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**Author:** Kirk, Allison  
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Chapter 4. Non-neutral word orders and the left periphery

1 Introduction

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

(1) a. OVS clause

τοῦτον τὸν Ιησοῦν ἁνέστησεν ὁ θεός, (οὗ πάντες ἠμεῖς ἐσμέν μάρτυρες.)

b. Context:

Men of Israel, listen to these words: “Jesus the Nazarene, a man attested to you by God with miracles and wonders and signs which God performed through him in your midst, as you yourselves know.”

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

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

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

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

Recalling that the arguments are first merged in the lexical domain, VP and that verbs raise to T in the default case, in principle, any one of the four discourse projections can be activated to host objects in OVS clauses, and any two of them can
be activated in SOV and OSV clauses. In the case of OSV, recalling that there is some support for the Spec-T subject position, OSV clauses may also involve subject movement to Spec,T, with topicalization or focusing of only the object. As I discuss below, SOV clauses are the most indicative of the hierarchy of discourse projections in (3).

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

2 Identifying topic and focus

2.1 Topic

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

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

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

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

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

In NT Greek, the preposition perí introduces nominal and clausal topics, similarly to “as for” or “concerning”. Complements of perí occur in the genitive case. Perí introduces both nominal, and possibly clausal topics. In (6), perí takes the DP tê:s hairéseo:s taúte:s “this chosen opinion”, or “this sect” as its complement, and this DP is the topic of the sentence “it is known to us that it is spoken against everywhere”. Notice that two second position particles, mén and gár intervene between the preposition and its complement.
(6) *peri* > nominal topic
peri mēn gár tê:s hairéseo:s taúte:s
about PCL PCL D.GEN.SG.F sect.GEN.SG.F this.GEN.SG.F
gno:stôn he:mîn estin hôti …
known.NOM.SG.N us.DAT.PL be.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT that…

‘(But we want to hear from you what your views are.) For, concerning this sect, it is known to us that (it is spoken against everywhere).’

(7) *peri* > clausal topic
peri dè tô:n nekrô:n
cconcerning PCL D.GEN.PL.M dead.GEN.PL.M
hôti egeírontai
that raise.3PL.PRES.IND.MID

‘And concerning the fact that the dead rise: (haven’t you read in the book of Moses, about the bush, how God spoke to him, saying, “I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?”)’

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

(8) a. ho speíro:n
D.NOM.SG.M sow.NOM.SG.M.PRES.PART.ACT
tô kalôn spéirma estin
D.ACC.SG.N good.NOM.SG.N seed.NOM.SG.N be.3SG.PRES.IND.ACT
ho huiôs tôu antʰrîtó:poû
D.NOM.SG.M son.NOM.SG.M D.GEN.SG.M man.GEN.SG.M

‘The one who sows the good seed is the son of man.’

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

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

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

46 In relatively few cases, *dè* follows two words. In many of these cases, one of the words is lacking in pitch accent. For example, certain prepositions such as *apó* occur alongside relative pronouns, preceding *dè*. In this case, the final vowel of the preposition is elided and the final *p* consonant becomes aspirated by
Although it is quite frequent to see topic constituents occurring with \textit{d\`e}, many other types of words precede \textit{d\`e} other than topic constituents or sub-parts of topic constituents. For example, \textit{d\`e} occurs in \textit{wh}-questions (see chapter 5), in conditionals and subordinate clauses and therefore occurs following \textit{wh}-words and conjunctions. It is therefore not a reliable diagnostic for topicality, even though it sometimes occurs with topic constituents.

2.1.1 \textbf{Contrastive topic}

While contrast is typically a notion that is tied to focus, there is a variety of topics that have a contrastive property. This category of topics is defined as further specifying the referent of a salient item in the discourse, and inducing alternatives that are salient in the discourse (see Kuno 1976; B"uring 1997; Krifka 2007; Frascarelli \& Hinterh"olzl 2007; Vermeulen 2008; Neeleman \textit{et al.}, 2010). The following example from Krifka (2007: 44) illustrates contrastive topics.\footnote{assimilation with the aspiration of the relative pronoun, i.e. \textit{apʰ hē:s dē}.}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[a.] What do your siblings do?
\item[b.] \textit{My sister} studies medicine, and \textit{my brother} is working on a freight ship.
\end{enumerate}

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

In many languages, such as English, Italian and NT Greek (also Modern and Classical Greek), contrastive topics may occur fronted in the clause, in preverbal position. Example (10), from Benicà \& Poletto (2004: 67) illustrates fronted contrastive topics in Italian.\footnote{In the Functional Grammar approach, contrastive topics are called sub-topics, or inferable entities (Dik 1989).}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[10] Context: a farm producing a set of goods that are known to the people involved in the conversation.
\item[La frutta] la regaliamo, e \textit{la verdura} la vendiamo. \textit{ITALIAN} the fruit \textit{it\textsubscript{CL}} give for free and the vegetables \textit{it\textsubscript{CL}} sell
\item[‘The fruit we give for free, and the vegetables we sell.’]
\end{enumerate}

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

\footnote{These authors refer to these kinds of topics as List Interpretation topics.}
Contrastive topics
[è: gárr tôn héná misé:sei
either PCL. D.ACC.SG.M one.ACC.SG.M hate.3SG.FUT.IND.ACT
kai tôn hétéron agápé:sei
and D.ACC.SG.M other.ACC.SG.M love.3SG.FUT.IND.ACT
[è: hénós antitéxai
or one.GEN.SG.M hold.3SG.FUT.IND.MID
kai tôn hétérou katapéróné:sei
and D.GEN.SG.M other.GEN.SG.M look.down.on.3SG.FUT.IND.ACT
‘(No house-servant can serve two masters;) either he will hate one and
love the other. Or, he will be devoted to one and look down on the other.’
(Οὐδεὶς οἰκότης δύναται δύοι κυρίως δουλεύειν) ἤ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα
μοιῆμε καὶ τὸν ἐτέρου ἁγαπῆμε, ἤ ἐνὸς ἀνθέξηται καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου
κατατράπησι. (Lk 16:13, Mt 6:24)

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

2.2 Focus

2.2.1 New information focus

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

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

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

New information focus in NT Greek seem to occur in preverbal position,
however there is only one example of a question answer pair in which the answer
contains a verb, given in (13). The question in (a) is a “what” question. In the
answer in (b), the demonstrative pronoun toûto, which answers the question, occurs preverbally.

(13)  
a. Tí poié:so: 
what.ACC.SG.N  do.1SG.FUT.IND.ACT  
‘What will I do, (because I have nowhere to store my fruit)?’
Tí poií ouk eîcho poiú synáoxo toûs karphous mou;  

b. Toûto poií:so:  
this.ACC.SG.N  do.1SG.FUT.IND.ACT  
‘(And he said,) “This is what I’ll do. (I’ll pull down my barns, and build greater ones; and I will store my fruits and goods there”.’)  
(καὶ εἶπεν) Τοῦτο ποιήσω (καθελὼ μου τὰς ἀποθήκας καὶ μεῖξονας οἴκοδομήμοι, καὶ συνάξω ἐκεῖ πάντα τὸν σῖτον καὶ τὰ ἀγαθά μου.) (Lk 12:17-18)

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

In Modern Greek, new information foci may occur either in pre- or postverbal position, as the examples in (14) from Gryllia (2008: 11-12) show. In this, 1-FOC stands for information focus.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(16)  
   *Kai* O > V  
   [ei emè é:deite]  J kai tôn  
   if me.ACC.SG know.2PL.PLPF.IND.ACT also D.ACC.SG.M  
   patéra mou ân é:deite  
   father.ACC.SG.M my.GEN.SG PCL know.2PL.PLPF.IND.ACT  
   ‘If you had known me, you would also have known my father.’  
   ei êmê ἀνέδειτε, καὶ τὸν πατέρα μου ἀν ἀνέδειτε.  
   (Jn 8:19)

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

Additive foci preceded by *kai* also occur postverbally. One example is given in (17), where the focused object *kai tê:n allê:n* “also the other”, referring to the other cheek, occurs postverbally.

(17)  
   V > I.O. > *kai* O  
   [strépson autô:i]  J kai tê:n allê:n  
   turn.2SG.AOR.IMPV.ACT him.DAT.SG.M  
   kai tê:n allê:n  
   also D.ACC.SG.F other.ACC.SG.F  
   ‘(But, whoever should slap your right right cheek), turn the other to him, too.’
In summary, additive foci preceded by *kaí* are found both pre- and postverbally.

### 2.2.3 Contrastive focus

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

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

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

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

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

It is useful to examine these constructions in NT Greek since there is no ambiguity as to what is being focused. The “and not” phrase tells us whether the focus on on a particular constituent of the main clause, or on the VP, or on the proposition. To find the examples, I used digital searches of the three forms of negation, *ou*, *ouk* and *ouk*̣, directly following *kaí* “and”.

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

In (20), the preverbal object *éleos* “mercy” is corrected by *tʰusán* “sacrifice”.

(20)  éleos  tʰélo:  kai ou  tʰusán
      mercy.ACC.SG.N  want.1SG.PRES.IND.ACT and  NEG  sacrifice.ACC.SG.F
      ‘I want mercy, and not sacrifice.’
      Ἐλέος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσιάν· (Mt 9:13, 12:7)

In (21), the postverbal PP *ek písteo:s Kʰristoû “from the faith of Christ” is corrected
by the PP *ex érgo:*n nómu “from the works of the law”. The two prepositions are the same, the surface difference (*ek* versus *ex*) is determined by the phonological properties of the following word.

(21) *hína dikaio:ti*men ek píste:os Křistoû

that set.right.1PL.AOR.SUBJ.PAS from faith.GEN.SG.F Christ.GEN.SG.M

kaî ouk ex érgo:*n* nómu

and NEG from *work.GEN.PL.N law.GEN.SG.M*

*(even we have believed in Christ Jesus,) so that we may be justified by faith in Christ and not by the works of the Law;*

(καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς Χριστὸν ἦμου ἐπιτεθόμεν, ἕνα δικαιωθόμεν ἐκ πίστεως Χριστοῦ καὶ οὐκ εἰς ἔργον νόμου, (Gal 2:16)"

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

(22) a. *Mari egy kalapot nézett ki magának.*

*Mary a hat.ACC picked out herself.ACC*

'It was a hat that Mary picked for herself.'

b. *Mari ki nézett magának egy kalapot.*

Mary out herself.ACC picked a hat.ACC

'Mary picked for herself a HAT.'

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

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

(23) a. The police have arrested Anna, Benjamin and Catherine.

b. It was ANna who pulled the trigger.

c. Only ANna pulled the trigger.

NT Greek does not appear to display a cleft strategy for exhaustive focus. A digital search of the forms of the copular verb in combination with relative pronouns or the complementizer ἥτοι gives no cleft constructions. One way to express exhaustivity is with the adverbial mόnon “only”. For example, in the corrective construction in (24), the PP *eis heautón* “about himself” is followed by mόnon
“only”. The whole constituent is fronted ahead of the object καύκε:μα and the verb ἴηει. The PP is corrected with καί οὖκ εἰς τὸν ἥτερον “and not about another”.

(24) καί τότε εἰς ἱεαύτὸν μόνον καύκε:μα
and then about self.ACC.SG.M only boast.ACC.SG.N
ἵηει καί οὖκ εἰς τὸν ἥτερον
have.3SG.FUT.IND.ACT and NEG about D.ACC.SG.M other.ACC.SG.M
(‘But each one must examine his own work,) and then he will boast about himself only, and not about another.’
(τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἔκαυτος δοκιμαζότω ἔκαυτος,) καί τότε εἰς ἔκαυτὸν
μόνον τὸ καύκημα ἤμας καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸν ἥτερον  
(Gal 6:4)

The presence of μόνον indicates that the moved focus constituent εἰς ἱεαύτὸν is an exhaustive focus.

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

(25) ex ἔργον δικαίο:ται ἀνθρώπος
from work.GEN.PL.N set.right.3SG.PRES.IND.MID man.NOM.SG.M
καί οὖκ ek pìstëo:ς μόνον
and NEG from faith.GEN.SG.F only
‘(You see that) a man is justified by works, and not by faith alone.’
(ὁρᾷς ὅτι ἐὰν ἔργων δικαιούται ἀνθρώπος καὶ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεος
μόνον.  
(I Jac 2:24)

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

2.2.4 Contrastive focus under negation

Another corrective construction illustrating contrastive focus shows the negation preceding the focus, in the shape “not x, but y”. This focus construction differs from the ones seen in the last subsection in that negation takes scope over the focused phrase, not the canceled phrase. This type of focus is referred to as bound focus in...
the literature (see Herburger 2000; Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarría 2008), since negation takes scope over the focus. An example is shown in (26).

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

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

(27) kai [hòs emè dék:e:taí ] and REL.NOM.SG.M me.ACC.SG receive.3SG.FUT.IND.MID
ouk emè dék:e:taí NEG me.ACC.SG receive.3SG.PRES.SUBJ.MID
allà tôn apostelfantá me but D.ACC.SG.M send.ACC.SG.M.AOR.PART.ACT me.ACC.SG
‘And whoever should receive me will not receive me, but (he will receive) the one who sent me.’

The ‘subject’ of (27) is the free relative clause, “whoever should receive me”, and it is initial in the string. The object emè “me” is directly preceded by the negative marker ouk. This places narrow focus on the object, which is witnessed by the fact that the object is corrected in the following alla “but” clause/phrase, by the substantivized participial clause tôn apostelfiantá me “the one who sent me”.

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

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

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

I illustrate only bound foci, in the absence of found examples of free foci. I did a digital search of the forms of negation within two lines of direct sequences of kai, “and” and the forms of negation, however I found no examples of the scope ordering in (i).
ou gár éi'lon kalésai
NEG PCL come.1SG.AOR.IND.ACT call.AOR.INFIN.ACT
dikaious alá hamarto:loús
righteous.ACC.PL.M but sinner.ACC.PL.M

‘For, I came not to call the righteous, but the sinners.’
óu γάρ ἐλήμων καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ ἀμαρτωλούς.

(Mt 9:13; Mk 2:17; Lk 5:32)

2.3 Summary

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

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

3 A hierarchy of Topic and Focus projections

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

‘I said that, as for the specific snake, I killed it for KOFI.’

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

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

(30) Il libro, a Gianni, domani, glielo darò senz’ altro
the book to John tomorrow to-him.cl give.1sg.fut without other
‘The book, to John, tomorrow, I’ll give it to him for sure.’

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

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

(32) A Gianni, QUESTO, domani, gli dovrete dire
To John, THIS, tomorrow to-him.cl should.2pl.fut tell
‘To John, tomorrow, you should tell him THIS.’

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

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

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

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

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

(35) Shifting topic: A newly introduced, newly changed or newly returned topic.
A shifting topic always has an aboutness property. The Italian example in (36) from Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007: 96) illustrates a shifting topic.

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

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

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

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

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

(38) Io francamente questa attività particolare I frankly this activity particular
non me la ricordo. not to.me(CL) it(CL) remember.1SG
‘Frankly, I don’t remember that particular activity.’

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

The fragment in (39), adapted from Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007: 88) demonstrates the order of topics in Italian. Note that there is no punctuation in the example, since it comes from a recording of running speech.
La situazione è questa: l’insegnante come ho detto ai ragazzi è in maternità ha una gravidanza difficile e sta usufruendo di quella legge particolare della maternità anticipata per ora ha avuto un mese io penso che non tornerà però lei m’ha detto ah di non dirlo ancora ai ragazzi perché per motivi suoi- comunque io signora penso di chiudere l’anno […] questo comunque io ai ragazzi non l’ho detto direttamente.

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

Questo, io ai ragazzi non l’ho detto direttamente.

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

3.1 Topic sub-types in NT Greek

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

(40) a. gunè: dè tis onómati Mart’a
woman.NOM.SG.F PCL INDEF.NOM.SG.F name.DAT.SG.M Mart’a
hupédéxato autón receive.3SG.AOR.IND.MID him.ACC.SG.M

‘And a certain women named Martha received him.’
b. kai tê:de è:n adelpʰè:
and this.DAT.SG.F be.3SG.IMPF.IND.ACT sister.NOM.SG.F
kalouméne: Máriam
call.NOM.SG.F.PRES.PART.MID Mary ....
‘And to her there was a sister called Mary.’

c. hè: de Máthta periespâto
D.NOM.SG.F PCL Martha trouble.3SG.IMPF.IND.MID
peri polল:en diakonîan
about much.ACC.SG.F serving.ACC.SG.F
‘But Martha was troubling with a lot of serving.’

d. Ev de tó paréfóresi aútouς aútouς eisai láth:en eis kómi:n tina:
genni: dé tis ónômata Máthta upedéxeto aútou., kai tê:de i:n
ádelelîf kaloumînê Mários, [i] kai parakatathêseis proû tòou
pódoς tou xwírôn êkouen ton lógon aútou., i: de Máthta
periespâto peri polλ:an diakonînai: épistásai de eîpen, Kúrîe, ou
méle peri óti i: ádelelîf mou mnîn me kateîpîn diakonînai: eîpen
outr avtî ìna mou súnantipalabêtai.
‘And during their journey, he entered a village. And a certain woman
denamed Martha received him. And she had a sister called Mary, who
sitting at the feet of the lord, heard his word. But Martha was busy
with much serving. And coming up, she said “Lord, do you not
care that my sister has left me alone to serve? Then tell her that she
should help me.’
(Lk 10:40)

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

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

(41) Familiar topic
táute:n tè:n entolè:n elabon
this.ACC.SG.F D.ACC.SG.F commandment.ACC.SG.F take.1SG.AOR.IND.ACT
parà toû patrós mou
from D.GEN.SG.M father.GEN.SG.M my.GEN.SG
‘(For, I have the authority to lay it down, and I have the authority to take
it back.) This commandment I took from my father.’
Examples of contrastive topic objects in NT Greek were shown above in (11). In (42) below, contrastive topic subjects are illustrated with two parallel clauses. The contrastive topic subjects are the pronouns *humeîs* “you-PL” and *egô:* “I”. The predicates are also contrastive, consisting of prepositional phrases with the copula. These prepositional phrases precede the copulas in both instances. It is possible that the PPs are contrastive foci, but the main point of focus here is the initial contrastive topics.

(42) Contrastive topics

*Humeîs* ek tôn káto: esté,

you NOM.PL from D.GEN.PL.M below be.2PL.PRES.IND.ACT
egô: ek tôn ánô: eimí

*I* NOM.SG from D.GEN.PL.M above be.1SG.PRES.IND.ACT

‘You are from those beneath, I am from those above.’

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

(43) *
tôn dê sîton* sunagágete

D.ACC.SG.M PCL corn.ACC.SG.M gather.2PL.PRES.IMPV.ACT
eis tôn apotêke:n mou

into D.ACC.SG.F barn.ACC.SG.F my.GEN.SG

‘(No, lest while gathering up the weeds, you might uproot the wheat together with them. Let them both grow together until harvest, and in the time of the harvest, I will say to the reapers, “Gather first the weeds and bind them in bundles to burn them up.) And the wheat, gather it into my barn.”’

(Ωû, μύστει συλλέγοντες τά ζιζάνια ἐκριζώσητε ὡμα αὐτῶς τὸν σῖτον. Ἀφετε συναυξάνεσθαι ἀμφότερα ἐῳ τοῦ θερίσμου· καὶ ἐν παρό τοῦ θερίσμου ἐῳ τοῖς θερισταῖς. Συλλέξατε πρῶτον τά ζιζάνια καὶ δήσατε αὐτὰ εἰς δέσμας πρὸς τὸ κατακαύναι αὐτὰ;) τὸν δὲ σῖτον συναγάγετε εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην μου.

(Mt 13:30)

The object *tôn sîton* “the wheat” has been previously mentioned, and can be described as a newly returned to topic. It is also contrasted with *tà zizánia* “the
weeds”. Notice further that familiarity in the discourse is the hallmark of a familiar topic. There is therefore some overlap in the properties that the different topics display. Shifting and contrastive topics are often familiar in the discourse. If they display no contrastive or aboutness property in addition to being familiar in the discourse, I consider them to be familiar topics.

3.2 The order of topics in NT Greek

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

The example in (44) shows that the shifting topic τὸ Ἰσραήλ “Israel” precedes the familiar topic di’ ἐπαγγέλιας “by command”, which precedes the verb and postverbal subject. The initial shifting topic is more precisely a newly returned topic. The order of topics based on their string of multiple topics seem to occur in a consistent order: Shifting topic > Familiar topic > Contrastive topic > Familiar topic.

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(44) a. Shifting topic > Familiar topic

| τὸ Ἰσραήλ | δὲ Abraham | di’ ἐπαγγέλιας |
| D.DAT.SG.M | PCL Abraham | ACC.PL.F |
| kek'aristēu | ho | tēōs |
| say.3SG.PERF.IND.MID | D.NOM.SG.M | god.NOM.SG.M |

‘But to Abraham God gave it by command.’ (Gal 3:18)

b. Ἀδελφοί, κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω· ὅμως ἀνθρώπων κεκυρωμένην διαθήκην ὑπέθετε· ἐπάθασα, τὸ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐρρέθησαν αἱ ἐπαγγέλια καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ. οὐ λέγει. Καὶ τοῖς σπέρμασιν, ὡς ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐφ’ ἐνός. Καὶ τῷ σπέρματι σου, ὡς ἐστίν Χριστός. τούτο δὲ λέγω· διαθήκην προκεκυρωμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ μετὰ τεταρταγμονή καὶ τριάκοντα ἕτη γενονός νόμος οὐκ ἀκουεῖ, εἰς τὸ καταργῆσαι τὴν ἐπαγγέλιαν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ νόμου ἡ κληρονομία, οὐκέτι εἰσὶ ἐπαγγέλια· τὸ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ δὲ ἐπαγγέλιας κεκυρώσατο ο θεὸς.

‘Brothers, I speak in terms of human relations: even though it is only a man’s covenant, yet when it has been ratified, no one sets it aside or adds conditions to it. To Abraham the commands were spoken, and to his seed. He does not say, “And to seeds,” as referring to many, but rather to one, “And to your seed,” that is, Christ. What I am saying is this: the Law, which came four hundred and thirty years later, does not invalidate a covenant previously ratified by God, so as to nullify the command. For if the inheritance is based on law, it is no longer based on a command: But to Abraham God granted it by command.’ (Gal 3:15-18)
Non-neutral word orders

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

(45)  
a. Contrastive topic > (Focus?) > Familiar topic > Verb  
Egò: poš’tu kep’alaioù  
I.NOM.SG large.GEN.SG.N sum.GEN.SG.N  
tè:n politeian taúte:n  
D.ACC.SG.F citizenship.ACC.SG.F this.ACC.SG.F  
ekte:same:n acquire.1SG.AOR.IND.MID  
‘I acquired this citizenship with a large sum of money.’

b. Contrastive topic > verb  
Egò: dè kai gegénne:mai  
I.NOM.SG.M PCL even beget.1SG.PERF.IND.MID  
‘But I was even born [Roman].’

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

In Paul’s response in (b), the pronoun egò: “I” is a contrastive topic, as he is contrasting himself with the chief captain, with respect to how he acquired the Roman citizenship, which was by birth, not purchase.
3.3 Summary

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

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

4 SOV orders

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

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

In the SOV clause in (46), the subject Mariá̂m precedes the object tè:n agat’e:n merída “the good part”, which precedes the finite verb exeléxato “chose”.

(46) Contrastive topic > Familiar topic
Mariá̂m gär tè:n agat’e:n merída
Maria,NOM.SG PCL D.ACC.SG.F good.ACC.SG.F part.ACC.SG.F
exeléxato
choose.3SG.AOR.IND.MID

‘(And Jesus answered and said unto her, “Martha, Martha, you are careful and troubled about many things. But one thing is necessary). And Maria chose the good part (which will not be taken from her)”.

(And Jesus answered and said unto her, “Martha, Martha, you are careful and troubled about many things. But one thing is necessary). And Maria chose the good part (which will not be taken from her)”.

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

4.2 Shifting topic > Contrastive focus

As I mentioned in Section 2, corrective constructions contain contrastively focused phrases. The SOV sentence in (47) below contains a focused object that is under the scope of negation (a “bound focus”), directly following the negative morpheme. The object tò pneûma toû kósmou “the spirit of the world” is corrected by tò pneûma tò ek toû l’eoû “the spirit of God” In this instance, the pronominal subject humeîs “you-PL” precedes the focused phrase (in bold) and the negative morpheme. This pronoun corresponds to a newly returned to topic, and is therefore a shifting topic.
The sentence in (47) provides support for the order Shifting topic > Focus. However, one remaining question is what the position of negation is.

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

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

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

(49)  V > NEG > PP  
     kai  êilton  ou  diá tòn  
     and come.3PL.AOR.IND.ACT  NEG  for  D.ACC.SG.M  
     le:sòun  mónon  
     Jesus.ACC.SG.M  only  
     ‘and they came not only for Jesus, (but so that they might also see Lazarus, whom he had raised from the dead)’. 
     kai  ἡλθον  ου  δια  τὸν  Ἦσουν  μόνον  (ἀλλ᾽  ἵνα  καὶ  τὸν  Λάζαρον ἰδοὺν  ὃν  ἤγειρεν  ἐκ  νεκρῶν.)  (Jn 12:9)

In this example, the PP diá tòn le:sòun mónon “for Jesus only” is postverbal, directly preceded by the negative morpheme ou. This PP is corrected by a clause headed by hína, which contains the additively focused phrase kai tòn Lázaron “in
Although the canonical position for sentential negation is directly preverbal, the crucial fact is that negative morphemes do occur postverbally in corrective constructions. This means that the preverbal position of negation is not the driving force for movement of corrected objects. It suggests rather that the negation in (27), (47) and (49) is constituent negation rather than sentential negation (see Jackendoff 1972; Payne 1985; Horn 1989). From a semantic perspective, the difference is in scope. If the whole sentence falls under the scope of negation, it is sentential negation, and if only a constituent falls under the scope of negation, it is constituent negation (Zeijlstra 2004: 47).

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

(50)  
\[
\text{DP} \quad \text{NegP} \quad \text{DP} \quad \text{ou} \quad \text{dià tòn Ie:soùn mónon}
\]

I assume that the negative morpheme adjoins to the object, and that the object is subsequently moved to Spec,FocP. I do not take a stand as to the status of postverbal corrected constituents such as those in (28) above. It is possible that they move to a vP-internal Focus projection (see Belletti 2001), or remain in their VP-internal base positions.

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

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52 There is an additional complication with this example, that the in situ focused PP contains the exhaustivity adverb mónon, thus “not only for the sake of Jesus”. The purpose clause that corrects this PP contains an additively focused phrase, kai tòn Lázaron “also Lazarus”, thus “not only for the sake of Jesus, but in order that they see Lazarus also”. Notice that this focused phrase kai tòn Lázaron is fronted within the corrective subordinate clause. The example is intended to show only that constituent negation does occur postverbally, albeit rarely.
reason why not is uncertain. This analysis differs from Friberg’s (1982) view that the preverbal position of sentential negation is the force driving displacement of corrected objects.

4.3 Additive focus > Familiar topic

In Chapter 2 I noted that the SOV order commonly has reflexive, or ‘identity anaphoric’ objects. These objects include constituents made up of, or containing ἥ αὐτὸς “the same”. In the SOV example in (51), the pronominal subject humēis “you-PL.” precedes the object τὴν αὐτὴν ἐννοιαν, which contains ἥ αὐτὸς.

(51) Additive focus > Familiar topic

καί ήμεῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐννοιαν

and you.NOM.PL D.ACC.SG.F same.ACC.SG.F mind.ACC.SG.F

hopoliasast'ε

make.2PL.AOR.IMPV.MID

‘(Being that Christ has suffered in the flesh), you too, be of the same mind, (because he who has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin).

(Χριστοῦ οὖν παθόντος σωμάτω) καὶ ὑμεῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐννοιαν ὀφλισασθε. (ὅτι ὁ παθὼν σαρκὶ πέπαυται ἁμάρτης.) (1 Pet 4:1)

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

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

(52) Focus > Familiar topic

καί ήοι δικαίωσιν

even D.NOM.PL.M sinner.NOM.PL.M

tὸ αὐτὸ poioûsin

D.ACC.SG.N same.ACC.SG.N do.3PL.PRES.IND.ACT

‘(And if you do good for those who do good for you, what kind of grace do you have?) Even sinners do the same thing’. (καὶ γὰρ ἕσον ἄγαθοποιήτε τοὺς ἄγαθοποιοῦντας ὑμᾶς, ποία ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν;) καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν. (Lk 6:33)

As I mentioned in Section 2, objects preceded by the focus particle καί have a strong tendency to occur preverbally, but are also found postverbally. The fact that constituents preceded by the particle are found both pre- and postverbally indicates
that καί adjoins to the focussed phrase prior to movement of the focussed phrase, as I argued above for constituent negation. It also indicates that movement of the focussed phrase is optional in NT Greek, in constructions with focus-sensitive καί.

4.4 Shifting topic > Focus > Familiar topic

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

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

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

4.5 Summary

In summary, SOV clauses are suggestive of the order Shifting / Contrastive topic > Focus > Familiar topic > Verb. I have shown examples of a contrastive topic preceding a familiar topic, a shifting topic preceding a contrastive focus, additive foci preceding familiar topics and one example of a shifting topic preceding a contrastive focus, preceding a familiar topic. There is one order that I have not
found, namely a shifting topic preceding a contrastive topic. As I mentioned in Section 3, it is especially difficult to distinguish shifting topics from contrastive topics, and furthermore, there is no evidence for of these co-occurring.

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

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

5 The position of preverbal quantifier arguments

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

(54) oudeîs gār pote tē:n heautoû
    no-one.NOM.SG.M PCL ever D.ACC.SG.F self.GEN.SG.M
    sārka emīse:sen
    flesh.ACC.SG.F hate.3SG.AOR.IND.ACT
    ‘For, no-one ever hated his own flesh.’
    oudeîs gār pote tīn ēkastōs sārka ōmīsēν,       (Ep 5:29)

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

5.1 Universal quantifiers and negative words in Modern Greek

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

53 Negative words such as “nobody” and “nothing” in Modern Greek are polarity items, rather than negative quantifiers, forming a contrast with NT and Classical Greek. Following Giannakidou (2006), I use the term negative words (n-words) when referring to “nobody” and “nothing” in Modern Greek.
discourse, satisfying the referentiality condition (Anagnostopoulou & Giannakidou 1995). In (57), the quantifier is Discourse-linked through the NP dhema “parcel”, and the negative word is linked through the partitive apo ta vivlia “from the books”.

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

5.2 Universal and negative quantifier fronting in NT Greek

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

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

(58) tè:n dè glô:ssan oudeis
damásai dûnatai
overpower.AOR.INFIN.ACT can.3SG.PRES.IND.MID man.GEN.PL
‘(And the tongue is fire, the world of inequity, the tongue is set out among our members, and it defiles the entire body, and sets on fire the course of nature and is set on fire by hell. For, every kind of beasts and birds and reptiles and sea creatures is tamed, and has been tamed by the species of man.) But the tongue no man can tame.’

(καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα πῦρ, ὁ κόσμος τῆς ἁδικίας, ἡ γλῶσσα καθίσταται ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν, ἡ σπλαγχνὸς ὅλον τὸ σώμα καὶ φλογεύεισθαι τὸν τροχόν τῆς γενέσεως καὶ φλογηρομένη ὑπὸ τῆς γεέννης. πάσα γὰρ φύσις θηρίων τε καὶ πετεινῶν ἐφετέροις τε καὶ ἐναλίων δαμάζεται καὶ δεδάμασται τῇ φύσει τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ τὴν δὲ γλῶσσαν οὐδεὶς δαμάσαι δύναιται ἀνθρώπων’. (Jac 3:8)

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

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

(59) he: ḍè Mariám pánta suneté:rei
d.NOM.SG.F PCL Mary.NOM.SG.F all.ACC.PL.N keep.3SG.IMPF.IND.ACT
tà rêmata tā́ta
D.ACC.PL.N thing.ACC.PL.N this.ACC.PL.N
‘(And all of those who heard it marveled at those things which were told
to them by the shepherds.) But Mary kept all these things, (pondering in
her heart.)
(καὶ πάντες οἱ ἁπούσαντες ἑβαύμασαν περὶ τῶν καληθέντων ὑπὸ
tῶν ποιμένων πρὸς αὐτούς) ἢ ἰ νο ῳ Μαριάμ πάντα συνετέ:rei tā
φήματα tā́ta (συμβάλλουσα ἐν τῇ χαρίᾳ αὐτῆς.) (Lk 2:19)

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

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

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

Non-neutral word orders 129
Contrastive topic / Focus > Familiar topic

par' oudeñi tosaìte:n pístin
from no-one.DAT.SG.M such.ACC.SG.F faith.ACC.SG.F
en tòi Israèl heûron
in D.DAT.SG.M Israel find.1SG.AOR.IND.ACT

'(Truly I say to you,) in no-one in Israel have I found such faith.’

(Mt 8:10)

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

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

5.2.1 Quantifier[top] > Contrastive focus

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

(Mt 8:10)
'But I hope in the Lord Jesus to send Timothy to you shortly, so that I also may be encouraged when I learn of your condition. For I have no one comparable who will have genuine interest in the things that concern you.) For all of them seek their own interests, not those of Jesus Christ. (But you know his worth, that he served with me in the furtherance of the gospel like a child serves his father.)'

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

5.2.2 Quantifier[foc] > Familiar topic

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

(62) Focus > Familiar topic

οὐδεὶς gár pote tē:n heautŏ
no-one.NOM.SG.M PCL ever D.ACC.SG.F self.GEN.SG.M

sárka, emise:sen flesh.ACC.SG.F hate.3SG.AOR.IND.ACT

‘(Thus, also men ought to love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his own wife, loves himself.) For, no-one ever hated his own flesh.’

(οὗτος ὁφείλειν καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωπος ἁγαπᾶν τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας ὡς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σῶματα. ὁ ἁγαπάων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἑαυτῶν ἁγαπᾶ,) oûdeîs gár pote tēn ἑαυτοῦ sárka emíse:sen, (Ep 5:29)

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

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

(63) **Contrastive topic > Focus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hoûtos</th>
<th>dê</th>
<th>oudên</th>
<th>átopon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this.NOM.SG.M</td>
<td>PCL</td>
<td>nothing.ACC.SG.N</td>
<td>wrong.ACC.SG.N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éprraxen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'And we are rightly so, for we receive things which are worthy of what we have done.) But this one did nothing wrong’

(Lk 23:41)

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

5.3 **Summary**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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