is a property of Koine Greek.

[65] Some other multiple fronting examples are found in Epictetus 4:10:23-24.
[66] The instances of *tíni* in (69) are traditionally called a dative complement, and in (68), the adjunct *wh- tíno:n* "for what" is traditionally called a genitive complement.

5.4.2 The positions of the *wh*-s

Roussou (1998) argues that the Classical Greek *wh*-interrogatives move to distinct CP Specifier projections. This connects the availability of multiple fronting to the availability of multiple CP projections instantiated by second position particles. Second position particles and multiple *wh*-fronting are both absent in Modern Greek. She proposes that Classical Greek *wh*-interrogatives are indefinites that obtain quantificational force through Focus movement. However, it is not specified whether the *wh*-interrogatives move to Focus projections, or to Specifier projections of the second position particles.

In Classical Greek example (68), a parenthetical occurs between the two *wh*-s. Some multiple fronting languages, such as Bulgarian and Romanian do not allow parentheticals to intervene between *wh*-s, while others such as Serbo-Croatian, Czech and Polish allow them (Rudin 1988; Bošković 1997, 2002, 2003). It has been proposed that the *wh*-s form a single constituent in Spec,CP (Rudin 1988), and more recently that the *wh*-s occupy multiple Specifier of C (Richards 1997; Pesetsky 2000). Material such as parentheticals that intervene between the *wh*-s in the Serbo-Croatian type languages have been taken to indicate that the *wh*-s occupy distinct positions in the left periphery (Rudin 1988; Bošković 1997). The parenthetical then indicates that the *wh*s-s occur in distinct Specifier projections (as also concluded by Roussou 1998).

In (66) from Classical Greek, the particle *ára* intervenes between the two *wh*-s. This is the particle that I discussed in Section 4 above, and in Chapter 3. If we could treat the Classical data on par with the NT data, this would indicate that the two *wh*-interrogatives occur in distinct projections surrounding *ára*. We have already seen that *wh*-s in single questions always precede the particle. We could place the higher *wh*- in the Specifier of CP, and the lower one in the lower Focus projection identified in Chapter 4. This is represented in (71).[67]

(71) TopP > CP > EvidP > FocP

Another relevant fact is that in all of the examples in (65) - (70), the *wh*-interrogatives are ordered in a specific way, such that subjects precede objects ((65), (66)), objects precede adjuncts ((68), (70)), and subjects precede adjuncts ((67),

[67] However, it is noted that the position of *ára* in Classical Greek is a very complicated issue, and its behavior has undergone significant changes from Classical to Koine Greek. In Classical, it seems to show properties of a second position particle, and often follows the first constituent. Robertson (1934: 1189) claims that it is post-positive (second position) in Classical, but Smyth (1984: 635) does not consider it as such. There are also complications with topicalization. In (63) above, *ára* occurs after the topicalized constituent and after the first *wh*-, thus in second position as defined after topicalization (see Hale 1987 concerning Vedic Sanskrit). As I discussed in Chapter 3, the particle *ára* is not a second position particle in NT Greek, and thus seems to have undergone significant changes from Classical to Koine.

(69)). All of the multiple *wh*-fronting examples I have seen in Smyth and Kühner-Gerth are consistent with the order Subject > Object > Adjunct, but I have not seen a single example containing all three. Of course, we are lacking the crucial negative evidence required to determine whether other orders were possible. Nonetheless, the attested data are an indication that superiority effects are operative in old Greek multiple *wh*-fronting.

A strict ordering of multiple fronted *wh*-s is found in the Bulgarian type languages (Rudin 1988), and in certain environments in the Serbo-Croatian type (see Bošković 2002 for details). This restriction has been analyzed in terms of Superiority. Superiority refers to the restriction against movement of a category to a target which can potentially attract another category that is more local.[68] It is a phenomenon that is associated with *wh*-movement, and not other A' movement such as topicalization and focusing, although the reasons for this are not entirely clear (see the discussion in Boecks & Grohmann (2003: 8).

In Section 4 above I argued that *wh*-s in single questions move to Spec,CP, which is higher than the Focus Phrase identified in Chapter 4. The fact that superiority does seem to surface in Classical and Koine Greek is consistent with the claim that NT Greek *wh*-movement is *wh*-movement proper, and not only Focus movement. Given that there is evidence for both a Focus projection and a higher CP projection hosting question particles and complementizers, I conclude that the first *wh*-undergoes movement to the higher Spec,CP and the second to the lower FocP. This suggests that movement to Spec,FocP is sufficient to license *wh*-s, but that the higher C head has to attract one *wh*- in order to type the clause.

6 Conclusions

The first conclusion is that there is no asymmetry in word order in declarative clauses versus questions, and therefore that there is no overt movement operation unique to questions. Yes-no questions show similar word order variation as declarative clauses- SVO and VSO are very common, and SOV is also significantly attested. In *wh*-questions, there is a trend among object questions for the VS order, however SV is also very marginally attested. I concluded in Section 3 that this does not correspond to an asymmetry in verb movement between declarative clauses and *wh*-questions, contrary to what is argued in Kirk (2012). Rather, V to T movement is the typical operation, based on the fact that verbs follow the mood particle *án*, and the fact that left peripheral material is found between *wh*-interrogatives and verbs. It

[68] Chomsky (1973) states this as a condition on transformations in surface syntax, later it was derived from the Empty Category Principle (Lasnik & Saito 1984), and subsequently by a combination of both (Cheng & Demirdash 1990). More recently, Superiority is derived from Economy Principles (see Chomsky 1993; Bošković 1997, 2002).

is theoretically possible that V to C movement occurs as a form of verb focusing in *wh*-questions, but there is no clear evidence from the NT supporting this.

The second conclusion, based on the data presented in Section 4, is that *wh*-movement ultimately targets the Specifier projection that hosts complementizers and question particles. This is because a maximum of one topic constituent precedes *wh*-s, complementizers and question particles. *Wh*-movement does not seem to target the lower Focus projection identified in Chapter 4, since up to two left peripheral constituents are found following *wh*-s, one of them being a focus (see (55)).

However, in light of the multiple *wh*-questions discussed in Section 5, I conclude that in multiple questions, the *wh*-interrogative that is structurally higher prior to extraction is attracted to Spec,CP, and the one that is structurally lower moves to the lower Focus projection. *Wh*-movement is therefore a clause typing mechanism, but it also somehow related to Focus. A relevant difference between *wh*-movement and Focus fronting of quantifiers, which I discussed in Chapter 4, is that *wh*-movement is obligatory, while quantifier fronting seems to be optional, like other instances of Focus movement discussed in Chapter 4.[69] A more detailed comparison of *wh*-fronting and quantifier fronting is left for further research.

Finally, given the fact that constituents that are either topics or foci occur following the inferential / illative particle *ára* (see (62) above), it seems that this particle precedes the Focus and Familiar Topic projections identified in Chapter 4. This addition yields the depiction in (72).

(72) TopP > ForceP > EvidP > FocP > (Fam)TopP > TP

In Chapter 3, I used the relative position of verbs and the particle *ára* as a diagnostic for verb movement to C in declarative clauses. Specifically, a verb preceding the particle indicates that it is in the CP domain, given that only other CP elements are found preceding *ára*. In the absence of a clear trigger for movement to C, I suggested that it could be a focusing mechanism, in parallel with Modern Greek. However, when the structure of the left periphery is examined further, there is an indication that *ára* occurs preceding FocP. The position of verbs that precede *ára* seems to be the higher CP projection in (72). It is therefore unclear whether verb movement to this CP projection achieves focusing or not. Furthermore, the particle is now shown to be a diagnostic for verbs in the highest CP projection. This opens up the possibility that verb movement to a lower CP projection is also possible, however there are no clear landmarks that we can use to distinguish such a projection from TP.

[69] For an example of a stranded negative quantifier that appears to be in-situ, see Jn 10:41.